Education and Social Transformation:

Investigating the Influence and Reception of Paulo Freire

in Indonesia

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Abstract

In this study I investigate the influence and reception of Paulo Freire in Indonesia with a specific question in mind: To what extent has Freire influenced educational thought and practice in the country? This study shows that Paulo Freire has been known in Indonesia since the early 1970s, although he was at first familiar only to certain groups. In the 1980s, the discourse and practice of Freirean education was more extensive than in the 1970s, with both domains (discourse and practice) equally balanced. The trend in the 1990s up to 2005 shifted: there was a more extensive discussion of Freire than implementation of his theory and methodology in practice.

This study shows that Paulo Freire has left a considerable intellectual legacy to Indonesian educational scholars and practitioners. In fact, his cultural and educational philosophies have become subjects of discussion amongst social activists, educational practitioners and scholars concerned with educational issues. It is no wonder that many articles, books and theses by and on Freire are available in the Indonesian. I would venture to say that no other foreign educational thinker has gained such acceptance in Indonesia.

The study explores as well the attempts to connect Freire to Islam—the faith of a majority of Indonesian—demonstrated by the publication of many articles and theses that tried to compare and connect the two. This is, to the best of my knowledge, a new feature in Freirean scholarship. My contention is, however, that any attempt to compare Islam and Freire is likely to fall into apologetic, in the sense that this would only confirm that Islam also insists on the idea of liberation, as Freire did, without trying to analyze why such an idea has never developed in Islamic education. The fact that Islam, since its appearance, has concerned itself with liberation and taking the side of the poor cannot be denied. However, using this fact to legitimate Freire's educational philosophy and practice is less productive, because it does not make a substantive contribution to re-developing and re-structuring Islamic education, which is essentially conservative.

Freire in Indonesia is not only influential in the realm of discourse, but in that of practice as well. In this study I investigate the experiences of Indonesian educational practitioners in applying Freire's educational philosophy and methodology to certain discrete groups within the society, namely, villagers in Papua, the rural poor in Maluku Tenggara, workers, peasants, street children, university students, and NGO activists.

From my investigation, became clear that it was not Freire's concept of literacy that found favor with Indonesian educational practitioners; rather, it was his vision of education as a means of improving critical capacities within learners and of driving social transformation. No evidence could be found of any group or individuals in Indonesia applying Freire's approach in a systematic way and as a whole; most, rather, mixed this with other concepts, such as community organizing and community development.

The positive reception of Freire in Indonesia does not necessarily mean that his thought is accepted blindly or without critique. Several criticisms offered by Indonesian educators of the theories of Paulo Freire are highlighted in this study, although few of them have not been raised before.

Résumé

Cette étude explore l'influence de Paulo Freire en Indonésie en se concentrant sur une question en particulier : Jusqu'à quel point e Paulo Freire a-t-il influencé la pensée et la pratique dans le domaine de la pédagogie en Indonésie ? Cette étude montre que Paulo Freire est connu en Indonésie depuis le début des années 1970, bien qu'il n'était d'abord connu que par certains groupes. Dans les années 1980, le discours et la pratique de l'éducation Freiréenne furent plus répandue que dans les années 1970 et les deux domaines du discours et de la pratique furent balancés. Cette tendance changea des années 1990 jusqu'à 2005 : le discours devint plus important que la pratique de sa théorie et sa méthodologie.

Cette étude montre que Paulo Freire a laissé aux savants et pratiquants de ses théories un héritage important. Ses philosophies culturelles et pédagogiques sont devenus des sujets discutés parmi les activistes sociaux, pédagogues et les savants intéressés par les questions de pédagogie. Il n'est pas étonnant que plusieurs articles, livres et thèses écrits par Freire ou qui traitent de Freire sont disponibles en indonésien. Il me semble que aucun autre penseur pédagogique étranger est accepté en Indonésie tel que Freire.

Cette étude explore aussi les efforts de créer une connexion entre Freire et l'Islam, la religion de la majorité des indonésiens, démontré par la publication de plusieurs articles et thèses qui ont tenté de comparer et de relier Freire et L'Islam. Ceci constitue, selon moi, une nouvelle frontière dans le domaine de l'étude de Freire. Je prétend, cependant, que toute tentative qui compare l'Islam à Freire confirme simplement que l'Islam, comme Freire, souligne l'idée de la liberté, mais sans tenter d'analyser pourquoi de telles idées ne se sont jamais développées dans la pédagogie Islamique. Il est vrai que l'Islam, depuis son apparence, s'est concerné à la liberté en favorisant le côté des pauvres. Cependant, il n'est pas efficace d'employer ce fait pour légitimer la philosophie pédagogique de Freire, car ceci ne contribue pas d'une façon importante au développement et la restructuration de la pédagogie islamique, qui est essentiellement conservatrice.

Freire n'a pas seulement été influent dans le domaine du discours, mais aussi dans celui de la pratique. Cette étude examine les expériences de pédagogues indonésiens qui appliquent la philosophie pédagogique de Freire à certains groupes discrets dans la société, dont les villageois de Papua, les pauvres des régions rurales de Maluku Tenggara, les travailleurs et paysans, enfants dans la rue, élèves d'université et activistes d'ONG.

Mon étude a dévoilé le fait que ce n'était pas la notion de lettres de Freire qui a intéressé les pédagogues indonésiens, mais plutôt sa vision de la pédagogie comme méthode d'améliorer les capacités essentielles des étudiants et d'encourager la transformation sociale. Je n'ai pu trouver aucune preuve d'une application systématique de l'approche de Freire par un groupe d'individus en Indonésie ; la plupart mélangent plutôt ses approches avec d'autres notions tels que l'organisation et le développement communautaires.

L'accueil positif de Freire en Indonésie n'implique pas nécessairement que sa pensée est acceptée de façon aveugle ou sans critique. Quelques critiques par des professeurs indonésiens des théories de Paulo Freire sont traités au cours de cette étude, la plupart jusqu'à maintenant jamais examinées.

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Glossary of terms and abbreviations

ALP	Adult Learning Project
AMT	Achievement Motivation Training
BAR	Badan Advokasi Rakyat (People's Advocacy Agent)
BBM	Bahan Bakar Minyak (refined fuel oil)
BHMN	Badan Hukum Milik Negara (state-owned law board)
BPN	Badan Pertanahan Nasional (National Land Committee)
BPS	Badan Pusat Statistik (Central Bureau of Statistics)
BUMN	Badan Usaha Milik Negara (state-owned corporations)
Bupati	Regent head
Camat	Sub-district head
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
DM	Dewan Mahasiswa (student council)
DPR	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (People's Representative Assembly)
DPRD	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (People's Regional Representative Assembly)
ESL	English as a Second Language
FIST	Forum Ilmu Sosial Transformatif (social transformative science forum)
FPL	Front Pemandu Latihan (Guiding Training Front)
FPS	Forum Petani Sumbawa (Sumbawa Peasant Forum)
FSBS	Forum Solidaritas Buruh Surakarta (Solidarity Forum of Surakarta Worker)
GMNI	Gerakan Mahasiswa Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Student Movement)
GOLKAR	Golongan Karya (Functional Groups)
HMI	Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam (Muslim Student Association)

HP2M	Himpunan Penelitian dan Pengembangan Masyarakat (Association for Research and Community Development)
IAIN	Institut Agama Islam Negeri (state institute for Islamic studies)
IKIP	Institut Kejuruan Ilmu Pendidikan (institute of teacher training and education)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INFIGHT	Indonesian Front for the Defence of Human Rights
INSIST	Indonesian Society for Social Transformation
Involvement	Indonesian Volunteers for Social Movement
IPB	Institut Pertanian Bogor (Bogor Institute of Agriculture)
IPM	Institut Pengembangan Masyarakat (Institute of Community Development)
ITB	Institut Teknologi Bandung (Bandung Institute of Technology)
JARI	Jaringan Aksi Riset Indonesia (Indonesian Action Research Network)
Jaringan Baileo	Baileo Networking, an extensive network amongst indigenous people throughout Maluku
JKPM	Jaringan Kerjasama Pesantren-Masyarakat (Pesantren-Community Network)
JPMS	Jaringan Penguatan Masyarakat Sipil (Civil Society Empowering Network)
KAPCI	Komite Aksi Penyandang Cacat Indonesia (Action Committee of Disabled People Indonesia)
KEJAR A	Kejar Paket A (learning group package A), equivalent with elementary school
KEJAR B	Kejar Paket B (learning group package B), equivalent with secondary school

KEPA	*Kehitysyhteistyön Palvelukeskus*, or the Service Centre for Development Cooperation, a network of over 200 Finnish NGOs interested in development network and global issues.
KKN	Korupsi, Kolusi, dan Nepotisme (Corruption, collusion, and nepotism)
KKN	Kuliah Kerja Nyata, an obligatory (rural) social action internship of three months' duration for advanced university students
Koramil	Komando Rayon Militer (military headquarters at the ward level)
KPAP	Kelompok Pembelajaran Antar Pabrik (inter-factory learning group)
KPK	Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (the corruption eradication commission)
KULAN	Kursus Pendidikan Lanjutan (advanced educational course)
KUPERDA	Kursus Pendidikan Dasar (basic educational course)
LBH	Lembaga Bantuan Hukum (legal aid association)
LP3ES	Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan, dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial (Institute for Social and Economic Research, Education and Information)
LPTP	Lembaga Pembangunan Teknologi Pedesaan (Institute for Rural Technology Development)
LSP	Lembaga Studi Pembangunan (Institute for the Study of Development))
LOI	Letter Of Intent
Lurah	Village head
MALARI	Malapeta 15 Januari (the disaster of 15 January)
MPR	Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (People's Consultative Assembly)

NKK-BKK	Normalisasi Kehidupan Kampus-Badan Koordinasi Kemahasiswaan (Normalization of campus life—student coordination board)
NGO	Non-government Organization
OTL	Organisasi Tani Lokal (local peasants union)
PANGKOBKAMTIB	Panglima Komando Bagian Keamanan dan Ketertiban (commander of security and discipline)
PIR BUN	Perkebunan Inti Rakyat Badan Usaha Negara (core people plantation of state-owned corporation)
PMII	Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesian (Indonesian Muslim Student Movement)
PKBM	Pusat Kegiatan Belajar Masyarakat (activity centre of learning community)
PLB	Pendidikan Luar Biasa (extraordinary education)
PMDK	Penelusuran Minat dan Kemampuan (tracing special interests and competency)
PMKRI	Perhimpunan Mahasiswa Katholik Republik Indonesia (Union of Catholic University Students of Republic of Indonesia)
Puskesmas	Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat (Community Health Center)
P4	Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila (guidelines for carrying out the principles of Pancasila)
RT	Rukun Tetangga (neighborhood ward)
RW	Rukun Kampung (village ward)
SDLB	Sekolah Dasar Luar Biasa (elementary extraordinary school)
SIL	SAHE Institute for Liberation
SKEPHI	Sekretariat Kerjasama Pelestarian Hutan Indonesia (The Indonesian NGOs Network for Forest Conservation)
SLPLB	Sekolah Lanjutan Pertama Luar Biasa (secondary extraordinary school)

SPL	Seriakt Pekerja Lampung (Lampung Peasant Union)
SPMB	Sistem Penerimaan Mahasiswa Baru (system of accepting new students)
SPP	Serikat Pekerja Pasundan (Pasundan Peasant Union)
SPSS	Serikat Pekerja Sumatra Selatan (South Sumatra Peasant Union)
SPSU	Serikat Pekerja Sumatra Utara (North Sumatra Peasant Union)
SR	Sekolah Rakyat (people's school)
STF Driyarkara	Sekolah Tinggi Filsafat (high school of philosophy) Driyarkara
SUPRA	Supervisory Agency for Agrarian Reform
TKLB	Taman Kanak-Kanak Luar Biasa (kinder-garden extraordinary school)
UGM	Universitas Gadjah Mada (Gadjah Mada University)
UKDW	Universitas Kristen Duta Wacana (Christian University of Duta Wacana)
UI	Universitas Indonesia (Indonesian university)
UIN	Universitas Islam Negeri (state Islamic university)
UNAIR	Universitas Airlangga (Airlangga University)
UNPAD	Universitas Padjajaran (Padjajaran University)
UPI	Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia (Education University of Indonesia)
UU Sisdiknas	Undang-undang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional (the legal draft of the national education system)
VIA	Volunteers in Asia
YASANTI	Yayasan Annisa Swasti (Annisa Swasti Foundation)
YIS	Yayasan Ilmu-ilmu Sosial (social sciences foundation)
YLKI	Yayasan Lembaga Konsumen Indonesia (Indonesian Foundation of Consumers' Organizations)
YBCN	Yayasan Bina Citra Nusa (Bina Citra Nusa Foundation)

YNM   Yayasan Nen Mas Il (Nen Mas Il Foundation)

YNWS   Yayasan Nanimi Wabilisu (Nanimi Wabilisu Foundation)

YPMO   Yayasan Pembangunan Maur Ohio (Maur Ohio Wut

               Development Foundation)

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Literature review

The bibliography of Paulo Freire has evolved over the last two decades in line

with interest in reinventing his educational philosophy according to different contexts.

The literature can be divided into several categories; *first*, texts written by Freire

himself[1]; *second*, texts written by him in collaboration with others[2]; *third*, texts written by

scholars exclusively discussing his life and thought[3]; *fourth*, texts written to compare his

thought with other scholars[4]; and *fifth*, texts written to demonstrate the influence of Freire

in certain social contexts, or in an attempt to apply his theory or methodology in different

social contexts.[5]

Referring to the above categories, the present thesis falls into the fifth, and for that

reason I will limit my review to texts that are relevant to this category. These are quite

numerous, and include works that focus on Freire's influence in different geographical

contexts, such as Scotland (Gerri Kirkwood and Colin Kirkwood, 1989), the United

States (Ira Shor, 1987), New Zealand (P. Roberts, 1999), India (Geeta Ram, 1991), the

Mediterranean region (Peter Mayo, 1997; 1999), Ghana (Leonard Kwami Tabernacle

Dorvlo, 1993), Africa (Prosper Godonno, 1998), Cuba and Nicaragua (Martin Carnoy

and Carlos Alberto Torres, 1990; D. Craven, 1990; Carlos Alberto Torres, 1996),

Grenada (A. Hickling-Hudson, 1998), the Philippines (Virginia Floresca-Cawagas, 1996;

Swee-Hin Toh and Virginia Floresca-Cawagas, 1997; Virginia Floresca-Cawagas and

Toh Swee-Hin, 1998) and El Salvador (J.L. Hammond, 1997, 1998; Victoria Purcell-

Gates and Robin A. Waterman, 2000), to name only the most significant. Due to a limitation of the space, I am going to review only some of them.

Paulo Freire's method of fostering adult literacy was originally applied amongst rural peasants in Brazil in the early 1960s. The method of learning that he favored was not classroom schooling, but a "cultural circle" led by a coordinator. Dialogue was employed in the process of learning, replacing the conventional lecture format that tends to locate participants as objects and the teacher/coordinator as a transmitter of knowledge.

Freire's literacy method can be summarized into three stages (Freire, 1973; John Elias, 1994): the study of the context, the selection of words from the discovered vocabulary (codification), and the actual literacy training (decodification). In postliteracy education, Freire in his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1972) offers three stages: investigation of the themes, codification of the themes, and the postliteracy process. The purpose of literacy learning is not merely language acquisition, but also changing consciousness and encouraging an action orientation. Freire (1973) argues:

> Acquiring literacy does not involve memorizing sentences, words and syllables—lifeless objects unconnected to an existential universe—but rather an attitude of creation and re-creation, a self transformation producing a stance on intervention in one's context. (p. 48).

Of the texts under review, Ram's "Adult Education: Literacy to Liberation" (1991) describes a project that came the closest to implementing a genuine Freirean program. Consisting in a literacy/adult education program sponsored by the Indian government, it fulfilled Freire's agenda in two ways; first because it was aimed at a rural

population, and second because it focused on literacy. It also explicitly looked to Freire as a source of inspiration, particularly his notion of "conscientization."

Ram argues, however, that the National Adult Education Programme for Conscientization (NAEP), which was launched in 1978, did not achieve the expected results. In short, the dream of 'conscientization' did not come true. Part of the reason, as he sees it, was that the literacy materials were highly artificial, in the sense that they did not reflect the real conditions of people's lives. Instead of positing 'oppression' as the central problem, they depicted 'poverty' as the point of departure. As a result, instead of focusing on developing critical consciousness via literacy among illiterate rural people, the program was made to focus more on changing cultural behavior through the transmission of information and skills while coopting elements of Freire's method, arguing that the cause of poverty is an "inner" problem, not a structural one. Thus, the process of literacy acquisition did not have the political implications. In addition, Ram notes that the program was neither designed nor implemented *with* the people; rather, it was built and run *for* the people through a top-down mechanism.

In 1988, the NAEP was replaced by the National Literacy Mission. Ram argues that in order to achieve the maximum results, there is no alternative other than to employ Freirean critical literacy in the real sense, both philosophical and methodological. The literacy acquisition materials used in such programs must always be based on thematic investigation. To achieve this goal, it is necessary to develop Freirean facilitators who have a commitment to empowering the disfranchised.

Freirean principles were also adapted and implemented by ALP (Adult Learning Project) workers in Scotland. His methodological principles were used to conduct

adult/community education in the Georgie Dalry area of Edinburgh, a densely populated and solidly working-class area, from 1979-1988 (Gerri Kirkwood and Colin Kirkwood, 1989). This represented a conscious effort to adopt Freirean principles in a systematic way in a post-industrial environment.

The ALP workers broke down Freirean principles into the following stages: secondary source investigation, primary source investigation, finding *co-investigators*, co-investigation, building *codifications*, decoding, building the curriculum, learning programmes, action outcomes, and new investigation. In this way, Freire's ideas were not merely transplanted from Brazil to a Western context, but transformed through a process of translation, modification, and adaptation. For example, the fundamental theme of Freire's work in Brazil, Chile, and the former Portuguese colonies in Africa, is oppression. In Gorgie Dalry, however, the fundamental theme is alienation and the increasing privatization of people's lives.

Adapting Freire's theory and methodology to a Western context is never without its challenges. There appeared, in this case, for instance, tensions between Freirean values and local values (p. 25). Regrettably, the authors do not provide any further explanation of which "Freirean values" and "local values" seemed to be in disharmony and how they dealt with such "conflict."

The ALP project seems to have not only a very strong sense of employing Freirean methodology, but also built upon his philosophical tenets. The ALP workers understand that the end goal of education in Freirean pedagogy is to increase a critical consciousness capacity within learners that will enable them to control their lives. They encourage participants "to become curious, critical and creative" (p. 133) beings. In this

project, thus, there appears to have been a clear combination of Freire's methodological principles and his philosophical tenets. The ALP tried to avoid the separation between the two, because it could possibly result in domesticating Freire's methodology (Peter McLaren and Peter Leonard, 1993; Peter Robert, 2000), arguing that his thought is more than teaching method—it is a philosophy and a social theory.

Peter Roberts (1999) analyzes the contribution and the influence of Freire in New Zealand. From the Maori's (the indigenous people of New Zealand) perspective, he says, Freire is "regarded as one of the most (if not *the* most) important liberation thinkers of the twentieth century" (p. 35). His influence had been felt among Maori communities since the 1970s, when they started to become aware of their multiple oppressions and exploitation and began to question deeply and profoundly the politics of domination. They felt that Freire not only gave them a language to articulate their voices, but also provided ideas and strategies to problematize their lives as a colonized people in their own land.

However, the relationship between the Maori people and Freire was not a linear one, in the sense that Freire's writings provided a blueprint for liberation. Instead, they came to Freire only after having already conducted resistance and struggle. At this point, Freire's writings strengthened their resolve and gave them direction, affirming and lending validity to their action.

Maori communities live by a philosophy and world-view that they call Kaupapa Maori, which is in essence inspired by Freire's notions of conscientization, resistance and praxis for transformation. However, these three concepts should neither be seen separately (in the sense that one can stand without the other), nor should they be

understood to move in a linear fashion, i.e., from conscientization, to resistance, to transformative praxis. Rather, they are inter-connected dialectically as a cycle in which all are regarded as equally important components that can be held simultaneously.

Paulo Freire has also been reinvented within the Mediterranean context according to Peter Mayo in his book "Liberating Praxis: Paulo Freire's Legacy for Radical Education and Politics" (2004). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* had been banned in Portugal and Spain. "Franco's Spain, like Salazar's Portugal, had shut us both out: *Pedagogy* and me" (Paulo Freire, 1994, p.122). Nevertheless, Freire still had an impact in both countries. Mayo quotes Flecha as saying that "Paulo Freire is the most significant writer in the development of adult education in Spain from the late sixties up to the coming of democracy" (Ramon Flecha, 1992, p. 192, quoted in Mayo, 2004, p. 108). It is no wonder therefore that three Freirean centers may be found in the region, namely the Paulo Freire Institutes in Oporto, Valencia (CreC, namely Centre de Recursos I Educacio Continua), Malta (a Jesuit-run community learning center in a specific locality), and the *Centro de Investigacao Paulo Freire*, at the University of Evora, Portugal.

Of the texts available, Ira Shor's *Freire for the Classroom: A Sourcebook for Liberatory Teaching* (1987) is the only one that focuses on applying his methodology in the classroom context of the United States. This is challenging because Freire's methodology was originally applied in the context of popular education or adult education. When such methodology is attempted to be applied in the formal environment of North American schools, it does, of course, require adaptation and creativity on the part of teachers.

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This book, which consists of twelve chapters, makes a significant contribution to the discussion of Freirean pedagogy. This is because, unlike many other books that are mostly concerned with Freire's thought and philosophy, it gives insights on how to connect his pedagogical theory to actual classroom practice, building a bridge between theory and practice. More interestingly, the subjects in which Freire's theory and methodology are applied in its pages include not only those closely related to Freire's discipline, such as language, writing and reading, but also mathematics.

In one of the chapters, Freire's problem-posing methodology is applied by Nina Wallerstein to teaching ESL (English as a Second Language) among immigrants and refugees in the United States who feel discomfort, vulnerability, and cultural conflict in a new society. She divides the methodology into three steps: listening, dialogue, and action. The result? She argues that it is not only workable, but that it has also become "a powerful motivating factor in language acquisition" (p. 34). This is because the content of learning is not alien to them, but something that is closely related to their daily live experiences.

Freire's generative themes, Wallenstein argues, can furthermore be used for transforming the uncritical perceptions of experience into critical understanding. By employing generative themes drawn from student's daily lives, it can make them "become critically conscious of the way society affects their lives, and they begin to use writing as a means of intervening in their own social environment" (p. 93).

The most interesting chapter in the book is the one written by Marilyn Frankenstein, entitled "Critical Mathematics Education: An Application of Paulo Freire's Epistemology." It is appealing because it deals with a discipline outside the disciplines in

which Freire's works are closely related, such as language, literacy, literature and communication. After analyzing Freire's pedagogical principles, such as the meaning of knowledge, levels of consciousness, and the like, Frankenstein demonstrates how such basic concepts can be applied to the teaching mathematics. She argues that

> Freire's theory compels mathematics teachers to probe the non-positivist meaning of mathematical knowledge, the importance of quantitative reasoning in the development of critical consciousness, the ways that math anxiety helps sustain hegemonic ideologies, and the connections between our specific curriculum and the development of critical consciousness (p. 189).

Thus, mathematical and statistical knowledge is not viewed as neutral facts anymore; there is a relation between subjectivity and objectivity in producing such knowledge.

Freire's theory, according to Frankenstein, can be used to analyze how current mathematics education supports and reinforces hegemonic ideologies. For this reason, it is necessary to develop a critical mathematics education that can lead to critical understanding and critical action. How? She proposes employing Freire's generative themes in the process of learning. At this point, students co-investigate the statistical aspects of their generative themes.

Ira Shor's *Freire for the Classroom* no doubt gives insights on how to apply Freire's methodology in the specific environment of the modern schoolroom. However, the book leaves one with the question: Is the application of Freire's theory and methodology as easy and smooth as the book suggests? Are there no complexities or difficulties involved? Unfortunately, I do not find sufficient information in the essays to answer such a question.

The Contribution to literature and significant of my research

Of the texts available concerning the influence and application of Freirean education in different geographical settings, such as Scotland, New Zealand, United States, India, and Mediterranean, I have not found a single text that deals with Indonesia. The absence of this context has left me with a question: Is Freire known in Indonesia and does he have any influence? If yes, to what extent?

The significance of this study, therefore, lies in its attempt to investigate and examine Freire's reception and influence in Indonesia. This may in fact represent the first study to connect Freire to the Indonesian context and to a country where more than ninety percent of the population is Muslim.

There has been growing awareness of and curiosity about Freire in recent years in Indonesia. Alois Agus Nugroho (2003) highlights three phases in the rise and fall of the discussion of Freire in Indonesia. The first was in 1978, especially after student protests questioning the direction in which the country was moving and the resulting arrest of several student activists, including Roem Topatimasang who has propagated Freire's ideas since that time. The second phase was in 1988, marked by a special report of Tempo Magazine on Freire. The third period was after the reformation era in 1998, as indicated by the appearance of several translations of Freire's work in the Indonesian language and extensive discussion on Freire either through seminars, conferences or other forums.

Objective, scope and methodology

This study seeks and investigates the reception and influence of Paulo Freire in Indonesia in three categories. The first is in intellectual discourse, i.e., analyzing how

teachers, academia, educational practitioners, popular educators and NGO activists in this country show intellectual appreciation of the thought of Paulo Freire, either by employing him as a subject of discussion, as tool of analysis, or as mode of critique.

The second is at the practical level, i.e., investigating their experiences in applying his educational philosophy and methodology in practice. A contemporary application conducted by INSIST, an Indonesian NGO based in Jogjakarta, through its program known as Involvement (Indonesian Volunteers for Social Movement) will be examined below in Chapter 5.

The third part constitutes a critical examination of Freire's thought by Indonesian educators.

Due to time limitations, this study does not intend to offer a comprehensive coverage of Paulo Freire's reception in Indonesia, in the sense of interviewing a large sample of educational scholars and practitioners. Rather, the aim of this study is more modest, i.e., to investigate the influence of Freire's thought through interviewing those who have written on Freire and/or applied his thought in practice and through investigation of document sources.

Direct fieldwork was undertaken in three cities in Indonesia, namely Jogjakarta, Jakarta, and Banten, from June to August 2003. Interviews were conducted with university-level scholars and popular educators. The choice of which scholars and practitioners to study was based initially on my interaction and personal connection with them. The interview process itself evolved based on both semi-structured and in-depth interviews.

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The interviews reveal that the university-level scholars are most interested in

Freire's educational discourse and, to a certain extent, have been trying to adapt his

methodology to the classroom context. On the other hand, popular educators and activists

have mostly been concerned with how to adopt, adapt and modify Freire's methodologies

in practice for empowering disfranchised groups. The difference in focus between the

two is understandable, since both have engaged in educational institutions that have

different form of organizations, principles and aims.

Theoretical framework

Freire's association with popular education grew out of his activities in promoting

critical literacy amongst peasants and workers in Brazil in the early 1960s, his intention

being to make them literate and therefore eligible to vote. His pedagogical concept was

not based on the conventional framework in which the emphasis is on enabling people to

read texts. Freire's literacy mission was broader than this: his aim was to relate the word

to the world in order to make the process of learning produce political transformations

(Freire and Macedo, 1987)—a subversive view perceived by the military regime as a

danger to the status quo.

Freire has also been connected with critical pedagogy, being numbered as one of

three sources of this school besides Antonio Gramsci (with his concept of counter-

hegemony) and the Frankfurt School's critical theory (Carmen Luke, 1992; Patti Lather,

1998). These three sources provide the main thrust in the continuing development of

critical pedagogy, such that even Paula Almann (1999) argues that any cultural action for

transformation project must involve the ideas of Freire and Gramsci as its basic

ingredients. It is not an exaggeration when Henry Giroux (1998) says that "I associate

critical pedagogy with the work of Paulo Freire. And I think that anyone who took up the field, in some way, had to begin with him whether they liked him or not" (p. 141). Thus, in any discussion of critical pedagogy it is almost impossible to ignore the legacy of Freire.

I will examine some key elements of Freire's thought as the theoretical framework of my thesis, namely his philosophy of human beings, his archeology of consciousness, and the politics of education. These elements are explored in the following pages.

Philosophy of human beings

Freire argues that no educational theory can be separated from the concept of human beings. Freire's philosophy of human beings can be described as Christian-Marxist humanism (Elias, 1994). As a revolutionary humanist, he demonstrates his profound love for humanity while his pedagogical theory is based on fundamental trust and faith in people. "To be a good educator, you need above all to have faith in human beings" (Freire, 1971, quoted in Ira Shor, 1993, p. 25).[6]

Freire unequivocally rejects the notion of a person as an 'empty vessel,' arguing that every individual has valuable experiential knowledge and opinions. He had an optimistic view of human beings, regardless of how bad or how naïve they were, believing that humans have the capacity to look critically at their world through dialogical encounter with others. He in fact considered dialogue as an existential necessity. "Dialogue is the encounter of men, mediated by the world, in order to name the world" (Freire, 1971, p. 76).

Freire (1971) explains that humans, as incomplete beings, have an ontological and historical vocation to become more fully human. What he means by 'ontological vocation' is a human being's innate duty to realize his/her full potential as a human. By contrast, "dehumanization...is a distortion of the vocation of becoming more fully human" (p. 28). In the process of 'becoming', humans are called upon continually to humanize themselves through naming the world in action-reflection with other humans.

Humans as subjects are rooted in historical struggle. In his discussion of Paulo Freire, Colin Lankshear (1993) says that for Freire humans "are 'beings of the praxis' who live authentically only when engaged in inquiry and creative transformation of the world" (p. 95). Thus, humans are conscious of their historicity: as historical beings, they are aware of living in a particular time and location constituted by a multiplicity of life's dimensions, such as gender, race, religion, politics, culture, economics, etc.

Freire (1971) argues that the distinctive character of human beings is their capacity to think and engage in the historical world purposively. Reflective capacity enables humans to disassociate themselves from the world and give meaning to it. Thus, human beings can operate in the world through action and reflection for a purpose. They are capable not only of knowing the world, but also of actually knowing that they are knowing it. Humans are *in* and *with* the world through critical contact. Since humans have the capacity to reflect, they are able to discover the contradictions inherent in reality and how to transform it. They are also able to "name the world" and transform it through their thought-language in order to create history and the future.

Elias (1994) criticizes Freire for his overly optimistic view on human beings, ignoring the fact that there are similarities and continuities that exist between humans and

animals. Human actions are determined and influenced by external as well as unconscious factors. Nor is it not unusual to see humans behave like animals. Human nature has not only a bright side, but also a dark side. People can behave in either a good or an evil manner.

Freire is also criticized for being overly optimistic in his views on liberated persons, as if such people will inevitably behave in a non-oppressive manner and act rationally, or as if when entrusted with power they will use it wisely without exploitation and oppression. The truth, however, often contradicts this view. "The oppressed once freed from oppression at times become the oppressors of others" (Elias, 1994, p. 56). In other words, many liberated individuals when they gain power also use it to oppress others. For my own part I believe that Freire is not unaware of this fact. He tries to insure against this negative effect by warning the oppressed not to duplicate the oppressor's mentality (1971). Interestingly, Elias also affirms this view by saying that "What Freire rightfully stresses is that this [duplicating the oppressor's mentality] does not necessarily have to happen" (Elias, 1994, p. 56). Thus, Elias proposes a critique which he later (in the same paragraph) contradicts.

The Archaeology of consciousness

The theory of levels of consciousness proposed by Freire is critical to understanding his thought. Freire develops this theory in *Education for Critical Consciousness, Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and *Cultural Action for Freedom*. The archaeology of consciousness involves study of the fundamental form of consciousness. Freire argues that "consciousness is constituted in the dialectic of man's objectification of and action upon the world" (1972, p. 53). He agrees with Marx's view that the social

world contributes to shaping the structure of one's consciousness and in turn one's consciousness contributes to shaping the social world. The relationship between the socio-economic and cultural context and one's structure of consciousness is fundamentally dialectical.

People's consciousness of the world can be observed through the way they perceive their existential reality, i.e., whether they see it naively, superstitiously, or critically. The fundamental question is: Do people distinguish that which is natural (what is given) from that which is cultural, i.e., socially constructed? Freire (1985) says that "one of the important points in conscientization is to provoke recognition of the world, not as a "given" world, but as a world dynamically "in the making"" (p. 106). The ability or inability to distinguish between the two domains determines the stages of consciousness, whether magical, naïve, or critical.

The main characteristic of semi-intransitive or magical consciousness is an uncritical or unreflective acceptance of the world. It is called semi-intransitive because the individual who possesses it is in no sense a subject who knows objects or things in the world. People with this type of consciousness view their life conditions as inevitable, given, natural, and impervious to change. This fatalistic view is caused by the inability to disassociate from the world. They have a magical attitude that tends to associate life with destiny and attribute historical circumstances to superior powers, i.e., inevitable forces beyond human control.

Poverty and oppression are viewed as an unavoidable fate and a normal condition, rather than as the product of human action and abnormal. Because they take the facts of their socio-cultural situation as a "given," they cannot investigate the socio-economic

contradictions within society and problematize their daily life situations. They lack what

Freire (1972) calls "structural perception" (p. 62). Their obsession is to meet their

elementary needs, and that is why they are so vulnerable to challenges beyond their

biological sphere. This form of consciousness is characterized by fear of change,

resignation, accommodation and conformity. Freire says: "Magic consciousness is

characterized by fatalism, which leads men to fold their arms, resigned to the

impossibility of resisting the power of facts" (1973, p. 44).

Freire gives his theory of magic consciousness a Marxist content. It is thus typical

of those who are dominated, dependent, and oppressed, of those who live in closed

societies with a "culture of silence."In these circumstances, the oppressed see suffering

not as the fruit of exploitation, but as the will of God. This lack of historical

consciousness combined with a fatalistic viewpoint is no doubt led to cultural submersion

and marginality.

The second mode of consciousness is naïve or semi-transitive. It is called

transitive because persons at this level begin to become subjects who can dialogue with

others, but it is only partly so because they do not yet know reality in a true act of

knowing. This type of consciousness is still "quasi-immersed." It is a process of

emergence from silence by proposing and interrogating life situations. People at this level

begin to understand their socio-historical problems and contradictions, but they tend to

oversimplify them and not investigate them thoroughly. They just need simple

explanations. This state is open to manipulation by the power elites who use propaganda,

slogans, or myths to maintain their oppression. Nevertheless, this type of naïve

consciousness in transitional societies contributes to paving the way for the masses to

become conscious beings who are able to analyze more precisely what constitutes their society.

The highest level of consciousness is critical consciousness, in which people can think as subjects. It is only in this state that true knowing can possibly come into existence. People at this level are able to perceive critically their existential reality via causal relationship analysis, to avoid simple comprehension of reality and text, and to understand the 'deep structure' of reality which people decode, problematize and transform. They also have more self-confidence and openness to other ideas. People at this stage have moved from being pessimistic, fatalistic, passive and apathetic to being optimistic and active.

Freire argues that critical consciousness is brought about via conscientization. In his language, "conscientization represents the development of the awakening of critical awareness" (Freire, 1976, p. 19), wherein the agent must be a subject or a conscious being, not simply one who *prise de conscience*. It also implies "the critical insertion of the conscientized person into a demythologized reality" (Freire, 1972, p. 75). Thus, in conscientization, political engagement is imperative, because it embraces a critical demystification of an oppressive reality. Conscientization cannot come into existence without denouncing dehumanizing reality and unjust structures and subsequently announcing and proclaiming a non-oppressive reality. "There is no annunciation without denunciation, just as every denunciation generates annunciation" (Freire, 1972, p. 41). The human condition is perceived as socially constructed and politically intervened and, therefore, people have to engage in making history. If human beings can produce social reality, why then can they not change it?

However, it is important to note that critical consciousness cannot be 'imposed' or 'deposited', but must be born through the creative efforts of the people. It also cannot be generated by intellectual effort alone, but needs praxis—the authentic unity of action and reflection.

Freire's theory of consciousness has not been without its critics, although such critics do not provide sufficient reason to dismiss it for analytic purpose. One can argue that Freire tends to simplify the relation between one's consciousness and social participation. Is it true that a person who possesses critical consciousness will automatically participate in societal change? I for one do not think so. Although critical consciousness is a significant factor in determining a person's social participation, it is not the only one. There are other determinant factors that contribute to his/her decision whether to engage in social participation or not, such as the politics of the regime, cultural considerations, the influence of mass media, to name a few.

In defending Freire, Peter Mayo (2004) argues that such criticism is out of date and results from a failure to analyze his works holistically. He points out that Freire's later writings show "the need for teachers to work in wider contexts outside the school or educational settings and the opportunities provided by social movements" (2004, p. 26). Thus, Mayo argues that Freire's pedagogy does not guarantee that conscientized people will engage in action for social transformation.

However, such a defensive argument requires critical consideration as Freire himself admitted his simplistic analysis of the issue:

> My mistake was not that I recognized the fundamental importance of a knowledge of reality in the process of its change, but rather that I did not take these two different moments—the knowledge of reality and the work of transforming that reality—in their dialectical relationship. It was as if I were saying that to discover

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reality already meant to transform it (Freire, 1975, p. 15, quoted in Diana Coben, 1998, p. 75).

Another debate focused on whether Freire's proposal of the types of consciousness justifies the hierarchical modes of consciousness or not. Peter Roberts (2000) presents a fine evaluation of the complex issue of conscientization, particularly in response to the critique of Peter Berger. Berger (1974) contends that Freire's conscientization, as a process of "consciousness raising," is essentially an act of conversion in which certain people impose their cultural beliefs and truths on others in the name of assistance. Freire's proposal seems to justify the hierarchical modes of consciousness in which one may come to be regarded as higher and more useful than others. For Berger (1974), "the peasant knows his world far better than any outsider ever can" (p. 117). Each group of people has its own understanding of the world and makes sense of it differently. It is for this reason that any attempt to raise someone's consciousness is impossible, because no one can say that he/she is more conscious than the other. Thus, peasants cannot be regarded as less fully human than those who initiate literacy programs, for instance.

In a response to the above critique, Roberts (2000) argues that Freire's notion of types of consciousness should be located in specific situations, namely, the conditions of people in urban and rural areas of Brazil during and before the early 1960s. Although some features of these modes of consciousness may still persist in today's society, "Freire never intended the categories to be taken as descriptors of ahistorical, universal stages for all individuals in every society to pass through" (Roberts, 2000, p. 144). Roberts suggests that Freire's archeology of consciousness would be more accurately defined as

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identifying different ways of making sense of the world instead of locating people at a

lower level of consciousness than others. He says that:

> He [Freire] is careful not to denigrate the people with whom he was working by declaring them lower beings. His point in identifying magical and naïve consciousness is that these forms of thought are shaped by, and, serve the interests of, oppressor class. If there is any group at risk of being "denigrated" by Freire, it is those who deliberately promote a view of the world that reproduces an oppressive social order (p. 145).

To strengthen his argument, Roberts presents Kevin Harris's (1979) strong

defense of Freire. Harris argues that consciousness-raising is necessary and desirable in

situations where people do not understand their existential reality. In contrast to Berger,

for Harris, any individual can achieve the stage of critical consciousness, regardless of

their social status, either empowered/educated or exploited/deprived. Consciousness-

raising does not mean imposing one's view on another; rather, it consists in encouraging

people to examine their world critically (p. 174).

I agree with Harris's position. I suspect that Berger's criticism is driven by a view

of the neutrality of literacy or pedagogical practice. This position may lead someone to

judge educational intervention as equal to imposition. I would like to argue that, although

we must respect multi-cultural perspectives and beliefs, this does not necessarily mean

that educational practice should be neutral and without any value. Freire's position is

clear: "the neutrality of education is one of the fundamental connotations of the naïve

vision of education" (1987, p. 41). Pedagogy is never neutral because it is an act of

politics and intervention, but this does not mean that it is an imposition, because the way

it is delivered is through dialogue, not coercion. Furthermore, Freire argues that critical

consciousness cannot be 'imposed' or 'deposited', but must be born through the creative

effort of individuals.

Politics of education

Antonio Gramsci views politics as educative, in the sense that he gives his

political activities educational content (Diana Coben, 1998). Politics is not merely

regarded as the art of gaining power: it has an educational value. This position has

situated Gramsci as one of the sources of adult education. Likewise, Ernesto "Che"

Guevara gave his revolutionary action educational content (Peter McLaren, 2000). He

once said: "If you want an education, join the revolution" (quoted in Jim Walker, 1981, p.

120).

Freire starts from a different point of departure compared to the above figures.

Instead of giving politics or revolution educational content, he gives education political

content. For him, educators should be aware of the political nature of their practice. "It is

not enough to say that education is a political act, just as it is not enough to say that

political acts are also educative. It is necessary to truly assume the political nature of

education" (Freire, 1998c, p. 46).

Why does Freire give education political content? This is because his educational

philosophy is based on praxis philosophy, an authentic and dialectical relation between

reflection and action. At this point, Freire adds new meaning to Marx's famous eleventh

thesis on Feuerbach: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways;

the point, however, is to change it" (Cornell West, 1993, p. xiii).

Pedagogy of the Oppressed is full of political nuance, manifested in the

vocabulary of oppression, dehumanization, objecthood, culture of silence, liberation,

emancipation, conscientization, subjecthood, humanization, etc. These terms are a clear indication of Freire's belief in the power and potency of education to bring about social change through human agency. The ideal construction of education is one that is ethical and utopian, one that can enlarge the democratic public sphere and produce a just social structure in which humanity is protected and the human condition improved.

Freire proposes education as a "language of critique" (Giroux, 1992) by relating education to power and politics because these three domains are intertwined. Education arguably cannot be separated from the wider social context in which it exists, for it is constituted by a multiplicity of dimensions in a given social formation. Instead of adapting to socio-political formation, education has taken on the role of producing and creating public life. The real question actually is not whether education can create public life, but "What kind of public does it create?" (Postman, 1995, p. 18).

However, Freire's politics of liberation is not merely based on a "language of critique" but also a "language of hope." Hope is neither static nor solely emotional, but a motor force and an "ontological need"" (Freire, 1994, p. 8), which is imperative in liberatory education.

Freire's notion of shifting the focus of learning from teacher to student unquestionably alters the power relationship, not only in the classroom but in the social sphere as well. His statement that "education is politics" (Freire, 1987, p. 46) means that all educational activities are political in nature and have political qualities and consequences. The ways the teacher teaches, the knowledge preference that will be delivered, and the mode of relation that will be built, are all political, because they all contribute to either liberating or domesticating the student.

Teachers should be consistent with their political choice and values. It is absurd for teachers to proclaim and teach democracy and justice while at the same time repressing individual voices in the class. It is hard to accept a teacher who advocates democracy, equality, and egalitarian principles while maintaining an authoritarian relationship with his/her pupils. Consistency between speaking and acting is important to be maintained within the educator.

Education as a political act also means that learning in the classroom is not merely a matter of knowledge acquisition and transmission; rather, it is a process of developing critical subjectivities in which the existing knowledge and power are continuously questioned. What is insisted upon in the process of learning is, thus, not how to have and accumulate knowledge, but how to understand, critique, produce and use knowledge as a means of transforming reality (Paula Almann, 1999). Only in this perspective does the process of learning produce political implications.

Freire argues that not only is methodology important to the process of learning, but so is the content, because it plays a significant role in the formation of subjectivities, i.e., the way students understand the world. At this point, it is important to look at how Henry A. Giroux (1983, pp. 176-204) and Peter McLaren (1998, pp. 174-175) develop what is called "emancipatory knowledge," a notion that is inspired by Jurgen Habermas but which has a strong connection with Freire's thought.

Following Habermas, they divide knowledge into three types: technical, practical and emancipatory. The characteristics of technical knowledge are control, certainty, objectivity and value-free. The implication for educational theory is that it should operate in the interests of a lawlike mode of thought and separate knowledge from its process of

constitution. A process of learning based on technical knowledge leads to a dialectical contradiction between teachers who serve as *transmitters* of knowledge and students who turn out to be *passive consumers*, a position that makes it possible for the former to sort, regulate and control the latter.

The second type is practical knowledge, which provides the hermeneutical tool of analysis necessary to interpret the nature of reality. It helps students to analyze the categories and assumptions that constitute reality and how they contribute to one's understanding of the world. The constitution of reality is mediated by language whereby human beings constantly produce and reproduce meanings through their interpretation of the world. The implication of this model for education is that knowledge is not delivered via imposition but rather is mediated through mutual dialogue among learners. Students are encouraged to explore and articulate their own values and to understand and evaluate them in terms of everyday life experiences. However, it inevitably fails to develop the type of analysis that can enable students to identify the relationship between knowledge and power, particularly how the dominant power and ideology produce a set of meanings, understandings and practices that support and sustain their structural domination, while at the same time preventing the emergence of a critical community.

The final type is emancipatory knowledge, which orients students to comprehend social reality based on dialectical relations of power, arguing that reality is constituted by competing paradigms, each of which brings its own agenda, interest, value and ideology. The learning process, therefore, aims to critique knowledge and demystify the ideological interests behind the construction of social reality, and then take action to create a form of reality that is based on democratic and just principles. At this point, emancipatory

knowledge attempts to transcend the *mechanistic* view of technical knowledge and to move beyond the category of *understanding* (insisted upon by practical interests) in order to arrive at *transformation*. Emancipatory knowledge encourages and strives for self-reflection. Presenting emancipatory knowledge in the classroom has the effect of transforming students into subjects—independent and liberated beings who have found their voices.

Emancipatory knowledge is constituted on the basis of critique and action, meaning that it always engages, as part of the historical process, in critiquing social reality and taking action to improve it. The basis for judging knowledge then is not whether it is "right" or "wrong," but whether it is liberative or oppressive. If so, the process of learning that serves to disseminate this mode of thinking should be designed so as to promote the critical awareness and personal freedom necessary for the individual's self-formation. This is the type of knowledge that can truly empower students.

Organization of the study

Chapter 1, the introduction, provides a literature review and analyzes the contribution of this research to literature on Freire. It also states the objectives, scope, methodology, theoretical framework and organization of the study.

Chapter 2 investigates the local context and historical impact of Freire in Indonesia. In setting the context, a survey is offered of the country's geography, demography, history and politics. It also examines the development of the Indonesian education system from the time of Dutch colonialism until the present. As for the topic of Freire's impact, the focus of discussion is on individuals and institutions from the early

1970s until the early 21st century that have shown an interest in the ideas of Paulo Freire, either in terms of discussing his thought or applying his methodology in practice.

Chapter 3 looks at the discussion of Freire's educational and social philosophy in the Indonesian context. In general, the discussion in this chapter can be divided into three categories: contextualizing Freire's thought in the local situation; analyzing his thought from the Islamic perspective (to the best of my knowledge, a new development in Freirean discourse); and investigating the accessibility of Freire's texts in the Indonesian language.

Chapter 4 discusses the experiences of Indonesian educators in applying Freire's educational theories in the local context. This will involve a survey of the following: the program for villagers in Papua conducted by TB. Gandhi Hartono; the program for the rural poor of Maluku Tenggara conducted by the group led by Donatus K Marut; the program for the workers of Ungaran, Semarang, Central Java, conducted by Yasanti (an Indonesian NGO based in Jogjakarta); the program for the peasants of West Java conducted by the groups led by Noer Fauzi and Roem Topatimasang; the program for street children in Sekeloa Bandung, West Java, conducted by the group of Noer Fauzi; the program for university students conducted by the groups of Noer Fauzi, Roem Topatimasang, Amir Sutoko, and HP2M; and finally the program for NGO activists conducted by a Catholic organization led by Father Hugo Verest.

Chapter 5 discusses the efforts of a recently founded NGO, INSIST, at applying Freirean popular education among NGO activists, known as Involvement (Indonesian Volunteers for Social Movement). The graduates of this program are oriented towards strengthening local institutions and organizations directed at peasants, workers,

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indigenous communities, and the like. Besides elaborating on the pedagogical processes in Involvement, it also analyzes the impact of the program on people's organizations and provides critical reflections on the program.

Chapter 6 is concerned with critical assessments of Indonesia's educators on Paulo Freire. Some of the criticisms are directed at, among others, Freire's simplistic categories, his simplistic analysis of the relationship between critical consciousness and social change, the inconsistency between his theory and practice, and his neglect of the spiritual dimension.

Chapter 7 is the conclusion. In this last chapter I review the preceding chapters using a chronological approach in order to portray the evolution of individual and institutional involvement with the ideas of Freire and their experiences in applying his thought in practice. In the last part I discuss the reasons why reviving Freirean education in Indonesia is important and necessary, particularly in relation to the current situation of education in Indonesia, which has shown a tendency to promote corporate values at the expense of social justice and moral values.

[1] The texts on this category are, among others, Paulo Freire. *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970); *Cultural action for freedom* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972); *Education for critical consciousness* (New York: Seabury Press, 1973); *Education, the practice of freedom* (London: Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative, 1976); *Pedagogy in process: the letters to Guinea-Bissau* (New York: Seabury Press, 1978); *A day with Paulo Freire* (Delhi: I.S.P.C.K., 1980); *Pedagogy in process: the letters to Guinea-Bissau* (New York: Continuum, 1983); *The politics of education: culture, power, and liberation* (South Hadley, Mass.: Bergin & Garvey, 1985); *Pedagogy of the city* (New York: Continuum, 1993); *Pedagogy of hope: reliving Pedagogy of the oppressed* (New York: Continuum, 1994); *Mentoring the mentor: a critical dialogue with Paulo Freire* (New York: P. Lang, 1997); *Pedagogy of the heart* (New York: Continuum, 1997); *Teachers as cultural workers: letters to those who dare teach* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1998); *Politics and education* (Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1998); *Pedagogy of freedom : ethics, democracy, and civic courage* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1998).

[2] The texts on this category are, among others, Paulo Freire and Donaldo P. Macedo. *Literacy: reading the word & the world* (Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey, 1987); Paulo Freire and Antonio Faundez. *Learning to question: a pedagogy of liberation* (New York: Continuum, 1989); Paulo Freire and Donaldo P. Macedo. *Letters to Cristina: reflections on my life and work* (New York: Routledge, 1996); Paulo Freire, Ana Maria Araújo Freire, and Donaldo P. Macedo. *The Paulo Freire reader* (New York: Continuum, 1998); Ira Shor and Paulo Freire. *A pedagogy for liberation: dialogues on transforming education*. South Hadley, Mass.: Bergin & Garvey Publishers, 1987.

[3] The texts on this category are, among others, Denis E. Collins. *Paulo Freire, his life, works, and thought* (New York: Paulist Press, 1977); Paul V. Taylor. *The texts of Paulo Freire* (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1993); Peter McLaren and Peter Leonard. *Paulo Freire: a critical encounter* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1993); Peter McLaren and Colin Lankshear. *Politics of liberation: paths from Freire* (London; New York: Routledge, 1994); Robert Mackie. *Literacy and revolution, the pedagogy of Paulo Freire* (New York: Continuum, 1981); Stanley M. Grabowski. *Paulo Freire: a revolutionary dilemma for the adult educator* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Publications in Continuing Education, 1972); Moacir Gadotti. *Reading Paulo Freire: his life and work* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994); John L. Elias. *Paulo Freire: pedagogue of liberation* (Malabar, Fla.: Krieger Pub. Co., 1994); Maria Del Pilar O'Cadiz, Pia Lindquist, and Carlos Alberto Torres. *Education and democracy: Paulo Freire, social movements, and educational reform in Sao Paulo* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1998); Peter Roberts. *Education ,literacy, and humanization: Exploring the work of Paulo Freire* (Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey, 2000); Antonio Darder. Reinventing Paulo Freire: A pedagogy of love (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2002); Peter Mayo. *Liberating praxis: Paulo Freire's legacy for radical education and politics* (Wesport, CT: Praeger, 2004).

[4] The texts on this category are, among others, R. Burns and T. Weber. *Gandhi and Freire on campus: Theory and practice in tertiary peace studies programs* (Peace Education Miniprints No. 76, 1995); L. Narayan. Freire and Gandhi: their relevance for social work education. *International Social Work* 43: 193, 2000; Peter Mayo. *Gramsci, Freire, and adult education: possibilities for transformative action* (London; New York: Zed Books, 1998); Diana Coben. *Radical heroes : Gramsci, Freire, and the politics of adult education* (New York: Garland Pub., 1998); Paula Allman. *Revolutionary social transformation: Democratic hopes, political possibilities and critical education* (Westport, CT and London: Bergin & Garvey, 1999); John L. Elias. *Conscientization and deschooling: Freire's and Illich's proposals for reshaping society* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976); Raymond A. Morrow and Carlos Alberto Torres. *Reading Freire and Habermas: Critical pedagogy and transfarmative social change* (New York and London: Teachers College Press, 2002); Peter McLaren. *Che Guevara, Paulo Freire and the pedagogy of revolution* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000); Ali Abdi. 2001. Identity in the philosophies of Dewey and Freire: Select analyses. *Journal of Educational Thought,* 35 (2), 181-200.

[5] The texts on this category are, among others, Gerri Kirkwood and Colin Kirkwood. *Living adult education: Freire in Scotland* (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1989); Geeta Ram. *Adult education,*

literacy to liberation (New Delhi: Anmol Publications, 1991); Peter Roberts (ed.). *Paulo Freire, politics and pedagogy: Reflections from Aotearoa-New Xealand* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1999); Peter Mayo. Reflections on Freire's work: A Maltese contribution. *Taboo: The Journal of Culture and Education*, 16, 365-370 (1997).

[6] The original quotation of Freire's words is "In order to be able to be a good coordinator for a 'cultural circle,' you need, above all, to have faith in man, to believe in his possibility to create, to change things" *Convergence*, 1971 (4:1), p. 61.

Paulo Freire and Indonesian Context

Geography and demography

Indonesia is located in the Malay archipelago[1], the vast group of islands located between mainland Southeast Asia and Australia. These islands constitute the territory of Indonesia, the Philippines, Brunei, and the Malaysian states of Sarawak and Sabah. Indonesia is often called an "island state" because it has 18,108 islands, of which 6000 are inhabited. The largest populated islands are Java (where approximately half of the population lives), Sumatra, Kalimantan (Borneo), Papua and Sulawesi.

Indonesia is a large country with a total population of 206,264,595 (BPS-Statistic Indonesia, 2000); it is considered to be the fourth most populous nation in the world after the People's Republic of China, India, and the United States. Of the total population, 88% are Muslim, 8% Christian (Protestant and Catholic), 3% Hindu, and 1% Buddhist. Looking at this statistics, it can be seen that Islam is the main religion; indeed, Indonesia is considered the most populous Muslim-majority nation in the world.

Islam in Indonesia is furthermore considered more tolerant, moderate and inclusive due largely to the fact that the religion was introduced into the country in a slow, peaceful manner, allowing it to acclimatize and integrate with local beliefs and customs (Azyumardi Azra, 2004). Indonesia is also considered one of the most democratic Muslim countries, besides Bangladesh, Nigeria and Iran, while at the same time being the "least Arabicized."

History and politics

Indonesia declared its independence on 17 August 1945, after having been a colony of the Dutch for over 350 years.[2] The national ideology of Indonesia is Pancasila (*panca* meaning "five" and *sila* meaning "principle"). The five principles of Pancasila are: (1) belief in God; (2) a just and civilized humanity; (3) Indonesian national unity; (4) a people's democracy, guided by wisdom in the unanimity arising from consultation and consensus through representation; and (5) social justice. The decision to make Pancasila the philosophical basis for an independent Indonesia was not a random one; it was considered as the best solution in meeting the interests of those who advocate a secular state and those who advocate an Islamic state (Douglas E. Ramage, 1995).

Since 1945, Indonesia has had six presidents: Sukarno (1945-1965), Suharto (1966-1998), Bacharuddin Jusuf (BJ) Habibie (1998-1999), Abdurrahman Wahid (1999-2001), Megawati Soekarno Putri (2001-2004), and Susilo Bambang Yudoyono (2004-).

The first of these, Sukarno, is known for having introduced the idea of Guided Democracy, an authoritarian form of rule couched in democratic language which lasted six years (1959-1965). Sukarno's decision to dissolve the House of Representatives (Constituent Assembly) in 1959 marked the beginning of Guided Democracy. He called for a return to the original constitution of 18 August 1945, arguing that this constitution favoured the presidential system instead of the parliamentary.

During his reign, Sukarno focused much of his attention on extending Indonesia's regional influence. In the 1960s, for instance, he led a military confrontation against neighboring Malaysia under the slogan "ganyang Malaysia" (destroy Malaysia) that only aggravated the country's domestic economic difficulties. As a result, political tensions

and social instability began to mount, leading to a severe economic crisis. Economic

growth shrank to -0.4 while inflation increased to more than 500%: as a result, the

poverty rate in Java reached 61% while outside Java it was 52% (Hal Hill, 1994, p. 57).

The above situation was made much worse by the failed coup attempt on 30

September 1965 by communist party members that resulted in a civil war in which

hundreds of thousands of people were killed.[3] The failure of this coup led to the birth of

the so-called New Order regime under army general Suharto (1966-1998). The term New

Order became synonymous with the Suharto years and now has a pejorative connotation

because it is associated with an authoritarian regime that practiced KKN (Korupsi,

Kolusi, Nepotisme—corruption, collusion and nepotism).

In contrast to Sukarno, Suharto insisted more on economic growth and political

stability. Political stability and order were put forward as the fundamental conditions for

developing the Indonesian economy. To set a national economic development policy,

Suharto relied heavily on a group of American-educated economists (today collectively

referred to as the "Berkeley Mafia") who believed that capitalism was the best way to

develop the national economy.

Suharto opened up Indonesia's economy in the 1970s by divesting state-owned

companies and inviting major foreign investment into the country, particularly Western

companies, such as Caltex, Frontier, IIAPCO-Sinclair, Gulf-Western, Freeport McMoran

and Rio Tinto, most of whom came to control the majority of the mining and construction

interests in Indonesia. This meant that Indonesia's natural resources were effectively

privatized and exploited by the Western multinational corporations. Labor laws were set

up in a way that was favorable to them. Perhaps worst of all, the nation's economic

development was fuelled by foreign loans from the World Bank and other financial institutions. This dependency on foreign finance has left Indonesia with a huge debt that continues to affect the country's economic development.

The insistence on political stability by the New Order regime contributed to the strengthening of state power and the weakening of political parties and other society-based forces, such as pressure groups, NGOs, and independent interest groups. Jamie MacKie and Andrew McIntyre (1994) highlight three phases in the evolution of the New Order power structure: 1965-74, 1974-83, and 1983-90.

The first phase, 1965-1974, was characterized by high participation on the part of society and political parties, because in that period the political climate was open and competitive, and people enjoyed relative freedom of expression. This was the period of consolidation of the New Order. Conditions only began to change after the 1971 election, in which nine political parties (except Golkar—Party of the Functional Groups), were compelled to merge into two: the PPP (United Development Party), a compilation of various Muslim parties; and the PDI (Democratic Party of Indonesia), an amalgam of nationalist and Christian parties. This policy led to the domination of Golkar, the official party of the New Order, ensuring Suharto's re-election ever since.[4] Thus, the main feature of this phase was the gradual weakening of social institutions, especially after 1971.

The main feature of the second phase (1974-1983) was the strengthening of the state and the weakening of mass participation in politics and policy-making. The regime had an effective mechanism to control the whole of society, part of which conducted of the so-called "floating mass," a policy of banning political parties from holding organizational activities in rural areas (except at election time), making it easier for

Golkar to spread its influence over the population in rural areas. It was not afraid of using

repressive means to deal with mass demonstrations, such as in the cases of Malari

(Malapetaka 15 Januari—the disaster of 15 January) in 1974 and the 1978 student

demonstrations against the direction in which the country was moving. Following the

latter event, the regime introduced the NKK-BKK (Normalization of Campus Life-

Student Coordination Board) policy in 1978 to sterilize campuses of political activism. In

this period, political activities and freedom of the press and expression decreased

drastically due to the political control of the state.

The main characteristic of the third phase (1983-1990) was the intense control of

the state over society. NGOs and the press operated under strict limits. The political

status quo of the regime in this period reached a peak marked by the highest degree of

presidential personal authority. To tighten the controls over society and to maintain its

hegemony, the regime insisted on ideological uniformity, i.e., Pancasila, as the sole

philosophical basis of political parties and all non-political organizations. Pancasila

indoctrination was known as P4 (Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila—

guidelines for carrying out the principles of Pancasila). Although this was state mandated

indoctrination, the process of learning was mediated through dialogue. Ideological

indoctrination was a powerful instrument of social control used by the New Order regime

to maintain its grip on society and to persuade people to accept its policies.

In 1993, the regime seemed willing to change its "security approach" to one more

tolerant of different ideas and critiques. It introduced what it called an era of *keterbukaan*

(openness), where people would be allowed to discuss and criticize political affairs and

public policies openly and freely. However, one thing remained unacceptable: opposition.

Suharto said that "Opposition for the sake of opposing, for the sake of being different, is unknown here" (D. Dwipayana and Ramadhan KH, 1989, p. 346). Pancasila democracy, Suharto argued, does not recognize the opposition model found in the West, because it is based on specific Indonesian values, such as mutual assistance (*gotong royong*), deliberation (*musyawarah*), and consensus (*mufakat*) (Edward Aspinall, 2005).

The government seemed to be serious about reforming its political framework, deciding to allow criticism of the regime and to give newspapers the freedom to quote comments from politicians, academics, and NGO activists dealing with any aspect of the regime's policies or public affairs. Human rights, democracy, and openness became topics of hot debate in endless seminars and conferences.

However, in the eyes of radical activists, the intention of the regime in modifying or reforming the political framework was only to maintain its power. They argued that it was impossible to have political change as long as Suharto continued in office, given the amount of power he had acquired since 1966.

The suspicion and pessimism that the radical activists felt with respect to the *keterbukaan* era was soon justified when the regime banned three of Indonesia's highest circulation magazines, i.e., *Tempo, Editor* and *Detik*, in June 1994, because these popular magazines had become too critical of the government. Criticism of the New Order's authoritarianism had actually begun in the 1980s with the Petition of Fifty (Petisi 50), a group composed of former military officers, politicians, academics, and students. They demanded greater political freedom. In the 1990s, demands for greater political freedom grew louder and increased in volume again with the economic crisis of 1997.

This Asia-wide financial crisis was significant for Indonesia in that it contributed to the fall of Suharto's regime. The president's decision to solve the financial crisis by signing a Letter Of Intent (LOI) with the IMF (International Monetary Fund) was criticized by many Indonesian academics, politicians, students, and other pressure groups. Ultimately, the failure of the regime to overcome the crisis resulted in a serious problem: public criticism and massive demonstrations led by students. In early May 1998, students across the country began holding peaceful demonstrations on their campuses questioning the high price of daily essentials and demanding that Suharto step down. On May 20 a wave of student protests swept the country and tens of thousands students occupied Parliament to demand that the MPR (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat—People's Consultative Assembly) give Suharto a deadline to resign (Arbi Sanit, 1999; Diro Aritonang, 1999). Finally, Suharto resigned on May 21, 1998.

Suharto was replaced by B.J. Habibie, his former vice-president and protégé. During his short period of presidency, Habibie's regime initiated rapid political liberalization and reform, culminating in a democratic general election in June 1999. This was the first truly democratic general election held since 1955. Abdurrahman Wahid was elected as the next president of Indonesia in October 1999, only to serve two years (1999-2001) before being replaced by Megawati Soekarnoputri (2001-2004). In the 2004 general election, Susilo Bambang Yudoyono (a retired military general) was elected as the sixth President of Indonesia. He was the first president to be elected directly by the voters. In the years following Suharto's regime, much progress has been made, particularly in terms of constitutional reform, democracy and freedom of expression.

However, Indonesia's journey to full democracy, justice, social equality, economic prosperity, and a peaceful society in which human dignity is fully respected is still ongoing, for much remains to be done. Some challenges have persisted, such as pervasive corruption, radicalism, ethnic conflict, drugs, poverty, foreign debt, etc.

Rampant corruption is one of the most acute problems of Indonesia today. The collapse of the New Order in 1998, which had become a byword for corruption, collusion and nepotism, did not mean the end of these problems. Corruption is still widespread. According to Transparency International (2004), Indonesia is the fifth most corrupt country in the world, ranking 141 out of 146 countries. Thus, the level of corruption is not much different than it was in Suharto's era. The current government has shown some determination to combat the problem. It activated KPK (Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi—the corruption eradication commission), by which some of those guilty of the crime have been successfully prosecuted.

Radicalism motivated by religion and politics is another crucial issue in Indonesia today. This has often led to bloody clashes and high-profile bombings. Since 1998 alone, ten bombs have exploded in Indonesia, among them the first Bali bombing in 2002 that killed 202 people, the bombing of Jakarta's Marriot Hotel in 2003 that killed 13 and wounded 74, and the second Bali bombing in 2005 that resulted in the deaths of several individuals.

Ethnic and religious conflicts are also a persistent problem in Indonesia. In 1996-1997, for example, conflict between the indigenous Dayaks and ethnic Madurese migrants in West Kalimantan led to the killing of 1,720 people. Religious-based conflict

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between Muslims and Christians in Ambon and Maluku since 1999 has similarly killed

thousands of people and tensions are still felt there today (Chaider S. Bamualim, 2002).

Another crucial problem is foreign debt. According to the World Bank (2005), the

total debt of Indonesia as of 2005 amounted to US$132 billion (€100 billion). This is

indeed dangerous for the future of Indonesia. The success of democracy in Indonesia has

not been accompanied by improvement of the economy. One crucial factor in this has

been the hegemony of neo-liberal ideology within the prevailing regime.

Education system

The Dutch colonial period (before 1940)

Education in Indonesia has always reflected the prevailing regime's policies. In

the Dutch colonial period (before 1940), education in Indonesia was streamed on the

basis of heredity, ethnicity and social status. The levels of education in this period were

divided into basic, secondary, vocational, and higher. Education in the colonial period

was above all designed to suit the interests of the Dutch. In line with the global changes

of the early twentieth century, education in the Dutch colonies, including Indonesia,

began to be based on what was called the *Etische Koers* (ethical direction). This policy,

to a small degree, benefited indigenous people. But for the most part it continued to

benefit the Dutch since it was formulated to the advantage of Dutch capitalists who

needed indigenous workers for their economic expansion. Thus, education in the Dutch

period was truly aimed at serving the interests of the colonizer (Kartini Kartono, 1997).

The Japanese colonial period (1940-1945)

During the period of Japanese occupation (1940-1945), education in Indonesia

was based on *Hakko I-Chiu* (eight yarns in one ceiling), a camouflage concept of

Indonesia-Japan cooperation aimed at achieving a Joint Prosperity of Great East Asia. Each Indonesian student had to swear an oath of allegiance to the Japanese Emperor. Indoctrination was strongly emphasized: students were obligated every morning to, among other tasks, sing the national anthem of Japan, raise the flag of Japan Hinomaru, show respect to Japan's Emperor, and perform group gymnastics in order to show their enthusiasm for the spirit of Japan.

The main intention of Japan's military regime was to win the war, and therefore, the aim of education in this period was to supply skilled workers and soldiers who were ready to go to war for the interests of Japan. The policy of dividing education based on heredity, ethnicity and social status was abolished. The new system of education was based on three levels: elementary (six years), secondary (six years), and higher education. One great benefit of Japanese colonization in the realm of education was that the Indonesian language became the official language, both in the schools and in government offices. The Dutch language was prohibited while the Japanese language became the second language.

Early independence (1945-1968/69)

The basis of national education after independence was the Pancasila; it has not changed since then. The aim of education in this period was to build a spirit of heroism and patriotism. The curriculum that in the colonial period had been devoted to serving the interests of the colonizer was transformed to serve the needs of an independent nation.

The school system in the period 1945-1950 consisted of elementary education (known as *sekolah rakyat*—people's school), teacher education, general education (secondary education), specialist education, and higher education. Starting in August

1950, the system of schooling was to have five levels: pre-school, elementary school (six years), junior high school (three years), senior high school (three years), and higher education.

In Indonesia's original constitution, UUD 1945, Chapter XIII, Paragraph 31, Article 1, it is stated: "Every citizen has the right to achieve education." Law No. 4/1950, Chapter XI, Paragraph 17 also declares that "Every citizen of the Republic of Indonesia has an equal right to be received as a student in a school, as long as s/he meets the determined conditions of education and teaching in that school." To realize this objective, the government of the time tried to increase the quantity and quality of schools in order to enlarge the opportunity for learning among the people. On June 1, 1946, there was established the Council of Community Education, which had the responsibility to: (a) eradicate illiteracy, (b) hold courses on general knowledge, and (c) develop libraries (Wardiman Djojonegoro, 1996, p. 82).

In the meantime, a growing number of private educational institutions were being opened, sponsored mainly by the Muhammadiyah (Islam), Christian groups, and Taman Siswa (a group with a national-based ideology). Private participation in offering education helped the government to enlarge learning opportunities. It is important to note, however, that the schools sponsored by these private institutions had existed before independence.

The New Order (1968-1998)

During the New Order regime, the system of education was based on two consecutive laws, namely Law No. 4/1950 jo Law No. 12/1952 and Law No. 2/1989. The publication of the latter law automatically cancelled the former. With the introduction of

Law No. 2/1989, there was an attempt to make the national education system more open (accessible to all citizens), holistic (entailing many types, channels, and levels), and integral (relating education with national development).

The concept of education held by the New Order's ideologues had much in common with their economic and political vision, in that economic development and political stability stood at the core of their policies. Education was then conceptualized from these perspectives. In line with the spirit of development and political stability, education was envisioned as a "national investment manifested in the investment of human skills" (Djojonegoro, 1995, p. 149) and as a medium for propagating uniformity and homogeneity (H.A.R. Tilaar, 2000). Education was directed towards producing educated human resources who were nonetheless kept politically illiterate in the interest of national development.

Tilaar (2000) suggests four indicators for analyzing the educational system under the New Order government era, namely: (1) popularization of education; (2) systematization of education; (3) proliferation of education; and (4) politicization of education. The following diagram shows these indicators:

Development Indicators of Sisdiknas (System of National Education)	Paradigm	The New Order Era The Results Achieved	Anomalies
1. Popularization of Education	1. Developing education is a way to end the vicious circle of poverty. 2. Hastening the effort to provide basic education. 3. Initiating nine years' compulsory education to improve the quality of people.	1. The improvement of people's education did not correspond to reducing the number of absolute poverty. 2. The increase of economic growth was not followed by enhancing investment in education, and as a result, it is difficult to increase the quality of education. 3. The participants at the basic, elementary, and high education levels were increased.	1. The improvement of education did not correspond to a qualitative increase in productivity. 2. The level of unemployment among university's graduates was increased. 3. Popularization of education was not followed by increasing investment in education and government budget on education. 4. Popularization of education did not correspond to increasing quality of education.
2. Systematization of Education	1. With the fixed system of education, it can produce: a. An efficient means of planning and management. b. Make it easy for supervision. c. Increasing the quality of education. 2. Uniformity of education can generate unity of nation.	1. The birth of Law No. 2/1989 about Sisdiknas with its regulations and other decisions that made uniform the system, content, and curriculum in various types and channels of education. 2. The oneness of national system has closed the door for innovation and experimentation. 3. Private schools, that had	1. Centralization of management, curriculum and of recruitment and distribution of elementary school teachers. 2. Standardization of curriculum in all levels of education. 3.Centralization of the system of evaluation, such as through EBTANAS (national learning evaluation) and UMPTN (selection exam for state university).

	3. Etatism in education can maintain the quality of national education.	become pillar of national education since the struggle of independent, had been subordinated to the system established by the state.	4. Establishing bureaucratic institutions (such as KOPERTIS and BAN) to strengthen the state power and to prevent the innovation of education. 5. Education institutions established by the community (private) were limited their space.
3. Proliferation of education	1. Parents, community and state are responsible for education. 2. Economic growth must be followed by preparing skilled human resources produced by national education system.	1. Over time, the responsibility of parents is decreased, while the state's is increased, either in budget or management of school. 2. The national education system could not meet the need to provide skilful human resources.	1. Education was narrowed its meaning only as schooling. 2. Education was perceived as a state business that is non-profit, while the state itself lack of fund.
4. Politization of Education	1. Education is perceived as a tool to maintain state ideology. 2. Management of education was handled by central bureaucracy in order to achieve the same vision.	1. Although indoctrination was employed by the New Order regime in all levels of education, particularly through P4, it was students who overthrew the regime. 2. Politicization of education did not kill the power of conscience.	1. Making national ideology a sacred entity is against the goal of education, i.e., developing critical thinking. 2. Education is burdened with sacred goals, but it is not supported by sufficient budget and qualified teachers. 3. Politics can manipulate the ethical goals of education.

Source: H.A.R. Tilaar (2000, p. 81-82)

The above chart shows that the New Order government tried to provide more opportunities for people to gain access to basic education and initiated the extension of the compulsory education from six to nine years, assuming that education is the best strategy to end the vicious circle of poverty. Yet while this policy had increased attendance at all levels of schooling, the quality of education remained low, partly because the government did not increase the budget for this sector. The increase of national economic growth was thus not followed by an enhanced investment in education, and as a result, the educational sector lagged behind. In addition, the expansion of education (in a quantitative sense) did not have an effect on reducing the numbers of poor, and even the level of unemployment among university graduates increased.

In running the system of education, the government employed a centralization-based concept, in the sense it was the state that formulated the content and curriculum in the various types and channels of education. At the same time it tried to make a uniform and standard of the curriculum at all levels, with the result that it closed the door to innovation and experimentation in educational practices. The centralization of education, directly or indirectly, contributed to reducing the sense of responsibility among parents for their children's education, while the state came to be perceived as the only entity with such responsibility.

Tilaar (2000) argues that education in the New Order era was employed as a tool to preserve state ideology, i.e., Pancasila. The indoctrination of Pancasila through P4 was conducted at all levels of education. It had been mythologized in a such way as to render it a sacred entity that nobody could question. This stance is, of course, contrary to the goals of education, i.e., developing critical thinking and curiosity. What was offered by this regime was not education, but schooling.

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The pedagogical framework of the New Order regime was, therefore, constructed

with a view towards maintaining the status quo and political stability. There were thus a

number of educational policies introduced to this purpose and to reduce the political

involvement of students beyond the campus. In the language of Freire, these students

were being oriented towards political illiteracy. The following illustrations will show that

this was the case.

Since the 1950s, the format of all intra-university organizations was based on the

concept of the DM (Dewan Mahasiswa—Student Council). Although initially it did not

have any political content, the DM eventually acquired a heavy political nuance. The DM

soon gained a reputation for student independence and as the motor force of the student

movement. The history of student movements in Indonesia is quite interesting because of

their role as agents of social change. It was the student movements that made a significant

contribution to overthrowing Sukarno's regime and installing the New Order. But it was

also student movements that criticized the New Order regime and removed it from power

in 1998.

In 1974, the student movement began to question the development strategy of the

government and its heavy emphasis on economic growth without sufficient attention

given to the distribution of wealth. As a result, there was a huge gap between the rich and

the poor. They also protested against the influx of foreign capital, much of it from Japan.

At this point, the DM played a significant role in mobilizing the demonstration known as

"Malari" (riots of January 15) 1974, in which many student activists were arrested.

The regime accused the DM of being behind the riot, and this is the reason why it

banned the DM from all universities in Indonesia under the Letter of Decree of

Pangkobkamtib No. 002/Skep/1978.[5] They argued that the DM was very political and that it possibly endangered socio-political stability. The regime tried instead to set up intra-university organizations that were more education-oriented in order to rid campuses of political activities. Political activities had no place in academic institutions, according the authorities.

In 1978, there was another demonstration against the regime engineered by inter-university organizations. They criticized the regime for rampant corruption and nepotism and questioned the direction in which the nation was headed. The regime reacted by arresting some student leaders, among others, Roem Topatimasang (president of IKIP Bandung) and Indra S. Tjahono (president of ITB Bandung). The former became one of the main exponents of Freire's ideas in Indonesia from that time until the present.

Thus, the regime employed repressive and oppressive methods in handling student demonstrations on the pretext that such demonstrations destabilized social order. It used its power to arrest student leaders and employed physical coercion to disperse the demonstrations (Hariyadhie, 1994).

In a further initiative at reducing student involvement in political activities, the Minister of Education at that time, Dr. Daoed Joesoef, introduced the so-called NKK-BKK (Normalization of Campus Life-Coordination of Student Board) as the new form of student organization in universities. With the establishment of the NKK-BKK, there were no longer any independent student bodies because they are now under the control of university boards.

The essential aim of the NKK-BKK was to reduce student militancy in the political arena, to sterilize campuses of political activities, and to refocus on the

university as an academic institution. Students were seen as being driven to become "beings of reason" who were uprooted from their existential reality. The university ought to remain an ivory tower and analyze the problems of society from outside without necessarily involving itself in the process of transformation.

Following the introduction of the NKK-BKK, the regime, through the minister of education, Dr. Daoed Joesoef, introduced in 1979 another educational policy—the so-called SKS system (unit of semester credit), according to which students had to take a minimum of 144 SKS and a maximum of 160 SKS in order to complete their undergraduate degree. They also had to finish their studies within a minimum of eight semesters and maximally fourteen semesters. What was the political reason underpinning this policy? No doubt, it was aimed at keeping students busy with their courses so that they would have less time to think about or get involved in other activities outside. This was truly in line with the government's "back to the campus" policy.

As minister of education between 1983 and 1985, Prof. Dr. Nugroho Nutosusanto introduced the so-called *Wawasan Almamater* (university outlook) consisting of "Trikarya" (three principles), namely institutionalization, professionalization, and trans-politicization. The last principle argued that university students should understand politics within the framework of the Indonesian system. If they wanted to involve themselves in political activities, they had to do so off-campus.

In the era of Wardiman Djojonegoro's tenure as minister (1993-1998), the economic motive behind education was more clearly expressed. He proposed the concept of *link and match*, that is, a concept that aimed at linking and matching education with the needs of the economic sector. University students were to be oriented to fit with the

industrial sector. Henceforth, human beings were to be regarded as a factor of production

(Djojonegoro, 1995, p. 390). This policy was infused with a capitalist spirit, leading one

to recall what Peter McLaren says:

> The relationship between capitalism and science has led to a science whose purposes and goals are about profitability rather than the betterment of the global condition. The marriages between capitalism and education and capitalism and science have created a foundation for science education emphasizes corporate values at the expense of social justice and human dignity (quoted in Angela Calabrese Barton, 2001, p. 847).

The New Order government also established (beginning in 1978) out-of-school

education, known as *Pendidikan Luar Sekolah*, which was constructed according to the

above framework. The program was known as "Kejar Paket A" (learning group package

A), equivalent with elementary school, and "Kejar Paket B" (learning group package B),

equivalent with secondary school. The program was aimed at enlarging learning

opportunities, particularly for those who chose not to go to regular school. In essence,

particularly in rural areas, the main focus of "Kejar Paket" was to end illiteracy.

However, unlike the Freirean perspective on illiteracy, according to which it is

connected to consciousness-raising within participants so that the learning process had

political implications, the "Kejar Paket" model was conventional. It dealt only with the

eradication of illiteracy in a technical and practical sense, that is, the acquisition of

technical skills necessary to read and write.

The New Order government also provided special schools for disabled people,

called *Pendidikan Luar Biasa* (extraordinary education). The levels of extraordinary

education are TKLB (kindergarden) for one up to three years, SDLB (elementary school)

for six years, SLPLB (junior high school) for three years, and SMLB (senior high school) for three years. Higher education for disabled people is not provided.

The Reformation era (1998 onwards)

Education in the reformation era was based until recently on Law No. 2/1989, only just replaced by Law No. 20/2003. The former Law promoted centralist principles while the latter is more accommodative toward the current policy of regional autonomy. The new Law has given schools more autonomy by establishing school committees (independent institutions whose members consist of parents, school community, and community figures concerned about education) and education boards (independent institutions consisting of many a variety of community members concerned with education). These two institutions could, in theory, prevent the intervention of the central government in regard to educational practices in the school.

In Chapter I, Section I, Article 16, the Law refers to community-based education as "implementation of education that is based on local uniqueness in terms of religion, social, culture, aspiration, and potency as manifestation of education from, by and for community." This provision was absent from the previous Law. By giving attention to local uniqueness, plural perspectives of education were made distinct possibility.

However, Ki Supriyoko (2003) has criticized the new Law for its lack of attention to issues such as love, honesty, religiosity, and family. The establishment of community-based education, school committees, and education boards is no more than an imitation of similar concepts applied in the developed countries without due consideration of the Indonesian context. He argues that Law No. 20/2003 is no better than Law No. 2/1989.

Supriyoko calls for the construction of an education law that is more inclusive, non-discriminatory, and possessed of a national and global outlook.

One crucial issue that has emerged in contemporary education in Indonesia is the privatization of public education. Education Law No. 61/1999 effected the change in status of selected state universities, such as UI (Indonesian University), UGM (Gadjahmada University), ITB (Bandung Institute of Technology), and IPB (Bogor Institute of Agriculture), into BHMN (Badan Hukum Milik Negara—State-owned Law Board).

This change in status gave a kind of legitimacy to the privatization of public education, because with BHMN status, universities gained the autonomy needed to seek sources of funding other than government subsidies. They have the autonomy and independence to increase tuition fees and create programs that can generate money for the university. For example, they have created a program called PMDK (penelusuran minat dan kemampuan—tracing special interests and competency), known as the "special lane," a new model of recruiting new students complementing SPMB (sistem penerimaan mahasiswa baru— system of accepting new students). The latter model, SPMB, is purely based on academic standards. The former, however, makes wealth the primary consideration in accepting new students. The more a student is able to pay to the university, the more likely he/she is to be accepted. At Unair (Airlangga University) in Surabaya, for example, new students who enter the university through PMDK have to pay around Rp. 5 to 75 million (equal to around CAD$650 to 8500). Some students are said to be paying around Rp. 500 million (around CAD$ 59000) (*KOMPAS,* 2004). Is this

legal? Yes, because based on Law No. 20/2003, Chapter 24, section 3, the university is allowed to obtain funding from the community.

The odor of capitalization and commercialization of public education is quite noticeable in this case, especially as it reflects what is happening in most private universities throughout the world. The culture of capitalism has found an outlet in Indonesian public education as well. Those who are rich and have big wealth are the most welcome to avail themselves of higher education, either public or private, regardless of whether they are competent or meet academic standards or not.

The issue of disability is also a crucial one in Indonesia. As I mentioned early, the education system in Indonesia recognizes what is called SLB (Sekolah Luar Biasa), extraordinary education for disabled people, at the elementary and secondary school levels. However, according to government statistics (2003), out of 1,5 million disabled children in Indonesia, only 3,3% have access to education. This means that the government has little political will to empower the disabled.

After explaining education system in Indonesia since the Dutch colonial period until the reformation era, in the following pages I will discuss briefly the initial encounter of Freire in Indonesia.

Tracing the initial encounter of Freire in Indonesia

In Indonesia, there are at least four organized groups that have shown an interest in the dissemination and/or application of Freire's ideas, namely, those of Peter Danuwinata, Mansour Fakih and with Roem Topatimasang, Noer Fauzi, and Peter Hugo Verest.

The first group, which also includes Wiladi Budiharga and Alois Agus Nugroho, is led by Peter Danuwinata, the first exponent to disseminate Freire's ideas in Indonesia. This senior professor at the STF (High School of Philosophy) of Driyarkara, Jakarta, met Freire in Santiago, Chile, having received a scholarship from a church association to visit Latin America in 1972. From his initial contact with Freire, he received the impression that he was an open-minded person, a good listener, enthusiastic to share his experiences, and eager to learn from others. Danuwinata recorded his journey (which included visits to other parts of Chile and Columbia) in a series of articles. After observing the application of Freire's theories and methodologies in local contexts, he found that the application is always in the form cultural circles.

On his return to Indonesia, Danuwinata began to disseminate Freire's ideas through seminars and workshops. In 1973, he held a seminar in East Java for leading social workers on Freire's thought and approaches, such as dialogical method, critical consciousness and an empathic posture toward the oppressed. Danuwinata also disseminated Freire's ideas within STF Driyarkara, where he taught. Three people, namely Paul Suparno, Wahono and Alois Agus Nugroho, said that it was Danuwinata who introduced them to the thought of Freire when they studied at STF Driyarkara. For his B.A. thesis in STF Driyarkara, Nugroho wrote on the topic of "Tetapan-tetapan Antropologis dalam Filsafat Pendidikan Paulo Freire" (Anthropological Constants in the Educational Philosophy of Paulo Freire). He also translated Freire's *Education as the Practice of Freedom* into Indonesian, published by Pustaka Gramedia, Jakarta, in 1984. This issue will be elaborated further in Chapter 4.

Another person that can be linked to Danuwinata is Wiladi Budiharga, who has attempted to translate Freire's ideas into practice. He was invited by Danuwinata to attend a short course on Social Analysis in Bangalore, India, in 1973, where Danuwinata was one of the resource persons. This short course of one and a half month's duration resulted in a close relationship with Danuwinata and a deep familiarity with the thought of Freire.

The second group consists of Mansour Fakih (1957-2004) and Roem Topatimasang, who since the 1980s have worked together to disseminate critical pedagogy and popular education in Indonesia. They are an ideal pair for facilitating training and educational processes because they can combine theoretical knowledge and empirical experiences. Fakih is strong in theory and discourse because he has a good academic background (having received his Ph.D. from MIT), while Topatimasang has been an activist in the student political movement in the late 1970s and a grassroots organizer since then. In facilitating the training, it is often Fakih employs theory as a point of departure, while Topatimasang relies on real situations and empirical experience.

Together with Toto Rahardjo and Russ Dilts, they published a book under the title *Pendidikan Populer: Membangun Kesadaran Kritis* (Popular Education: Developing Critical Consciousness) (2001), a work that was fully grounded in the Freirean spirit. Later on, Fakih and Topatimasang, together with other social activists, established INSIST (Indonesian Society for Social Transformation), a Jogjakarta-based NGO in which they presently work with, among others, Amir Sutoko, Toto Rahardjo, Saleh Abdullah, Donatus K Marut, and Noer Fauzi.

Fakih has been active in NGOs since the 1980s. He earned his B.A. from IAIN

(State Institute for Islamic Studies, now UIN [State Islamic University]) Syarif

Hidyatullah, Jakarta in the 1970s. He obtained his Master's and Ph.D. degrees from MIT

in Boston between 1988 and1992. Yet although he obtained a formal education, he did

not immerse himself in the luxury of intellectual discourse; rather, he involved himself in

social movements to realize his ambition of upholding justice and humanity.

After graduating from IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, Fakih joined LP3ES

(Institute for Social and Economic Research, Education and Information) where he met

activists such as Tawang Alun, Dawam Rahardjo, Aswab Mahasin, and Ismid Hadad.

Fakih also joined another NGO, LSP (Lembaga Studi Pembangunan—Institute for the

Study of Development), established by activists such as Adi Sasono, Soetjipto

Wirosardjono, Sritua Arief, and Dawam Rahardjo, who were very much influenced by

dependency theory. He also met and increasingly worked together with Utomo

Dananjaya, a senior activist of LP3ES. This issue will be elaborated in Chapter 4.

Topatimasang has an extensive background as a student activist. He was head of

the Student Council of IKIP Bandung (now UPI, Education University of Indonesia) in

1976 and, due to his political activities in mobilizing students to protest against the

regime, he was jailed for two years (1978-1980). He did not want to continue his studies

after his release, arguing that the banking model was dominant in formal learning, which

results in the domestication rather than liberation of students. Topatimasang then joined

PKBM (Pusat Kegiatan Belajar Masyarakat-Activity Centre of Learning Community), a

non-formal education group headquartered at the Center for Community Education and

Training in Jayagiri, Lembang, Bandung, where he met two activists from VIA
(Volunteers in Asia), Russ Dilts and Craig Thurbom.

From the 1980s onwards, Topatimasang devoted himself to popular education
within the country, in such regions as Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Maluku, Bali
and Nusa Tenggara, and also outside it, such as in Malaysia, Cambodia, Vietnam,
Thailand, Burma and East Timor. He and his colleague Jo Hann Tan, a Malaysian
community organizer, recorded their experiences as popular educators over the course of
20 years in a book entitled *Mengorganisir Rakyat: Refleksi Pengalaman
Pengorganisasian Rakyat di Asia Tenggara (*Organizing People: Reflection on
Organizing People Experiences in South East Asia), published by INSIST, Jogjakarta,
2003.

The third group—that of Noer Fauzi—developed out of a study group known as
the FPL (Front Pemandu Latihan—Guiding Training Front), established in 1985. Freire is
not the only theorist who has influenced the group, but his approach has been used to
assist peasants of Gunung Batu faced with land expropriation. The FPL has also
employed Freirean methodology in educating students of ITB (Bandung Institute of
Technology) and UNPAD (Padjajaran University), calling it an "application of Freire for
the middle class" (Fauzi, 2003). This issue will be discussed more extensively in Chapter
4.

The fourth group is known as Sosial Ekonomi Keuskupan Bogor (Social
Economy of Bogor Bishopric), a Catholic organization led by Father Hugo Verest. In
1985, this group published guides to techniques for the elimination of illiteracy based on
Paulo Freire's methodology, and formulated a particular model of education for activists

being sent to remote peoples such as the Asmat (a tribe in Irian Jaya inhabiting the southern swamplands of this diverse region) and the Dayak (a tribe dwelling in the remote areas of West Kalimantan). The efforts of this group will be examined further in Chapter 4.

Besides the four groups mentioned above, there are many individuals who are sympathetic with Freire's ideas, as demonstrated in the popular magazine *BASIS*. In its January-February 2001 number, the magazine published a special edition on Paulo Freire, inviting contributions from, among others, A. Sudiarja (a priest and lecturer at Sanata Dharma University, Jogjakarta), Bernhard Adeney-Risakotta (a lecturer at Graduate Program of UKDW [Christian University of Duta Wacana], Jogjakarta), Paul Suparno (a lecturer at Sanata Dharma University, Jogjakarta), Agustinus Mintara (student of Sanata Dharma University), and T.B. Gandhi Hartono (a candidate for the priesthood who is applying Freirean pedagogy in Papua).

Besides the above, a number of other individuals can be included, among others, Syafi'ie Ma'arif (former head of Muhammadiyah Organization), Abdul Munir Mulkhan (a lecturer of UIN [State Islamic University] Sunan Kalijaga, Jogjakarta), Wahono (director of Cindelaras, a Jogjakarta-based NGO), Moelyono (a popular education practitioner), Pieter Elmas (a community organizer in Maluku), and Utomo Dananjaya.

[1] See, appendix 2.

[2] However, it was not until 16 August 2005 that the Dutch government officially recognized 1945 as the Indonesian year of independence.

[3] The tragedy of 30 September 1965 remains a mystery, particularly in regard to who is the mastermind of this coup that killed six general of army ground forces and resulted in bloody of civil war. Hundred books have appeared to reveal the mystery of the tragedy. Different perspectives and angles have been taken, such as the involvement of Suharto in the tragedy (Ben Anderson, 1998), the involvement of the coalition between Sukarno and communist party (Arnold C. Brackman, 2003), internal conflict of army ground forces (Harold Crouch, 1996), the involvement of CIA (Peter Dale Scott, 1998), and accsuing Sukarno as a mastermind (Antonio CA Dake, 2005).

[4] Since 1966, Suharto had been elected and re-elected unopposed seven times. This was possible because he could indirectly control the supreme political authority, MPR, that had mandate to elect president and vice-president every five years. He had authority to appoint over half of the MPR members while the large portion of the remainder being members of Golkar. At the same time, he had ability to control the army into his hands. In sum, Suharto had a distinguish ability to collect the power in his hands so that he could maintained his political status quo.

[5] Pangkobkamtib was commander for the restoration of peace, security, and order established by the New Order to prevent social riots.

Paulo Freire's Intellectual Legacy in Indonesia

This chapter looks at the discussion of Freire's philosophy and methodology in the Indonesian context. The discussion focuses on a number of issues: (1) the relation between politics and education and its contribution to creating a culture of silence; (2) the relation between conscientization and the rise of critical consciousness; (3) employing Freire's educational and social theories as tools of analysis; (4) contextualizing problem-posing education in Indonesia; (5) the compatibility of Freire's ideas with Islam and the possibility of looking at Freire from an Islamic perspective; and finally, (6) the accessibility of Freire's texts in the Indonesian language. I will end this chapter by drawing some conclusions and analyses.

Politics, education and the culture of silence

Freire argues that education is not a neutral field; it is always socially constructed, culturally mediated and politically intervened. This is the reason why he proclaims that "education is politics" (1987, p. 46). On the one hand, it can be used by the dominant society or the prevailing regime to perpetuate its power and interests by designing it as a means to reproduce the social system. On the other, it can be used by educators and cultural workers as a means of social and cultural movement and protest.

The case of Brazil in the early 1960s provides an excellent example of this double function. Freire, as a transformative educator, intended to relate the word and the world in order to draw out the political implications of the learning process. Learning to read and write is thus not a technical matter *per se*; rather, it can serve as a tool to increase the consciousness within learners necessary to understand what is going on in society.

Unsurprisingly, the military regime viewed this project as a danger to social stability and even regarded it as subversive. For them, education had to be neutral and free of political interests.

Thus, education is like a double-edged sword; it can become a site of cultural action for freedom and at the same time operate as a means of cultural action for domestication.

According to Bernard Adeney-Risakotta (2003), a lecturer at UKDW (Universitas Kristen Duta Wacana—Christian University of Duta Wacana), Jogjakarta, education in Indonesia has long been used as a political vehicle to preserve and strengthen the New Order regime. The policy of the NKK-BKK in 1978, for instance, is a clear instance of how the prevailing regime tried to sterilize campuses of political activities and protest movements. The educational philosophy underpinning this policy was to maintain campuses as neutral areas, on the assumption that education must be separated from politics and social reality. The knowledge content of what was taught and how it was delivered and mediated had to support the ideology of the regime, i.e., developmentalism (Mansour Fakih, 1994).

Knowledge, from the above perspective, is viewed in a limited manner, and valued only insofar as it serves technical and pragmatic interests. This kind of knowledge is delivered in a non-dialogical way, yielding a one-dimensional view of knowledge and reality. Teaching then amounts to nothing more than the imposition of knowledge by those who are supposed to know everything (teachers) on those who are assumed to know nothing (students). This is because what is insisted upon in the process of learning is how

to have and accumulate knowledge, not how to use, critique and produce knowledge as a means of transforming reality.

Unquestionably, this form of teaching has an investment in degenerating critical subjectivity, because its goal is to legitimate and reinforce the existing knowledge and social system without giving people the critical vision they need to articulate their voices and constitute their own histories and destinies. To use Freire's terminology, this is typical of "banking education." For this reason, according to Risakotta (2003), it is necessary to construct and disseminate critical pedagogy in Indonesia as a means to develop critical capacity within learners, not only to be critical of the existing regime, but also of prevailing socio-economic structures, the mass media, religion, political parties, the courts, NGOs and other social institutions.

However, one of the main obstacles to the dissemination of Freire's critical pedagogy was the oppressiveness of the New Order (1965-1998) regime, because the educational system in its set-up was intimately connected with the political system. Peter Danuwinata (2003), a prominent Indonesian educator who has propagated Freire's ideas since the early 1970s, argues that his failure to promote Freire's critical literacy massively in the 1970s and 1980s was, to a certain extent, due to the repressiveness of the regime. It was not easy to invite people to rethink the way they exist in the world and to pave the way for an emerging critical consciousness in such a repressive context. To express it differently, government repression imposes to the disintegration of critical consciousness.

The interesting question to be asked is: Why is it so difficult to disseminate critical literacy and emancipative theories and methodologies in an oppressive social

situation? Would not a repressive situation, on the contrary, help to foster the awakening of critical pedagogy and motivate people to adopt transformative theories?

In response to the above questions, Danuwinata argues that the diffusion of critical ideas and cultural movements in the Suharto (New Order) era (1966-1998) was not easy because the regime had a mechanism for co-opting any cultural movement. The concept of mass participation, for instance, had been manipulated by the ruling party (Golkar) and the upper classes for political reasons, namely, to gain spontaneous support from the grass-roots for their own political and economic goals. At this point, mass participation lost its real meaning and became mass mobilization in support of the status quo. The people were no longer independent subjects who participated consciously in deciding public policies, but only the objects of ruling party interests.

One of the ways used to co-opt people, Danuwinata continues, consisted in establishing surveillance groups from the very lowest to the highest levels of society, e.g., RT (neighborhood ward), RW (village ward), Lurah (village head), Camat (sub-district head), Bupati (regent head), and other government officers above them. This model was an adaptation of the Japanese concept of supervision. No doubt, such surveillance stages made it possible for the central regime to monitor public affairs and popular activities at every level of society.

Furthermore, the regime also employed political stigma by labeling its opponents as "subversive," "communist" or "extremist." Since religion in the Indonesian community plays a very important role in public life, the label of "communist" is a particularly loaded one, because it is always associated with "atheist," and therefore brands a person as "anti-God." Likewise, the word "subversive" is also terrifying because

it has been connected with serious violations of Indonesian law. The chapter on "subversive law" in the legal code is a kind of "pasal karet" (rubber chapter) that is elastic and flexible and easily open to manipulation by the New Order regime to suppress political opponents. Thus, the regime employed many effective ways to divert people from political and cultural activities that threatened to destabilize social order. This situation contributed to the difficulties in disseminating cultural-political movements and in developing Freirean critical literacy within society.

Freire's notion of the culture of silence can be employed to analyze the above political situation (Wiladi Budiharga, 2003; Abdul Munir Mulkhan, 2003). This culture, in the Indonesian context, refers to a condition where the masses lack the critical qualities necessary to examine what is going on in their live. This condition is possible where the regime controls the masses through various social institutions such as schools and effectively silences them. The people internalize values and images created and imposed by the regime, as if everything done by it is positive and of benefit to them.

One of the ways to perpetuate the culture of silence in Indonesia was by hegemony (in Gramscian sense), i.e., rule by consent and by virtue of moral and intellectual authority. At this point, the regime tries to secure the spontaneous consent of subordinate groups by negotiating the creation of political and ideological consensus. According to Fakih (1989), Gramscian hegemony is helpful in explaining why the masses (subordinated groups) voluntarily assimilated to the worldview of the New Order regime, making it easier for the latter to preserve continually its domination and power.

The process of hegemony implies the penetration and socialization of values, beliefs, attitudes and morality within a society mediated by social, political and

ideological practices. When such 'organizing principles' are internalized by people, they are transformed into 'common sense,' thereby further eroding critical awareness and reinforcing the status quo. It is in this context that the oppressed unknowingly participate in the process of domination and even willingly cooperate with their oppressors, because they perceive the actions of the ruling class as natural and suited to their interests (Carl Boggs, 1976).

The above concepts of the culture of silence and hegemony could easily be seen in the socio-political conditions of Indonesia during the New Order era, at which time people fell silent and remained so—a situation that was perpetuated through various media and social institutions. The hidden agenda behind the preservation of this culture of silence was to perpetuate the status quo and to support the trickle-down effect of development programs run by the regime. The regime applied what may be called "political illiteracy", as opposed to "political literacy" (Dennis Collins, 1977, p. 22). In a sense, the regime encouraged people to go to schools and universities, but there they only received "deposits" of education. The process of learning was no more than a means of domesticating students. As a result, they became politically illiterate, incapable of reading social reality in a way that would allow them to transcend their limited situations. In this context, Budiharga (2003) argues that for some activists the political literacy proposed by Freire "not only gives insight and provides tool of analysis to perceive reality critically, but also drives them to take action" (p. 2) through which social transformation may be achieved.

The culture of silence also meant internalizing among people the negative images propagated by outsiders—a crucial point in Indonesia which had been a colony of the

Dutch for around 350 years. As a result, many values, norms and cultural practices that had been internalized by Indonesians. This is what motivated Alois Agus Nugroho (2003) to write an article entitled "Reformasi Total Sebagai Reformasi Kultural" (Total Reformation as Cultural Reformation) during the reformation era in 1998. He himself acknowledges that the paper no doubt was inspired by Freire because he had for a long time propagated the idea of cultural action for freedom.

Cultural action as advocated by Freire can be utilized as a means of strengthening civil society and rebuilding a nation. For this reason, it is necessary to orient the process of schooling as a medium for the realization of cultural action. This is part of an overall mission to orient education in a political direction, aimed at awakening a cultural-democratic movement. Danuwinata (2003) argues that the process of democracy today in Indonesia lacks guidance; it is still the domain of the elite, making it necessary to expand critical literacy as a means to build a cultural movement at the grass-roots level. A critical literacy movement consists in cultural action aimed at increasing critical capacities within disfranchised groups and at transforming the basis of their thought from common sense to a critical outlook.

Conscientization and critical consciousness

The theme of critical consciousness became the focus of heated debate in the Forum Ilmu Sosial Transformatif (Social Transformative Science Forum) in the mid-1980s in Jakarta (Saleh Abdullah, 2003). The question that arose at that time was how Freire's concept of critical consciousness could help people attain a meta-symbolic state whereby they are free to name any of the objects surrounding them. For example, one knows that this is a "table" because there is previous information indicating this fact,

without which one cannot know what it is. The challenge is: How does one bring people

to the point where they have not yet named such an object and are free to give it any

name they choose? This is very empowering because it liberates people from the standard

discourse and symbolic oppression, including language, and also encourages people to

develop their creativity, while at the same time helping them to avoid mere duplication

and imitation.

Bringing people to attain a meta-symbolic position is part of what is called by

Freire "naming the world," a process of naming a particular object and giving meaning to

it. Abdullah argues that achieving a meta-symbolic state is the highest stage of critical

consciousness, because it liberates people not only from political oppression and cultural

invasion but also from language games.

According to Noer Fauzi (1990), a social activist with interests in Freire since the

mid-1980s, the idea of conscientization is, however, often misinterpreted. Freire himself

acknowledged this in a speech given in Cuernavaca, Mexico, in 1971, to a conference on

"Conscientization." In this speech he identified five different groups, each with its own

expectations (Fauzi, 1990, p. 2-4).

One group had come to the conference in order to obtain a panacea to solve their

personal emotional problems. Another group had come hoping that the mere word

"conscientization" would be able to produce social revolution. The third group came to

the meeting assuming that conscientization could serve to unite groups involved in a

conflict. All these three groups viewed conscientization as a magic potion capable of

solving their problems at once and in their entirety.

The fourth group, by contrast, viewed conscientization as a threat, fearing lest the process would awaken the consciousness of the oppressed to claim their rights. This group viewed conscientization as having the potential for social transformation, and felt that it had to be prevented from becoming widespread; otherwise, their political and economic interests could be disturbed. This group is represented by oppressors and oppressive regimes fearful of change.

The last group, with a limited membership, viewed conscientization in a critical manner. This group saw it not as a panacea or magic potion for solving problems; but rather as a basis for the process of liberation. Conscientization was seen by them as an effort to understand the relations between humans and the world given that both are interconnected and ultimately inseparable. There is no conscience except conscience about the world, and there is no world except the conscience-world. The world cannot exist without human existence, because it is human beings who name, give meaning to and transform it through action-reflection. Any oppressive structure in the world is subject to change, and in view of this, it is necessarily an action and not only a conscience in the human mind.

There is no doubt at all that Freire orients education as a process of conscientization and that this is rooted in his philosophical praxis of action-reflection-action inspired by the Marxist tradition. In his paper entitled "Apa dan Bagaimana Pendidikan Penyadaran itu?" (What and How is Conscientization Education?),[1] Fauzi (1990, pp. 15-19) further elaborates education as a process of conscientization in the following stages:

The first stage is social inquiry. This involves an initial integration between educator and participants in order to develop cooperation and mutual understanding. The focus of inquiry concentrates on three themes: (a) Structural contradictions and limit situations that surround people (the oppressed), a state that must be transcended and transformed to accomplish liberation; (b) Consciousness contradictions or limit themes of the people, deals with the capacities of participants to understand social contradictions in society; and (c) Limit actions of the people, which deals with the capacities for action of the oppressed in transforming social contradictions.

In practice, the process of social inquiry moves from the easiest to more complicated issues. The results of such social inquiry are then discussed by the educator and a group of engaged individuals from among the oppressed. Eventually, it is revealed that the limit situations, limit themes and limit actions of the people are related in a dialectical, not a linear way. This result is important, for it can be used as guidance to make preparations for conscientization education.

The second stage is preparation for conscientization education. The process of learning is initiated by establishing learning groups, each of them consisting of around 20-30 people. This is what is called by Freire a "cultural circle." The educators or facilitators are required to understand the socio-psychological conditions of their learning groups. The groups are formed on the basis of their socio-cultural context or community basis in order to make it easier to map the issues they face.

The third stage consists in the implementation of conscientization education. The implementation of this stage is based on the following steps:

(a)   **Codification**. This step involves representing the reality that is

experienced by the participants. What are presented in this case are

themes (problems) that have been previously mapped based on the

criteria of the least to the most complicated. The process of

codification employs media such as pictures, stories, slides, photos,

and theater. The aim is to make it easy to bring social problems derived

from real lives into the process of learning.

(b)   **De-codification**. This is a process of expressing the consciousness of

group members concerning the problems that are presented. In this

process it is important for the educators to monitor the involvement of

each participant in expressing his/her feelings, ideas and voices. The

role of the educator in this process is to ask questions and to draw

conclusions from what is expressed by the participants. These

participants' expressions are employed as the core subject of social

analysis that will subsequently be conducted.

(c)   **Social analysis**. The intention of social analysis is to reveal the content

of the consciousness of the participants as seen from their expression.

The process is carried out not through teaching but through dialogue,

which is necessary when problematizing the facts gained from reality.

The role of the educator in this process involves asking, formulating,

reflecting and re-asking. The problems (limit situations) that are

analyzed must be placed in the context of the structural contradictions

surrounding the oppressed.

(d)   **Actions**. Action is required as part of the attempt to solve the problems

faced by the participants. The process of learning produces the new

consciousness within participants necessary to change the structural

contradictions surrounding them. Although the transformation of

consciousness does not automatically produce direct action, it is argued

that it is an absolute condition for any advanced action of change. The

process of action likewise should begin from the most simple, concrete,

short-term, micro, to the more complicated, abstract, long-term and

macro.

Fauzi (1990) highlights that it is important to remember the possibility of

inaccuracy at the practical level of conscientization education, for these can have certain

consequences:

1.   **Domestication**. This can be the result when the facilitator or educator

does not employ the methodology of conscientization education and uses a

conventional method where he/she treats the participants as objects.

Instead of producing liberation, such a method results in the domestication

of the participants, because, as Freire notes, methodological incorrectness

results in ideological incorrectness.

2.   **Elitism**. The participants in a learning group coming from an oppressed

population are likely to have a higher capacity compared to those from the

general masses and this may lead to their forming a new elite in

succession to their oppressors. Therefore, it is necessary to understand

their sociological and psychological faculties in order to avoid producing

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3. **Romanticism**. The process of conscientization education results in a growing new awareness that can lead to the emergence of a kind of romantic-revolutionary attitude, in the sense that participants develop a great desire to change the oppressive situation without considering their limit action capacities. As a result, they can easily be defeated by their oppressors.

4. **Cooptation**. The process and results of conscientization education should be closely guarded so that they do not fall into the hands of oppressors who could use them as means of co-opting such education (pp. 20-21).

It is argued that human consciousness is shaped and conditioned by reality as experienced and mediated through thought-language. Since it is socially constructed, politically conditioned and culturally mediated, it can be reconstructed, reshaped and transformed. The role of conscientization education is to transform the consciousness of the oppressed from a magical or naïve state to critical consciousness by building the capacity within them so that they are able to reveal hidden phenomena and make explicit what is implicit. Critical capacities allow people to see the relations between categories that constitute reality and how they intertwine with one another. In other words, critical capacities help the oppressed to become conscious beings who understand how the system works and affects their lives. This is what is called by Fauzi (1990) "structural perspective" or "structural consciousness," a perspective or consciousness that views unjust and oppressive social structures as the main source of oppression.

However, Fauzi (2003) warns that critical consciousness cannot be imposed, because, quite apart from the fact that to do so would amount to cultural invasion, it would contradict the principle in conscientization education that uses the dialogical method as the way to ensure that learning takes place in a democratic way. Thus, the process of learning in conscientization is based on a subject-subject relationship, in the sense that both educators and the educated are posited as subjects.

The idea behind this is the implicit notion that an individual is not an empty vessel, that every individual has valuable experiential knowledge and opinions through their relation with the world and other human beings. The process of learning should begin with such a premise; otherwise, it will end up as an exercise in domestication and creating authority-dependency.

However, positing educators and the educated as learners and subjects does not necessarily reduce the function of teachers to that of mere facilitators, a notion that Freire explicitly repudiates on the ground that they have to contribute, together with the students, to the production of knowledge. Freire points out that teachers maintain a certain level of authority through the depth and breadth of knowledge of the subject matter that they teach. However, he reminds us that the meaning of authority is not equivalent to authoritarianism because the latter intrinsically contradicts the spirit of democracy that lies at the heart of his struggle (Freire and Macedo, 1987).

Unfortunately, according to Sudiarja (2003), a lecturer at Sanata Dharma University, Jogjakarta, a tradition of indoctrination and imposition is still the norm in contemporary Indonesia, whether in education, religion or politics. In the religious sphere, for instance, the authorities regularly preach in a dogmatic way, without allowing

room for dialogue. As a result, people uncritically accept such teachings and rely heavily on symbols without trying to understand the essence. What they receive is only, as Freire puts it, a kind of "myth." They internalize such myths and perceive them as truth. The role of conscientization is to help people discover new perspectives and new ways of thinking whereby they will be able to differentiate between myth and truth, symbol and essence.

Employing Freire's theories as tools of analysis

Constructing human rights education

Utomo Dananjaya (2001), an NGO activist based in Jakarta, employs a Freirean perspective as the basis for constructing human rights education. The dissemination of human rights education in Indonesia is necessary, he believes, in order to protect human rights from any form of violation, either physical or non-physical. It also allows individuals to speak up and question what is going on in Indonesia concerning human rights violations, as is apparent in the tragedies since independence of G 30 S PKI, Tanjung Priok, Lampung, Haur Koneng, Kedung Ombo, and the like, in which hundreds of thousands of people were killed.

Human rights education is not a matter of memorizing human rights values, because it does not simply involve accumulating and transmitting knowledge. By contrast, it attempts to cultivate human rights values among participants through dialogue, understanding, conscientizing and acting. Building awareness from within, Dananjaya argues, yields better results than imposing values from outside through the courts as law.

What is the goal of human rights education? Dananjaya explains that the aim is to develop critical awareness within participants so that they can understand the meaning of human rights, why and how they are violated, who are the violators and the violated, and how to prevent such violations from happening. Human rights violations are not an individual matter; rather, they relate to a social system. For this reason, the mission of human rights education is not to reduce the issues of human rights to a personal level, but to locate them in the context of a social system.

In terms of content, Dananjaya employs Freire's concept of consciousness as a guide in formulating the substance of human rights education. When human rights education is oriented towards producing magical consciousness within participants, the content will involve teaching human rights values via the banking method, without reference to the tragedy of violations of human rights in the past and present. The reluctance to look critically at past violations of human rights is often driven by a philosophy embodied in the traditional saying, "mikul duwur mendem jero" (giving high respect to people and forgiving what they have done in the past). This is a reflection of people's culture, particularly among the Javanese. Often we hear people say "let us forget our sad past and draw wisdom from what has happened by seeking supreme and eternal values."

If the purpose of human rights education is to produce naïve consciousness, its content will consist of understanding the history and development of upholding human rights. The intention is to provide examples of how to act so as not to violate human rights. Thus, the process of learning ends up in the realm of understanding the subjects,

without analyzing why such violations happened and how to prevent them from happening.

The result of human rights education will, however, be quite different when it is oriented towards producing critical consciousness. Here the focus is on the analysis of the past and present of human rights violations, such as violence, oppression, conflict, rape and domination. Dananjaya argues that "these facts are not merely the relation between oppressor and oppressed, but involve how the system in which they exist works" (p. 6). This is the reason why understanding how a social system works is such an important part of human rights education. The process of learning then is based on the reality of human lives, a reality that is narrated by those who have seen their human rights violated. The pedagogical process aims not only at understanding what human rights are and the issues surrounding them, but also how this understanding may be used as a basis for transforming reality and protecting human dignity. Human rights education proposed by Dananjaya is no doubt oriented to produce critical consciousness within participants.

Critique of commercialization of education

Paul Suparno (2001), a lecturer at Sanata Dharma University, Jogjakarta, employs a Freirean perspective to analyze the trend towards the commercialization of education in Indonesia as a result of the expansion of global capitalism. Education under the control of a capitalist system tends to reduce its role to that of a mere instructional site without questioning its role in shaping public life. The idea of moral and ethical self-improvement has been shifted to merely technical and material self-improvement. The kind of science that is delivered to students is science that orients students to adapt to modern industrialized society. As a result, education is reduced to function as a sub-sector of the

economy. No doubt, education under the control of a capitalist system has investment in repressing and degenerating critical subjectivities. This is because it gives more attention to the pragmatist interest, or what is so-called *what is*, instead of underpinning the idealist and utopian interests, or *what should* and *can be* (Mayo, 2001).

The tendency towards the capitalization and commercialization of education is called into question by Suparno, who argues that such a trend reduces the quality of education. As a result, instead of empowering human beings (which should be its main goal), education is redirected towards serving capitalists and the status quo. In his view, the rapid growth of educational institutions in Indonesia has a strong correlation to business and the accumulation of capital.

Similarly, Risakotta (2003) argues that education in Indonesia today has always a tendency to advantage those who are already economically well-off. There is a wide gap between schools in Indonesia. On the one hand, there are schools that are of very good quality in terms of teachers, management and facilities. On the other, there are schools of lower quality in these areas. The former schools are only for children of the rich, because they can afford the expense, while the former are attended only by poor children. There are in fact spaces for children of disadvantaged children in some public schools, but the number is limited.

If the above situation continues, it is very possible that schooling will only result in social reproduction, as indicated by Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis (1976), in the sense that schools have a great investment in reproducing subject positions and sustaining exploitative class hierarchies. Children of parents from elites will tend to remain a part of this economic class when they become adults, whereas the children of parents with a

lower economic status will retain the same status when they become adults. The reason for this is that the former will generally have received a better education than the latter. It is true that some children from the lower classes are able to transcend their class social position, but the number is limited and not significant.

This is why it is important to ensure that the quality of the school is not only determined by capital alone, because if so the good schools will only be filled with the children of the elite and the rich. When this happens, not only do schools reproduce the class structure, they also reproduce social inequality. This tendency can lead to increasing corruption amongst the elites, as they are motivated to accumulate more and more capital in order to ensure the best education for their children.

To resist against the above tendency, Risakotta (2001) proposes a form of education that is inspired by Freire and that has the following characteristics. The first, of these is a commitment to the poor, because poverty is really a complex issue in Indonesia, both in rural or urban areas. Taking the side of the poor is not only an emotional reaction on the part of a teacher, nor empty rhetoric, but a real commitment manifested in action. The commitment to the poor in education has several implications, such as policies on the use of educational budgets and what will be given priority in that budget, as well as what kind of knowledge/content that will be taught as curriculum.

The commitment to the poor in education has a direct effect on driving social class mobility, because it employs the school as a means of socio-cultural production instead of as a means of perpetuating the status quo. Risakotta argues that it is necessary to introduce the class struggle concept into the school, arguing that it is impossible to take the side of the poor without understanding why they are marginalized. Class struggle

theories help learners to understand the group interests behind economic and political structures. These theories can also enable people to see the hidden agenda behind the conflicts that have occurred in Indonesia in the last five years. Unfortunately, class struggle theories that can be used as a theoretical framework to analyze structural injustice have been neglected in the process of schooling in Indonesia due to the domination of capitalism and neo-liberalism.

The second characteristic is that the goal of education is to transform the world, i.e., a world in which the capitalist system decrees competition and profitability to be the basis of human life. One of the influences of capitalism in education is the imposition of competition as the philosophical foundation of schooling, whereby individuals have to compete with and defeat each other in order to gain better positions in the socio-economic structure. Competition, however, yields an ideology of life that leads people to be selfish, and to think only about themselves. At this point, it is important, according to Risakotta, to reconsider Freire's notion that the role of education is not only to understand the world, but also to transform it into one that is more humane and just.

The third characteristic is that education should have the mission of realizing human liberation. As Freire pointed out, the goal of education cannot be separated from the means employed to achieve it, i.e., there must be some kind of compatibility between objectivity and methodology. The purpose of liberation cannot be achieved if the process of learning is undemocratic and authoritarian, such as through the use of imposition and indoctrination.

The last characteristic is that education should respect pluralism and different ideas, because Indonesia is a multi-ethnic and religiously plural society. Without the

willingness to accept such plurality, the result can be tension, hostility and resentment within society. The insistence on pluralism in education is aimed at avoiding imposition and uniformity in the name of religion, ethnicity, politics and class. Allowing imposition and uniformity to operate means placing pluralism under siege. Education, from childhood to adulthood, is better when it develops a capacity within learners for thinking independently, for overcoming the fear of thinking differently than teachers and peers.

The alternative education proposed by Risakotta is echoed by Nugroho (2003). He argues that one of his motives in writing his thesis on Paulo Freire for his B.A. degree in 1976 was to strengthen this kind of alternative education as a means of resistance to capitalization of education—a process that stresses corporate values at the expense of democratic and social justice issues.

Nugroho points out that Feire's philosophy of education, society and culture was relevant as a theoretical framework for analyzing the Indonesian society, economy, and politics dominated by a modernist-regimentalist paradigm that insists on uniformity and homogeneity. One example of this can be seen by looking at how the teaching of reading in primary schools is conducted. Students at this level have to read and memorize the phrase "Ini Ibu Budi" (This is Budi's Mother). The words of "Ibu" and "Budi" are problematic, because these words are only used in Java, particularly Central Java, and not in areas such as Papua, Aceh, Minang, Nusa Tenggara, Bali, and other areas in Indonesia outside Java. The question is: Why do people have to learn words that are alien to them? Does this not represent a kind of imposition of or vaunting the superiority of one culture (center) over another (periphery)? This little example illustrates the domination within education that can lead to the emergence of a culture of silence.

Alternative education, as envisioned by Freire, is related to transforming ways of thinking, from merely viewing reality from the perspective of common sense to a critical one, to enable people to differentiate between false consciousness and true consciousness, myth and truth, that are constructed through power relations amongst entities such as ideology, gender, political propaganda, the mass media, tradition, custom, culture and religion. Critical capacity allows individuals to unveil the political and ideological agendas behind public policies, and to resist any hegemonic interpretation of text and reality. To use Wahono's language (2003), "truth is not a monopoly of the state or of those who have power and privilege in society; it can be generated by ordinary people."

Contextualizing problem-posing method

Problem-posing education insists on making the historical and existential experiences of students the foundation for building the content of learning. The method used by Freire in his critical literacy is based on the technique of *problematizing* or 'problem posing,' that is, a method in which the content of learning is grounded in the learner's everyday life and based on interrogating everyday experiences through authentic dialogue between teachers and learners. This model involves a process of *codification* and *de-codification*.

Codification, according to Freire (1973), refers to the process of representing facts derived from the existential situations of the learners and making them problematic. This stage is followed by the second step, de-codification, a process of reading the facts that involves two levels of comprehension: descriptive and analytic. The descriptive method is employed to understand the categories that constitute reality, or to grasp the 'surface structure,' while the analytical method is used to comprehend critically the 'deep

structure.' At this analytical stage, learners can understand the dialectical relations among categories or power relations that constitute reality. What is expected from such a process of learning is the achievement of a critical level of knowing.

Risakotta (2001) interprets problem-posing education as a model opposite to that of banking education. The latter model is based on the assumption that knowledge is like a commodity that can be transferred from one to another, from teacher to students, without involving emotion and subjectivity. The philosophical foundation of this is a positivist paradigm which assumes that knowledge is a stable, certain and positive entity. In contrast to this model, problem-posing education assumes that knowledge is not a commodity that is owned by the individuals, but a capacity to understand social reality in a critical manner.

Nugroho (2003) regards the problem-posing method as relevant to the Indonesian educational context because, although there have been some changes with respect to educational reform such as the competence-based curriculum that was recently introduced, nevertheless the basic pattern of education is essentially still unaltered: students are situated as passive beings who receive and memorize knowledge that is imposed from outside, i.e., not by the local community but by the state. The emphasis on the same phrase "Ini Ibu Budi" for all societies in Indonesia reflects the uniformity imposed by the state. As a result, educational practices seldom take into account the culture, wisdom and traditions of the local community, which leads to ignorance of daily experience as the foundation of learning content. The problem-posing method, in Nugroho's view, is essential to any attempt to value local culture and tradition.

Ignoring the local context is a common educational practice in Papua. During his efforts at implementing Freirean methodologies in Papua, TB Gandhi Hartono (2003) found how local educational practices disregarded local culture and tradition. The content of learning was imported from outside the community, without consideration for local knowledge. How can local people, who live in remote areas, understand the content of this learning if it is so alien to them? For example, instead of using words that are understood by local people such as trees, forest, fish, and yams, teachers choose terms such as train and car as entry points—mere words describing something totally alien to their social context. This kind of educational practice reflects a lack of appreciation of local knowledge.

The above educational practice has been made possible by the assumption that teachers are the only actors who have the authority to design the content of knowledge. In contrast to this perspective, Freire argues that the content of learning should not be developed by the teacher alone, nor should it be developed in an ivory tower by scholars or the elite; rather, it is to be developed in collaboration with students. In other words, curriculum is developed through a bottom-up approach rather than top-down. This Freirean perspective, according to Suparno (2003), must be taken into account in developing curriculum in Indonesia, because the tendency has long been to design courses that are utopian, normative and abstract, thereby disregarding the real concerns of students in favor of an agenda set by academics. By considering local context, the content of learning is never uprooted from the daily life experiences of learners, unlike what is happening in Papua.

Without considering local context, tradition and knowledge, it is possible that the process of learning will result in cultural invasion and cultural imposition. Cultural invasion considers local knowledge as inferior and needing no exposure, while the knowledge of the outsider is superior and therefore needs to be imposed on the local context. The use of superior-inferior categories clearly indicates two extreme positions criticized by Freire, i.e., a subject who knows everything and an object who knows nothing.

The culture of imposition in education has serious implications, especially its degrading of critical capacity, because the brain is trained not to think, but to receive (Nugroho, 2003). Knowledge is thus not something to be produced creatively from students, but a final entity inflicted by an outsider that need not to be criticized, reconstructed or reformulated, whereas in fact there should be a process of knowledge production. A further impact is that knowledge delivered in class will be separated from its constitution, whereas in fact if one uses what Freire (1987) called "the gnosiological cycle of knowledge," the process of knowledge production is dialectically related to the moment of perceiving knowledge. The separation of knowledge from its constitution results in a process of learning that abandons the indispensable points that have to develop within cognitive subjects, such as critical reflection, curiosity, inquiry, etc.

In counterpoint to the culture of imposition, Freire proposes the culture of dialogue. Dialogue is the fulfillment of one's ontological vocation. It is a process of naming the world, a process of giving quality and meaning to things. The goal of dialogue is to humanize people and, thus, dialogue is also a process of humanization. It is impossible to have a democratic classroom with an absence of dialogue in the process of

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learning. Thus, dialogue is used not only to deepen understanding, but also as part of

making a difference in the world. Dialogue is employed to know one's perspective,

position and argument.

Freire: the Islamic perspective

Connecting Freire's thought to Islamic discourse is, to the best of my knowledge,

a new development in the discussion of critical pedagogy. In the global context, hundreds

of theses have been written on various aspects of Freire, but none of them have looked at

him from an Islamic perspective. In Indonesia (where ninety percent of the population is

Muslim), on the other hand, at least four M.A. theses have been presented that look at the

compatibility of Freire's ideas with Islam, all of which were produced in the same

institution: UIN (State Islamic University) Sunan Kalijaga, Jogjakarta.[2]

The titles of theses are as follows:

(1) Kholidi Ibhar, "Pembebasan Sebagai Paradigma Pendidikan Alternatif"
(Liberation as Paradigm of Alternative Education), (M.A. thesis, UIN Sunan
Kalijaga, 1993).

(2) Ahmad Warid, "Pendidikan Pembebasan: Kajian Konsep-konsep
Kependidikan Dalam Islam" (Pedagogy of Liberation: Study on Educational
Theories in Islam), (M.A. thesis, UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 1996).

(3) Dadang Hermawan, "Gagasan Paulo Freire Tentang Pembebasan: Tinjauan
Kritis dari Perspektif al-Qur'an dan al-Hadist" (Paulo Freire's Thought on
Liberation: Critical Analysis from the Qur'an and the Hadith Perspectives), (M.A.
thesis, UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2001).

(4) Rini Dwi Susanti, "Pendidikan Berwawasan Pembebasan: Telaah atas
Pemikiran Muhammad Athiyah al-Abrasyi dan Paulo Freire" (Pedagogy of
Liberation: Study on the Thought of Muhammad Athiyah al-Abrasyi and Paulo
Freire), (M.A. thesis, UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2002).

Each of the above theses makes a specific connection between Islam and Freire.

The first thesis gives specific attention to positing the idea of liberation as the basis of

alternative education. In fact, Ibhar discusses the encounter between Islam and Freire in regard to the idea of liberation.

The second thesis analyzes the possibility of deriving some conceptual framework from Islamic education that can be utilized as the basis of constructing a so-called liberatory education. Since the idea of liberatory education had its origin within the tradition of critical pedagogy, Warid employs Freire as a source for his references.

The main focus of the third thesis is Paulo Freire's philosophy of liberation. In it, Hermawan analyzes Freire's thought from the perspectives of the Qur'an and the Hadith, the two main sources of Islam. He quotes many verses from these sources in order to show the points of contact between Freire's thought and Islam.

The final thesis in the list, that of Susanti, attempts to compare Freire with the Egyptian Muslim scholar Muhammad Athiyah al-Abrasyi, who also wrote on the same general topic *at-tarbiyah al-hurriyah* (pedagogy of liberation).

The idea of liberation insisted upon by Freire is not alien to the Islamic tradition. In Islam, liberation is a key element of teaching. Commonly speaking, Islam etymologically means submission, surrendering, or servitude. However, Hasan Hanafi (1995) extends its meaning to "a protest, an opposition and a revolution" (p. 148), arguing that the term *aslama* is ambiguous; it is double act of negation and affirmation, as reflected in the utterance "I witness that there is no god except God." The ambiguity of the word Islam reflects the dual reality of the socio-political structure of society: "Islam as both submission to the political power and the upper classes, and as revolt by the ruled majority and the poor classes" (p. 148).

Many scholars have argued that the biggest mission of Islam is liberation (Ashghar Ali Engineer, 1990; Ali Shari'ati, 1986; Kuntowijoyo, 1991), not only from political oppression, but also from any system of thought or philosophy that views human beings in an absurd sense, i.e., valuing them only insofar as they serve, what Neil Postman (1995) calls, "the God of economic utility."

This theme of liberation is where Indonesian exponents of Freire's thought most closely approach progressive Muslim theorists, many of whom preach a sort of liberation theology that resembles Freire's program in a number of respects. For instance, in a fine discussion, the African Muslim scholar, Farid Esack (1997), elaborates in a critical manner a sort of "Qur'anic theology of liberation" by employing certain Qur'anic concepts as hermeneutical tools in its construction, such as *taqwa* (integrity and awareness in relation to the presence of God), *tawhid* (divine unity), *al-nas* (the people), *al-mustad'afun fi'ard* (the oppressed on the earth), *'adl* and *qist* (balance and justice) and *jihad* (struggle and praxis).

The first two concepts, *taqwa* and *tawhid*, are utilized as moral and doctrinal criteria in order to examine others. The second two, *al-nas* and the marginalized, are situated as the locus of interpretive activity, while the last two, justice and struggle, are employed as method and ethos in order to produce and shape a contextual understanding of the Qur'an in an unjust society.

Taqwa in a Muslim ensures that he/she walks in the grace of God: it provides the aesthetic and spiritual balance of the believer. It has the consequence of engaging the believer in a dialectical process of personal and socio-political transformation, because "change, according to the Qur'an, is a dialectical process of simultaneous conversion of

hearts and [socio-economic] structures" (Call of Islam, 1988, quoted in Esack, 1995, p.

89). *Tawhid* is a reflection of an undivided God for undivided humanity. Humans are

viewed in an undivided way, meaning that they are all equal, regardless of their religion,

color, race, ethnicity or nation.

Al-mustad'afun fi al-ard refers to those people who are vulnerable, marginalized

and oppressed in a given social, political or economic structure. In this case, God

promises to make these oppressed the leaders and inheritors of the earth, as mentioned in

the Qur'an, 28:1-5.

> Ta. Sin. Mim. These are verses of the Book that makes (things) clear. We rehearse
> to you some of the story of Moses and Pharaoh in Truth, for people who believe.
> Truly Pharaoh elated himself in the land and broke up its people into sections,
> depressing a small group among them: their sons he slew, but he kept alive their
> females. For he was indeed a maker of mischief. And We wish to be gracious to
> those who were being depressed in the land, to make them leaders and make them
> heirs.

These verses speak of the battle between Moses, symbolizing the liberator, and

Pharaoh, representing the oppressor, in which God promises the oppressed that they will

become leaders of the earth. The *al-mustad'afun* are also represented by the way of life of

the Prophet Muhammad and his early followers in Mecca. The Qur'an thus utilizes *jihad*

as a praxis for liberating the oppressed.

Asghar Ali Engineer (1987), an Indian Muslim scholar and proponent of Islamic

liberation theology, argues that Muhammad was a liberator of the oppressed. The reason,

as he sees it, why the prophet faced so much resistance from the great majority of the

capitalist Quraysh when he started preaching was because of economic factors rather than

religious ones. He quotes Taha Husayn:

If the prophet had preached simply unity of God without attacking the social and economic system, leaving the differences between weak and strong, rich and poor, slave and master intact, and had no banned usury, and had not exhorted the rich to distribute part of their wealth to the needy and indigent, the great majority of the tribe of Quraysh would have accepted his religion (Engineer, 1987, p. 42).

The mission of Muhammad was thus, according to Engineer, "to change the status quo in favor of the oppressed and exploited" (1990: 56). The reason why the weaker sections of society were attracted to Islam was because they believed that Muhammad's mission could liberate them from an unjust social system. One example of his concern for the disenfranchised was his decision to liberate Bilal, a black slave of foreign origin. Muhammad even went so far as to appoint him as caller (*muezzin*), a person who calls upon Muslims to come pray in the mosque.

This emphasis on taking the side of the weakest in society is justified on the basis of the argument that there will be no social justice without liberating the oppressed. The powerful challenge of the Prophet to capitalist Mecca clearly demonstrates that the whole ideological character of Islam is inspired by the quest for justice and liberty.

Muhammad was not only revolutionary in his thought, but also in his deeds. Through praxis, he worked for radical changes in the social structure of his time. The Prophet worked for the liberation of the oppressed, the weak and needy, and he was "not only a teacher and a philosopher, but also an activist, a participant and a fighter" (Engineer, 1990, p. 30). He was born and emerged as the voice of social revolution.

It is clear from the above perspective that the ideas of liberation and taking the side of the oppressed are the hallmark of Islamic teachings; thus, the idea of liberation proposed and insisted upon by Freire in education is far from alien to Islamic tradition. The question is: How to liberate the oppressed?

Hermawan (2001) argues that the way in which Muhammad liberated the oppressed was by awakening their dignity, because they were often undervalued, disgraced and humiliated. Their dignity as human beings had to be awakened as God had dignified them on earth by making them all equal before Him. In so doing, the Prophet lived amongst the poor and the oppressed, and, therefore, he was called "*abu al-masakin*" (father of the poor). When he was asked by his companions where they would most likely find him, he said: "Look for me amongst those of you who are weakest." Like the poor, the Prophet also lived modestly and simply. It is impossible to liberate and awaken the oppressed without becoming directly involved in their daily lives.

In Freire's approach, to liberate the oppressed it is necessary to develop critical capacities and creativity within them. Human beings, in the process of social transformation, are situated at the centre point. Similarly, in Islam, human beings have full responsibility for their own future. The Qur'an (13:11) says: "Verily never does Allah change the condition of a people until they change what is in themselves." This means that the history and destiny of human beings depend on themselves. History is a matter of choice, a field of battle; it is not a closed entity but an open one. In Freire's language, "people have to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process or in transformation that can be made and remade, constructed and reconstructed" (1970, p. 72).

As for the connection between Freire and Islam, Hermawan (2001) comes to the conclusion that:

> Although Freire is not a Muslim and his thought is never based on Islam (the Qur'an and the Hadith), it is possible to conclude that his concept tends to be a kind of "contextualization of Islam." This can be seen from his works and thoughts that are full of liberative energy that drives him to take action (p. 78).

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Due to the compatibility of Freire to Islam, Ahmad Syafi'i Ma'arif (1991), a former

President of Muhammadiyah (2000-2005),[3] proposes what he calls "Islamic education as

a paradigm of liberation," arguing that liberative and emancipative values are inherent

and even in some sense the hallmark of Islamic teachings. Thus, Freire's insistence on

liberation and taking the side of the disenfranchised is far from alien to the Islamic

tradition.

The primary concern of Islamic liberation pedagogy, according to Ma'arif, is how

to make individuals the focal point (as subjects) and not merely the target (as objects) of

social change. To use Freire's language, what has to be developed is a kind of education

that can help people to increase their critical capacities toward the world and then

transform it. Particular emphasis should be laid on building independent beings capable

of transforming reality. As noted by Freire, teachers, educators and cultural workers

should have faith in humans as subjects capable of living *in* and *with* the world—a notion

in line with the Islamic worldview that humans are created as noble beings entrusted by

God with management of the earth. Reason is the instrument that distinguishes humans

from animals and through which they can become subjects.

An Islamic liberation pedagogy has to be formulated because Islamic education

has a tendency to be a-historical, i.e., focused only on abstract matters, and not grounded

in the problem-beset real life of humanity. The philosophical foundation of an Islamic

pedagogy of liberation is *tawhid* (one God), whether from a theological or sociological

standpoint. In a sense, this religious foundation deals with the concept of the unity of God

while at the same time also dealing with the oneness of human beings. This extension of

the meaning of *tawhid* amounts to connecting the normative and historical aspects of religion in order to make its teachings meaningful for humanity.

Islamic education, Ma'arif argues, should in this context play the role of bringing normative teachings down to earth by contrasting the text which is taught in class with reality. A dialectical relationship between text and context or text and reality is important for ensuring that the content of learning is not foreign to the social context in which the learners exist.

Another Indonesian scholar, Mansour Fakih (1994), employs Freire's consciousness theory to analyze the types of consciousness generated by Islamic theological reform in Indonesia. He compares these types of consciousness with the schools of thought in Islamic tradition, as illustrated in the following diagram:

Magical consciousness ————→ Jabariya school of thought

Naïve consciousness ————→ Mu'tazila school of thought

Critical consciousness ————→ Transformative school of thought
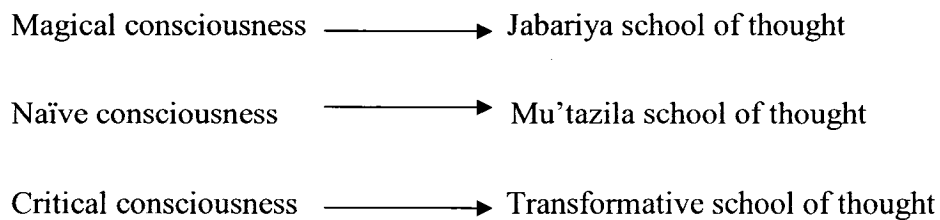
The Jabariya school of thought in Islamic tradition is known as fatalist theology and refers to a group of people who believe that human beings have no free will and are forced into their choice. They can only adapt defensively and passively to the expectations of superior forces, because life has already been designed and determined by God. They take the facts of their socio-political situation as a "given" and cannot see the socio-economic contradictions within society. They accept their life for *what it is* and do not try to look at *what it should be*, because they do not believe in the ability of human agency to transform prevailing conditions. The Jabariya theology is parallel to what Freire calls magical consciousness—an attitude that always associates life with destiny,

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fortune and the mystical, all of which are non-historical. This type of consciousness is characterized by fear of change, resignation, accommodation and conformity, and typical of closed societies exhibiting a "culture of silence." Thus, Fakih argues that people following the Jabariya mode of thought are parallel to those who embrace magical consciousness as defined by Freire.

The Mu'tazila school of thought in Islamic tradition is known for its rational theology, and in today's society it refers to modernist Muslims who propose Islamic reform. People who follow this school believe in human agency and free will and insist on using reason to interpret Islam. They see culture and the mind as the most essential components of social transformation and, therefore, they believe in transforming an individual's culture and ideology as a means of transforming society. The proponents of this school easily adapt to and affirm modernity, because the idea of progress and development is aligned with—and in fact proceeds from—the use of reason. Fakih argues that this type of theology is parallel to what Freire calls naïve consciousness, which tends to individualize the problems without relating them to the whole social system in which they live. Instead of using structural analysis in respect to socio-economic contradictions, poverty and backwardness, they tend to blame individuals for these problems. There is no way of overcoming these problems except by transforming culture, faith and ideology within people.

The transformative school of thought in Islamic tradition, on the other hand, is a current phenomenon propagated by leftist Muslim thinkers who view unjust social structures as the root of problems. Instead of blaming individuals, however, people who embrace this mode of thought blame an unjust system as the root of the problem. For this

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reason, transforming unjust social structures more just is the only option. This can only be achieved by creating a non-exploitative economic structure, a non-oppressive socio-political structure, a non-dominative cultural relation, and equal gender relations. This type of thought, in Fakih's view, is parallel to what Freire calls critical consciousness. People at this stage possess a high level of 'structural perception' and are able to participate in the process of social transformation in a critical manner. Poverty and backwardness are not merely viewed as mental or cultural problems; rather, they are products of an unjust social structure.

The Accessibility of Freire's texts in the Indonesian language

One interesting feature of the discussion of Freire's influence in Indonesia is the extensive effort that has gone into translating his texts into the Indonesian language. The translations themselves can be divided into two chronological periods: before and after the reformation era (1998).[4] There is no doubt that the number of translations after 1998 was much greater than before that date. In fact, prior to the reformation era, or the period of the New Order regime, there were only two of Freire's books made available in Indonesian versions, namely, *Education as the Practice of Freedom* (1973), published by Pustaka Gramedia, Jakarta in 1984 under the title *Pendidikan Sebagai Praktek Pembebasan*, and *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), published by LP3ES, Jakarta, in 1985 under the title *Pendidikan Kaum Tertindas*.

The translator of the first book was Alois Agus Nugroho, a student of STF Driyarkara at the time. The introduction to the book was written by KH. Abdurrahman Wahid, a former President of Indonesia (1999-2002). One week after *Pendidikan Sebagai Praktek Pembebasan* was published, Nugroho was called by Sularto, a KOMPAS

journalist, who informed him that the attorney general had banned the book from circulation. Nugroho then complained to Soerjanto Poespowardojo, head of the Department of Philosophy of Literature at the University of Indonesia (UI), who also worked in the State Secretariat. Exactly what he said to the authorities is unknown, except that a deal was reached by which the book could be circulated but not be reprinted. In other words, it could only be printed once.

Meanwhile, the translation of the second book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, had a different history, as it was worked on by two groups of translators. One group was Yayasan Ilmu-ilmu Sosial (Social Sciences Foundation) led by Selo Sumarjan and Bur Rasuanto. The translator was Peter Danuwinata, a major exponent of Freirean ideas particularly in the 1970s and 1980s. The other group was LP3ES, a respected NGO since the 1980s. The book was translated by a team consisting of Roem Topatimasang, Mansour Fakih, Utomo Dananjaya and Jimly Asshiddiqie. Due to copyright copy restrictions, however, the one published by LP3ES was the only version circulated to the public.

The initial motive behind publishing *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* was to use it as the main tool for training NGO activists in the 1980s. NGO activists responded positively and enthusiastically and the book became the basis of a new discourse among them. The book was not translated in any conventional way, in the sense of word by word or sentence by sentence translation, but rather paragraph by paragraph. Each member of the team read the paragraph, and then discussed it to find out the main idea or what Freire actually wanted to say in this paragraph. After the main idea had been found, they

translated contextually, not literally, in the sense that they used and chose words that

would easily be understood by the Indonesian people.

The number of publications by and on Freire mushroomed in the reformation era,

with at least sixteen titles being made available in the Indonesian language (excluding the

two mentioned above), namely:

1. *The Politics of Education: Culture, Power and Liberation* (1985), published by Pustaka Pelajar (Jogjakarta, 1999) under the title *Politik Pendidikan, Kebudayaan, Kekuasaan, dan Pembebasan.*

2. *Pedagogy in Process: The Letters to Guinea Bissau* (1983), published by Pustaka Pelajar (Jogjakarta, 2000) under the title *Pendidikan Sebagai Process: Surat-menyurat Pedagogis dengan Para Pendidik Guinea-Bissau.*

3. *Paulo Freire: His Life, Work and Thought* (Dennis Collins, 1977), published by Pustaka Pelajar (Jogjakarta, 1999) under the title *Paulo Freire: Kehidupan, Karya dan Pemikirannya.*

4. *Pedagogy of Hope: Reliving Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1997), published by Kanisius (Jogjakarta, 2002), under the title *Pendidikan Pengharapan: Menghayati Kembali Pedagogi Kaum Tertindas.*

5. *Pedagogy of the Heart* (1998), published by Kanisius (Jogjakarta, 2001), under the title *Pedagogi Hati.*

6. *Paulo Freire on higher education: A dialogue at the National University of Mexico* (M. Escobar and G.Guevara Niebla, 1994), published by LKiS (Jogjakarta, 1999) under the title *Dialog Bareng Paulo Freire: Sekolah Kapitalisme yang Licik.*

7. *Pedagogy for Liberation : Dialogues on Transforming Education* (1987), published by LKiS (Jogjakarta, 2001), under the title *Menjadi Guru Merdeka: petikan pengalaman.*

8. Mansour Fakih, Roem Topatimasang, et al, *Pendidikan Popular: Membangun Kesadaran Kritis* (Jogjakarta: Pact and INSIST, 2001).

9. Muh. Hanif Dhakiri, *Paulo Freire, Islam dan Pembebasan* (Muh. Hanif Dhakiri), (Jakarta: Djambatan and Pena, 2000).

10. *Paulo Freire et al: Menggugat Pendidikan : Fundamentalis, Konservatif, Liberal, Anarkhis*, transl. Omi Intan Naomi (Jogjakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 1999).

11. Firdaus M. Yunus, *Pendidikan berbasis realitas sosial: Paulo Freire, Y.B. Mangunwijaya* (Jogjakarta: Logung Pustaka, 2004).

12. Chr. Soetopo, "Konsientisasi: Proses Pembangkitan Kesadaran," in *Teologi dan Praksis Pastoral*, ed. T.G. Hommes and E.G. Singgih (Jogjakarta: Kanisius, 1992).

13. Valentinus Budi Hartono, Konsientisasi: Tujuan Pendidikan Freire (Sebuah Tinjauan Singkat Pokok Pemikiran Filsafat Pendidikan Paulo Freire) (Jakarta, STF Driyarkara Thesis, 1986).

14. Widodo Yohanes, Pendidikan Konsientisasi Paulo Freire serta Sumbangannya bagi Guru Guna Membangun Sikap Kritis Siswa dalam Kehidupan Bermasyarakat (Jogjakarta, Thesis, Sanata Dharma University, 2002).

15. Qomaruzzaman, Studi Kritis ata Pemikiran Prof. Dr. Paulo Freire: Analisa Paradigma Pendidikan Pembebasan (Jogjakarta, Thesis, Indonesian Islamic University, 2001).

16. Anthony Dass, Usaha untuk memahami Pemikiran Paulo Freire tentang Kaum Tertindas dalam Konteks Generasi Sekarang (Jogjakarta, Thesis, 2001, Sanata Dharma University).

It is clear from this list that there can be no doubt that no other educational thinker has had such a record of acceptance in Indonesia.

How does one interpret the phenomenon of the proliferation of Freire's texts in the Indonesian language? What does it mean? Indonesian scholars and activists are divided into two groups on this question. The first group (Marut, Fakih, Topatimasang, Sudiardja, Budiharga, among others) views that this is only a trend following the massive publication of translations. The second group (Ma'arif, Nugroho, Risakotta, Danuwinata, Fauzi, Suparno, among others), sees it as an indication that Indonesian society in general is particularly receptive to Freire's thought.

The first group argues that the translation of Freire's texts is not a special phenomenon, because not only are his books being translated but so are those of other

social-leftist thinkers such as Karl Marx, Antonio Gramsci, Michel Foucault, Noam Chomsky, Che Guevara, and the like. The aim of publication, besides the hope of financial return, is to meet the demands of a public that had no access to such books due to the strict political censorship of the New Order regime, which undoubtedly inhibited the publication of social-critical works. After the fall of the New Order, the freedom of expression and freedom of the press were no longer suppressed, giving rise to a strengthening of the public sphere and of civil society. In line with this auspicious political atmosphere, people were able to access any paradigm of thought, whether 'leftist,' 'moderate' or 'right' wing. It was not surprising that progressive, emancipative and leftist thinking found new outlets. As a result, many books that have never before been allowed to appear are now becoming available. And as a final argument, this group points out that educational practices in formal education, in general, are still dominated by the banking model, meaning that Freire's thought has made no real inroads.

The second group, on the other hand, argues that the massive translation of Freire's books is undoubtedly a sign that his educational philosophies and theories are widely accepted by educators, students, scholars, social workers and NGO activists in Indonesia. In answer to the argument that Freire's books are only a few of the many being published, they argue that his works are still much greater and popular when compared to other social thinkers, whether inside or outside educational discourse.

Nor does the fact that formal educational practice in Indonesia is still under the shadow of the banking model necessarily mean that his influence has not been widespread, because the sphere of Freire's educational theories is not in formal education, but in the NGO world. Originally, Freire's educational philosophy and

practice developed in the context of popular education, though he had experience too in introducing his educational theories in formal education when he was appointed Secretary of Municipal Education for Sao Paulo from 1989 to 1991.

However, Sudiarja (2003) contends that the massive publication of Freire's works has come too late, because ideally such books should have been published before the reformation era as a medium of persuading people to fight against the oppressive regime. In response to this criticism, Budiharga (2003) argues that under the New Order regime censorship and regulations together determined what could and could not be published. This strict political censorship contributed to a decrease in the number of published critical texts. Seen from this perspective, the late publication of Freire's works is understandable.

Discussion

Paulo Freire has left a considerable intellectual legacy to Indonesian educational scholars and practitioners. His cultural and educational philosophies have become subjects of discussion amongst social activists, educational practitioners and scholars concerned with educational issues. It is no wonder that so many articles, books and theses on Freire are available in the country. This shows that his educational thought is familiar and influential amongst Indonesian intellectuals and activists. I would venture to say that no other foreign educational thinker has gained such acceptance in Indonesia. Freire has given inspiration to a reorientation of schooling as a site of developing the critical capacities within learners necessary to draw out the political implications of the learning process.

A number of issues in Paulo Freire's methodology and philosophy have been discussed in the foregoing. From an analysis of these issues, we can reach certain conclusions:

First, it is very rare to find an Indonesian educator who consistently disseminates Freirean ideas all the time. Most Indonesian educators, either NGO activists involved in popular education or scholars involved in formal education, engage in discussing and practicing Freirean theory and methodology only at a particular time. Peter Danuwinata, for instance, was involved intensively in the discussions on Freirean ideas in the 1970s and 1980s, but was not very much involved in the 1990s onwards. He admitted furthermore that he does not follow Freire's educational discourse thoroughly and admitted failure in his attempt to disseminate his thoughts in Indonesia.

The most consistent figure in disseminating, following and practicing Freire's theories and methodologies in Indonesia, I think, is Mansour Fakih (1957-2004). Since the 1980s, he has been involved in training that employs Freire's approach in combination with the development concept. In the 1990s and until the end of his life in February 2004, he still consistently propagated Freires's critical literacy through his writings and speeches. For example, in 1994, Fakih wrote an article entitled "Teologi Kaum Tertindas" (Theology of the Oppressed). This article employs Freire's perspective to analyze the types of consciousness produced by schools of Islamic thought in Indonesia. In 2001, in collaboration with Roem Topatimasang, Toto Rahardjo, and Russ Dilts, he wrote a book entitled "Pendidikan Populer: Membangun Kesadaran Kritis" (Popular Education: Developing Critical Consciousness). This book is entirely based on Freire's philosophy and methodology. In 2002, Fakih published a book entitled "Jalan

Lain: Manifesto Intelektual Organik" (Another Path: Manifesto of an Organic

Intellectual). This book is theoretically based on Antonio Gramsci and Paulo Freire, the

two main sources of critical adult education.

In 2003, when I interviewed Fakih, he still showed great enthusiasm for Paulo

Freire, arguing that the latter, as well as Gramsci, could theoretically be used as a tool of

analysis to understand the current situation of what he called the "era of co-opting

term/jargon," where many terminologies developed and used by NGOs, such as

empowerment and participatory, have been so thoroughly adopted and co-opted by other

institutions (such as the World Bank) that their basic orientation is no longer actually

towards empowerment, but domestication. According to Fakih, the easiest method to

understand this context is through Freire, because his educational philosophy and practice

begins from an exact consciousness of words, an understanding of words that allows one

to grasp their meaning in relation to the world. Relating the word to the world is part of

structural analysis, because it can draw out political implications.

Another reason why Fakih enthusiastically promoted Freire was because today

only a few NGOs concern themselves with developing popular education based on Freire.

As a result, NGOs are now part of a dominated system and are losing their critical

consciousness. This is the reason why popular education or Freirean education is

necessary. Fakih declared that all training developed by INSIST (an NGO to which he

belonged) should be modified and based on the spirit of Freirean popular education.

Secondly, connecting Freire in the context of Islamic discourse is, to the best of

my knowledge, a new feature in the global discussion of Freire. We have seen that four

academic theses concerning Islam and Freire written for an Islamic institution of higher

education, UIN Sunan Kalijaga, indicated how popular Freire is amongst Muslim students. His thinking has been analyzed from an Islamic perspective and compared to that of a Muslim scholar, Muhammad Athiyah al-Abrasyi.

However, in my view, any attempt to compare Islam and Freire is likely to fall into apologetics, in the sense that this would only confirm that Islam also insists on the idea of liberation, as Freire did, without trying to analyze why such an idea has never developed in Islamic education. The fact that Islam, since its appearance, has concerned itself with liberation and taking the side of the poor cannot be denied. However, using this fact to legitimate Freire's educational philosophy and practice is less productive, because it does not make a substantive contribution to re-developing and re-structuring Islamic education, which is essentially conservative.

Another point that needs to be made is that the theses do not apply a careful enough reading when comparing the praxis of Muhammad and Freire. It is true the ideological foundation of both is liberation of the oppressed; however, the method they used is different. In the case of Muhammad, he became a focus and leader of social transformation, with the first Muslims as his followers. There is a kind of hierarchy in this case: leader-people.

Freire's critical pedagogy, on the other hand, insists on the importance of treating the oppressed as subjects instead of objects in the process of social change. It is the people themselves who are responsible for transforming the social condition, not outsiders. Freire fully believed in the capacity of people to change the prevailing conditions, because this is part of an 'ontological vocation' to become more fully human and to create a civilized world. The principle point is how to build critical capacities and

creativity within the oppressed so that they are able to identify and analyze their problems and find the solutions to these problems. Following this principle, a social activist, teacher and cultural worker comes to a group of oppressed not as a leader, but as a facilitator.

Third, it seems that the extensive discussion on Freire does not correspond to national education policy-making. This can be seen from the Legal Draft of the National Education System Number 20 Year 2003, which does not reflect Freire's spirit. There are at least two arguments that can be made in this case. In the first place, this legal draft does not show a clear commitment to empowering the oppressed, such as the poor and disabled. Public schools, for instance, are becoming more and more expensive, making it difficult for parents of lower class families to send their children to school. At the higher education level, there is a policy in public universities such as UGM (Gadjah Mada University), UI (Indonesian University) and ITB (Bandung Institute of Technology) to accept students on the basis of how much money they can contribute to the university without testing. This policy shows an intimate relationship between capitalism and education that can lead to schooling practices that favor economic control by elite classes.

In the second case, the legal draft does not orient education as a site to develop critical consciousness within learners. This means that extending individual capacities and subjectivities are not considered as important elements in the process of schooling. On the contrary, corporate values have been emphasized at the expense of social justice and human dignity.

[1] Fauzi presented this paper in the "Pameran Konsep Seni Rupa Penyadaran" (Exhibition of Fine Art Conscientization), Jogjakarta, March 22-26 1990.

[2] This university was known prior to July 2004 as IAIN (Institute for Islamic Studies) Sunan Kalijaga, and offered programs in five faculties: Tarbiyah (Islamic Education), Syari'ah (Islamic law), Ushuluddin (Islamic Thought), Dakwah (Islamic Preaching), and Adab (Islamic Poetry). At that point, however, the institution was transformed into a State Islamic University based on Presidential Decree No. 50/2004 and equipped with even more faculties than before, including a Faculty of Social Humanity and a Faculty of Science.

Based on my research, this university has so far produced more theses (four) on Freire than any other university in Indonesia. An inventory yields the following results: University of Sanata Dharma, Jogjakarta (linked with the Catholic), two theses; UNY (State University of Jogjakarta), none; UII (Indonesian Islamic University), Jogjakarta, two theses; STF (Higher Education Philosophy) Driyarkara, Jakarta, three theses; UIN (State Islamic University) Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta, none.

[3] The Muhammadiyah is a second biggest Muslim organization in Indonesia after Nahdatul Ulama.

[4] Reformation era is attributed to the changing of Soeharto regime in 1998. The change of the regime was then called "reformation era" to sign the transition from authoritarian to democratic system which allowed mass participation, freedom of expression, free press, and control mechanism of public over state.

Applying Paulo Freire's Educational Theories in Practice:
Indonesian Experiences

The focus of this chapter is on the experience of applying Freire's educational theories in the Indonesian context. This will be accomplished by examining their effects on certain discrete groups within the society, namely: (a) villagers in Papua; (b) the rural poor in Maluku Tenggara; (c) workers in Ungaran, Semarang District, Central Java; (d) peasants in West Java; (e) street children in Sekeloa, Bandung, West Java; (f) university students; and (g) NGO activists.

Villagers in Papua

TB Gandhi Hartono (2003) has described his experiences applying Freirean methodology in the context of a Papuan community dwelling in a remote area. After completing his master's degree at STF Driyarkara in 1998, he, as a candidate for the priesthood, was sent to work in Papua from early 1999 up to the mid-2001. However, he could not achieve much in that time because of cultural and socio-political problems. Papuans generally tend to suspect anyone from Java, or indeed all immigrants, such that conflict between the locals and newcomers is a frequent occurrence. Nevertheless, for one year he tried to observe the life experiences of Papuan people: how they felt, interacted and bonded in their human relationships.

The above experiences were used by him as a basis for reflecting on and formulating a model of education in accordance with the Papuan context. In doing so, Hartono found that Freire's approach is suitable, not only because of the similarity of the context (Papua and Brazil), but also because his conscientization education can help to develop awareness among local people of what is going on in their homeland. Freire had

experiences living with the oppressed and had attempted to make them aware of their existential reality. His conscientization education, according to Hartono, could be utilized to make the Papuan people aware that they had been "colonized" in their homeland.

Following Freire's methodology, the initial focus was to make people aware of their environment. This necessitated starting from individual consciousness, for only then could collective consciousness be shaped. In the process, besides observing their culture and studying their language (the Pei language), Hartono also tried to discover the specific terms and words commonly used by the local people in order to employ them as an entry point in the learning process. At first, indigenous logic was maintained until the locals found by themselves that such logic is uncommon. For example, according to common logic, one divided by two is a half, but for the Papuans one divided by two is two because, to them, one yam divided into two results in two portions. The process of learning was therefore designed so that, ultimately, the students could find by themselves that one divided into two is a half, or maybe it is two. What was insisted upon in this process was the development of creativity, curiosity and awareness through action-reflection.

Hartono argued that what Freire had done in Brazil was to liberate people from any fear of articulating their thoughts and voices while ensuring that they were not alienated from their own environment. The situation that Freire experienced was almost similar to that of Papuans who had traumatic experience with the army that made them living in constant fear. This experience no doubt contributed in creating the culture of silence. What was happening in Papua was a process of deception of the people through various kinds of imposition and indoctrination delivered via various social institutions,

including the schools. It is interesting to consider in such cases how rural people understand matters like trains or cars when these have no connection with their daily life. The Papuans, since they live in the hinterland, know about trees, the forest, fish, yams, and such things. The process of learning, therefore, necessitates beginning with such items; otherwise, one ends up alienating people from their own culture and environment.

In the process of implementing the Freirean model in Papua, Hartono faced at least three challenges:

First, parents in Papua are not yet ready to accept education for their children; in fact, there is even the impression that they should not allow their children to go to school. They are reluctant in the first place because they feel that they will lose the services of their children who collect wood or yams when they are not in school. It is a situation where the parents are not conscious yet of the importance of education for their children.

Secondly, Papuans are still traumatized by immigrants and newcomers. For them, anyone who has straight hair is assumed to belong to the army, since they themselves have curly hair. This explains why Hartono, who has straight hair and comes from Java, was at first rejected when he came to this community and found little response to anything he said.

Thirdly, Papuan people have a closed culture, in the sense they do not open up to people who are alien to them. Even amongst Papuan tribes themselves, good communications are rare. We can imagine how difficult it must be is for any newcomer who wants to enter to such a society.

To deal with the first challenge, Hartono tried to discover a way to make parents understand the importance of education and then allow their children to obtain it. At this

point, he tried not only to make education a site for increasing the critical capacities within learners, but also a means of obtaining direct results, or something concrete and real, as expected by Papuan parents. The strategy used was to employ a model of outdoor education, such as inviting them to go to the beach or forest. When they went home they would bring something to their parents, whether it was fish, yams, wood or other such goods.

For example, the children were invited to collect fish on the beach by their own means. After one hour, some of them might have caught two, three, four or more fish. Through discussion and dialogue, they were asked to give the reasons why they wanted to acquire such an amount of fish. From this discussion it was learned that they sought fish only for a limited purpose, i.e., that of providing food only for that day and based on the number of family members. For example, when one of them was asked why he only tried to catch five fishes, his answer was that there were only five people in his home-- father, mother, two sisters and himself.

The task of the educator in this situation, according to Hartono, is to find a way to broaden the perspective of those children, to make them realize that it will bring more benefit if they try to catch fish more than just for a momentary purpose or in amounts limited by the number of family members. For example, even if there may be five members within a family, catching more than five fish can be of benefit: surplus fish can be exchanged for other foods such as yams, vegetables and so on. Thus the family can eat fish, vegetables and yams at the same time. They can also sell the surplus fish so that they can save money. The idea behind this process of learning is to broaden perspectives, to

train people to think in the long term and to go beyond their limit situation. Naturally, this is not an easy task: gradual steps and much patience are essential.

To deal with the second challenge, that is, the suspicion of immigrants and in particular those of strange appearance (straight hair, etc), Hartono, like Freire, established a cadre basis in order to build a bridge between himself and the local community. There were two cadre bases formed: one consisting of his friends from Gadjah Mada University, Jogjakarta, who were interested in becoming volunteers in Papua, and the other consisting of local people. It is important to note that cadres from the local population played a vital role because it was they who continued the community education process in the long run.

The rural poor of Maluku Tenggara

Donatus Klaudius Marut, Roem Topatimasang and Peter Elmas began in 1991 to use Freire's methodology (in combination with that of Dewey) as a framework for transforming rural poor society in Maluku Tenggara, particularly in Kei Islands. They were a solid team: Roem, who had mastered the theories and some of the technical concepts of Freire, served as facilitator within the classroom, while the others were responsible for applying these theories in practice.

Maluku Tenggara in 1991 was dominated by army personnel and businessmen, so that there was not a single NGO active there. The area was very rich in resources, particularly from the sea such as fish and pearls. In one Kecamatan (sub-district) alone, there were 370 pearl entrepreneurs able to produce stock worth millions of US dollars per-month. Ironically, however, the local people were very poor, and some of them were dying because of diarrhea. Their natural resources had been exploited by outside

entrepreneurs aligned with the police and army. The local community had no choice but to cooperate with the army because they felt intimidated. Moreover, there was no single organization that could assist the local people in such a repressive situation. This socio-political background led Marut, Topatimasang and Elmas to decide to devote themselves to this society and to focus on strengthening the position of locals faced with those who exploited their natural resources.

To achieve this, they introduced community organizing through the medium of training. The aim of this training was to enable local people to organize themselves and to help them understand the importance of social organization. This stage was followed by an endeavor to change the consciousness of individuals. The focus of this stage was on transforming and liberating people's way of thinking, which strangely enough consisted in admiration for those exploiting them. This is because for a long time they had been economically dependent on the latter and had begun to internalize the values, norms and culture of their oppressors. In the long run, there emerged a kind of admiration for those wielding power over them. It is no wonder, therefore, that the children in the community when asked what profession they wanted to follow when they grew up, typically answered: police officer, soldier, or entrepreneur. Compare this with the fact that, up to 1952, the same question would have been met with the answer: a teacher. This is reminiscent of the time when Kei Island actually exported teachers to Papua and other districts in Maluku. However, the situation had undergone much change since the coming of outsiders who exploited local natural resources in alignment with the police and army. Thus, the first focus was on trying to transform and liberate people's minds, which had been dominated by the thinking patterns of those who exploited them.

Another problem facing Kei Island was the caste system that prevailed there. The entire population of the region was divided into these castes, making it difficult to hold a meeting that brought members of each caste together. The activists initially tried to resolve this by persuading the upper caste to sit together with the lower castes, assuming that persuading the lower castes would be much easier than the upper ones. However, the fact was the opposite: it was easier to persuade the upper class than the lower castes. This necessitated finding a way to empower the lower castes so that they could feel comfortable sitting and interacting with people from the upper caste.

The alternative solution was to give the lower castes a particular knowledge that everyone had to learn from them. This particular knowledge consisted in a specific technique known as "mapping district technology." As a result, when the lower castes taught mapping district technology, the upper caste had to sit and listen, so that eventually there was discussion and dialogue among them-- something that would have been almost impossible previously. This also paved the way to greater interaction and communication among them in other spheres, regardless of their caste background.

According to Marut (2003), it was not an easy task to loosen such a tightly-bound hierarchical caste system because it had been so long embedded in local life, which is why the caste liquidation process lasted so long in this case (from 1991 to 1995). The large-scale meeting in 1995 involving around 600 people—each of whom, regardless of their caste, had the right to talk and give comment—was an indication that the caste system was no longer a factor. A local king, who had been trained as a facilitator, also contributed to the caste liquidation process through his influence over society. He had, no doubt, a vital position and role in the process of liberating oppressive social relations.

In its later development, 1993, this field work effort resulted in the establishment of what was called Jaringan Baileo (Baileo Networking),[1] an extensive network amongst local people throughout Maluku, led by Topatimasang. In Marut's view (2003), while it was possible that the people involved in the network might never have heard of Paulo Freire, they would have realized that they were practicing a Freirean methodology if they have access to his books. This was in fact the methodology that had shown them how to facilitate and to make people think independently. It was further reinforced by the use of media in the form of a village journal (*jurnal kampung*) entitled "Warta Tabaos." This journal was distributed throughout villages in the sub-district as a means of delivering information and knowledge expressed in simple thought and language. Another form of media used was the photo story, consisting of photos taken of the daily activities of the local people. To record these important activities they established an audio-visual studio in Maluku Tenggara. The local people were free to use the camera, particularly if it was to be used to record meetings. They only needed to give a reason why they wanted to use it.

The main intention of this learning process was to enable people to choose from a range of options based on rational choice and critical consideration. Anybody with this kind of capacity was appointed to serve as facilitator in the village, and for those still in doubt about making decisions, that person was accompanied by a community organizer. This systematic program had a significant impact in Maluku, particularly in Maluku Tenggara. The best example of this can be seen in the recent period of conflict throughout Maluku (1999 onwards). Unlike other parts of Maluku, where months or even years were needed to achieve reconciliation between the people involved, in Maluku Tenggara the

conflict was ended in a short time without the involvement of facilitators from Baku Bay

or other outsiders. They managed the conflict by themselves and then moved on to

reconciliation using various popular media. The process began with a small meeting

facilitated by the local influential king, who also served as advisor to Jaringan Baileo. As

a result, the conflict in Maluku Tenggara was resolved in one month and the process of

reconciliation achieved in one week, followed by a process of re-development.[2]

The key element in the above process was strong facilitators and communities, in

the sense that they had the capacity to determine choices independently. People at the

grass-roots level realized that the conflict was not part of their problem, but a problem

between politicians, the government and the army. Those who had no interactions with

the people in Maluku Tenggara were more likely to be involved in conflict, while those

who had connections with them avoided getting involved and even acted as peace

facilitators. This was because they understood that the conflict had nothing to do with the

common people and that it was, therefore, necessary to take collective action to stop the

conflict. The capacity to differentiate between the issues in the conflict and to make the

independent choice whether or not to become involved could not have been achieved

without critical consciousness. Such consciousness allows people to assign any problem

in its due importance.

In the process of implementing Freire in practice, the activists described above

did not encounter serious problems, because they understood that the starting point of the

Freirean method lay in very basic, simple things, i.e., the daily life of people and things

they were familiar with, not matters beyond their imagination and experience. The key

was to use thought-language based on the capacities of local people and not those of

activists. This is the real problem faced by activists who are used to dealing with abstract thinking and sophisticated theory. To adjust their level of thinking and to start from simple things using simple thought and language understandable by all is not an easy task, and in fact many activists fail to accomplish this because it requires patience, firmness, care and energy. Many activists are reluctant to start from simple ideas and practices and to discover the generative themes necessary to open up a dialogue with a given community.

Workers in Ungaran, Semarang, Central Java

Since 2002 Freirean critical pedagogy has been used as a basis for educating workers in Ungaran, District of Semarang, Central Java, by Yasanti (Yayasan Annissa Swasti—Annissa Swasti Foundation), a Jogjakarta-based NGO that focuses on women's empowerment, particularly working women.[3] The project's activities are detailed in their periodical "Annisa: Suara Kaum Perempuan," especially the May 2003 issue entitled "Pendidikan Kritis—Critical Education," where the learning process described is explicitly based on Freirean popular education. The main focus of this issue is to report on the process of learning involving a group of workers known as KPAP (Kelompok Pembelajaran Antar Pabrik—Inter-Factory Learning Group) facilitated by Yasanti. This group consisted of twelve workers from different factories who were being prepared to serve as community organizers in their own factories. Yasanti has described the process of learning in KPAP as liberatory education.

Why was Freirean critical pedagogy chosen? According to Yasanti, this was because Freire offers a humanistic and transformative type of education that can be utilized as a catalyst for empowering the workers. They argue that:

Humans [workers] in the prevailing system and social structure experience
process of dehumanization via class exploitation, gender domination and cultural
hegemony. Education should, therefore, be oriented to produce critical
consciousness as a way to reclaim humanity side of human beings....Education
and trainings should be reverted to be part of social transformation (Annisa, p. 3).

The essence of education or training, from Yasanti's perspective, is thus to
develop critical consciousness, to humanize human beings, and this spirit is fully
available in the work and practice of Paulo Freire. Based on this perspective, the main
agenda of learning in KPAP is to develop critical consciousness within participants, a
point that is unfortunately neglected by many other NGOs. For Yasanti, however,
awakening critical consciousness within workers is a vital point as it can help them to
understand their existential reality in more critical way.

Nevertheless, enhancing the critical capacities of workers is not without its risks,
because it is often when they begin to understand their rights and try to gain them they
have to face threats like dismissal from their jobs, for instance. This is because
demanding one's rights is still considered by employers as destabilizing to the production
process. This challenge must be taken into account by NGOs who deal with the
empowerment of working people; otherwise, efforts to liberate the worker may well
result in loss of livelihood.

In accordance with Freirean values, the process of learning in KPAP is based on
four principles. First, the relationship between facilitator and participants is subject to
subject, where both parties take on the role of learners. Second, each participant is
expected to engage in constructive and participatory dialogue, with no one consigned to
the margin. Third, the process of learning is based on egalitarian and democratic values,
with no domination or hegemony of one participant over another. Every individual voice

has to be heard because it contains valuable knowledge and wisdom. Fourth, reflection, as part of the learning process, should be followed by action (Annisa, p. 3).

Dialogue is a crucial point in KPAP, because it can help each member define who he/she is, what inner capacities he/she has and what similarities and differences as well as strengths and weaknesses he/she shares with others. As a candidate for the post of community organizer, knowing one's inner capacities is important and even necessary before trying to organize others. Dialogue can also increase self-confidence and liberate individuals from fear, disgrace and the culture of silence. More importantly, dialogue can be utilized as a means of building solidarity among workers.

What are the impressions of workers about KPAP? The following statements may provide some insights:

"For me, the process of learning that we have passed through since we agreed on 5 March 2002 to take part is a process of alternative education," says Mahmudah, worker at a factory that produces golf gloves (Annisa, p.3).

"In here [KPAP], we learn many things and we can share concerns that deal not only with worker issues, but also private issues faced by our friends who have families," says Siti Zubaidah, a worker at a plastics factory (Annisa, p. 3).

"One of the lessons that I get from KPAP is how to be a community organizer who believes in self-capacity and maintains self-identity," says Surip Sugiyanti, a worker at the biggest textile company in Ungaran (Annisa, p. 4).

Thus, KPAP has had a positive impression on workers by enabling them not only to learn how to be good community organizers, but also to learn about life. One important thing to note is that, since its inception, Yasanti has emphasized process over product, in the sense that it was not the intention to achieve fast and direct results, since this can lead to producing community organizers who perpetuate naïve consciousness within their base

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communities. For Yasanti, learning is a never-ending process; indeed, "critical education should begin whenever and wherever, without acknowledging time and space" (Annisa, p. 3).

Peasants of West Java

One of the applications of Freire's methodology has been in helping peasants whose land has been expropriated for state projects. A peasant may cultivate a certain parcel of land for years and then one day discovers that the state wants to retake the land. Conflicts usually occur as a result of that process of repossession, particularly when it is conducted without considering the peasants' needs and interests.

In the mid-1980s a study group known as Pojok Dago (Dago Corner)[4] in Bandung, West Java, assisted the local LBH (Legal Aid Association)[5] in holding training sessions for the peasants of Gunung Batu whose lands had been taken away for projects such as PIR BUN (Perkebunan Inti Rakyat Badan Usaha Negara—Core People Plantation of State-Owned Corporation). PIR BUN was a commercial agricultural enterprise in Cimerak established on land amounting to around 4000 hectares in area, all of which had been cultivated by local people for years. There was also a nearby development project involving the construction of four dams in Bandung, one of which was the Saguling Dam. In Badega, local people had seen their lands taken away by yet another company—PT Surya Andaka Mustika—and converted into a tea plantation. The victims of these projects became clients of that same LBH.

Two groups were invited to the training preparation process (Noer Fauzi, 2003). The first group was led by Mansour Fakih and Roem Topatimasang from LSP (Lembaga Studi Pembangunan—Institute for the Study of Development), who combined the

methodology of Freire with that of David C. McClelland's AMT (Achievement Motivation Training) (1975). The second group consisted of three dedicated social activists, i.e., Dedi, Farid and Simon, who assisted in designing curriculum for the training with the basis of Freirean methodology.

The next step was to hold training for leaders in the peasant communities that were clients of LBH. The particular concern was how to make them the main actors or subjects in the process of regaining the lands that had been taken away from them. This was fully in line with the Freirean principle that peasants must take on the role of subject in terms of defining what they need, identifying and analyzing their problems, and seeking the solutions to these problems (Freire 1971; 1972). To become a subject and to name the world, according to Freire, are the two basic ontological vocations of human beings. These can only be achieved if dialogical method is employed in the learning process, through which peasants' voices and ideas as landless and the oppressed are articulated.

The Pojok Dago group visited places in West Java where land had been expropriated and held intensive meetings with the peasants to discuss their problems and to learn their views. This was conducted in an atmosphere of official oppression by the New Order, because Indonesia at that time was under authoritarian regime that insisted heavily on political stability for the sake of economic growth, the main principle of developmentalist ideology (Hill Hal, 1994; Takhasi Shiraishi, 1994; Adam Schwarz, 1994); thus, unsurprisingly, there were spies everywhere watching the people's activities, both in urban and rural areas. However, the Pojok Dago activists mediated this challenge as a process of learning and as a turning point in awakening solidarity among the

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oppressed. To avoid raising the suspicions of state authorities, the meetings were held not only inside but outside the village as well.

The most critical situations were those where the state apparatus, backed up by the local Koramil (Military Headquarters at the ward level), had expelled and commanded the villagers not to work their lands anymore. In such cases the activists, together with leading peasant figures, negotiated with the state apparatus. During these negotiations many activists were interrogated by state officials and asked about their activities. Eventually the activists and prominent villagers complained to such bodies as the DPRD (People's Regional Representative Assembly) and DPR (People's Representative Assembly) about the actions of the local state authorities. In the meantime, they went back to working their lands, which in turn gave rise to tension and physical conflict with the state apparatus.

The activists convinced the villagers that not only they but others suffered from oppression in the form of land expropriation. For this reason, it was important to instill in them all a sense of solidarity by establishing a peasant union known as OTL (Organisasi Tani Lokal—local peasants union). It was through this OTL that the efforts of the Gunung Batu peasants to regain their 331 hectares of land seized for commercial plantation were finally rewarded. The result was a revision of the Letter of Decree signed by the BPN (Badan Pertanahan Nasional—National Land Committee): the 331 hectares land had to be redistributed.

This struggle had led to a successful conclusion, or so it seemed. However, events proved otherwise, due to manipulation by the local authorities and police. These latter designated different lands for distribution, so that the 331 original hectares were never

restored; instead, a re-division of already occupied residential lands took place. As a result, a horizontal conflict was created between people whose lands were being restored and people whose lands were being taken away. This is an indication of the guile of the local authorities.

The impact of the above learning process was noticeable and even Noer Fauzi, who was involved in preparing and facilitating the training, was left with a very deep impression. He was convinced by this experience that critical education has an extraordinary potential to re-manage the experiences and awaken and open the eyes of the oppressed, thereby allowing them to rethink critically their existence in the world and find ways to resist the oppression they face.

In terms of his approach to the above situation, Fauzi (2003) argues that his position was not originally that of a translator of Freire. He simply wanted to discover ways to support and develop popular movements and how to increase people's critical capacities: only then did he discover the techniques and methods to do so in the writings of Freire. Fauzi learned Freire not from his theories, but from the methods he applied in the field. He then realized that Freire had a solid body of knowledge that could easily be implemented in practice. To deepen his understanding, Fauzi wrote an article entitled "Politik Pembebasan" (Politics of Liberation), in which he introduced the life and thought of Paulo Freire and its significance to the Indonesian context.[6]

Fauzi explains that he and his colleagues did not encounter any serious obstacles in applying Freirean methodology, because their starting point was not from theory, but from practice. As a result, they intuitively understood what Freire meant by limit situations, existential reality, codification, de-codification, cultural action, and other

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theoretical concepts developed by him. For those who have only read Freire without having practical experience, these ideas might seem difficult to understand, but for those on the ground, their meaning quickly becomes apparent.

Another group in Bandung that also developed popular education for peasants in the1980s was the one led by Roem Topatimasang. After his release from jail in 1980, Topatimasang and his colleagues worked with peasants in West Java from 1980 to 1984. "We become involved in popular education, teaching workers and peasants their rights" (Topatimasang, quoted in Dan La Botz, 2006). His initial base camp was PBM (Pusat Belajar Masyarakat—learning community center) located in Jayagiri, Bandung.[7]

A variety of issues were discussed in the process of learning, particularly dealing with peasants' rights. Topatimasang convinced the peasants that they had the right to organize in order to claim their rights. One crucial problem at that time was that peasants were forced by the government to plant certain crops, such as rice, corn, and garden vegetables, in order to achieve self-sufficiency in food. They could not plant other crops that might provide them with more economic benefits. The worst of it was that the peasants became totally dependent on the government in terms of fertilizers and pesticides. Thus, they planted crops that did not give them much economic benefit, because the cost of production was not equal to the result expected.

Another issue was about the right of peasants to cultivate lands that they have worked on for years. This was crucial because most peasants are landless. Many cases demonstrated that their lands had been taken away by government or private companies with minimal compensation or even no compensation. The process of retaking was, moreover, usually accompanied by intimidation by the military.

In his discussions with the peasants, Topatimasang insisted that, historically, most of the land belonged to small units of local government, like the villages, which then distributed it to households for a small amount of compensation. They only had the right to use the land, not own it. However, if a peasant had cultivated the land for 25 years, he/she can own it. Topatimasang says that "our agrarian law states that if land is used for 25 years, it belongs to the person using it" (quoted in Dan La Botz, 2006).

Topatimasang points out that what he and colleagues did in helping peasants actually was trying to implement the educational methodologies of Freire in their simplest form, because they were at the embryonic phase in the application of alternative education. They organized regular meetings with peasants to discuss their daily problems. They listened carefully to what people said and tried to create a situation where people felt free to express their feelings, concerns and thinking, because the main objective of the meeting itself was to facilitate the workers' articulating their voices.

Topatimasang also employed Freire's concept of codification and de-codification. Codification is a process of representing facts derived from the daily lives of people, which is then followed by an effort at problematizing them. In this step, the problems are grouped in a simple way using charts and pictures in order to make it easy for peasants to find the generative themes or key issues. The next step is de-codification, that is, a process of interpreting and analyzing problems through two methods: descriptive and analytic. Descriptive method is used to understand "surface structure," while analytic method is used to grasp "deep structure."

Another way to apply Freirean methodology was by creating a model of learning known as "daur belajar" (learning cycle) that consists in experiencing, expressing,

reflecting/analyzing, and planning-acting. This is a derivation of Freire's notion of action—reflection—action. Topatimasang and his colleagues found that it was an effective way of learning, because the learning process began from what people knew, what they had, and what they could do, based on their daily experiences.

The above process was, however, forced underground because the political situation at that time was somewhat repressive; any activity that involving the masses came under suspicion. As a result, such educational practices could not be developed extensively or on a continuous basis.

Street children in Sekeloa, Bandung

One group that applied a Freirean methodology in working with children was Noer Fauzi's group. When this group began working with peasants in the mid-1980s (as described earlier), it also opened a children's club in Sekeloa, Bandung, West Java aimed at urban street children and children of Gunung Batu village whose parents were involved in disputes over land. They rented a house to be used as a studio and place for these children to learn.

The process of learning in the club began with a drawing course, but the method used was different from that of formal schools. In the latter, most students are encouraged to draw concrete images, such as the sun, mountains and farms. They do not draw anything related to what they feel, see or observe in real life. Thus, the process of learning how to draw becomes a mere technical exercise, isolated from the emotions and therefore empty of any real meaning and value.

Popular education, on the other hand, has a different outlook and method. Drawing, according to this approach, is not simply a technical exercise; rather, it is

mediated to recognize and understand, to use Freire's language, "the existential reality of

the oppressed" (Freire 1976, p. 65). The children were invited to walk around their

village before deciding what kind of picture they wanted to draw. They saw how their

rice fields had been taken away and changed into shrimp embankments or converted to

commercial agricultural enterprise. These facts were used as a focus of discussion,

whereby the shrimp embankment and plantation were traced back to their impact in

impoverishing the local community. This was the first step in learning how to recognize

what was happening in their village and then identifying it as a problem (problematizing).

In the next step, children were asked to sit around and draw on a long sheet of

paper what they had seen during their walk around the village. They were then asked to

draw using their fingers, which gave them a feeling of excitement, because previously

they had never drawn in this manner, having generally used pencils. The facilitators then

asked them to tell the story of the picture being drawn in order to know what they wanted

to say with the picture. This was de-codification: a process of telling and analyzing the

story behind the picture using simple thought and language based on their experiences

and capacities. De-codification itself has the potential to produce the so-called "extending

limit situation" (Fauzi, 2003), and this is part of cultural action.

One of the key elements that made the above process of learning possible was the

use of attractive media. In Fauzi's view, this helped the children to build creativity and

thereby discover new things. To use Freire's language (1971), this is the process of

"naming the world," i.e., giving meaning to objects as part of cultural action. According

to Fauzi, learning, in Freire's philosophy, is not something to be imposed from the

outside in the form of dogma, but to be discovered from within through creativity. At this

point, the role of the facilitator is simply to help the participants build such creativity, and to do so he/she uses the method of problem-posing, which in turn helps to uncover what Freire calls "generative themes," i.e., representations of the real-life situations of participants in relation to the world around them. Generative themes are produced via investigation and discussion of life experiences. It is via these generative themes that participants are enabled to understand their existential reality, thereby developing genuine or critical consciousness instead of imitating their oppressors' consciousness. This process, according to Fauzi (2003), operates under the assumption that all people, including children, have their own limit situations and limit actions; hence, the process of learning is intended to transcend such limitations.

University students

Freire's theoretical framework has also been implemented in the context of student activism in three cities in Indonesia, namely Bandung (organized by Roem Topatimasang and Noer Fauzi), Jakarta (organized by HP2M) and Jogjakarta (organized by Amir Sutopo).

Group of Roem Topatimasang

As mentioned earlier, after his release from jail in 1980, Topatimasang did not want to continue his studies. However, soon after deciding to drop out of formal schooling, he attended sessions given by a non-formal education team from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology that was cooperating with his former school, IKIP Bandung (now transformed into UPI—Education University of Indonesia), in applying a PAR (Participatory Action Research) project. The team held sessions for teachers of IKIP Bandung who had an interest in methodology. However, since the project was classroom-

bound and without concrete application, it had a limited impact. Tean Multhan, one of the members of the team, and Topatimasang had similar ideas on how to extend the project by applying it in the field, in order to determine whether the methodology was workable or not.

Topatimasang proposed involving students who were planning to enroll in KKN (Kuliah Kerja Nyata), an obligatory (rural) social action internship of three months' duration for advanced university students, with the aim of examining the feasibility of such methodology in practice. He convinced the team that it was important to give these students the methodological tools necessary to shift the orientation of KKN from mere physical assistance programs with their greater insistence on charity to more non-physical programs having empowerment as their goal. In other words, rather than building mosques and other physical structures, the KKN would concentrate on enabling society to think and act critically. Topatimasang's idea was accepted by the team and they prepared its curriculum and methodology based on Freirean philosophy.

As a result, the methodological framework of KKN was changed considerably. For example, the local community was no longer to be the object of the students' efforts at teaching; rather, they became partners of the students in learning. The presence of students in the community was not that of an elite that knew everything and took on the role of leader in every activity (a process that creates dependency of community on students); rather, in line with empowerment as a basic principle, students facilitated the creation of initiatives, analyses of problems and the search for solutions. In other words, the insistence was on building creativity within the community so that its members became able to solve their own problems. From the evaluation that was made, most of the

students enjoyed and were satisfied with the program because they had learned much from the local community in terms of humanity, wisdom and community building. However, once the project was over, the KKN went back to its roots, focusing once more on physical development (Topatimasang, 2003).

Group of Noer Fauzi

Another group that developed Freirean methodology for students in Bandung was the group led by Noer Fauzi, under the umbrella of the FPL (Front Pemandu Latihan—guiding training front). The focus of the Noer Fauzi group was students of ITB (Bandung Institute of Technology) and UNPAD (Padjajaran University) who were preparing to become cadres of intra-campus organizations. Fauzi (2003) calls this training as an "application of Freire for middle class" (p. 4). Basically, the training was based on the Freirean doctrine of raising critical consciousness within participants and, as such, consisted of two stages.

The first step was to help the participants to recognize class-based social structures in society and the role that education plays in reproducing such structures. What was emphasized at this stage was recognition that there is a relation between the process of schooling and class formation in society. People who have diplomas will attain a different class position than those who earn only an elementary school certificate. Fauzi argues that those with diplomas are always a minority in terms of number, that is, about one percent of those who have access to school. On the other hand, around forty percent of the school population drops out before graduating, while many have no access to school at all. This kind of analysis was no doubt inspired by the reproduction theory

developed by Samuel Bowels and Herbert Gintis (1976) that posits a connection between schooling and social class reproduction.

The second step involves the process of analysis (de-codification) of the problem. Here it is argued that there is actually a class mobilization dynamic, in the sense that it is possible for children from lower class families to transcend their class status and enter the middle or upper class when they become adults, while conversely, those belonging to the middle and upper classes can occasionally fall to the lower class. It is also argued, however, that the dynamic is insignificant, because the factors determining class structure remain relatively unchanged. Ideally, the role of education is to mobilize such a class dynamic, but what is happening in reality is its opposite: education has been maintained as a medium for social class reproduction (Fauzi, 2003).

The FPL conducted this Freirean training for students in Bandung for three years. Afterwards, it decided to extend its activities and set up groups outside the city. They also made political contacts beyond Bandung by visiting scholars and people who share similar concerns for social and human empowerment, such as Romo Mangun Wijaya, Arief Budiman and Ariel Haryanto. From that tour they began to realize that there was a circle of potential supporters beyond Bandung who shared a similar ideology and principles and could be recruited in aid of, not only liberation education, but also popular movements. This fact strengthened their belief that there was a role for liberation education and that it constituted a very powerful medium for social transformation.

Group of HP2M

In contrast to the above experiences in Bandung, where Freirean training was offered within the school environment, HP2M (Himpunan Penelitian dan Pengembangan

Masyarakat—Association for Research and Community Development), an Indonesian NGO based in Ciputat, Jakarta, is indicative of the experience of offering such training outside the school.[8] In the middle of 1985, HP2M established the ADI (Asian Development Institute) program, through which "alternative education" was implemented. This program was designed to educate university students to become social activists who would be sent to empower villagers, peasants and unemployed people, particularly in the region of Pondok Ranji, Ciputat, South Jakarta (Didin Syafruddin, 2003). According to Saleh Abdullah (2003), a former director of ADI, Freire's theories and methodologies were the force behind the program, and as well, there was an ongoing effort to find ways to apply these in practice.

The program was followed up in 1986 with a workshop called JARI (Jaringan Aksi Riset Indonesia—Indonesian Action Research Net), coordinated by HP2M and LPTP (Institute for Rural Technology Development)[9] and held in Solo. The aim of the workshop was to intensify the dialogue amongst NGO activists and to strengthen their commitment to social transformation on a greater scale. Freire was discussed intensively, to the extent that the workshop even invited Rajesh Tandon, an Indian activist who had disseminated Freire in India, to speak to participants. Abdullah (2003) argues that, at best, this workshop could be described as an attempt to understand Freirean and participatory methodologies as new approaches, and to follow this up by application in practice at a low degree of intensity.

In the following years, HP2M itself focused on the more technical aspects of community development, instead of its usual orientation towards social empowerment. The program was oriented to supporting development agendas and did not reach the

critical level of taking positions and discussing ways of acting against and transforming

oppressive structural realities. This was perhaps the reason why there was no suspicion

on the part of the state apparatus that the program constituted subversive activity. It was

also the reason why Abdullah left HP2M at the end of the 1980s and became active in

SKEPHI (Sekretariat Kerjasama Pelestarian Hutan Indonesia—The Indonesian NGOs

Network for Forest Conservation) from 1991 to 1995. The latter presented a greater

challenge because it had already entered the phase of structural analysis, focusing on how

social structures contribute to the existence of oppression in society.

When Abdullah met Mansour Fakih in 1990,[10] he argued that the application of

Freire's theories should not stop only at the level of methodology and discourse; rather, it

must be followed by action. Abdullah proposed the question: "When false consciousness

has been exposed and a culture of silence has been recognized, then what? Do we want to

stop at this level? Why do we not try to make an effort to demolish this culture of silence

and false consciousness through action-reflection?" Fakih too was of the opinion that

Freire's ideas had to be extended on a greater scale, whether at the theoretical or practical

level. Thus, Freirean theoretical framework should be linked with praxis action.

Group of Amir Sutopo

In Jogjakarta, Amir Sutopo, who had a background as a student activist,

encountered different experiences in applying Freire's methodology to student education.

When he was president of GMNI (Gerakan Mahasiswa Nasional Indonesia—Indonesian

National Student Movement), an extra campus organization, in the late 1970s, Sutoko

and his partners from other extra-campus organizations such as HMI (Himpunan

Mahasiswa Islam—Muslim Student Association), PMII (Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam

Indonesian—Indonesian Muslim Student Movement) and PMKRI (Perhimpunan

Mahasiswa Katholik Republik Indonesia—Union of Catholic University Students of

Republic of Indonesia), established the discussion group known as Kelompok Cipayung

(Cipayung Group). It was in this discussion group that Freire, Illich and other proponents

of critical pedagogy were intensively discussed, especially because their critical vision of

education inspired their opposition to the new policy of NKK-BKK (Campus Life

Normalization-Student Coordinating Board) proposed by the government. The goal of

NKK-BKK was to force students back into the classroom and away from their outside

activities—especially those with political implications. The hidden agenda behind this

policy was to make education a neutral activity and to cleanse campuses of political

opposition movements. This new policy was the target of criticism by many students.

Freire, whose notion of the politics of education sees power, values and ideology as

always embedded in the practice of education, provided the analytical tools needed to

deal with such an issue. Furthermore, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* had been widely read

by students in Jogjakarta and was used as one of the main sources for cadre training

among extra-campus organizations (Sutopo, 2003).

According to Sutopo, one of the most interesting developments in the late 1970s

and early 1980s was the use of the word "praxis." Originally, this word was used by

Marx and then adopted by Freire (Collins, 1976) to mean the integration of reflection and

action, practice and theory, thinking and doing, by which people create culture and

become critically conscious beings. Praxis comprises a cycle of action-reflection-action.

In the hands of students in Jogjakarta, the word "praxis" was manifested in many

kinds of action. For example, some students manifested "praxis" by selling "pecel" (a

traditional food made of blanched vegetables served with peanut sauce) just to enable

them to talk to disenfranchised people. Selling "pecel" was only a medium to get access

to people, because "pecel" is a popular food for ordinary people. Medical students, on the

other hand, opened a health clinic operating out of the formal state clinic Puskesmas

(Community Health Center) in the Bantul district (one of five regencies in Jogjakarta) as

their praxis medium. This was their way of interacting with the grass-roots population

based on their educational background. Thus, there was much improvisation on the basis

of the concept of praxis developed by Freire.

According to Sutopo (2003), the influence of Freire in the sphere of student

organization was manifested in two ways:

First, it was used as one of the sources for cadre training, such as in the case of

GMNI, for instance. Cadre training is a tradition in all student organizations as a means

to recruit new members who will continue the work of organization in the future.

Second, Freire served as an inspiration at the 1979 GMNI congress to three

decrees spelling out what was expected of its members. The first of these was that, in the

intellectual domain, the GMNI would undertake to disseminate progressive and radical

thought without regard to its source. Freire's thought, which took the side of the poor and

the oppressed, was the ideal system for socializing and disseminating such ideas. Second,

on the praxis level, GMNI members were expected to participate in organizing people,

whether through NGOs or by other means. Third, the GMNI insisted that its members

cooperate with other people who have the same mission, vision and ideology, regardless

of their institutional background. Partnership in working is different from partnership in

organization: the former lies beyond symbolic boundaries like organization, religion, race and ethnicity, whereas the latter is confined to the same organization.

NGO activists

Freire's theory and methodology were also implemented in the context of training for NGO activists in the mid-1980s. This step was taken by the group known as Sosial Ekonomi Keuskupan Bogor (Social Economy of Bogor Bishopric), a Catholic organization led by Father Hugo Verest. Through the publication of guides to techniques for the elimination of illiteracy based on Paulo Freire's methodology, the group developed a particular model of education for activists who were being sent to remote peoples such as the Asmat (a tribe in Irian Jaya inhabiting the southern swamplands of this diverse region) and the Dayak (a tribe dwelling in the remote areas of West Kalimantan). The training programs were referred to as KUPERDA (Kursus Pendidikan Dasar—basic educational course) for level one and KULAN (Kursus Pendidikan Lanjutan—advanced educational course) for level two, and each was of one and a half months' duration. According to Noer Fauzi (2003), many of the field workers of Bina Desa[11] had followed this training.

Verest (1985) wrote two articles as guidelines for training in KUPERDA, both of them written in the light of Freire's educational philosophy and methodology. Their titles alone—*Pendidikan Yang Tertindas* (Pedagogy of the Oppressed) and *Pendidikan Yang Tertindas: Susunan Program Kegiatan Pengembangan Kelompok Yang Pedagogis, Dilaksanakan dengan Dialog* (Pedagogy of the Oppressed: Schedule of Program Activity for Developing Pedagogic Group Based on the Dialogue Method)—indicate his debt to Freire.

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In the articles, Verest (1985) offers some points for reflection and discussion by

participants (NGO activists) on being sent to work with local communities:

First, the starting point of learning should be the existential reality and life
experiences of local peoples. At this point, the task of the facilitator (NGO
activist) is to make local people aware of what is going on in their community.

Secondly, the facilitator (subject 1 or S1) should initiate dialogue with
participants/local people (subject 2 or S2) to problematize the contradictions
within their community.

Third, the use of dialogue would make local people understand the problems more
deeply as well as regard them as their own problems and the challenges for which
solutions need to be sought, albeit not in the intellectual domain, but in praxis,
i.e., reflection-action.

Fourth, the dialogue should accommodate the experiences, facts and views of
both S1 and S2. However, it is important to avoid the views of S1 being taken by
S2 as dogma or persuasion, since this might contribute to the alienation of their
own culture and views. To avoid this, S1 has to take on the role of insider rather
than outsider with respect to the life experiences of S2.

Fifth, it is important for S1 to avoid rhetorical language as this can raise a
communication barrier with S2.

Sixth, the entire process described above may be regarded as a "conscientizing
inquiry" that can produce new demands for action. In Freire's language, this
process will produce universal generative themes (p. 1-3).

KUPERDA training also focused on the major differences in the respective

reflection-action capacities of animals and human beings—an issue also insisted upon by

Freire. Animals have their own limit-situations and limit-actions and cannot go beyond

those limitations. This, according to Verest, can be seen from the example of birds. Birds

are only able to make certain types of shelter and their actions in this respect are limited.

The ability of birds to seek food is also limited because they can only seek food in a

certain way. Nor can birds construct bigger and healthier shelters, even if they had

intention to do so. Why not? Because birds, like other animals, cannot go beyond their own limit-actions. This means that birds (animals) cannot reflect on what they are doing and making.

Thus, the life-space of animals is determined and limited by their own action abilities. The decision of a bird to make a shelter is not based on reflection-action, but merely on action. In other words, animals do not need to reflect when they act; they do everything instantly without taking time to think, because their action is only based on instinct. Therefore, animals cannot differentiate between "I" and "not I". They cannot separate themselves from but can only be submerged in the world. It is true that animals can exist and interact with other animals to survive in the world, but they can give no meaning to it because they cannot engage in self-reflection. As a result, they are merely immersed in the world.

In contrast to animals, human beings can operate in the world through action and reflection for a purpose. Humans are capable not only of knowing the world, but also of actually knowing that they are knowing it, because they have the capacity to reflect. Since humans have the capacity to reflect, they are able to discover the contradictions inherent in reality and how to transform it. They are also able to name the world and transform it through their thought-language in order to create history and the future. Through the interaction and dialogical meetings of one with another, humans are not only able to live and exist in the world but also to understand themselves better.

Humans are basically able to transcend and go beyond their limit situations and actions as long as they work together to transform situations that prevent the group's actualization. The limit situation that prevents group actualization can be transcended

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when it is mediated as a means to strengthen solidarity and togetherness. However, if

human beings submit themselves to and accept such limit situations without attempting to

obviate them, then it is possible that such limitations may develop into oppression.

Therefore, it is necessary, as Verest (1985) insists, to situate the problem of limit

situation as the main topic of discussion between S1 and S2 in the learning process.

To deepen their understanding, the participants were asked to undertake two

exercises. The first task was to ask the participants to explain their limit situations and

limit actions. The second task was to decide whether the following statements were to be

considered as limit situations or not and then to explain why. Among the statements

were:

1. Bogor peasants want to follow P.I.R (Perkebunan Inti Rakyat—Core People Plantation).
2. Pusat Damai peasants do not want to follow P.I.R.
3. Workers do not have a strong association.
4. The Lung Huvung district lacks food stocks.
5. The price of goods in remote areas increases.
6. Around 65 percent of the people in remote areas of West Kalimantan are illiterate (Verest, 1985, p. 7).

Another point that KUPERDA included in training was dialogue that is mediated

through the medium of language. Inspired by Freire, Verest (1985) differentiates between

the true and the false word. The true word has two dimensions, reflection and action. The

quality of a word depends on these two dimensions. The absence of one dimension will

automatically reduce the quality of the other. To use Freire's language, reflection without

action falls into verbalism, and action without reflection falls into activism. The false

word, therefore, separates action and reflection.

Verest (1985, p. 2) describes his differentiation of true and false word in the following chart:
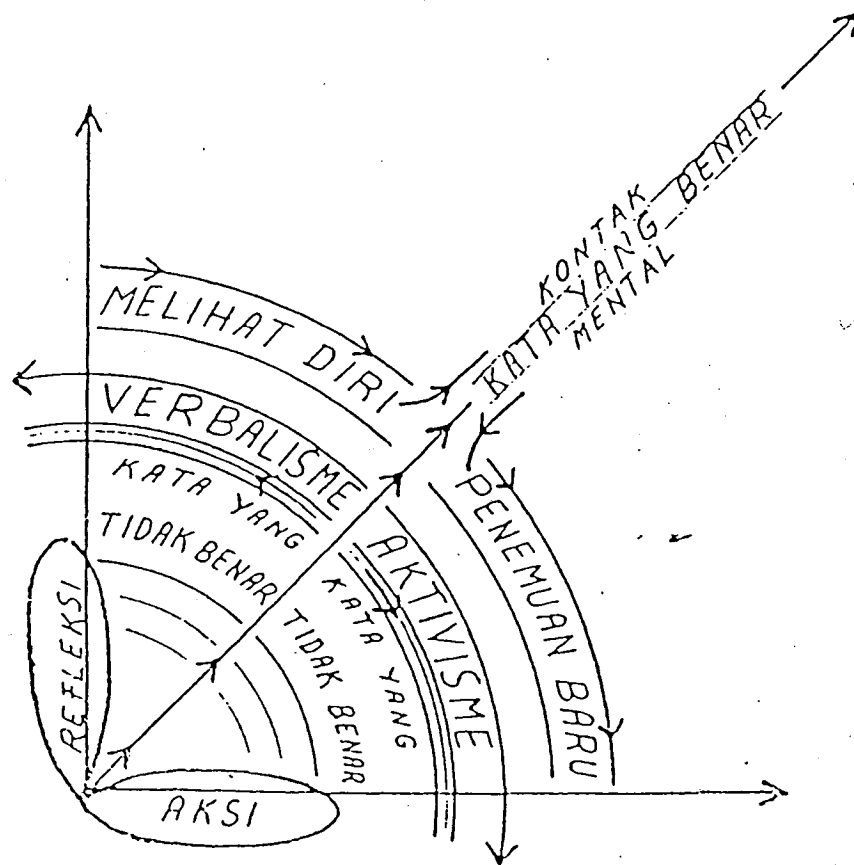
Refleksi: reflection
Aksi: action
Kata yang tidak benar: false word
Kata yang benar: true word
Verbalisme: verbalism
Aktivisme: activism
Melihat diri: self-reflection
Penemuan baru: new finding
Kontak mental: mental contact

The whole learning process described above, Verest insists, was basically founded

on the problem-posing education developed by Freire. The main intention was to develop

capacities within the S1 and S2 to view the world critically. In so doing, it is important to

avoid the trap of banking education and to insist that applying Freirean principles is more

important than using his terminology.

Discussion

Paulo Freire has been well-known in Indonesia since the 1970s, particularly

amongst NGO and student activists. His ideas and methodologies have been applied in

many segments of society, such as villagers in Papua, rural poor in Maluku, workers in

Ungaran, peasants in West Java, children in Gunung Batu, university students, and NGO

activists. From the foregoing account, based on my interviews with several educational

practitioners and on document analysis, some conclusions and analyses can be made:

First, it was not Paulo Freire's concept of literacy that found favor with

Indonesian educational practitioners; rather, it was his vision of education as a means of

improving critical capacities within learners and of driving social transformation. Only

the social economy group based in Bogor led by Father Hugo Verest attempted to apply

the techniques for the elimination of illiteracy. Its program, known as KUPERDA (Basic

Educational Course) for level one and KULAN (Advance Educational Course) for level

two, was fully based on Paulo Freire's theory and methodology.

However, the manual designed by Verest (1985) for KUPERDA training, entitled

Pedagogy of the Oppressed: Program Activity Schedule for Developing Pedagogic

Group Based on the Dialogue Method, provides insufficient explanation of how Freire's

method might be transplanted. The document concentrates instead on Freire's educational

philosophies, particularly in respect to the relationship between human beings and the world, the substantial difference between human beings and animals, and the importance of dialogue in the process of learning. Meanwhile, Freire's methodology, which consists of three stages (study of the context, selection of words from the discovered vocabulary, and actual literacy training) is passed over in silence.

Second, no evidence could be found of any group or individuals in Indonesia applying Freire's approach in a systematic way, i.e., a sustained experiment of a sufficient length of time involving explanation of his ideas, adaptation of these to local contexts, their insertion into the learning process based on his methods, action generated from this learning process, and examination of the outcomes. There is thus no project underway comparable to the Adult Learning Project (ALP) in Scotland, where Freire's approach is being implemented in a Western European post-industrial urban environment (Kirkwood and Kirkwood, 1987).

Third, few Indonesian educational practitioners apply Freire's theories as a whole; most, rather, mix them with other concepts, such as community organizing and community development. Mansour Fakih (2003) and Peter Danuwinata (2003) acknowledge this fact. The examples given above, such as Noer Fauzi's group (which applied Freire's approach among the peasants of Gunung Batu), the Yasanti group (which was active among workers in Ungaran, Central Java), the group of Donatus K Marut (who worked among the rural poor in Maluku), to name only a few, clearly show how the application of Freirean methodologies has been coupled with the concept of community organizing. The marriage of the Freirean approach and community organizing concept

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should come as no surprise, because both traditions share a similar concern, i.e., how to empower the disfranchised group through critical capacity building.

The marriage between Freirean and community development approaches, on the other hand, can be seen from the examples supplied by Mansour Fakih (2003). For instance, Pesantren Pabelan, an Islamic boarding school located in Muntilan, Central Java, developed what was called the IPM (Institut Pengembangan Masyarakat—Institute of Community Development) in the 1980s. According to Fakih, the institute relied heavily on Freire (although not explicitly) in its educational program, especially in the way the program was designed to make the local community more self-reliant. At the same time, the local population also adopted a community development concept reminiscent of McClelland's ideals manifested in the AMT (Achievement Motivation Training) training model, because they wanted to educate villagers about economic development and entrepreneurship. To develop local communities in terms of the economy, such as by establishing cooperatives, the AMT training model is perhaps the more relevant of the two.

Furthermore, a fundamental difference in assumption was evident between the AMT and Freirean training models. The basic concern of the former was how to stimulate individuals to become entrepreneurs, e.g., how to transform peasants into entrepreneurs who know how to do business and recognized the risks of their occupation. The method used for this process involved developing their sense of achievement in order to enhance their entrepreneurial skills. Hence, emphasis was on changing individuals in terms of mentality, ideology and culture (what may be called "inner factors"), attributing the backwardness of people to the lack of a need for achievement.

The Freirean model, on the other hand, focuses on developing consciousness about the socio-economic-political system. It stresses that people are poor not only because they lack a sense of achievement, but also because of an unjust social system. The main goal of educational practices should then be to develop critical consciousness in order to make people understand how the system works and affects their lives, and how to transform it so that it is better and more just (Mansour Fakih 1996; 2001; 2003).

One interesting question raised by this observation is: Why do not more educational practitioners apply Freire's approach as a whole? There are two plausible explanations.

First of all, this may have been due to the fact that the framework of most NGO projects was community development, a dominant theme in the 1980s and 1990s in line with the domination of modernization and capitalism as paradigms of development in most Third World countries. In this respect, Indonesia was no exception. Most foreign funding at that time (and even today) was directed towards programs related to community development, such as income-generating programs, property development, small business development, village development technology and cooperative management. There was no single source of funding for the purpose of developing a critical pedagogy aimed at enabling the oppressed to understand their oppression and develop the capacities to transform this situation (Fakih, 2003). The Freirean model of training is in fact an unlikely candidate for funding. Given this fact, what some NGOs did was to introduce the Freirean agenda of developing critical consciousness alongside their community development programs. They called it "subversive" activity toward

community development projects designed to bring out the political implications of these programs.

For example, when the YLKI (Yayasan Lembaga Konsumen Indonesia—Indonesian Foundation of Consumers' Organizations) held its consumer education program in the 1990s, no mention was made of Freirean methodology. The program simply encouraged consumers to understand what consumption actually means and how the practice of consumption can support an unjust system. Nevertheless, in order to make people understand the meaning of consumption, it was necessary to develop their critical consciousness. At this point, Freirean methodology had to be introduced, because it would help consumers develop the critical capacities necessary to understand what an unjust system is and how consumption serves to support that system. Thus, the name of the program was still consumer education, but the objective, process of learning and method were all Freirean in spirit.

Fakih (2003) argues that it is not important to insist on identifying whether a given training program was Freirean or not: what is important is to ensure that Freire's ideas are embedded in the training. The training can, on the outside, be a management program, an income-generating program, an effort at community development, or a session designed to raise gender consciousness, etc., but as long as the content and goals aim at raising consciousness within participants, it can be considered Freirean. In other words, Freirean education plays a subversive role in the area of training in the sense that, whatever the objective, the resulting model of analysis employs his model. Thus, it is possible to substitute Freire's term critical consciousness with gender consciousness, class consciousness, peasant consciousness or worker consciousness.

The second reason may derive from the different conditions separating Indonesia and Brazil, in the sense that both countries have many differences and similarities, particularly in the areas of politics, culture and religion. In the case of religion, for instance, more than ninety percent of the total population of Indonesia is Muslim, while the majority of Brazilians are Catholic. These different religious contexts, to a degree, require modification and adaptation when applying Freire in practice, because it is impossible to apply his educational approach developed in the Catholic milieu (Elias, 1994) without considering the local context, which is dominated by Islamic tradition.

Fourth, each experiment in applying Freire's methodologies shows a certain degree of militancy (politically nuanced), depending on the case and the problem faced. The experiment of Noer Fauzi's group in applying a Freirean approach among the peasants of Gunung Batu in the mid-1980s, for instance, involved a high degree of militancy, because it dealt with the case of land expropriation. However, in most cases the degree of militancy is of a moderate nature, so that it is not necessary to confront directly the prevailing regime or state apparatus.

[1] Jaringan Baileo Maluku (Baileo Network Maluku) is the biggest indigenous network in Maluku Tenggara. It was established at the end of 1993 by representatives of several people's organizations and indigenous communities in Kei Kecil, Kei Besar, Aru, Tanimbar, Haruku, and Seram. Its aims are: (1) to fight for the right of indigenous people to manage their natural resources in their homeland based on *ulayat* (customary) rights; (2) to reinforce the autonomy of organizations and local *adat* institutions so as to enable them to manage the lives of local people; and (3) to educate local people in such a way as to develop their capacity for self-organizing and making decisions based on their own. See, http://www.baileo.or.id/ind/

[2] The process of reconciliation on Kei Island, Maluku Tenggara, is well documented in the book entitled "Ken Sa Faak: Benih-benih Perdamaian dari Kepulauan Kei" (Ken Sa Faak: Seeds of Peace from Kei Island) edited by P.M. Laksono and Roem Topatimasang (Tual-Jogjakarta: Nen Mas il & INSIST, 2004). This book is a compilation of articles written by peace and humanitarian activists and volunteers of Jaringan Baileo Maluku on Kei Island, Maluku Tenggara. It records the process of reconciliation (from April to June 1999) based on local *adat* (customary) law that has successfully ended social conflict in this island. This is, no doubt, a tremendous achievement, because other parts of Maluku will need years to solve their conflicts, whereas the situation on Kei was resolved in only three months.

[3] YASANTI was founded in 1982 with the vision of materializing a society that is democratic, free from gender bias and where women have opportunities and skills in the political, economic, social and cultural fields. It is involved in fields of activity like women in development, gender equality, small enterprises and cooperatives, law, human rights, democracy, and labour. However, all activities in these fields are carried out in various forms, notably education and training, community development and facilitation, and advocacy. Activities like study, research, publication, seminars, workshops and discussions are central to the foundation's efforts. YASANTI has carried out various activities of facilitating and defending female labourers, and has also implemented programs for the development of print media (Bulletin Yasanti, 2002).

[4] The emergence of study groups can be linked to the state policy of implementing what was called NKK-BKK (Normalization of Campus Life-Student Coordination Board) in the late 1970s. The essence of NKK-BKK policy was to bring students back to the campus and reduce their outside political activities, such as demonstrations and protests against the regime's policy. On the one hand, this policy was successful in cleansing the campuses of political activism, though on the other, it resulted in the emergence of off-campus study groups, such as Pojok Dago in Bandung, Proklamasi Study Group in Jakarta and Palagan Study Group in Jogjakarta, to name a few.

[5] LBH (Legal Aid Association) was established in 1970, and later changed its name to YLBHI (Foundation of Indonesian Legal Aid Institutions) when it gained legal status on March 13, 1980. The initial concern was to provide legal aid to poor people without the means of defending their rights when these were violated.

[6] Fauzi gave this article to Driya Media Publisher who had asked permission for its publication. However, he never saw the article appear in print.

[7] PBM was a training center devoted to non-formal education, administered by the Directorate General of Non-Formal Education in the Department of Education and Culture, which owns the college, student residence, studio, and other facilities. There, Topatimasang and his colleagues tried to develop a participatory training methodology that combined the critical theory of Jurgen Habermas, the structural analysis theory, psychology and social action theory of Kurt Lewin and the pedagogy of liberation of Paulo Freire.

[8] In this regard, HP2M was actually helping LP3ES, a big Jakarta-based NGO, to hold the Proyek Penelitian Pendidikan Alternative (project on alternative education research) in 1982, a project inspired by Paulo Freire. In conducting this project, LP3ES was assisted by three institutions, namely, Lembaga Pengembangan Teknologi Pedesaan (LPTP) (which focused in action research in the village of Sumorodukun, Sragen), Dhworowati Institute of Jogjakarta (which focused on Pesantren [Islamic boarding school] Krapyak, Wedomartani, Jogjakarta), and HP2M (which undertook field research at Pondok Ranji,

Ciputat, Jakarta). The result of the research was that alternative education should be constructed from below, in the sense that it must be responsive to local needs, use local resources, and develop local human capacities. The fundamental basis of alternative education is Freirean conscientization (KOMPAS, 23/10/1982).

[9] LPTP, a Solo-based NGO, was established in 1978 in Surakarta Solo Central Jawa. The mission of this NGO is to help develop a democratic society that respects human rights and preserves the environment. They train peasants not only in relation to technical matters but also to make them more literate in terms of law and politics so that they do not become objects of exploitation by external powers, such as political parties.

[10] Later on, Mansour and Saleh Abdullah joined forces in disseminating popular education throughout Indonesia by means of INSIST. Before joining INSIST, Saleh Abdullah had tried to establish a political party in the mid-1990s with Sri Bintang Pamungkas, but this resulted in his being sent to jail for several months because, according to the regime in power at that time, only three political parties had official permission to operate, namely, Golkar (Golongan Karya—Functional Groups), PPP (Partai Persatuan Pembangunan—Development Unity Party), and PDI (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia—Indonesian Democratic Party).

[11] Bina Desa, an NGO located in Jakarta, was established in 1974. The mission of this NGO is to participate in realizing a just and democratic social order by encouraging people to take initiatives, by driving social transformation, by strengthening people's organizations, by strengthening the network linking democratic movements at all levels, and meeting the basic needs of people through economic empowerment.

Freirean Popular Education in Indonesia:
Case Study of Involvement
(Indonesian Volunteers for Social Movement)

This chapter discusses the experience of INSIST (Indonesian Society for Social Transformation),[1] an Indonesian NGO based in Jogjakarta, in conducting the educational program known as Involvement (Indonesian Volunteers for Social Transformation), a transformative course for NGO activists, from 1999-2003, funded by KEPA, Finland.[2] The training programs offered by INSIST are based on Freirean critical pedagogy, on account of the fact that neglecting this approach contributes to the degeneration of critical capacities among NGO activists.

After a brief overview of development issues in Indonesia today and the subsequent rationale for the establishment of INSIST and programs like Involvement, this chapter will describe the Involvement program in terms of its participants, pedagogical emphasis and its impact on social change. Finally, critical reflections pertaining to this program are shared in the interest of enhancing its contribution towards social change processes that address the interests of marginalized groups in Indonesia.

Indonesian development and the rationale for Involvement

With the downfall of the Suharto regime in 1998 Indonesia entered a transitional phase as it passed from an authoritarian to a democratic government. Instituting a democratic society has not been an easy task due to the fact that Indonesia was for so long governed by an authoritarian regime that emphasized cultural uniformity, political stability and social order at the expense of democratic and egalitarian values.

The Indonesian government today is, moreover, dominated by neo-liberal views, i.e., a political-economic philosophy that de-emphasizes or rejects government intervention in the domestic economy—one impact of its position as a client of the IMF (1997-2002). The implementation of neoliberalism in Indonesia actually began in the mid-1980s with the introduction of a deregulation and de-bureaucratization. However, its full implementation gained momentum after Indonesia was hit by a monetary crisis in mid-1997, at which point the Indonesian government formally asked the IMF to help in the economic recovery.

As a consequence, Indonesia has obliged itself with the Washington Consensus via signing a Letter Of Intent (LOI). One of its elements is to eliminate subsidies for BBM (bahan bakar minyak-refined fuel oil), thus paving the way for multinational companies, such as Shell, to operate in Indonesia. Another point of the agreement is to privatize state-owned companies, such as Indosat, Telkom (Telecommunications), BNI (National Bank of Indonesia), PT. Tambang Timah and Aneka Tambang. Worse, water is designated for privatization as part of a liberalization of water resources. The implementation of this latter policy is in line with the World Bank's scheme for *watsal* (water resources sector adjustment loan). Thus, water will no longer be free to consume; it will be treated as a commodity on the open market. People will have to buy it from corporations, either state/private national corporations or multinational/ transnational corporations.

Not only have some BUMN (Badan Usaha Milik Negara—state-owned corporations) been privatized, but also state universities. As a result, many respectable state universities, such as Gadjah Mada University (UGM), Indonesian University (UI),

Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB), and Bogor Institute of Agriculture (IPB), are no longer alternatives for students with limited budgets to pursue higher education. Thus, privatization has touched the realm of education and quality education now goes to the highest bidder.

The ideology of neo-liberalism has now become widespread in Indonesia, delivered via various social institutions, like the state bureaucracy, schools, and NGOs. Surprisingly, many NGOs unconsciously support the IMF agenda, albeit indirectly. This can be seen in their programs that insist on good governance, civil society, and land reform—three issues that have become conditional for NGOs that want to obtain foreign funding. However, it is impossible to get funding if a proposal betrays any intention to monitor international companies operating in Indonesia (Fakih, 2003). The hidden agenda is to weaken state institutions and to protect trans-national companies from potential criticisms of NGOs.

Critics of these developments insist that, in order to counter the hegemony of neo-liberalism and pave the way for a democratic Indonesia in which the politics of difference is accommodated and human dignity is respected, it is necessary to strengthen the components of civil society and particularly the NGOs, which apparently have not yet found an effective way to assist in this transitional process.

Indonesian NGOs share many core concepts and values, among them, self-reliance, participation, and democracy. However, they differ in terms of the ideologies they propound and their approaches to certain questions, which results in different degrees of militancy. Philip J. Eldridge (1995), who studied Indonesian NGOs from 1983 to 1993, established four paradigms of Indonesian NGOs in relation to the regime.

Although the study was established to portray NGOs under the New Order regime, they can also be applied in the context of post-New Order regimes.

The first group can be said to include organizations dedicated to 'high-level co-operation grass-roots development.' NGOs in this category are consistent in promoting core values such as self-reliance and participation, but they are not interested in the political transformation of the regime. Their decision to adopt a non-political approach is to protect their autonomy from government interference.

Members of the second group can be said to aim at 'high-level politics grass-roots mobilization.' Although NGOs in this category were critical of the New Order philosophy and initially refused to participate in government-sponsored development programs, they eventually chose to co-operate with the government—and continue to do so—for such projects as the development of water supply and urban sectors and an environmental management program.

The focus of action of organizations in the third group is more on building awareness among the local people than on efforts to change state policy. Organizations of this type can be described as favouring 'empowerment from below,' because they pay more attention to small communities and avoid getting involved in large-scale networking arrangements.

The three groups mentioned above have been criticized by the fourth group for lacking militancy and not mobilizing the grass-roots against the regime due to their conflict-avoiding strategy and developmental ideology. They are accused of failing to propose an alternative model of development and of neglecting to form an opposition movement dedicated to representing the poor. As a result, they have failed to

accommodate the interests of workers and peasants and to shelter them from the domination of global capitalism represented by multinational companies. According to the fourth group, a more radical movement bent on structural transformation is therefore necessary.

The failure of most Indonesian NGOs to act as agents of social change is affirmed by Mansour Fakih (1996), who argues that Indonesian NGOs have not been able to find real solutions for empowering people due to their ideological preference for developmentalism. Contradictions are inherent in many big NGOs when it comes to their jargon or theory and actual practices. For example, they all claim ideals of democracy, social transformation and justice as their core values and concepts, yet employ modernization and developmentalist theories to achieve such goals from a non-critical standpoint. This theoretical ambiguity leads to inconsistencies in methodology and approach, resulting in the cooptation and domestication of radical and critical methodologies and techniques, such as Freirean conscientization education and participatory action research.

To respond to the above crisis, a group of NGO activists held a series of meetings starting in the late 1980s to find a new definition of the role of NGOs in Indonesia. The ultimate goal of the meetings was to recapture the original vision and mission of the NGOs as agents of social changes. The meetings took place in Bukittinggi, North Sumatra in 1987, Baturaden, Central Java in 1990, and Cisarua Bogor, East Java in 1993 (Mansour Fakih, 1996). In these meetings, some critical reflections were voiced: (1) establishing democratic and just internal structures in NGOs; (2) insisting on advocacy and people's organizations instead of short-term projects that stifle popular struggle; (3)

taking critical account of the hegemonic structure of international capitalism disseminated through foreign funding, such as USAID, CIDA, and the World Bank; and (4) changing their mode of vision from a traditional and reformist to a transformative paradigm.

One of the suggestions on how to achieve the above was to re-school NGO activists in order to equip them with the analytical and theoretical competencies necessary to locate NGOs in relation to the state and the hegemony of developmentalist ideology. It was in this context that Involvement was significant. The school not only provides the activists with basic competencies such as analytical skills, but also emancipatory knowledge such as social movement theories, PAR, critical theory, and popular education. These ideas can be found in the works of Paulo Freire, Saul David Alinsky, Antonio Gramsci, and other social theorists and critical pedagogues.

There are three stages to the educational program of Involvement: two months of classroom work, nine months of fieldwork, and one month of evaluation.

Involvement

Participants

The participants in Involvement are usually student or NGO-based activists or other social activists who have at least one year experience in any issue of civil society and who are committed to work for the empowerment of civil society (Laporan Kegiatan Kelas, 2000). The participants should have acquired experience in a social movement organization aimed at empowering, for instance, workers, women, peasants, fishermen, indigenous communities, etc. According to Noer Fauzi (2002), a school principal and

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facilitator of the class for 1999, it is designed for talented activists, the educated middle

class, or the "petit bourgeois" type of activist.

There are two ways of recruiting participants. First, INSIST, as organizing

committee of Involvement, asked local NGOs to send their members to participate in this

program. Secondly, INSIST chose the participants based on the recommendation of its

senior members (Laporan Kegiatan Kelas, 1999).

Participants in the training can be divided into two types: those who are well-

informed about social theories but lack fieldwork experience, and those who are rich in

fieldwork experience but lack theoretical knowledge. It is difficult to find participants

who combine both aspects, for they usually possess one and not the other.

Since 1999, more than one hundred activists have graduated from the

Involvement program and are now active in many places throughout Indonesia, including

Java, Sumatra, Maluku, Bali, East Timor, Papua, and Kalimantan. Topatimasang (2002,

in Sangkoyo, 2003) maintains that the alumni of Involvement are not oriented towards

establishing new organizations or NGOs, but rather towards supporting local initiatives in

people's organizing, arguing that many activists are trapped in the dominant trend of

establishing new organizations, in order to get foreign funding instead of strengthening

existing people's institutions and organizations. Thus, after graduating, the participants

are expected to take part as volunteers in any social organization, such as peasants,

workers, indigenous community, etc.

Pedagogy: formal curricular engagements

Fauzi (2002, quoted in Sangkoyo, 2003) points out that "the two-month session is

especially instrumental in shaping their political outlook" (p. 22). The dynamics of

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learning vary from one class to another, depending on two important factors: the participants and the facilitators. The process of learning in Involvement is based on a Freirean approach, in the sense that it is the participants who decide what kind of knowledge they want to learn, how to achieve it, and who will function as facilitators in the class—assuming that they know what they need. The learning process is thus organized from the bottom rather than from the top of the pyramid. However, the committee organizer provides alternative subjects that can possibly be adopted by participants as guidelines in formulating the syllabus.

In terms of facilitators, the participants prefer to choose people who not only have a good knowledge of the subject, but who also have experience in the field. For example, Roem Topatimasang, who had extensive experience in organizing groups of people throughout Indonesia (Maluku, Papua, Aceh, East Timor, etc), always presented on community organization to most classes.

The materials taught in the two month classroom include, among others: (a) schools of thought in education; (b) popular education; (c) theories of social transformation; (d) social analysis theory and community organization; and (e) research methodology.

The subject of schools of thought in education involves the study of three such schools, i.e., conservative, liberal and transformative-critical. These schools have their own preferences in terms of theoretical perspective, methodological framework, content of learning, ends of learning, and methods. The Involvement program is consciously based on a transformative-critical approach that is inspired by critical pedagogues such as Paulo Freire, because the process of learning is ultimately oriented towards increasing the

critical capacities of the participants so that they may understand how the social system works.

The main focus in the subject of popular education is Paulo Freire because he is the main exponent and source for this subject. His two works (in their Indonesian versions) are discussed intensively, i.e., *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and *The Politics of Education: Culture, Power, and Liberation.* This subject is usually delivered by Mansour Fakih, not only because he is the one who has mastered the subject, but also because he once met with Freire in 1989 when pursuing his Ph.D. at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. At this point, particular attention is given to Freire's archaeological concept of consciousness, his notion of education as politics and his vision of literacy.

Theories of social transformation are another subject taught in Involvement classes. This subject is important for NGO activists because, as actors in social movements, they need to know how social transformation engineering works. It is argued that social changes at the national and local levels cannot be separated from global transformation. For this reason, international events, such as World Wars I and II, and the establishment of the United Nations, the World Bank, the IMF, the Marshal Plan, the Colombo Plan, and the like, are discussed and analyzed critically in relation to their impact on local issues in Indonesia. The shift in models of capitalism from liberal, to state capitalism, to neo-liberal is also analyzed extensively by the participants.

Another subject taught in Involvement pertains to community organization. The facilitator selected to present this subject is usually Roem Topatimasang because he has for a long time devoted himself to organizing communities throughout Indonesia. Topatimasang argues that community organizing is oriented to help people become

aware, know and able to act. Decision-making is thus in the hands of the people, not the activists.

Based on his experiences, Topatimasang (2000) says that there are three principles in organizing a community. First, it is impossible to develop peoples' organization without becoming directly involved. Secondly, it is important and necessary to be well-informed about the people in the community being organized. Third, it is important not to depend too much on foreign funding. In the early stages, foreign funding may be necessary; but in the long run, it can become a burden; therefore, it is important to develop self-reliance in terms of economic resources in order to remain independent.

The issue of foreign funding is a crucial issue in community organizing, because it is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it can be used to run programs designed to empower the people. On the other, it can have the effect of weakening the social system, in the sense it causes people to lose their creativity and abandon their culture of *gotong-royong* (mutual assistance) that has been embedded within local communities for centuries. People as a result become dependent beings, and always look to outsiders to solve the problems arising in their villages. When an NGO or other social institution comes to the village, what is uppermost in their minds is that these institutions will bring money. Surprisingly, many social institutions perpetuate this kind of dependency and make less of an effort to educate people to be self-reliant.

The subjects covered in research methodology focus on the different perspectives held by the positivist and non-positivist approaches. The positivist approach is based on the assumption that humans are part of the natural world, which is orderly, predictable and knowable, and that their behaviour can also be understood through looking at the

laws of cause-and-effect. Human behaviour and social actions are therefore kinds of natural events that occur outside the scope of human consciousness. The positivist approach has been criticized for its claim to represent value-free research, which is considered an unattainable goal. This paradigm is also accused of supporting the existing social order in the name of neutrality and non-biased research.

The basic assumption of the non-positivist approach is that research should be conducted to transform the living conditions of the people being studied. For this purpose, instead of proposing *internal* (coherence) and *external* (isomorphism) validity by assuming that true knowledge is a mirror of reality, this approach proposes *catalytic* validity, whereby it strives to ensure that research leads to action and that it transforms the living conditions of the participants. The most remarkable difference in the non-positivist approach, particularly in the case of critical inquiry, is the fact that it is praxis-oriented. There is a strong belief that theory, when allied with praxis, leads to a proper political end, namely, social transformation. The goal of research is, therefore, to critique, emancipate and improve the condition of humanity. Thus, research should have a kind of "transformative agenda."

Method of learning

Pedagogical process in Involvement is based on dialogical method. Topatimasang, for example, often begins a session on community organizing by asking the participants to watch a fifteen-minute video about the life of a community in the village of Aru, Maluku, which is very poor despite the presence of vast amounts of pearls, a very expensive and promising international commodity. The participants are then asked to discuss and analyze the problems of this society. The first question to be

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investigated is: "Who is involved in this social problem?" After the problems have been defined and the actors identified, the subject is addressed.

In one dialogue, Dahlan Tamher, one of the participants in the 2000 class, posed a challenging question to Topatimasang:

> What should we do if we find out that a decision made by the *adat* (customary) institution disadvantages the local people, for if we want to challenge it we will be isolated from the rest of the community?

In his response to this question, Topatimasang insisted that the solution in this case is creativity and methodology. He gave an example from his own experience. In Maluku, there is a village where the social structure is very patrilineal. Women are not allowed to attend the *adat* assembly. Topatimasang did not address this gender issue right away when he approached the community, because he knew that had he done so, he would have been isolated and would not have been accepted by the local people. What he did was to get involved in peoples' activities for four years until they trusted him, and only then did he ask the question, "Why are women not allowed to attend the *adat* meeting?" This gender issue was then discussed by influential local figures (like the heads of the *adat*) and it appeared that such regulations were not really a part of customary law. It was even pointed out that women had in the past contributed to the formation of customary law. Two years later, women were allowed to participate in the *adat* assembly.

Pedagogy: praxis in the communities

At the end of their two months in the classroom, the participants are asked to plan their nine-month fieldwork, particularly in terms of where they want to go, what

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institutions they want to join, and the role that they are willing to take. In general, most of

the participants choose their own communities as the setting for their fieldwork.

Most of the participants of the 1999 class, for example, went back to their original

institutions. Juliana Jamlean, Ahmad Syakir Renwarin, Muhammad Mashuri Kabalmay,

and Efrem Silubun returned to their home institutions Yayasan Nen Mas II, Tual Maluku

Tenggara (Kei Kecil) and Yayasan Pengembangan Maur Ohio Wut Maluku Tenggara

(Kei Besar), respectively. There they worked at organizing the indigenous community

and at helping the local people to develop their economy. Likewise, Putut Indrianto

returned to his original institution Keliling, Klaten, to counsel peasants in the local

community.

Others chose locations that were basically new and different from their original

institutions, such as Biduran Kaplale and A.M. Indrianto. Instead of returning to Baileo

Maluku, Kaplale did his fieldwork in Mitra Tani, Jogyakarta. Likewise, instead of

returning to the E-Team in Jogjakarta, Indrianto joined Yayasan Lingkungan Hidup

(YALI) Jayapura, West Papua, to do his fieldwork.

Doni Hendro Cahyono (2003), an alumnus of the 1999 Involvement class, did his

fieldwork in Magelang, Central Java. He tried to apply some of the precepts he had

learned during his two month in-class when organizing the workers in this area, and had

considerable success. Women workers, who were used to sitting in the back quietly

during discussion forums, wanted to participate more actively. Since a bond of trust

between the workers and the community organizer had been established, they did not

hesitate to communicate their domestic problems directly to Cahyono, realizing that

individual problems could possibly disturb the collective action. The community

organizer always exploits informal meetings as an entry point to strengthening solidarity amongst workers.

At this point, Cahyono employed Freirean principles to organize workers by defining them not as objects but as subjects who should become the main actors in solving their own problems. He argues that a true community organizer is not one who presents himself as a hero come to save the people. The role of the community organizer is only to encourage and help the community become self-reliant. He/she does not have the right to become the de facto leader of that community; in fact the leader should be from the community itself. Any union, whether of peasants, workers, or fishermen, should be led by someone who is genuinely part of that community, and thus one who has no experience as a worker is ethically ineligible to lead a worker's union. These principles should be taken into account by every community organizer, otherwise the process of organizing a community may result in dependence instead of self-reliance.

Solihul Hadi (2003) tells a different story concerning his experience in conducting fieldwork with the Bajo tribe of East Kalimantan, which is a fishing community. The Bajo tribe is distributed between two islands: Derawan, which has one village, and Maratua, which has four. The trip from Derawan to Maratua takes four hours using a fishing boat, and to go from one village to another on this island takes two hours by foot. This tribe was previously unknown to Hadi, and none of his friends had undergone a similar experience with a tribe. Thus, he could not take his colleagues' experiences as a model. How did Hadi deal with this situation?

First of all, he recalled the teaching he had received during his two-month class and tried to contextualize the theories and adapt them to the present situation, particularly

in regard to organizing the community and popular education. Hadi took the core ideas of the subjects he had discussed in class and tried to ground them in reality. This is the most difficult part for any social activist. For instance: the main task of a community organizer is to empower the local people and help them to become self-reliant. What does this mean? For Hadi, it meant that in politics people should be involved in deciding public policies, that in economic matters they should dominate the market in order to be able to fix the prices of commodities and of what they produce, and that at the social-cultural level they have to learn how to be proud of their own culture. The essence of community organizing and popular education, according to Hadi, is to define the local inhabitants as subjects in the process of social transformation. Methods of empowerment are based on "what they know, what they have, and what they can do."

The first thing to learn is how to become part of the local community and how not to pass for a stranger. Hadi tried to become a friend of the villagers. Being accepted as part of the community is an essential step toward successful community organizing, because it is only after having been accepted that one can identify what the problem is, who is involved in the problem, and what the relations among the actors are.

The main problem faced by the community in question was the presence of foreign companies that exploited local natural resources and were backed by the police and army. Many resorts had also been established there because the area is attractive to international tourism. Some policies established by the resorts disadvantage local fishermen; for instance, in certain places the latter had lost access to abundant fishing grounds because these were owned by the resorts. The question raised was: How can people be restricted from seeking subsistence in their very homeland? Hadi convinced the

villagers that they had the right to fish any place they wanted, arguing that according to the law nobody can possess the sea.

A feeling of resentment developed among the locals towards the companies, mainly because the latter's presence had brought them more difficulties than benefits. As a result of their growing consciousness of their rights, they started to severely criticize the companies, questioning their rights. Tensions rose and conflict between the two sides even became a possibility. At this point, Hadi tried to persuade the people not to use violence to solve their problems.

On the other hand, the companies, which were allied with the local authorities, began accusing the NGOs of being trouble-makers and of exploiting villagers for their own interests and benefits. Hadi mediated such accusation as process of learning. He explained the reasons and motives why the companies would propagate such rumours, i.e., to weaken their opponents and spread disunity between the local population and the NGOs.

Hadi was left with a very deep impression with his nine-month praxis in the Bajo tribe of East Kalimantan. He said that it was creativity that made him possible to survive and engage in this new environment.

Another experience is recounted by Ina Irawati (2001). She did her nine-month fieldwork in Ranupani, a village located in the area of the Tengger highlands. The people of this village live in the area around the National Park of Bromo Tengger Semeru. Through an interactive dialogue with the local population, she found three major problems in this area, i.e., corporate farming that interfered with small-scale growers, unequal rights for local women in the social sphere, and the negative impacts of National

Park projects. To deal with these problems, Irawati got involved in the daily activities of women in order to get a sense of what they felt and thought about their lives. She also initiated a project of re-developing local fertilizers that had virtually disappeared in order to end the reliance of the peasants on manufactured fertilizers. Furthermore, together with local people, she tried to change in part the national park project in order that it benefits the local population.

Impacts on people's organizations

Social movement and people's organizations are not easy to differentiate, since "organizations increasingly resemble episodic movements rather than ongoing bounded actors" (Davis and Zald, 2005). The main contribution of Involvement in relation to social movements in Indonesia so far has been to strengthen the local popular organizations. The presence of its alumni in local organizations has opened new perspectives, particularly with regards to community organizing and Freirean popular education practices.

According to Cahyono (2003), several Involvement graduates have become influential members of many peasant unions, such as the SPSU (North Sumatra Peasant Union), SPSS (South Sumatra Peasant Union), SPP (Pasundan Peasant Union), SPL (Lampung Peasant Union), FPS (Sumbawa Peasant Forum), NASTARI (Independent Shoot Peasant Foundation), Bogor, etc. They have also become active in many community-based organizations, such as Baelio Ambon, YPMO (Maur Ohio Wut Development Foundation), YNM (Nen Mas Il Foundation), YBCM (Bina Citra Nusa Foundation), Yayasan Hakiki (Hakiki Foundation), etc. In Maluku, almost all the alumni

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of Involvement have joined the Core Team of Facilitators of Baileo Maluku, the biggest

indigenous peoples' network in Maluku Tenggara.

Some alumni have become involved in environmental movements, such as:

Keliling (Environmental Awareness Group), Delanggu, Klaten; KALIPATRA Riau,

Sumatra; YNWS (Nanimi Wabilisu Foundation), Sorong Papua, etc. Others are now

active in advocacy, such as with SIL (SAHE Institute for Liberation) East Timor; JKPM

(Pesantren-Community Network) Wonosobo Central Java; BAR (People's Advocacy

Agent) Bandung; JPMS (Civil Society Empowering Network) Jogyakarta; FSBS

(Solidarity Forum of Surakarta Worker), etc.

Looking at the roles taken by alumni in local organizations, it is obvious that

activist schools like Involvement have made a significant contribution to supporting

social movements in Indonesia, not only by strengthening the intellectual capacities of

activists that are necessary for responding to the global influence of neo-liberalism, but

also by strengthening various popular organizations.

Furthermore, Involvement has inspired many NGOs in Indonesia to hold similar

kinds of programs. In observing this phenomenon, Cahyono (2002, quoted in Sangkoyo,

2003) says:

> It should come as no surprise that today there are so many ornop (NGO) carrying
> out Involvement-like programmes. It proves that INSIST's ambition in becoming
> a trend-setter for Indonesian non-government community works out as expected
> (p. 4).

Critical reflection

The method of schooling in Involvement is not without problems, however, as is

acknowledged even by the inner circle of INSIST. Some argue that there is too much

emphasis on abstruse theories at the expense of practical knowledge and skills.

According to Amir Sutoko (2002), a peasant movement activist and senior member of INSIST, the graduates of Involvement are more ideology-oriented (read: committed) than non-Involvement alumni. This otherwise positive side is not without risks, though, because "it makes them so busy with themselves and thus weakens considerably their integrative process with the community" (p. 26). What grassroots activists need actually is data-based reflection, or experimental-based knowledge. Even Sutoko argues that the insistence on theoretical knowledge is powerful enough to erase the participants' social memory, a view that nevertheless seems exaggerated.

Toto Rahardjo (2002, in Sangkoyo, 2003) shares the same concern, arguing that Involvement classes do not provide crucial knowledge and skills, like how to be, for instance, a school teacher. In his words, "we are still discussing ingredients, not what the final dish that those ingredients will add up to" (p. 25).

Locating theoretical knowledge as the main ingredient should not, however, be seen as strategic planning, because the graduates will later participate in popular organizations where practical knowledge is definitely needed. This criticism is also based on the assumption that participants are coming from local organizations.

On the other hand, Noer Fauzi (2002) argues that the reason why the Involvement course places more emphasis on theoretical instead of practical knowledge is because the curricular framework is designed to radicalize the middle class, or the *petit bourgeois* type of activist, rather than the local grassroots leader. This is because most participants are former student activists, the educated middle class, or to use Mansour Fakih's words, "urban activists in T-shirts" (2002, p. 30).

The debate over what elements should be included in the process of learning reflects the plural views of Involvement, particularly among core members of INSIST and program organizers. The philosophical foundation of the program thus remains unsettled. Given this fact, it is important to return to the initial and basic question: What type of alumni does Involvement seek to produce? The answer to this question is significant in determining the content of learning that will be given.

The initial intention behind Involvement was to re-school NGO activists in order to equip them with the intellectual capacities necessary to face the global challenge of neo-liberalism. Participants are therefore recruited based on their experiences in social movements. According to the committee organizers, the participants are from the educated middle class or former student activists. For this reason, many of INSIST's key members argue that they do not intend to encourage the graduates of the course to become leaders of peoples' organizations, such as peasant or workers' unions, unless they are a genuine part of them. Nor do they intend their graduates to establish their own organizations in order to get foreign funding. The main intention is, by contrast, to strengthen and support local initiatives or peoples' organizations.

If this is the case then there do not seem to be any crucial issues at hand in regard to the emphasis on theoretical knowledge in Involvement. However, the facts are not as they seem, not all of the participants are former higher student activists, or the *petit bourgeois* type of activist. Muhaimin, a participant in the fourth batch, for example, did not complete his junior secondary school. He has plenty of practical experience but lacks theoretical knowledge. Similarly, eight of the thirty-one participants of the 2000 class had

only graduated from senior high school (SMA). In the 2003 class and which I attended, some had only completed elementary school, such as Samsuddin and Rahmat.

This means that the educational background of the participants varies considerably. The different social backgrounds of the participants have led to a dynamic process of learning. On the one hand, there are participants who were trained to think rigorously and carefully. When asked to comment on certain social issues, they begin from the very basic questions: What is the problem? Why is it happening? What approach should be taken? Whose theoretical framework can be employed? This is typical of participants who are used to analytical reasoning and have experience in critical thinking.

On the other hand, there are participants who are impatient with this kind of analytical process and who are used to simple forms of analysis. This group usually chooses spontaneous action over abstract theorizing and is usually represented by former street-based activists who participate in demonstrations and in particular those who were involved in opposing and criticizing the Suharto regime in 1998. While the goal of both groups is essentially the same, their methodological approaches are different: one group attempts to analyze problems patiently through theory and analysis, while the other prefers pragmatic and concrete solutions.

The different social background of the participants should be given special attention, because without assigning too much attention to the issue of variety of educational background, it could nonetheless be helpful to situate some participants in the position of objects. This does not necessarily mean dividing the participants into two groups, but rather ensuring that each participant has the opportunity to make his or her

voice heard rather than be consigned to the margin. There should be no domination in the process of learning.

Indeed, if we look at the reports of class activities we can see that, when discussing certain subjects, particularly in the domain of theoretical knowledge, only a few people are actively involved in the production of knowledge while most others remain silent. The silent majority can be interpreted in two ways: they may be following the discussion and understanding it, or they may really not understand the subject. The second is probably closer to the truth, as can be seen in Anu Lounela's (2002, quoted in Sangkoyo, 2003) comment:

> The classroom stage should function as a reflection. This is where the problem of language may interfere. It would almost be impossible for a peasant activist from Wonosobo [a strong foothold of the peasant movement in Central Java] to chew Foucault in a short two months. I have been attending Involvement several times. I could see that their gaze was empty (p. 31).

At this point, it is the task of the facilitator to create a space of learning based on hospitality in order to make participants feel comfortable, free and self-confident enough to articulate their thoughts, regardless of their different intellectual capacities. The pedagogical process should be run in a participatory spirit in which participants learn from each other, assuming that knowledge and wisdom can be found in books/academia as well as in daily lived experiences. When a hospitable space of learning is created, the learning process will not end up increasing the self-confidence and intellectual capacities of some participants and decreasing those of others.

Another issue that needs to be clarified is whether core members of INSIST should try to produce graduates who go on to lead popular movement organizations. The fact is that many graduates have participated in peoples' movements. Some of them

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become key members of these organizations. If these graduates are genuinely part of those communities, there should be no problem. A problem arises, however, when they do not belong to those communities and yet become the leaders. It is important to insist again that it is ethically unacceptable to lead peoples' organizations if one is not part of that community. The task of the community organizer is not to be the leader of that community, but to nourish, develop and strengthen its self-reliance. This is, I believe, a basic principle that should be stressed; otherwise, organizing activities will result in increased dependency on the part of the community.

Another crucial point which must be taken into account concerns the building of curiosity and creativity. Applying theories to everyday practice is not an easy task: it requires considerable creativity. Creativity has helped Hadi to evolve in a completely new environment in the Bajo tribe, East Kalimantan. To survive in a new environment, creativity is a definite requirement without which it is impossible to ground abstruse theories in concrete reality and make them intelligible to the local people.

However, it is important to note that the task of activist is not only to ground abstruse theories in concrete reality, but also to examine the applicability of theories in practice and to produce praxis-based knowledge, i.e., knowledge arising from praxis (Conway, 2006). Thus, contrasting theory and local practices allows the activist not only to know whether the theory is applicable or not, but also to revise and produce it. In the program evaluation report (2002), however, I never found a graduate who speaks about this issue in his/her nine-month fieldwork. Hence it can be argued that the Freirean cycle of reflection-action-reflection has not yet been completed in this instance.

The issue of relating theory and local practice is a crucial one. It is almost always the case that the point of departure for NGO activists is the theory he/she finds in books. Likewise, the theoretical knowledge transmitted in the Involvement classroom is mostly derived from Western sources. Although these help participants to understand what is going on at the global and national levels, they do not always provide the appropriate lens to perceive a situation at the local level. The major challenge is how to formulate a theoretical framework based on the practices of a local community, or how to make local practices the main reference in formulating a theory. Involvement, I think, should pay more attention to this indigenisation of knowledge. The issue is more than just how to accommodate local content in the pedagogical process of Involvement, but how to theorize indigenous experiences and make them sources of knowledge.

[1] *INSIST* was established in 1997 aiming at a forum of communication amongst NGO activists who have experience in conducting social transformation at grassroots levels through community organization and popular education. It was initiated to function as a medium for conceptualizing and systemizing practical experiences that could serve as guidance for young social activists involved in social movements and transformation. Since its establishment, *INSIST* has made a significant contribution not only in terms of developing critical discourses and alternative perspectives, but also in terms of supporting people's organizations and social movements in Indonesia.

[2] KEPA, *Kehitysyhteistyön Palvelukeskus*, or the Service Centre for Development Cooperation, is a network of over 200 Finnish NGOs interested in development network and global issues. It has mission to transform the structures that cause and sustain inequality in the world. In addition to its work in Finland, Kepa has field offices in Mozambique, Nicaragua, and Zambia. Kepa has been involved in a unique partnership with INSIST since it was founded, with one Kepa staff member working permanently at the INSIST office in Jogjakarta.

Chapter 6

Critical Assessments on Paulo Freire

This chapter discusses some of the criticisms offered by Indonesian educators of

the theories of Paulo Freire. The positive reception of Freire in Indonesia does not

necessarily mean that his thought is accepted blindly or without critique. Even Freire

himself urges his readers not to accept any ideas coming from another part of the world at

face value, since these are always socially constructed and historically situated through

the medium of language. His advice is to re-examine their suitability before transplanting

them into another social context to avoid the imposition of one culture over another.

Two simplistic categories

Freire has over polarized view of reality, which for him is always divided into two

categories, such as banking versus liberatory pedagogy, oppressor-oppressed, dominator-

dominated, subject-object, domesticator-domesticated, and the like. This extreme

polarization is a clear indication that he prefers one side and rejects the other. His

magnum opus is, unsurprisingly, entitled *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Freire makes a

clear choice in taking the side of the underclass.

Criticism of this approach is frequently offered. Risakotta (2001) recognizes

Freire's tendency to see the world in terms black-white or right-wrong categories, when

in fact reality is far too complex to reduce it to such categories alone. Presenting positions

in diametrical or polar opposition contributes, he says, to the production of simplistic

analysis, because the world is actually not as simple as this. This way of thinking

disregards the possibility that the same person in different situations can be the subject or

the oppressor, and in others the object or the oppressed. Risakotta (2001) says, "there is

nobody in the world who has never become an oppressor, at least by participating in social structures that benefit him/herself while disadvantaging others. Similarly, there is nobody who has never been oppressed" (p. 18).

Risakotta cites the example of his own experience as a foreigner living in Indonesia and married to an Indonesian woman. On the one hand, he feels an oppressor because of the wide gap between his economic status and that of his house helper. On the other, he also feels oppressed because he does not have the right to live permanently in Indonesia, even though his wife is an Indonesian, and he has to renew his permit to reside in Indonesia every year through a complicated and corrupt bureaucratic procedure.

At this point, he questions the meaning of oppression. "Am I an oppressor if I receive so much respect and service from my educational institution just because I am white? Am I also oppressed because, for the same reason, I have to pay double when renewing my citizenship status?"

Freire's tendency to see society in terms of two extreme perspectives has also been criticized for lack of consistency. He seems to believe that the world of oppression cannot be seen except from the structural perspective. The problem with this view, according to Risakotta, is: What if a people's story does not correspond to the theory of oppression? What if a people's suffering is not caused by structural oppression? He argues that structural oppression is only one of many sources of the suffering of people, but not the only one. There are other sources, such as natural disasters, ethnic and religious conflict, illness, corrupt bureaucracy, poverty, sexual violence, the global market, etc. Not all of these are caused by domination and oppression. Therefore, it is questionable whether his method can be applied to a group of learners whose main

problem is not structural oppression, but something else. To be consistent with his theory

that the existential reality of students should serve as the entry point of the learning

process, Freire's model cannot possibly be applied in every situation.

From the above perspective, the oppressor-oppressed way of thinking is not

always accurate for interpreting the meaning of social life. Since dividing the world into

two categories is inadequate for an understanding of the complexities of life, it is

necessary to extend the categories to include the concepts of class struggle, patriarchy

and feminism, or disability, to name only a few. These categories can help people

question and criticize a part of their existential reality, but not the whole of it because

there is no single approach that can explain the whole phenomenon.

Critical consciousness and social change: simplistic analysis

Freire argues that there is an intimate relation between knowing and action, in the

sense that our understanding of reality leads to action. He says, "It so happens every

understanding, sooner or later an action corresponds. Once man perceives a challenge,

understands it, and recognizes the possibilities of response, he acts" (Freire, 1973, p. 44).

At this point, Freire views an automatic relation between critical understanding, critical

consciousness and critical action. But is this really the case?

Noer Fauzi (2003) disagrees with Freire's view that knowing automatically leads

to action. Assuming that critical consciousness is always connected significantly to social

action is a facile analysis. The case is not as simple as this because each element has its

own dynamic: they are not always inter-connected. There must be a kind of connecting

factor between critical consciousness and cultural action without which the former finds

it difficult to produce the latter.

Fauzi argues that the reason why Freire's experiment with literacy programs in the early 1960s had such positive results in connecting critical consciousness and social action was because a socio-political movement culture existed at that time. The Brazil of the early 1960s is described by Collin (1976, p. 6) as "a restless nation," with various reform movements in northeast Brazil centered on the Popular Culture Movement. In that same era, there were around thirteen hundred farm worker's unions. In 1963, as noted by Elias (1994), the Popular Culture Movement, together with the Supervisory Agency for Agrarian Reform (SUPRA), mobilized the workers' unions. As a result, there were around eighty-four thousand workers involved in the first strike in Pernambuco, while in the second strike the participants had increased drastically in number to two hundred and thirty thousand workers. These facts demonstrate how strong the workers' unions were at that time and in that place.

When Joao Goulart replaced Janio Quadros as president of Brazil in 1961, social movements sponsored by peasant leagues and other organizations were intensified, their primary goal being consciousness-raising and literacy. Freire was involved in these movements through the University of Recife's Cultural Extension Service, over which he served as the first director. He and his team worked throughout the entire nation from June 1963 to March 1964. They claimed considerable success, even to the extent where adult illiterates not only could read and write in forty-five days but had also gained an awareness of the power structure.

According to Fauzi, the key to this success was the establishment of twenty-thousand cultural circles that could reach around six hundred thousand illiterates. Freire and his team did not, however, establish these cultural circles alone; rather, they were

assisted by local community organizers. Thus, they did not develop cultural circles out of nothing. Freire and his team started from methodology and then exploited networks already in place. The reason why such cultural circles were easily established was because there was already a social movement culture. In other words, Freire benefited from an already existing culture of protest and of socio-political movement and this was a significant factor in connecting critical consciousness and cultural action. When he moved to Chile the result was not as impressive as in Brazil because the degree of socio-political movement culture was different there.

In Indonesia, the socio-political movement culture has been in abeyance since 1965. This is part of the reason why the dissemination of Freire's ideas encounters resistance in the country. This does not necessarily mean that a culture of protest does not exist in Indonesia, for it does. However, Fauzi argues that the basis of this protest is not culture of politics, but is rather a spontaneous expression of the oppressed. For example, peasants will resist and protest if their lands are expropriated. Likewise, workers will resist and protest if their wages are reduced. At this point, the protest is based on spontaneity, not a culture of a political movement. In Latin America, this culture is a continuous phenomenon, whereas in Indonesia it has been going on for only ten years. That is why it is important to revive and develop the socio-political movement culture in Indonesia if Freirean critical literacy is to have a place there; otherwise, any effort will result in failure.

Inconsistency between theory and practice

Freire elsewhere mentions the importance of dialogue to the learning process because it is the fulfillment of one's ontological vocation. What is dialogue? Freire

explains that "dialogue is the encounter between men, mediated by the world, in order to name the world" (1971, p. 76). He also says that, "Only dialogue, which requires critical thinking, is also capable of generating critical thinking. Without dialogue, there is no communication, and without communication there can be no true education" (1971, p. 81). Thus, it is impossible to have democratic learning in the absence of dialogue. Through dialogue, the dichotomy between the teacher, who is supposed to know everything, and the student, who is supposed to know nothing, no longer exists: both become learners who teach and are taught. As a result, "arguments based on 'authority' are no longer valid" (Freire, 1970, p. 67).

This notion does not necessarily reduce the function of teachers to that of mere 'facilitators,' a position that Freire explicitly repudiated because he saw their task as one of contributing, together with students, to the production of knowledge. Freire pointed out that "Teachers maintain a certain level of authority through the depth and breadth of knowledge of the subject matter that they teach" (Freire, 1987, quoted in Allman, 1998, p. 12). However, he also insisted that the meaning of authority is not equivalent to authoritarianism, because the latter intrinsically contradicts the spirit of democracy that lies at the heart of Freire's struggle.

The insistence on dialogue in the learning process aims at avoiding narrative teaching, which in turn depends on subject-object relationship. The content of learning in narrative teaching is lifeless, because it is delivered in the form of one-way communication. As a result, there is no knowledge production, because knowledge is regarded as a static entity, "a corps of information—a dead body of knowledge—not a living connection to their reality" (Ira Shor and Paulo Freire, 1987, p. 4). Teaching then is

considered as technical matter *per se*: it is not intended to raise consciousness within learners. Narrative teaching is typical of banking education.

However, in his later book, *A Pedagogy for Liberation* (1987), Freire clarifies that "by criticizing banking education we have to recognize that not all kinds of lecturing is banking education" (p. 40). He argues that lecturing can be used as oral codification that will later on be decoded by students and teacher.

At this point, Mansour Fakih (2003) accuses Freire of being inconsistent with regard to dialogical method and knowledge production in the learning process. In other words, he proposes and insists on a certain methodology, but does not follow through in practice. When Fakih met Freire in 1989 and took a class with him, he formed a very different impression. His teaching method was hardly as provocative or powerful as he had expected: it was just common adult education. Rather than encountering the Freirean technique in class, he met with an anti-Freirean approach, because Freire himself employed lecture and narration in the learning process. As a result, he dominated the class, contradicting what he had said in his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, where he insists on dialogue. At this point, there was no gnosiological cycle, i.e., the dialectical relation between the moment of producing new knowledge and the moment of knowing the new knowledge, as insisted on by Freire. By relying on lecturing as his method of teaching, Freire had reduced the importance of dialogue. Content and method are equally important in the learning process, because no matter how good the content, when it is delivered in a non-dialogical way it can be metamorphosed into dogma.

Thus, Fakih had different impression after meeting Freire. Before, Fakih felt that his ideas were truly provocative, revolutionary and powerful. He experienced a great

desire to develop Freire's ideas in practice, seeing in them the seeds of leftist struggle. However, this impression suddenly disappeared when he found that Freire's teaching method betrayed his own principle by using monologue as a way of communication.

Neglecting the spiritual dimension

Through a reading of passages from Freire's works, it is quite obvious that humanization—as an authentic liberation—is the goal of his educational philosophy. Freire (1971) argues that humans have an "ontological and historical vocation to be more fully human" (40) by denouncing an oppressive world and announcing a new one that is just and democratic. However, there is a condition to being truly human, namely, freedom. As incomplete beings, humans need freedom to perceive their completion.

Ahmad Syafi'i Ma'arif (1991), an Indonesian Muslim thinker, criticizes Freire for his anthropocentric view. For Ma'arif, there are two fundamental questions in relation to education as a medium of liberation, namely, *'freedom from what'* and *'freedom for what.'* These two questions underlie the ontological premise of liberation. He argues that Freire has successfully answered the question of *'freedom from what,'* that is, freedom from a culture of silence, verbal tradition, domination, oppression, and authoritarianism.

However, Freire fails to answer adequately the other question, i.e., *'freedom for what?'* What is the essence of getting freedom? Why is it necessary for human beings to pursue freedom and to fight against injustice? Ma'arif suspects that this may be because his thought is linked merely to worldly interests and does not consider the spiritual dimension. He says:

> According to the Qur'an, the existence of human beings in the earth will only be meaningful if they orient consciously their worldly activities to God. Without such orientation, whatever the form of activity (including educational activities), will be of no value in front of God (p. 25).

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Thus, from an Islamic point of view, theory and action will be meaningful when they are oriented to more than temporal concerns, when they comprehend spiritual ones as well. Without this added dimension, efforts at any type of reform will be less meaningful or even meaningless. Islam acknowledges the relation between "humanization, liberation and transcendence" (Kuntowijoto, 1991, p. 289).

In my view, judging Freire's views from an Islamic perspective is not entirely fair, since he grew up in Catholic tradition. Freire grew up within the Catholic tradition. In 1944, together with Elza Maria Costa Oliveira, he worked in Catholic action groups among middle class families in Recife and was struck by the fact that Christian teachings do not correspond to the lifestyle of the poor, that there was a huge contradiction between the two. Realizing this fact, they made a commitment to work with the poor and illiterate. I think for a more balanced critique, Ma'arif should have based his critique on Catholic teachings.

Arguing that Freire has no sense of spiritual dimension is, furthermore, inaccurate, because the Christian tradition was influential on his thought (Denis Collin, 1976; Elias, 1994; Gibson, 1994; Taylor, 1993). He has been described as "a practicing Catholic" (Richard Gibson, 1994) and "a Christian-Marxist humanist" (Elias, 1994, p. 48). Paul Taylor (1993) claims that "the language of the Christian faith is more than the mere clothes for dressing and presentation; it is actually the skeleton or underpinning of his [Freire] philosophy and social analysis" (p. 58).

Freire himself even says that "Christ will always be, as he is for me, an example of the Teacher" (Freire, 1984, p. 547) and "I experience them [Gospels] and in them

experience myself through my own social practice, in history, with other human beings"

(p. 548). Freire also says, "For man is an incomplete being, and the completion of his

incompleteness is encountered in his relationship with his Creator, a relationship which,

by its very nature, can never be a relationship of domination or domestication, but always

a relationship of liberation" (quoted in Elias, Paulo Freire: Religious Educator, Vol.

LXXI No 1 January-February 1976, p. 41, from Paulo Freire, Educacion Como Practica

de la Libertad. Santiago, Chile: ICIRA, 1969, p. 15).

Exaggerated faith in liberated persons

Freire has a very optimistic view of human beings. He believes in the capacity of

every human being to think, reflect and name the world in order to create history and

culture, no matter how "ignorant" he or she may be. Freire unequivocally rejects the

notion of a person as an empty vessel, arguing that every individual has valuable

experiential knowledge and opinions through their relations with the world and other

human beings.

For Freire, humans possess an ontological vocation to pursue the goal of

becoming more fully human, because this is the way to complete their incompleteness as

unfinished conscious beings. Dehumanization, by contrast, is "a distortion of the vocation

of becoming more fully human" (Freire, 1970, p. 28). Dehumanization must not be

perceived as a closed and static reality, but as a limiting situation that can be transformed.

Since it is not a given destiny but socially constructed, it is the humanistic and historical

task of every individual to challenge and transform it. Thus, humanization is not a gift but

a duty that must be pursued through struggle involving a double movement: increasing

one's consciousness capacity and changing the context of oppression—both of which are inter-connected dialectically.

Human freedom is a precondition for achieving humanization. Freire believes in the capacity of the oppressed to become "new human beings," who do not imitate their oppressor's personality when they are liberated. Liberation thus aims to produce new human beings who have certain qualifications, such as being just, lenient and democratic as opposed to authoritarian and oppressive.

Alois Agus Nugroho (2003) criticizes Freire for his over-reliance on the notion of good or liberated persons or enlightened teachers that seems to him as angels who have no personal interests and that they will always take the side of the poor and the oppressed. In fact, there is no guarantee that they will act wisely and justly when they have power in their hands. The facts sometimes tell a different story; they frequently turn out to be power-oriented and authoritarian.

Nugroho found that many Freirean NGO activists have, psychologically speaking, an authoritarian personality. It is true that they take the side of the poor, but their insistence that there is only one way to emancipate them is an indication that they are undemocratic. Insisting on one way and neglecting all others is indicative of an authoritarian mentality. Likewise, some activists who are convinced of and have implemented Freire's methodology will say the same thing of other activists who employ non-Freirean approaches.

The teachers envisioned by Freire, i.e., a group of middle class individuals who abandon their privileges and dominant position through class-suicide in order to engage in liberating the poor, are a kind of *dues ex machina* who represent, if not a certain

ideology or culture, only themselves. Such imagined teachers are not easy to actualize in concrete reality, particularly if the people around them, whether students or colleagues, cannot control them. It is naïve to say that they can control themselves without involving other people, or to say that God will control them, since life is unstable. Nugroho doubts whether Freire himself ever behaved like such an imagined teacher, a person who works always for others and never for his own interest. Who can guarantee that?

Excluding disability from the vocabulary of the oppressed

Another critique by Danuwinata (2003) is that Freire left disability out of his vocabulary of what he called "the oppressed," whereas in fact this group is more and more alienated from a socio-economic structure run by and under the hegemony of a capitalist system that stresses productivity and efficiency.

The term "disability" or "disabled people" in the Indonesian language may be translated as "penyandang cacat." The word "cacat" means "broken" and has a pejorative meaning because its connotations include "incapable," "powerless," "incompetent," "not productive," and the like. People regarded as "penyandang cacat" thus have a negative image in society; they are often seen as marginal or as second class. The opposite term for "penyandang cacat" is "orang normal" (normal people), a term usually applied to those people who have complete bodies.

The words "cacat" and "normal" are problematic since they are constructed based on physical categories *per se*. Thus, people who do not have complete bodies but are intellectually brilliant or morally respected are nevertheless considered "cacat" (disabled). Conversely, those who have complete bodies but lack intellectual capacity or are morally disrespected are considered "normal." One may ask: Why are "cacat" and

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"normal" due only determined on the basis of physical qualities? Why are non-physical aspects not considered in determining whether somebody is "cacat" or "normal"? Is it true that "cacat" is equal to "not normal"? Is it true that "cacat" means "disabled"?

If we look at the problem from Foucault's (1980) power-knowledge perspective, we can ask: Who constructs the meanings of "cacat" and "normal"? Who decides whether people are "cacat" or "normal"? Why do they decide that? Who benefits and who loses? From this perspective, it is clear that the words "cacat" and "normal" are biased and not neutral; there is a certain ideology and worldview embedded in the words. They are constructed only to benefit those who are considered "normal" (Mansour Fakih, 2002).

The stereotype of "penyandang cacat" has serious implications, particularly for those who are regarded as "disabled." The use of that term makes those defined as "penyandang cacat" feel inferior, unconfident and hopeless. On the other hand, those who are regarded as "normal" treat them as dependent beings who need medical supplies and social services.

The problem extends into the realm of education, as schools are segregated and differentiated between those for "penyandang cacat" and those for "normal people." This fact, according to Nirmala Erevelles (2000), reflects the continuation of the historical practice to "marginalize the issue of disability by maintaining two educational systems— one for disabled students and one for everyone else" (p. 25). This segregated educational policy further embeds inequality for and discrimination against disabled people, who receive separate and unequal educational programs compared to so-called "normal" students.

The basic assumption underlying this segregated approach is that disabled students' deficiencies necessarily prevent them from attaining the goals set for normal students. As a result, they find it difficult to transcend their limited situations in a social and economic setting that discourages the development of their capacities. The capitalist system by nature discriminates against disabled people because their physiological and cognitive differences are supposed to inhibit their productivity and thus obstruct efficiency and the growth of surplus value. According to the World Summit on Social Development held in Copenhagen in 1995, which Erevelles cites, it is established that, "disabled people now constitute one of the world's largest minority groups facing poverty, unemployment, and social and cultural isolation"(p. 29).

It is in light of the above context that Erevelles calls upon critical educational theorists to add the term "disability" to their vocabularies since the issues of inequality and injustice are at the forefront of their vision. She suggests employing historical materialist analysis as a means to locate the discourse on disability within the social context of education. Thus, the issue of disability must become part of the transformative agenda of critical pedagogy and must be treated like other social categories such as gender, class, sexuality, and race. Disability should not be treated as a simple medical condition because it leads to the stereotyping of disabled people as passive clients entirely dependent upon medical and social services. How can the liberation of disabled people be accomplished if such a perception remains unchanged?

In Indonesia, however, the discourse of "disability" has entered a new phase. The issue is not only one of suggesting the inclusion of "disability" in the vocabulary of critical pedagogy, but also of replacing the term "disability" with "diffability," or

"disabled" with "diffable," an acronym for "differently able people." This idea came up in a meeting of KAPCI (Komite Aksi Penyandang Cacat Indonesia—Action Committee of Disabled People Indonesia) held in Wisma Sargede, Jogjakarta in December 1998 (Bahrul Fuad, 2004). It was Drs. Setya Adi Purwanto, M. Pd. who proposed the idea of changing the term "disabled" to "diffabled."

The philosophical underpinning behind this change is that every human being is created differently and has different abilities. The ability and capacity of people is not judged on the basis of physical performance, but on that of the quality they produce. Those who are regarded as "disabled" can basically do as much as those who are regarded as "normal," only the way how to do it is different. Thus, the motive of changing the term is to give more just treatment and reduce the pejorative impressions of those regarded as "diffabled." Unfortunately, Freire gives few details on this issue in his elaboration of the oppressed.

Neglecting dialectical thinking

Freire insists on the importance of the dialectical mode of thought to the learning process as a means of developing critical capacity within learners. However, Risakotta (2001) and Wahono (2003) suspect that Freire offers a theory of dialectical and critical method without following his own method. For example, Freire often derided banking education as education that produced dichotomies, such as subject-object, but he himself created an extreme dichotomy between problem-posing and banking education. The former is constantly defined by him as an instrument of liberation, because it is constructed through the dialogical method and the participation of both teachers and

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students. The latter, on the other, is assumed to be an instrument of oppression because it is anti-dialogical, given that the teachers dominate the class.

It is uncertain that the above dichotomy is to be found in all cases and situations. Risakotta agrees that dialogue is important in the process of learning, but he also admits that it is not the only method. In some cases, the process of learning also involves the transfer of knowledge from one who knows to those who do not know, such as in the case of learning how to run a computer, diagnose a certain illness, analyze the microbes in fertilizer, etc. In such cases, transfer of knowledge without employing dialogue in the classroom is required and cannot be avoided.

The principle of dialectical thinking is a mode of analytical reasoning that pursues knowledge and truth in the endless question-answer form that enables individuals to criticize, not only outsiders, but also his/her own thought. There is a kind of inner criticism to correct and re-correct from time to time what is presupposed to be true. Wahono (2003) argues that Freire does not seem to follow this principle, in the sense that he always criticizes banking education and oppressive social structure, but he is not critical of his own view, ideology, and method. This lack of an inner-critique leads to discontinuity in dialectical thinking and results in a static and dogmatic standpoint, a situation that Freire was against. The dialectical process can only be ensured when an inner and outer critique is maintained. Thus, at this point, Freire seems to lack consistency with his own methodology.

Risakotta (2001) shares a similar point to that of Wahono, arguing that to be consistent with the dialectical mode of thought, the meaning of "critical" cannot be reduced to being "critical" only of opposing views: it must also encompass one's own.

What is needed is a capacity to criticize any hegemonic mode of thought, such as liberalism, capitalism, socialism and Marxism. Thus, in essence, to be consistent in following the path of dialectical thinking, every theory, concept and thought must be subject to analysis, because if not, they can metamorphose into rigid dogma that is not open to questioning.

It is often the case that people, including those who are enthusiastic about Freire, become very dogmatic about their own ideology without making room for self-critique. Alois Agus Nugroho (2003), for one, is critical of Freirean NGO activists who insist on only one way or method of fighting against oppression, rejecting all others as incorrect. Assuming that only one's own perspective is correct is characteristic of an authoritarian personality. To maintain a particular ideology or paradigm as the basis for interpreting reality is necessary, but this should not lead to abandoning self-criticism or neglecting other views.

Likewise, Risakotta (2003) argues that when people say that their school or method of education is the same as Freire's system it is an indication that they have fallen into dogmatism for that they have clearly lost their critical capacity and creativity. As a result, instead of interpreting Freire in a critical manner, they simply imitate and duplicate him. The fact is that Freire's educational model is not a universal formula that can be applied anywhere and anytime, because it was constructed within a certain historical context. Due to differences in cultural and social background, it is necessary to see Freire's model in the light of the Indonesian social-cultural context. This is the reason why a critical perspective must constantly be maintained in order to avoid dogmatism and the imitation of educational theories and practices without regard for local context.

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Discussion

Criticisms of Freire voiced by Indonesian educators shows that his thought is not taken for granted. This is in line with the spirit of Freire himself, who encourages the application of critical thinking to any ideas coming from another part of the world because they are constructed on a certain perspective, worldview and context. Therefore, it is necessary to re-contextualize and reinvent them based on local circumstances.

Nevertheless, there are also NGO activists who have nothing really critical to say about Freire, like Roem Topatimasang, for example. This senior activist, who has devoted his life to the dissemination of popular education and community organizing in Indonesia since the end of 1970s, argues that Freire's thought has evolved in a way reflected in a number of his works. However, he holds a basic view that remains unchanged, i.e., a belief in process, the process of achieving a fully human being. This can be seen from his statement that humans are beings who are "in the process of *becoming*—as unfinished, uncompleted beings in and with a likewise unfinished reality" (1971, p. 72). This basic view, according to Topatimasang, is relevant both in the context of Latin America, which experienced oppression, and in our own context today.

Topatimasang disagrees with critics who say that Freire constructed a brilliant theoretical framework but lacked practical direction on how to apply his theories in practice. According to these critics, the lack of practical guidance results in the confusion of educational practitioners on the implementation of his ideas. According to Topatimasang, such criticism is misplaced, because such expectations are out of portion. Freire's thought should be seen as grand (general) theories or basic principles and it is the task of educational practitioners to apply them in concrete reality through their creativity.

Creativity, in Topatimasang's view, is a key factor here because the realization of a theory needs high creativity and intensity. The weakness of many Freirean practitioners lies in their taking for granted his ideas without trying to interpret and apply them in accordance with the local context.

In general, critiques voiced by Indonesian educators are not new. The criticism of his simplistic two categories, as mentioned by Risakotta, for example, is similar to that of Bruce O. Boston (1972) and John L. Elias (1994). Boston argues that such a view from the cultural perspective is one-sided and univocal and seems to disregard any intermediary buffer. His view is that there are other styles of relationship that is equally visible to produce a non-oppressive relationship. For example, it is possible that the relationship between polar opposites dominated by the notion of bargaining can achieve shared goals. Elias also argues that Freire's social theory provides a simplistic social analysis because he tends to generalize and universalize the Third World countries, as if they can be seen only in terms of full dichotomies.

Similarly, other critics deal with the inconsistency of Freire's dialectical thinking, as proposed by Risakotta (2003), Wahono (2003) and Nugroho (2003), can also be found in Boston who views that "Freire's methods make it possible to be critical about nearly everything-except those methods themselves" (p. 89). To be consistent with the dialectical thinking proposed by Freire, it is necessary to be critical toward our own concept and method because learning is a matter of discovery process.

A critique of exaggerated belief in liberated individual, as pointed out by Nugroho, can be found in Elias (1994). Elias points out that Freire only sees humans from their light side, while in fact all humans have also their dark side. The failure to take

into account the whole pictures of humanity results in one-sided analysis and "neglects

the possibilities that this critical reflection might be combined with self-interest to bring

about a more oppressive situation that the previous system of domination" (p. 84).

Fauzi's critique of Freire's simplistic analysis on the relation between unveiling

reality through critical consciousness and social change is interesting. Although this

criticism is denied by Peter Mayo (2004) arguing that "Freire's pedagogy does not

guarantee that people will engage in action for social transformation once they become

conscientized and begin to critically read the world" (p. 60), Freire himself admitted his

failure to not differentiate between two moments, i.e., a moment of perceiving reality

critically and moment of transforming that reality. This failure brings about the

conclusion that "to discover reality meant to transform it" (Freire, 1975, p. 15, as quoted

in Diana Coben, 1998, p. 75).

Despite of the above criticisms, Indonesian educational scholars and practitioners

have overall a great appreciation for Freire, particularly in terms of his insistence on

education as a site to empower the oppressed and the disfranchised through developing

critical capacities within themselves. Critical capacity building cannot be imposed from

outside, rather it is built upon creativity from within.

Chapter 7
Conclusion

As a conclusion to my thesis, I would like to survey what I have written regarding the reception of Paulo Freire in Indonesia. In the following pages, I intend to investigate the dynamic of this reception from a chronological perspective, tracing its growth from decade to decade. I also intend to analyze and give reasons why the discourse and practice of Freire raised and fell in certain period.

The 1970s: limited access

Paulo Freire has been known in Indonesia since the early 1970s, although he was at first familiar only to certain circles. It was likely a Catholic circle, led by Peter Danuwinata, that had the initial encounter with Freire. In 1972, he met Freire in Santiago, Chile, after having received a scholarship from a church association to visit Latin America.

When he came back to Indonesia, Danuwinata disseminated Freire's ideas through seminars and workshops, and most importantly through STF Driyarkara, Jakarta. It was through this institution that some scholars, e.g., Paul Suparno, Wahono and Alois Agus Nugroho, were introduced by Danuwinata to the thought of Freire. The last named was not only to write on Paulo Freire for his B.A. degree in 1976, but he also translated Freire's *Education as the Practice of Freedom* into Indonesian.

In regard to his efforts in disseminating Freire's ideas as an intellectual discourse, Danuwinata felt that he had failed, and part of the reason of this failure was because of the oppressiveness of the New Order regime. Nevertheless, he did have an impact on the spread of Freire's ideas in Indonesia.

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Another indication that Freire has been known in Indonesia since the early 1970s

can be seen from the speech of Mashuri, Minister of Education and Culture of Indonesia,

delivered to a UNESCO conference in 1972. In this speech, Mashuri cites Freire's notion

of the culture of silence, arguing that such a culture is manifested in peasant culture

because it lacks vocabularies necessary to understand critically the existential reality. As

a result, peasants do not have the critical capacities required to understand their limit-

situations and limit-actions.

In the 1970s, we also witness the committed social activist, Roem Topatimasang,

advocating Freire's ideas in Indonesia. He has devoted his life to people's empowerment

via popular education and community organizing throughout Indonesia. For more than

twenty-five years, he had been involved in popular education and community

organization. In 1976-1978, together with a number of friends, Topatimasang (he was a

student at that time) became involved in popular education by teaching workers and

peasants in Bandung, West Java, their rights. This activity was conducted under-ground

due to the repressiveness of the regime.

However, all popular education activities conducted by students were shut down

when they began to mobilize people to protest against Suharto's regime in 1978, in which

such protest led to forty students in Bandung, including Topatimasang, being jailed for

two years.

Thus, although Freire has been known in Indonesia since the early 1970s, this was

limited only to certain groups. This limited circulation I think can be understood if we

look at the fact that Freire began to gain an international audience only after the

publication of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* in its English version in 1971, although he had

published his first book *Education as the Practice of Freedom* in 1967. It was not easy to gain access to his writings at first unless one had links with the circles connected to him, such as Catholic groups (due to similar religious tradition) and NGOs (particularly those seeking an alternative social theory to counter the hegemony of capitalism and developmentalism).

I would like also to argue that the oppressiveness of the New Order regime in the 1970s contributed to making Freire's work difficult to access. The regime always tried to secure its power by creating an effective mechanism to prevent the emergence of a critical society. It established surveillance groups from the very lowest to the highest levels of society in order to make it possible for the central regime to monitor public affairs and popular activities at every level of society. The regime also applied political stigma, labelling its opponents as "subversive," "communist" or "extremist." In the educational sphere, it introduced a policy of NKK-BKK which basically compelled students to concentrate only on academic achievement rather than broader learning, such as through involvement in political activities both on- and off-campus. The campus, from this perspective, had to be sterilized of any political activities.

The above socio-political situation was influential in slowing the dissemination of critical ideas and alternative thought like that of Paulo Freire, since it challenged cultural uniformity, political conformity, social hegemony and establishment.

The 1980s: Freirean discourse and practice in equal balance

In the 1980s, the discourse and practice of Freirean education was extensive. In 1982, for example, LP3ES ran a project on alternative education research that basically using a Freirean approach (*KOMPAS,* 1982). This project was assisted by three NGOs,

i.e., LPTP Solo, Dhworowati Institute Jogjakarta and HP2M Jakarta. The aim of the

project was to support the popular education movement in Indonesia. Unlike formal

education, which is constructed through a top-down mechanism, alternative education

was developed from below to accommodate local needs and use local resources. The

project found that alternative education that emphasized self-conscientizing a la Paulo

Freire has to be developed in Indonesia as a means to support people's education because

its point of departure is from what people know, what they have, and what they can do.

Thus, the pedagogical process is really developed from below.

In the mid-1980s, there was a heated debate in Forum Ilmu Sosial Transformatif

(Transformative Social Science Forum), Jakarta, in regard to critical consciousness as

proposed by Freire. The debate was how to employ this concept as a means to help

people attain a meta-symbolic state whereby they are free to name any of the objects

surrounding them. It was argued that achieving a meta-symbolic state is the highest stage

of critical consciousness, because it enables an individual to achieve true freedom.

Another feature in the mid-1980s was the publication of two of Freire's works,

Pedagogy as the Practice of Freedom and *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, into Indonesian.

The former was published by Gramedia, Jakarta in 1984 and the latter by LP3ES in 1985.

The aim of the latter translation was to provide a manual for training NGO activists by

LP3ES and LSP, in collaboration with PBM Bandung.

In 1986, a thesis on Freire was written by Valentinus Budi Hartono for his B.A.

degree at STF Driyarkara, Jakarta, entitled "Konsientisasi: Tujuan Pendidikan Freire

(Sebuah Tinjauan Singkat Pokok Pemikiran Filsafat Pendidikan Paulo Freire)—

Conscientization: The End of Freire's Education (Short Analysis of the Core Thought of

Paulo Freire's Educational Philosophy)." This represented the second thesis on Freire produced at STF Driyarkara.

In the same year, 1986, a workshop called JARI (Jaringan Aksi Riset Indonesia—Indonesian Action Research Network) was held in Solo, orgnaized by LPTP and HP2M. Paulo Freire was the main focus of discussion because he was a main ingredient in the methodology of participatory action research. The worshop also invited Rajesh Standon, an Indian activist and proponent of Freire's ideas and methodology of participatory action research in India.

The Freirean approach was also used by the group led by Noer Fauzi in the mid-1980s to assist the peasants of Gunung Batu in West Java in reclaiming their land that had been expropriated for tea plantations and dams. At the same time, the group also opened a children's club in Sekeloa Bandung, West Java, aimed at urban street children and children of Gunung Batu peasants. They employed a Freirean approach in educating the children. These experiences left a deep impression on Fauzi, "I feel that this is my formative stage in putting into effect a critical pedagogy for the oppressed" (2003).

We also saw how the Social Economy of Bogor Bishopric, a Catholic organization led by Father Hugo Verest, applied a Freirean approach in training known as KUPERDA and KULAN in 1985. The participants in the training were NGO activists who would later be sent to remote areas, such as the Asmat (Papua) and the Dayak (West Kalimantan) tribes.

Thus, in the 1980s there was more extensive discussion and application of the ideas of Freire than in the 1970s, with both domains (discourse and practice) equally balanced. However, Fakih (2003) has explained that, at best, what some people and

NGOs did in the 1980s was interpret Freire's critical pedagogy and then try to implement it in practice, since there are insufficient guidelines as to how to apply his theory and methodology in practice.

The most interesting question to be asked is: How could Freirean discourse and practice have been so extensive in the 1980s, when at the same time the authoritarian regime was still in power?

I would like to argue that part of the reason was because of the publication of two of Freire's works into Indonesian, i.e., *Pedagogy as the Practice of Freedom* (PPF) and *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (PO). The publication of these works, no doubt, helped Freire to acquire a much larger audience in Indonesia, because it made his works more accessible, since the original version was very difficult to obtain.

The former book, PPF, almost failed to appear, because the attorney general had banned the book from circulation. It was only after much negotiation that the book could be circulated but could not be reprinted. Interestingly, the latter book, PO, was published without any difficulty and has even been reprinted more than three times. To my view, PO was more provocative and stimulating than PPF. In its Indonesian version, the title of the book used provocative language: "Pendidikan Kaum Tertindas." The word "tertindas" has a powerful and provocative meaning because it can awaken the solidarity of the marginalized, poor and disfranchised. The problem is that the book contains abstruse and complex theory and knowledge that makes it hardly accessible to marginalized segments of society.

I would like also to argue that the extensive discourse and practice of Freire in the 1980s was also closely linked with the emergence of study clubs off the campus—one

impact of the government's NKK-BKK policy that banned students from holding

political activities on campuses. The phenomenon of study groups in the mid-1980s, as

noted by Philip J. Eldridge (1995), represented a new wave of activist groups who

collaborated with farmers, the landless, workers, urban squatters, women's groups, and

others to pursue social activism with a certain degree of militancy. They seemed to be

impatient with the established NGOs, who showed an unwillingness to pursue such a

struggle, or if they did so, demonstrated an insufficient degree of militancy. It was

through these study clubs that alternative and critical theories and methodologies

proposed by critical theorists and pedagogues, such as Freire, found a space to be

disseminated and implemented.

In addition to the two above arguments, I think another plausible reason of why

Freirean discourse and practice have been so extensive in the 1980s was that the activists

interjected a subversive value in the project of community development. As is well

known, community development is basically a program that is oriented towards technical

and practical matters needed for developing a community, such as cooperative and

income-generating programs (Fakih, 2003). It can be said that most of the projects run by

NGOs in 1980s were under the framework of community development, and since it was a

non-political activity, there was less suspicion on the part of officials. In this case, the

activists interjected subversive and critical values within community development

projects in order not only to equip people with entrepreneurship skills but also with

critical capacities.

For example, when LP3ES and LSP, in collaboration with Jayagiri Bandung, held

training for NGO activists using Freirean approach and methodology, they camouflaged

the name by calling it "development of small entrepreneur training" (Topatimasang, 2003). As a result, they were able to run the training program for around four years (1981-1985) without any suspicious from the official apparatus.

The 1990s up to 2005: more discourse than practice

The trend in the 1990s up to 2005 shifted: there was a more extensive discussion of Freire than implementation of his theory and methodology in practice. Nevertheless, his approach was still being applied on the ground in at least four programs. One of these was led by the group of Donatus K Marut which worked with indigenous people in Maluku Tenggara from 1991 onwards. This group is relatively successful in organizing indigenous communities in the area using Freirean methodology, demonstrated by the establishment of Jaringan Baileo Maluku (Baileo Network Maluku) in 1993, the biggest indigenous people's network in Maluku Tenggara.

The other experience is that of INSIST, whose program, known as Involvement (Indonesian Volunteers for Social Movement), has produced since 1999 more than one hundred activists who are now working throughout Indonesia in support of people's organizations and institutions.

The other two experiences of application of Freirean methodology can be seen in the work of TB. Gandhi Hartono on behalf of villagers in Papua from early 1999 up to the mid-2001 and the program conducted by Yasanti (an Indonesian NGO based in Jogjakarta) for workers in Ungaran, Semarang, Central Java, since 2002.

By contrast, the intellectual discussion of Freire has increased significantly in the 1990s, particularly after 1998, through seminars held to celebrate his thought, as well as through extensive publication of his works and works about him in Indonesian. At least

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sixteen titles of works by and about Freire became available in Indonesian versions during this decade.

I shall to argue that part of the reason why the discourse on Freire in the last two decades has exceeded implementation of his theory, or why are Indonesian educators more interested in discussing his thought than putting it into practice, is because it is a lot easier to discuss his thought than make it effective. There are few people who want to work with the grassroots, because a task of this kind requires very high intensity and involvement seeing as it involves regular communication and interaction with people from moment to moment and day to day, without gaining material benefits or personal reputation that can lead somebody to be a "hero" (Topatimasang and Johan, 2003).

Working with the grassroots also demands a commitment to learning, high creativity and considerable curiosity, because it has to start from very simple matters comprehensible to the local people. The fact is, however, that most social activists with advanced educational backgrounds are used to complicated theory and abstruse thought and language. As a result, few have the patience to deal with simple aspects of life when in fact these are not only important in themselves but also essential as an entry point into understanding local culture that can be codified as learning material.

The need for reviving the implementation of Freire's thought

The point I want to make in the following pages is the reasons why it is necessary to revive the praxis of Freire. To begin with, I would like to quote my interview with Mansour Fakih.

> I (author): I feel that today there are very few Indonesian NGOs applying Freirean popular education. What do you think?

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Fakih: What? Very few? No, none. As a result, many NGOs today have become part of the dominant system. There is no more critical consciousness. This is the reason why popular education or Freirean education should be re-developed. NGOs today have become part of the institutions that weaken the state, because their perspective is based on a naïve consciousness which assumes that the crisis in Indonesia is caused by a monetary crisis, or a multi-dimensional crisis. They see it from a magical perspective. There are no individuals or institutions who view it from a critical perspective, i.e., how this system works and its implication for the masses. The crisis cannot be separated from the system in place. This is the reason why we need critical pedagogy, Freirean education. And this is the reason why I am so passionate about Freire, because he provokes us to employ a structural perspective in understanding our existential reality.

Thus, one of the benefits of Freirean popular education is its ability to strengthen critical perspective, which in turn promotes a critical understanding of existential reality. Critical consciousness allows individuals to see the connections among the many entities that make up the system. Critical capacity is a prerequisite for individuals to become subjects who can control their own lives. I think it was critical capacities that allowed the indigenous people of Kei Island, Maluku Tenggara, to end social conflict there in only three months, while other parts of Maluku will need years to resolve their conflicts. The capacity to differentiate between the issues in the conflict and to make an independent choice whether or not to become involved could not have been achieved without critical consciousness.

Freirean popular education posits critical consciousness as the basis for understanding social reality, a reality that is constructed through contested ideologies and interests. It helps one to understand how a social system works and to unmask the ideology and interests embodied in that system. Freirean education contributes to the development of critical subjectivities that are able to examine the contradictions within the prevailing social reality and discover the roots of problems by revealing what is

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hidden and making explicit what is implicit. Thus, it helps to develop autonomous and independent individuals who judge and decide consciously for themselves.

Critical consciousness is not simply the exercise of critical thought as developed in the age of the Enlightenment; rather, it is also a nexus of thought and action that paves the way for the liberation and emancipation of society as a whole. Two important ideas are stressed in this point: self-empowerment and social transformation. Thus, Freirean education is "in the service of extending individual capacities and social possibilities" (Giroux and McLaren, 1989, p. xxi), whereby individual freedom is related to social freedom.

Since Freirean popular education has an investment in generating critical subjectivity, it is necessary to revive its implementation in practice. The numerous publications by and about Freire that have emerged in the last two decades should be balanced with the implementation of his ideas in practice. For this reason, the implementation of Freirean education today by few organizations and individuals should be continued. This is because Freire's popular education offers a humanistic and transformative framework that can empower people.

For NGO activists, the Freirean model of education will equip them with the critical framework necessary to problematize everyday life situations that are today bombarded by neo-liberal views promoting corporate values at the expense of just and ethical values. With critical capacity, NGO activists can strengthen local organizations and institutions, enabling them to deal with issues such as capitalism and neo-liberalism that affect local communities.

For the grassroots, Freirean popular education offers a transformative model of education that locates their everyday life situations as points of departure for learning. If it were to be implemented, this would ensure that the content of learning is never alien to them.

Further research

One limitation of my research is that it does not cover many actors, either individuals or NGOs, who have been involved in the discussion of Freire or have had experiences in applying his theory and methodology in practice. Rather, it pays more attention to certain individuals or NGOs, particularly INSIST, that to the best of my knowledge, have been involved in the discourse and practice of Freire in Indonesia since the 1970s. It is very possible there other individuals and NGOs also concerned with Freirean issues that have been neglected in this research.

In certain cases, I did not follow up on all of the people who were recommended by my interviewees. For example, after interviewing Noer Fauzi Rachman on 25 July 2003, he suggested that I interview Mulyono, a popular educator who applies Freirean methodology in reaching children. Although this suggestion was helpful in obtaining more information and sources, I did not follow it up as Mulyono is an itinerant activist, moving from one place to another.

My suggestion for those interested in Freirean scholarship in Indonesia and eager to conduct similar research is then to extend the interviewees, not only to those scholars or NGO activists who live in Jogjakarta, Jakarta and Banten, but also outside these cities to include Semarang, Surabaya, Bali, Bandung, Maluku and other areas in Indonesia. By

extending the scope of those interviewed, more information and sources could be obtained.

My other suggestion is to link Freirean scholarship with that of formal education. This is because the majority of people pursue their education through the latter type. I do not discuss this topic in my thesis. It is interesting to see the possibility of adapting Freirean discourse to the context of formal education. My questions would be: Is there any possibility of applying Freirean methodology in formal education in Indonesia? What level of education would be most suited? Is it possible to apply Freire's theories and methodology in the context of Islamic educational institutions, such as the *madrasa* or *pesantren*? If it is possible, how and under what conditions?

I think the issues that I mentioned above should be taken into consideration by anyone interested in investigating the influence and reception of Paulo Freire in Indonesia.

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MCGILL UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF EDUCATION

CERTIFICATE OF ETHICAL ACCEPTABILITY FOR
FUNDED AND NON FUNDED RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMANS

The Faculty of Education Ethics Review Committee consists of 6 members appointed by the Faculty of Education Nominating Committee, an appointed member from the community and the Associate Dean (Academic Programs, Graduate Studies and Research) who is the Chair of this Ethics Review Board.

The undersigned considered the application for certification of the ethical acceptability of the project entitled: Education and Emancipatory Project: In Search of Paulo Freire's Influences in Indonesia
is proposed by:

Applicant's Name M. Agus Nuryatno

Applicant's Signature/Date Nuryatno 17/3/2003

Degree / Program / Course Ph.D.

Supervisor's Name STEVEN JORDAN

Supervisor's Signature Jordan

Granting Agency _____

Grant Title (s) _____

The application is considered to be:
Full Review _____

Renewal for an Approved Project _____

An Expedited Review ✓

A Departmental Level Review _____
Signature of Chair / Designate

The review committee considers the research procedures and practices as explained by the applicant in this application, to be acceptable on ethical grounds.

1. Prof. René Turcotte
   Department of Kinesiology and Physical Education

Signature / date _____

2. Prof. Ron Morris
   Department of Integrated Studies in Education

Signature / date _____

3. Prof. Ron Stringer
   Department of Educational and Counselling Psychology

Signature / date _____

4. Prof. Kevin McDonough
   Department of Integrated Studies in Education

Signature / date _____ April 22/03

5. Prof. Brian Alters
   Department of Integrated Studies in Education

Signature / date _____ April 29/03

6. Prof. Ada Sinacore
   Department of Educational and Counselling Psychology

Signature / date _____

7. Member of the Community

Signature / date _____

Mary H. Maguire Ph. D.
Chair of the Faculty of Education Ethics Review Committee
Associate Dean (Academic Programs, Graduate Studies and Research)
Faculty of Education, Room 230
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Mary H Maguire May 5, 2003
Signature / date

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EB #: 276-0403	APPROVAL PERIOD: MAY 5, 2003 to MAY 5, 2004	

(Updated January 2003)

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Education and Emancipatory Project:
In Search of Paulo Freire's Influences in Indonesia

Consent Form

To better understand the influences of Paulo Freire in Indonesia, a study is currently being conducted by myself, M. Agus Nuryatno, a Ph.D. student and supervised by Professor Steve Jordan from McGill University. My research will focus on: (1) mapping Paulo Freire's literacy concept in global educational context; (2) tracing his initial encounter in Indonesia (historical context); (3) describing Indonesian responses to his thought and how they apply in practice (popular education); (4) the contribution of Paulo Freire in social transformation.

I will do this through interviews with NGO activists and scholars who have concern with the ideas of Paulo Freire and popular education. I will invite them to explore their views on popular education and its contribution in developing critical capacities within learners necessary to transform social reality. I will also ask their experiences in applying Freire's method of literacy in the local context of Indonesia. What are their impressions and difficulties? My approach will be participatory and dialogical. This means that the interviewer (I) and interviewees (participants) have equal position. This research will contribute to the growing understanding of Paulo Freire's influences in Indonesia. So far, his thought has been examined in the context of Latin America, Africa, Australia and United State. It is hardly ever examined in the context of South East Asia.

You have been invited to participate in semi-structured 60 minutes interview. However, since it is an in-depth interview, it is possible to hold more than one with your agreement.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You are free to answer certain questions and refuse others as long as you feel comfortable. There are no direct advantages and disadvantages to your participating in this research. However, your participation has investment in understanding popular education in Indonesia and how Paulo Freire has significant contribution in developing such model of education.

All interviews will be recorded on audiotape in order to make your ideas and opinions can be accurately transcribed and investigated. All information acquired from interviews will be treated as confidential. Nobody can access the information except by my permission and only information freely given by the participants will be used in my Ph.D. dissertation. I anticipate the information will be used for presentation and publication.

For additional information regarding this study, you may contact M. Agus Nuryatno at (514) 345-1253 or by email damanurya26@hotmail.com

M. Agus Nuryatno
Student McGill University

I have read and understood the content of the consent form. I confirm that the content has been explained verbally. I have had the opportunity to ask questions relating to the study, and these questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand the purpose of this study and know about the risks, benefits and inconveniences that this research project entails. I understand that I am free to withdraw at anytime from the study without any penalty or prejudice. I understand how confidentiality will be maintained during this research project. I understand the anticipated uses of data, especially with respect to publication, communication and dissemination of results.
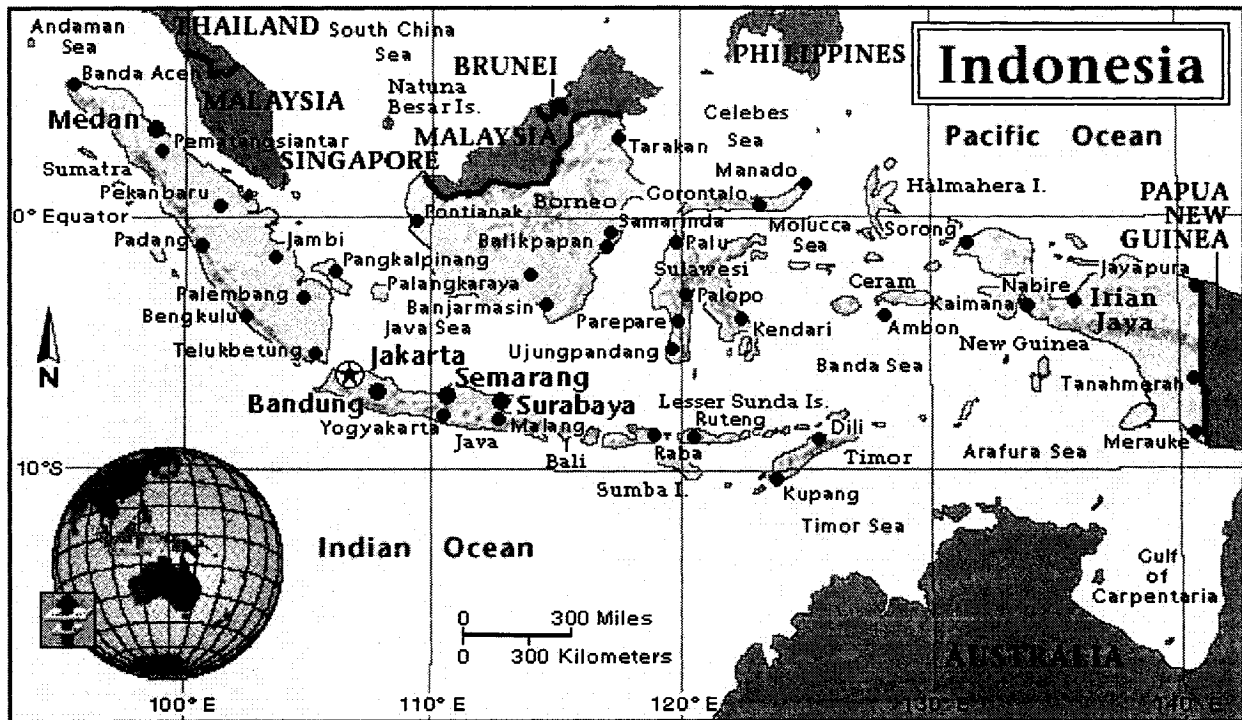
I have carefully studied the above and understand my participation in this agreement. I freely consent and voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

Name _____

Signature_____   Date _____

Appendix 3: Map of Indonesian archipelago

Appendix 4

List of interviewees

No	Name	Category	Date of interview
1	Abdul Munir Mulkhan	University scholar (State Islamic University Sunan Kalijaga Jogjakarta)	3 May 2003
2	Donatus K Marut	NGO activist (Indonesian Society for Social Transformatio [INSIST] Jogjakarta)	16 May 2003
3	Ahmad Syafii Ma'arif	University scholar (State University of Jogjakarta)	23 May 2003
4	Amir Sutopo	NGO activist (INSIST and Mitra Tani)	28 May 2003
5	Bernard Adeney-Risakotta	University scholar (Christian University of Duta Wacana Jogjakarta)	5 June 2003
6	Alois Agus Nugroho	University scholar (Atmajaya University Jakarta)	11 June 2003
7	Peter Danuwinata	University scholar (Sekolah Tinggi Filsafat Driyarkara Jakarta)	12 June 2003
8	Roem Topatimasang	NGO activist (INSIST Jogjakarta)	17 May 2003
9	Paul Suparno	University scholar (Sanata Dharma University Jogjakarta)	22 May 2003
10	Sudiardja	University scholar (Sanata Dharma University Jogjakarta)	26 May 2003

11	TB Gandhi Hartono	Popular educator and a priest	28 May 2003
12	Toto Rahardjo	NGO activist (INSIST Jogjakarta)	3 June 2003
13	Wahono	NGO activist (Cindelaras Jogjakarta)	6 June 2003
14	Wiladi Budiharga	NGO activist (Semarak Cerlang Nusa Jakarta)	16 June 2003
15	Noer Fauzi Rachman	NGO activist (Konsursium Pembaruan Agraria Jakarta and INSIST Jogjakarta)	25 July 2003
16	Saleh Abdullah	NGO activist (INSIST Jogjakarta)	25 July 2003
17	Doni Hendro Cahyono	NGO activist (INSIST Jogjakarta)	26 July 2003
18	Solihul Hadi	NGO activist (INSIST Jogjakarta)	27 July 2003
19	Mansour Fakih	NGO activist (INSIST Jogjakarta)	28 July 2003