

LAPORAN PENELITIAN KERJASAMA INTERNASIONAL PROGRAM STUDI



Judul:

Portraying Democracy In Asia: The Comparative Study Of The Social Science Textbooks  
At The Junior High School In Indonesia And The Philippines

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LEMBAGA PENELITIAN DAN PENGABDIAN KEPADA MASYARAKAT  
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TAHUN 2020

**Portraying Democracy in Asia:  
The Comparative Study of the Social Science Textbooks at the Junior  
High School in Indonesia and the Philippines**

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Abstract

The future development of democracy in Asia particularly in the two leading countries of Southeast Asia – Indonesia and the Philippines – is always discussed and debated in terms of the qualities and implication for the betterment of societies of both countries. As widely agreed, the implementation of democracy as the way governing the state and the societies based on liberty, civic freedom and egalitarian values is required a systematic and continues socialization to the populace especially the younger generation. The need is equivalent with the goals and aims of teaching social science subjects for school children in the junior and senior high schools. Having explained the context, the study addresses to investigate the ways democracy is portrayed and later elaborated in the social science textbook used in the junior high school in Indonesia and the Philippines.

The study used the qualitative content analysis of social studies textbook for the secondary schools published by the ministry of education of both Indonesia and the Philippines. For the Indonesia side, the textbooks are (i) buku IPS kelas 7 (2014), (ii) buku IPS kelas 8 (2014), and (iii) buku IPS kelas 9 (2015); while for the Philippines, they are (i) *Araling Panglipunan Grado 7: Araling Asyano (Asian History) (2012)*, (ii) *Araling Panglipunan Grado 8: Kasaysayang ng Daigdid (World History) (2014)*, (iii) *Araling Panglipunan Grado 9: Ekonomiks (Economics) (2014)*, and (iv) *Araling Panglipunan Grado 10: Mga Kontemporaryong Isyu (Contemporary Issues) (2014)*.

The qualitative content analysis to the books – Social Studies Textbooks for Grade 7-9 in Indonesia and 7-10 in the Philippines – showed some similarities as well as differences on the way democracy is presented and portrayed for young students. Having considered the democratic achievement and the current deficit experienced in both countries, it was not rather not surprising that the topic was not well-presented. In a nutshell, there was not a special topic dealing with democracy, democratic values or democratization in the textbooks studied. The topic was emerged as just a veneer issue amongst the wide academic topic – from geography, culture, sociology, economics and citizenship – presented in the textbooks. There was also not a coherent definition of democracy used as it was taken for granted as a given governmental system of both countries today's without providing a critical explanation on the ways it was adopted. Lastly, the lack of clear and explicit presentation and elaboration of democracy had further been evidenced by the lack of elaborative and elusive explanation of citizenship rights as well as their civil/political obligation to preserve the democratic values of the state and the society.

Keywords: democracy, teaching social science, social science textbook

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# Chapter I

## Introduction

### A. Background

The recent development of the democratization in Asia especially in Southeast Asia has shown a very prominent progress yet with several cautions of the regress and other different paths in the last decades as initially intended to force the civil liberty, political freedom and the egalitarian values in the modern society (see Poole, 2019; Wungaeo, Rehbein, & Wun'gaeo, 2016). The rise of illiberal democracy a term to elaborates the recurrent tendency within the new democratic countries in Central Asia, Latin America, South Asia and Southeast Asia to adopt democracy as their political system but hindered to further expand and guarantee the values of individual liberty and egalitarianism for the whole populace tends to be the rather mainstream pattern of its development (Bell & Jayasuriya, 1995; Zakaria, 1997; 2007).

Taking example of two leading countries with the wave of democratization in Southeast Asia, Indonesia and the Philippines; the two countries are not immune from the toxic form of the illiberal democracy as it spread across the globe. The current status of Indonesia as partly freedom as there are ongoing cases limiting and denying citizenship rights particularly for minorities and the rampant corruptions within the government amid the successful general election in 2019 and other local elections has confirmed the trend (Warburton & Aspinall, 2019; Hadiz, 2017; Mietzner, 2019). The rather similar trend has also been happening in the neighbouring country of the Philippines under the draconian rule of President Duterte as exemplified by his policy to neglect any legal and court processes in his war against illegal drug dealers thus disrespecting the values of human rights of the citizens in the country (Thompson, 2017; 2019; Heydarian, R. J. (2018).

The fate of democracy as a political system as well as the governing values of the society has been in the ongoing progress and regress throughout the history as experienced in more mature democratic countries in Europe and North America (Tilly, 2007). As elaborated by Gutmann (1993), the future of democracy to guarantee egalitarian values and freedom for the whole populace in a given society has always required a commitment from the society and the continuous socialization to the next generation through the democratic education for the school children in both the elementary and primary schools (see also Gutmann, & Ben-Porath, 2014). The very basic idea of this form of education is linked to two primary goals that is (i) to further cementing the democratic values within the society and (ii) to prepare the future generation with elementary knowledge and understanding regarding democracy and to build commitment to expand them in their live as members of the society at large (ibid; Biesta, 2007).

The democratic education as a concept as well as a project to preserve democratic values in the society shares the rather similar goals and aims with the teaching social sciences (or social studies) in the primary schools either junior and senior one. As strongly emphasized by Ross (2014), the primary goals of the teaching social sciences for school children are nonetheless linked to the efforts to prepare them with knowledge, understanding as well as social skills required to socialize into the wider society and to participate as an active citizen in the democratic processes of the public decision making of the state. The links between the two has been paid further attentions by scholars to document and investigate the curriculum, educational materials as well as methods and strategies employed in/out the classrooms. As stated by Heafner and Norwood (2019), teaching democracy in the social science course for school children is of course very important yet also a very ambitious project considering the current level of citizenship awareness of the young generation; which is largely lack of interest and rather apathy to political issues and public policies of the government. Yet, the

challenge as it was very real is actually the primary goals of the projects to preserve democracy together with building social awareness and skills of the young generation with their citizenship status, rights and obligation in the democratic society (Payne, 2017; Mathé, 2019). The very important of the understanding of democracy amongst the young generations who are sitting in the primary schools through the social science courses they learn especially through the available social science textbooks.

## **B. Focus of Research**

The research is a comparative study focusing on the portrayal of democracy in the social science textbook at the junior high school both in Indonesia and the Philippines as the two leading democratic countries in Southeast Asia. Amid the continuous successful story of the democratization with peaceful and relatively fair elections in both countries, there are some worrying cases linked to the regressive quality of democracy – related to the decline of civil liberty, political freedom, freedom of speech and egalitarian values – emerged in the last years. The study thus addresses this issues in term of the understanding and commitment to democracy amongst the young generation through the teaching social sciences at the junior and senior high schools. In other words, it is likely that the decline of democratic quality has something to do with the teaching social science for the school children as parts of the primary course material learned. Based on this assumption, the study aims to investigate critically both contents, illustrations, and other linked topics in the presentation of democracy and democratic values in the social science textbook for the school children in the junior high school of Indonesia and the Philippines respectively. Furthermore, studying textbooks used in the school provides lots of information on the way curriculum and teaching/learning strategies employed and developed in the course (see Fuchs, & Bock, 2018).

### **C. Goals and Targets of Research**

The primary goals of the study consists of (1) to obtain a comparative understanding in the teaching social science at the primary school especially the junior one including course materials, methods and particularly learning materials in both countries in Indonesia and the Philippines; (2) to document the presentation of democracy and democratic values in the social science textbooks developed and used in both countries in order to find similar and dissimilar forms of understanding, issues, illustrations and designs; and (3) to initiate and further an international collaborative research in the field of social science education between academic staffs of UNY with fellow academic in universities around Southeast Asian countries including the Philippines.

Whilst the primary target or the output of the study is (1) to produce a good quality academic research on the study of social science textbook for the primary high school and published in the internationally indexed journal; and (2) to revive the cooperation between UNY and Dela Salle University Dasmarinas with an extension of Memorandum of Understanding between universities (expired in 2018) and to produce an Memorandum of Action for this research.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Literature Review**

#### **A. Understanding Democracy and Democratic Values**

Democracy as the innovative way in governing societies in the modern era – cemented by the egalitarian values of the American and French political revolution and supported by the industrial revolution of England – has become the primary and most preferred political system in the today's world (Tilly, 2007). After the second world war, the wave of democratization had hampered all around the world promoting the liberal values of individual civil liberty, political freedom and human rights along with the establishment of peaceful and fair elections as the respected system of political succession replacing feudalism, monarchy, and authoritarianism (see Huntington, 1993; 1997). Yet, there are numerous countries in the world are not touched by the democratization processes thus putting aside civil liberty political freedom for the economic prosperity – as shown in the case of some communist countries like China and Vietnam and monarchy/kingdom of Middle Eastern ones (Gallagher, 2002; Kapstein, & Converse, 2008). Furthermore, as elaborated as the symptom of the illiberal democracy in which the country follows the democratization in terms of its political system yet showing reluctance to adopt the liberal values of civil liberty, political freedom and human right has become another challenges for the movement (Bell & Jayasuriya, 1995; Zakaria, 1997; 2007).

As elaborated by Robert Dahl (2008), democracy is defined as a political system to govern the society by putting all individual with citizenship status in the equal manner in terms of equal rights and opportunities to pursue their potentials thus achieving prosperity and happiness and to participate in public affairs of the state – which eventually affect their social and individual life. The practice of democracy, nonetheless, has varied from countries



to countries considering some technical aspects, level of understanding, participation and so forth. There are 4 (four) types of democracy according to the ways it practiced in many countries including constitutional, substantive, procedural and process-oriented ones (Tilly, 2008). The constitutional democracy refers to the existed laws and regulations in the country to support the democratization process understood as the scheduled elections; yet with limited commitment from the government and the populace to guarantee individual liberty, political freedom, egalitarian values and human rights. Contrasted to the constitutional, the substantive form is characterized by the lack of laws and/or regulations to support the implementation of local-national elections – some might/never have elections at all – yet there are a strong and established tradition to protect and preserve the equal individual rights for the whole population. The third type, the procedural democracy is widely known and the common practice around the world as it is understood solely as the political system with the established political parties and scheduled and fair elections but with the rather limited civil liberties, freedom of speech and values on human rights as well as the rampant of corruptions, money politics and nepotism both in the government and the societies at large.

The last model differs substantially with all the previous ones in which the practice of democracy should be examined by the continuous improvement in the governing the society. The process-oriented democracy follows the five-process oriented criteria introduced by Dahl (2008) including (i) effective participation; (ii) voting quality; (iii) enlightened understanding; (iv) control of agenda; and (v) inclusion of adult. In short, the good quality of democracy must promote the democratic values for the whole population by pursuing a civic awareness to participate in the political process – elections, public decision making, the rather depth understanding of the political/public affairs of the state and society and the commitment to follow and actively engage with the wide public and political issues of the states. In other words, the process-oriented model of democracy puts more emphasis on the

establishment of democratic values based on the equal individual/citizenship rights, knowledgeable citizens with those rights and their strong commitment and engagement to be an active member of the society; which later provide the elemental supports of the implementation of procedural democracy i.e. elections and public decision making processes.

The rise of the illiberal democracy as its symptoms found out in numerous new democratic countries in Asia and Latin America should be considered as the big challenge of the future. As elaborated recently in Indonesia, the prevalence of corruption alongside the continuing money politics in almost all relatively fair elections – including election for local mayor and governor – and the ongoing decline of the civil liberty, freedom of speech and the respect of human rights in the last decade could be understood as the rise of the illiberal democracy in this country (Warburton & Aspinall, 2019; Hadiz, 2017; Mietzner, 2019; Muhtadi, 2019). Similarly in the Philippines, the symptom is linked to the draconian rule of President Duterte as exemplified by his policy to neglect any legal and court processes in his war against illegal drug dealers thus disrespecting the values of human rights of the citizens in the country (Thompson, 2017; 2019; Heydarian, R. J. (2018). The rather shared fate of the two leading democratic countries in Southeast Asia has arisen a very important question on the wider understanding of democracy amongst the people including the young generation who are now sitting the primary schools of both countries.

## **B. Teaching Social Sciences and Democratic Education**

The teaching social sciences at the primary high schools – both the junior and senior high school – are understood as an comprised course of history, geography, economics, sociology and humanities with the purpose of providing an introductory understanding of the social (and political) life of the society in past, present and the future (see Martorella, Beal, & Bolick, 2005). The more emphasized definition is referred to the National Council for

Social Studies (NCSS) based in the US that focus on the primary purpose of the teaching social studies to prepare the young generation with sort of civic competence either as members of the society and citizens of the democratic country (Levstik, & Tyson, 2010). The term ‘civic competence’ could be understood as the awareness and consciousness with the rights and obligation to the society and the public life as well as the internalized commitment to engage and participate in the betterment of the social life.

In Indonesia, the teaching social science has been considered quite late as it was just started in the mid of 1975-76s (Somantri, 2001). According to him, the teaching social science is a synthetic discipline – including history, sociology, geography, economics and citizenship education; which is not simply as a compendium of those subjects but by providing a new eclectic perspective for students in the way they engage in the society, the state and the public (see also Somantri, Supriadi, & Mulyana, 2001; Farisi, & Malik, 2015). The definition seems to echo with the general purpose of the teaching social sciences as state by the NCSS before. Yet, Somantri (2001) puts more emphasis on the inclusion of teaching moral values based on religions and traditions of the Indonesian society at large as the course is also linked with the goals to preserve a nationalistic and patriotic sense with the post-colonial citizens of the country.

Aside from the differences, the goals of teaching social sciences share with the primary purpose of the democratic education; which is somehow taking a focus on socialising the young generation with civic rules of the society and the state along the hidden agenda to preserve democracy and democratic values within the populace. To note, the fate of democracy as a political system as well as the governing values of the society has been in the ongoing progress and regress throughout the history as experienced in more mature democratic countries in Europe and North America (Tilly, 2007). As elaborated by Gutmann (1993), the future of democracy to guarantee egalitarian values and freedom for the whole

populace in a given society has always required a commitment from the society and the continuous socialization to the next generation through the democratic education for the school children in both the elementary and primary schools (see also Gutmann, & Ben-Porath, 2014). The very basic idea of this form of education is linked to two primary goals that is (i) to further cementing the democratic values within the society and (ii) to prepare the future generation with elementary knowledge and understanding regarding democracy and to build commitment to expand them in their live as members of the society at large (ibid; Biesta, 2007).

The democratic education as a concept as well as a project to preserve democratic values in the society shares the rather similar goals and aims with the teaching social sciences (or social studies) in the primary schools either junior and senior one. As strongly emphasized by Ross (2014), the primary goals of the teaching social sciences for school children are nonetheless linked to the efforts to prepare them with knowledge, understanding as well as social skills required to socialize into the wider society and to participate as an active citizen in the democratic processes of the public decision making of the state. The links between the two has been paid further attentions by scholars to document and investigate the curriculum, educational materials as well as methods and strategies employed in/out the classrooms. As stated by Heafner and Norwood (2019), teaching democracy in the social science course for school children is of course very important yet also a very ambitious project considering the current level of citizenship awareness of the young generation; which is largely lack of interest and rather apathy to political issues and public policies of the government. Yet, the challenge as it was very real is actually the primary goals of the projects to preserve democracy together with building social awareness and skills of the young generation with their citizenship status, rights and obligation in the democratic society (Payne, 2017; Mathé, 2019).

In the other words, not only shared the similar goals and purposes with the project of democratic education as elaborated above; but the teaching social sciences for the junior and senior high school must include the general agenda of the democratic education. The conclusion implies that it is understood that the good social science textbooks for the school children must be presenting the very idea of democracy, democratic values and the current development of democratization in the given country and the global world. For this sense, the textbook study aimed to explore and investigate the presentation of democracy in the social science textbook for the primary school is very important; partly to examine the way the purpose of the teaching social sciences experimented; and to examine its links to current development of the decline of democracy and democratic values in the new democratic countries of Asia especially in Indonesia and a neighbouring country with a rather similar fate, the Philippines.

## Chapter 3:

### Research Method

#### A. Research Design

The study follows the qualitative research method in the tradition of the grounded theory as introduced by Glaser and Strauss (1967; see also Charmaz & Belgrave, 2007) with the aims to dig out and elaborate the new meaning of the social reality as emerged throughout the research. Related to this, the study is designed to elaborate the ways democracy and democratic values are presented, discussed and further illustrations within the social life of the society in the entire textbooks being studied. The expected findings of the research will be provide the general understanding of democracy and democratic values in both countries particularly as they are introduced to the school children. To some extent, the final findings are attempted to explore the political dimension of the textbooks with the general development of democracy and democratization in these countries.

#### B. Data Collection and Sources

For the purpose of the study, the primary data required are textbooks on social science or social studies published and used in the teaching of the relevant course in the junior high school of both countries. The initial identification of those textbook will be focused on textbooks published by the government – the ministry of education and other government bodies with similar responsibilities. The initial list of the textbooks is below:

- a. Social science textbook of the Indonesian junior high school:
  1. Kemendikbud, (2014). *Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial: SMP/MTs Kelas VII*.
  2. Kemendikbud, (2014) *Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial: SMP/MTs Kelas VIII*.
  3. Kemendikbud, (2015) *Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial: SMP/MTs Kelas IX*.

- b. Araling Panlipunan (Social Studies) of the Philippines junior high school:
1. Deped, (2012) *Araling Panglipunan Grado 7: Araling Asyano (Asian History)*
  2. Deped, (2014) *Araling Panglipunan Grado 8: Kasaysayang ng Daigdid (World History)*
  3. Deped, (2014) *Araling Panglipunan Grado 9: Ekonomiks (Economics)*
  4. Deped, (2014) *Araling Panglipunan Grado 10: Mga Kontemporaryong Isyu (Contemporary Issues).*

### **C. Data Analysis**

To analysis the data – retrieved from the above textbooks, the study follows the UNESCO Guidebook on textbook research (Pingel, 2010; Nicholls, 2003) which puts more emphasis on the wider social-political context related to the textbooks being studied. In this study of the portrayal of democracy in the social science school textbook in the junior high school of Indonesian the Philippines, the focus will be revolve around

- (i) the content – including the definition, general narrative, illustrations of the topic as presented in the textbooks;
- (ii) the relevant of the content with the development of democracy and democratization – in terms of the past and current political system, regulations and relevant studies on the progress/regress of democratization in both countries; and
- (iii) the possible linkages of the topic with other materials discussed in the textbook i.e. multiculturalism, developments, social inequalities etc.

## **Chapter 4:**

### **Research Findings and Discussion**

#### **A. Data**

This study compared the exposure to democracy in Social Science textbooks for junior high school levels in Indonesia and the Philippines (*Portraying Democracy in Social Studies School Textbook for the Junior High School at Indonesia and The Philippines*) conducted by carrying out a qualitative content analysis which aims to elaborate several topics in democracy and democratic education. The data source in this study was the junior high school science textbooks , including social studies books for grades 7, 8 and 9 published by the Ministry of Education and Culture, Republic of Indonesia. And the book *Araling Panglipunan* (Social Studies) grades 7, 8, 9 and 10 published by *Kagawaran ng Edukasyon*, Republika ng Pilipinas/ Department of Education, Republic of the Philippines. The following books were the sources of the research data:



**Title**

*Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial*  
(Social Science)

**Grade**

7 (seven)

**Authors**

Iwan Setiawan, Dedi Suciati  
dan A. Mushlih.

**Publisher**

*Kementerian Pendidikan  
dan Kebudayaan* (Ministry  
of Education and Culture)

**Year**

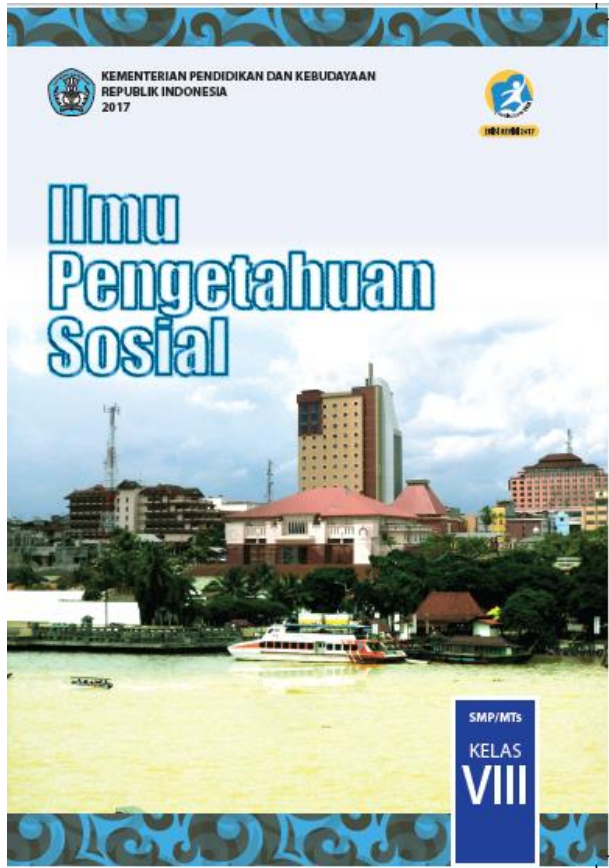
2016

**ISBN**

978-602-427-007-0

**Reviewers**

Baha` Uddin, Ari Sapto,  
Epon Ningrum, Rosa  
Diniari, Regina Niken  
Wilantari, Nirdukita  
Ratnawati, Ratna Saraswati,  
dan Arie Sujito.

**Title**

*Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial*  
(Social Science)

**Grade**

8 (eight)

**Authors**

Mukminan, Endang  
Mulyani, M. Nursa'ban, dan  
Supardi.

**Publisher**

*Kementerian Pendidikan  
dan Kebudayaan* (Ministry  
of Education and Culture)

**Year**

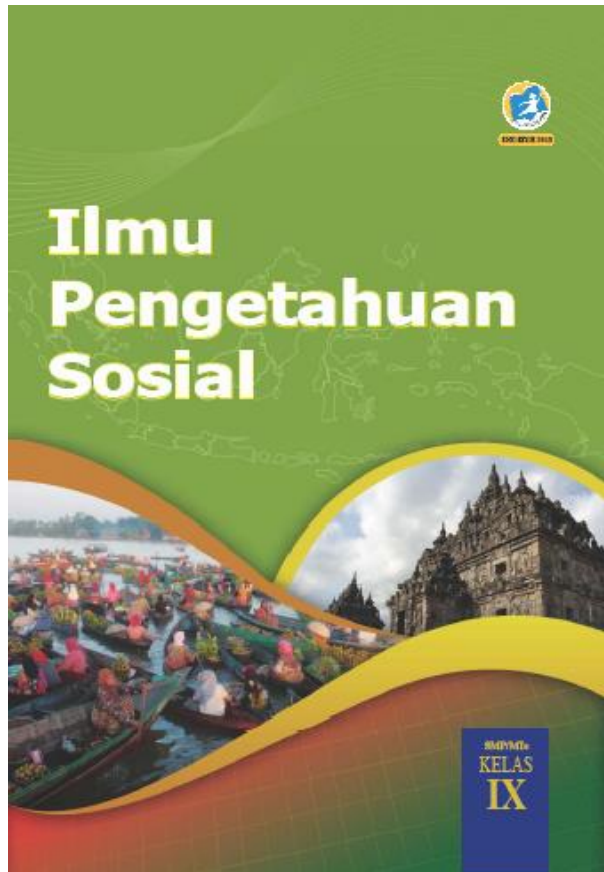
2017

**ISBN**

978-602-282-325-4

**Reviewers**

Ari Sapto, Ratna Saraswati,  
Epon Ningrum, Rosa  
Diniari, Arie Sujito, Baha'  
Uddin.

**Title**

*Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial  
(Social Science)*

**Grade**

9 (nine)

**Authors**

Iwan Setiawan, Retno  
Kuning Dewi Pusparatri ,  
Suciati, dan Ach. Mushlih.

**Publisher**

*Kementerian Pendidikan  
dan Kebudayaan* (Ministry  
of Education and Culture)

**Year**

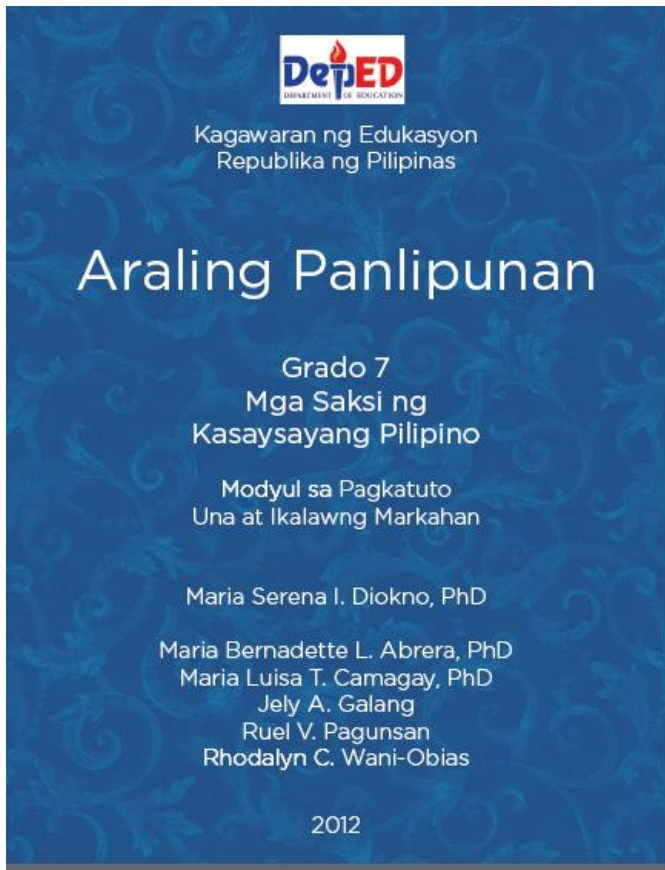
2018

**ISBN**

978-602-427-007-0

**Reviewers**

Baha' Uddin, Ari Sapto,  
Epon Ningrum, Rosa  
Diniari, Regina Niken  
Wilantari.



**Title**

Araling Panlipunan  
*Asya: Pag-usbong ng Kabihasnán*

(Asian civilization from an Asian perspective with focus on: geography, evolution of the bio-socio-cultural peoples of Asia, traditional and modern Asia, and contemporary Asia)

**Grade**

7 (seven)

**Authors**

Maria Serena, dkk.

**Publisher**

Kagawaran ng Edukasyon  
Republika ng Pilipinas

**Year**

2012

# Kasaysayan ng Daigdig

## Araling Panlipunan

Modyul para sa Mag-aaral

### I: Heograpiya at mga Sinaunang Kabihasan sa Daigdig

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Kagawaran ng Edukasyon  
Republika ng Pilipinas

Kasaysayan ng Daigdig  
Araling Panlipunan – Modyul para sa Mag-aaral  
Unang Edisyon, 2014  
ISBN: 978-971-9601-67-8

Paunawa hinggil sa karapatang-dipl. Isinasaad ng Seksiyon 176 ng Batas Pambansa Bilang 8293:  
Hindi maaaring magkaroon ng karapatang-dipl sa ano mang aklat ng Pamahalaan ng Pilipinas. Gayon pa man, kailangan muna ang pahintulot ng pamahalaan o tanggapan kung saan ginawe ang isang aklat

#### **Title**

**Araling Panlipunan**  
*Kasaysayan ng daigdig*  
(Historical account of the beginnings of humanity :world geography and its impact on world history, Mediterranean, American and African civilizations, European expansion, ideologies, technologies and human rights)

#### **Grade**

8 (eight)

#### **Publisher**

Kagawaran ng Edukasyon  
Republika ng Pilipinas

#### **Year**

2014

**EKONOMIKS**  
**Araling Panlipunan**  
**Modyul para sa Mag-aaral**  
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Republika ng Pilipinas

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**Title**

**Araling Panlipunan**  
*Ekonomiks*  
(Economics as contemporary issue linked to national development)

**Grade**

9 (nine)

**Publisher**

Kagawaran ng Edukasyon  
Republika ng Pilipinas

**Year**

2014

**MODYUL  
SA PAG-AARAL  
NG  
MGA  
KONTEMPORARYO  
NG ISYU**

**GRADE 10  
ARALING  
PANLIPUNAN**

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**Title**

**Araling Panlipunan  
*Ekonomiks***

(Contemporary issues in politics, peace, human rights, gender, education, civic and citizenship)

**Grade**

10 (ten)

**Authors**

-

**Publisher**

Kagawaran ng Edukasyon  
Republika ng Pilipinas

**Year**

2014

## **B. Research Findings**

The qualitative content analysis to the books – Social Studies Textbooks for Grade 7-9 in Indonesia and 7-10 in the Philippines – showed some similarities as well as differences on the way democracy is presented and portrayed for young students. Having considered the democratic achievement and the current deficit experienced in both countries, it was not rather not surprising that the topic was not well-presented. In a nutshell, there was not a special topic dealing with democracy, democratic values or democratization in the textbooks studied. The topic was emerged as just a veneer issue amongst the wide academic topic – from geography, culture, sociology, economics and citizenship – presented in the textbooks. There was also not a coherent definition of democracy used as it was taken for granted as a given governmental system of both countries today without providing a critical explanation on the ways it was adopted. Lastly, the lack of clear and explicit presentation and elaboration of democracy had further been evidenced by the lack of elaborative and elusive explanation of citizenship rights as well as their civil/political obligation to preserve the democratic values of the state and the society.

### **a. The Implicit Definition of Democracy**

This study examines the portrait of democracy in social studies textbooks at the Junior High School level in Indonesia and the Philippines. From their history, these two countries have had similar democratic destinies, there has been progress and setbacks that have experienced by more mature countries in democracy such as Europe and America. Democracy education in textbooks is based on the spirit of continuing the ideals of democracy to form an egalitarian society from an early age by creating a participatory society, building social awareness and having civic skills. Nevertheless, the social studies textbooks at the Junior High School level in Indonesia and the Philippines, Social Sciences



(IPS) and *Araling Panglipunan*, do not straightforwardly (directly) convey introducing democracy to students and readers.

The topic of Democracy/ Democratization is not included as a main subject in the textbooks of Junior High School Social Science in Indonesia and Araling Panlipunan at Junior High School in the Philippines, even though the two countries are known as the foremost countries that implement democracy as the principles of community and state management or governance in Asia, especially in Southeast Asia. Democracy is described as a form or pattern of community life in the two countries that has been institutionalized by emphasizing the diversity, togetherness, equality and openness enjoyed by all members of society.

In the Social Sciences book of Junior High Schools in Indonesia, democracy is introduced as a form of community management in a modern country by emphasizing the distribution of power that is distinguished from feudalism in a simpler society, this is conveyed in book grade 7. Social Sciences (IPS) introduces democracy in grade 7 on the material of social interaction and social institutions, especially the parts of the political institutions of the Republic of Indonesia, however, it does not explain about the functions and roles of the state. This book does not explain directly about the concept of democracy and its implementation in Indonesia. Students are considered to have understood the concept of democracy (taken for granted) by only mentioning the forms of political institutions that exist in Indonesia. It is appear that there is an ambiguity of the understanding of students on democracy and political instances, even in some conditions they do not understand about the content in the books that they studied.

Democracy is also narrated as a model of power sharing between community groups, this is explained in grade 7 of social studies book page 117.

In a society that is still simple, that power may be exercised by a person or a small group of people consisting of a family or clan... Whereas in a complex society that

power is usually divided into several groups, so that there is a difference and separation from power. For example, the existence of divided power is clearly visible in a society that adheres to and implements democracy.

Implicitly, the concept of democracy is contrasted with the form of feudal power and an authoritarian political system. At the end of the sentence it is concluded that "so that power is everywhere in every society, but in general the highest power is the highest organization called the State". Here, it is necessary to explain the concept of democracy so that the understanding of the state, power, civil rights and political institutions is which not only as a narrow paradigm of state power over citizens. It should also be explained about the functions, rights and obligations of every political institution in a country from an early age not only to become "good citizenship" but also to form a "critical society".

Furthermore, the portrait of democracy is found in the Social Science Book Class 8 as a condition of openness and equal opportunity for all members of society to work, accumulate wealth and achieve a better standard of living/ welfare known as open social mobility, this is explained in the book grade 8 2 about social interaction and socialization, on page 89 which explains more specifically about social mobility. It was explained that the democratic system opens the opportunity for citizens to rise above the social class because of the competence capabilities of the meritocracy system. In a democratic society, every citizen (individual) of a country can obtain social status such as political/ public office. A citizen can achieve a social position as seen in the picture (President and Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia) not because of their parents are the president but they are elected by the people. This book also compares the republican government system with the monarchical government system where the leader of a country is only in the royal lineage with closed social mobility. In addition, a picture of social class in the form of caste in the Indian tradition is presented as a comparison with the democratic system. At the end of the sentence in the

sub-discussion of this material, a narrative is given about the optimism of social mobility as a form of democracy in practice in society.

The next topic in the textbook of grade 8 pages 235 to 238 explained about the emergence of Indonesian nationalism. The setting taken is historical material before independence, where people began to spearhead educational, social and political movements. This book tries to bring up two perspectives of non-governmental groups, namely Catholic-Christian missionaries with Islamic groups. The missionary movement of the Catholic-Christian and Islamic groups opened several schools and centers for the spread of religion with the role of fostering nationalism and transforming the idea of reforming society. Then, the renewal of the thinking of people that develops new understandings or isms (ideology) such as: pan-Islamism, nationalism, liberalism, socialism, and democracy. Meanwhile, this book does not explain this understanding and there is not even a brief definition of it. Lack of courage to define these concepts indicated that the introduction of isms seems inconsistent and only explained in one short paragraph which is common sense.

Furthermore, the form of joint problem solving in the society/ state through deliberation and consensus that involves all parties with equal rights is described in the textbook of grade 9, democracy is described in chapter 1, chapter 2, chapter 3 and chapter 4. In chapter I, it is explained on page 80 about the concept politics in space interactions between countries. Here, it is explained that the interaction between spaces affects the politics of a country, especially with the government system. The democratic system has become a system that has been widely adopted by several countries due to the influence of other countries that developed it first. Although in every country there is an adjustment between the democratic system and the values in a country. However, the discussion of this material is too simple, it does not yet explain how democracy can be implemented in different countries. Moreover, the example

taken in this material is the Israeli-Palestinian conflict whose perspective is influenced by the emotional sentiment and the lack of research on Indonesia's role in diplomacy towards the two countries.

In chapter 2, it is explained on page 88 that the material on social change and globalization is presented with a crowd picture and an explanation of "Democracy". Narrow and ambiguous understanding when a crowd is referred to as democracy. This material does not explain democracy substantially or theoretically. In fact, when the sub-material title "socio-cultural change" was drawn, it did not explain the material. Crowding has become a human habit, both in countries with monarchical and democratic government systems. It is necessary to provide an explanation of the meaning of the picture, so that democracy can be understood not only as the context of the government system but the participatory role of society in the democracy.

The next discussion in chapter 3 page 165 explains about economic democracy, economic democracy is defined as the role of society in economic activities and the government creates a climate for the growth of the business world. In the theory, what is meant by a democratic economy is defined as a mixed economic system in which the market mechanism is controlled by the state as the regulator. This discussion of material is focused on explaining the creative economy and economic democracy as the basis for translating article 33 of the 1945 Constitution.

The discussion in chapter 4 is mostly in the discussion of democracy, historical material from the independence to reformation appears, this material shows every post-independence Indonesian government regime. First, the era of parliamentary democracy at the beginning of Soekarno's government. Second, the guided democracy era under Soekarno's more authoritarian regime. Third, the New Order was called Pancasila Democracy. Fourth, the

reform era is a transitional period. Each era of government is described in several sub-chapters, including political, social, economic and cultural developments.

The overall concept of democracy is not explained in detail. Meanwhile, several explanations were found related to democratic practices. Democratic practices are discussed in each sub-chapter of the era of Indonesian government from the post-colonial era to the reform era. It is said that the sub-chapter on political developments from time to time involves the people in large deliberations and in the implementation of direct elections. Several times it was touched upon in the discussion of the book after Indonesian independence that the people were gradually given a place to voice their voices. Demonstrations mentioned in each discussion of political developments in the book identify that democracy is desirability.

After the political development which has become the main study in the sub-chapter, then, the democratic practices are seen in the social development section of each government period in the textbook. Democratization was expressed through several discussions regarding the development of education in Indonesia since the independence era. Efforts to advance education are an important element of democracy in a country. Then, it followed by stable economic conditions. The subsection of economic development in each period of government is discussed more often about whether the economic life at that time was successful or failed. Meanwhile, from several explanations, the failed economic developments have actually become the power of the people to re-establish democracy.

The implicit thing that can be taken from the book is that democratization is being carried out. The discussion of the period of governance which gradually became the root of democracy in Indonesia. Political developments and social and economic life from time to time are almost mentioned as elitist and participatory democracy in which there is a lot of public motivation to realize democratic governance, including the influence of intellectuals,

political group conflicts, government involvement in social and economic affairs, and communication towards the modern direction.

Although many democratic practices are explained in the description of political developments over time, the critical power of students needs to be further analyzed to be sensitive to the concepts of democracy and democratization. The initial objectives in chapter 4 are likely to be a reference for whether a critical attitude towards understanding democracy and democratization will be achieved. There are two objectives listed at the beginning of the chapter. First, identifying potential, economic, social, cultural developments in Indonesia during the independence era, parliamentary democracy, guided democracy, ordebaru and reforms. Second, explaining the development of Indonesian society during the independence era, parliamentary democracy, guided democracy, the new order, and reformation.

On the other hand, in the book *Araling Panglipunan* in the Philippines, democracy appears implicitly in the description of differences in social groups based on regions, ethnicities and religions both in the Philippines and in Asia in general (*Ang mga grupong ethnolinguwistiko sa Asya*) which has implications for differences in the way of life between groups. The community/ discussion area is explained at grade 7. *Araling Panglipunan* at grade 7 introduces democracy indirectly in the first quarter "The ethnolinguistic groups in Asia (*Ang Mga Grupong Etnolinguwistiko sa Asya*) page 60-73; by stating that despite the cultural differences, these groups co-exist, due to their relativistic views, consequently allowing the groups to freely live as themselves, without outsider attempt to change them. Narrative that emphasizes group differences that must be accepted as a form of acceptance in coexistence. Democracy is seen as an ideology to be able to accept social differences, and also page 108 is explained *Early Asian Civilization Implied that there was equality among the ethnic groups. Religion supported the state, was in fact very powerful that religion can*

*dictate the government.* How democracy is defined as equality between ethnicities and religions that can support governance.

Meanwhile page 144 explains *Asian Imperialism was discussed, with focus on Chinese civilization, reverberating their beliefs of ethnocentrism – China as the center of world, and their culture and civilization the greatest.* Page 268 *Imperialism and colonization of the west are double-edged: loss of self-government of the Asians, loss of religious identity and exploitation of wealth and resources, but transportation and communication greatly improved. It is important to note that women rights were also advanced by western ideas. The western imperialism also contributed to collective call for independence of Asian nation – resulting to war.* This narrative views how the experienced imperialism and colonialism can bring changes to the means of production to ideology, although on the other hand there is a loss of the original identity of the people and how the wheels of Philippine government have become centralized due to the Spanish and American colonialism.

Grade 8 textbook on the decentralization of authority is further explained as a basic form of democracy in the sense of decentralized government in the Philippines. On page 493; Ideolohiya/ Ideology – *Different ideologies are compared and contrasted: capitalism, democracy, authoritarianism, totalitarianism, socialism. The concepts were explained, but no discussion on its application to the Philippines.* The same as in the social studies textbook from Indonesia, it is mentioned that various understandings (isms) exist in the world, however, the session on these discussions is not discussed in depth. Meanwhile, grade 9 explains the form of openness for citizens to participate in politics/ government that has an impact on socio-economy “*implication that democracy is driven by economic development, the driving forces of economic development require the redistribution of resources from central to lower governance levels Participation of the local government is deemed*

*necessary*". In a democracy, economic power plays an important role in maintaining the stability of government from the center to the regions.

Meanwhile, in grade 10, it is indirectly explained about the system of government in the Philippines which enforces the division of authority between state institutions and the principle of maintaining equality and civil liberties for citizens, *the book discusses that democracy is often associated with governments and political structures whose authority, legitimacy, and power are derived from the people, directly or indirectly exercising these powers through regular system representation exercise in the form of free elections .The degree of equality, freedom, and representation, however, differ depending on the type of government, classified in terms of form, structure, or the relationship between local and central governments.* In grade 10 material begins to discuss how democracy is run, from political structures and discussions about elections. Although the discussion was not in-depth, the idea of democracy has been presented.

#### **b. Democracy merely as the Historical Facts**

The next finding explains that democracy is more used as a name/ term that generally describes the administration of government in the two countries without providing an explanation or criticism of the respective periods of government; where there is democratic and there is not democratic. In the Social Science of Junior High School in Indonesia, democracy is said to be one of the most debated governments to be elected and adopted as a form of Indonesian government - along with Pan-Islamism, Nationalism, Socialism and Communism - in the early pre- and post-independence era in 1945 in the books of grade 8. And democracy is used as the name for the period of government - such as Parliamentary Democracy (1950-1959), Soekarno's Guided Democracy (1959-1965), Democracy Pancasila Soeharto (1965-1998) - without any explanation or criticism of differences or inaccuracies



in the government in each regime within the framework of democratic principles - Soekarno's Guided Democracy Period and Soeharto's Pancasila Democracy.

As previously explained, democracy was introduced in the social studies book, especially grade 9, only as a mention in Indonesia without any explanation regarding democracy as a political concept in regulating society based on equality, social justice, and community participation. An important note about the term democracy is that there is a different picture of the government or regime when the rulers govern the country with their own democratic model, in the name of democracy as a means to easily accept it as a form of post-colonial revolution. This is accompanied with the absence of several explanations related to their failure and success in running a government with a modified democratic concept according to their style and approach.

1. The Era of Parliamentary Democracy (1950-1959); The government adopts an understanding called Parliamentary Democracy or liberal democracy. This is where the president (Soekarno) is the head of state and the Prime Minister is the head of government (similar to the British Political System) (see Pages 238-9). Note here, that the term liberal is mentioned since it has a negative connotation in which the political system of the country is based on a multi-party political system as shown in the first elections in 1955 and becomes the main problem because the government established in parliament is always supervised by other parties. Then, bring the country into chaos, resulting in a weak government with many rebellions (rebellion/ military/ separatist movement); In addition, there is high inflation in the economy which causes the position of the country to be increasingly cornered or experiencing difficulties.

This book discusses many important events that occurred during the liberal democracy era, although theoretically it does not explain what is meant by "Liberal Democracy". Thus, the impression generated by this book tends to show a timeline of Indonesian history, it does not provide essential meaning and impact to students on "what students should do" in the learning.

2. The Era of Guided Democracy; Soekarno dissolved the parliament and took over the entire government by appointing all officials in the public and government positions. Even though it was seen as an undemocratic policy and seemed authoritarian, guided democracy was initially praised as a solution to the factions and disputes that continued to occur in the government of the liberal democracy era. Parliament is seen as the trigger for the disintegration of the state (with many rebellions and rebellions) and poor economy and development. In addition, several political achievements and mistakes were added, such as the confrontation against Britain and Malaysia in North Kalimantan, affiliation with Non-Aligned during the Cold War, and the agreement with the Dutch on Papua. Meanwhile, the regime was later blamed for providing the communist group with the opportunity to rise up and end the failed coup in 1965. Nevertheless, there is a record of limited explanations for whether guided democracy is a real democracy that can foster equality, social justice, and fair elections. Except for the hint that this guided democracy went against the spirit of constitutional democracy by appointing Soekarno as president for life, thus making him authoritarian (see Pages 251-252).

In this section, the impression that is built shows that the government looks heroic with its political and economic achievements and the positive results in the struggle for West Irian. Nevertheless, it did not discuss much about the failure of the

government on the issue of the PKI, which was pushed as a leftist movement as a source of government problems, so that later the New Order emerged.

3. The New Order which replaced Soekarno's guided democracy. The Soeharto regime is a regime that prioritizes unity, political stability, security for development, and economic prosperity. It is by setting aside any factions/ disputes in the realm of politics and fostering state security. This means that all means will be carried out to maintain national stability, including ways of violating human rights. First, it is called Pancasila Democracy (see page 266) by limiting the number of political parties participating in the election to 3 considering fractions after the 1955 election with a multi-party system and successfully holding general elections in 1971, 1977, 1982, 1987, 1992, 1997 with Golkar always wins (no explanation how it happened and how it violates democracy). The chapter appears to laud a regime for promoting the economic development of a country with a more stable and secure political system and more advanced in the provision of education and health care but with a very limited explanation of how the government governs by democratic or undemocratic principles. This book directs how democracy is interpreted in the General Election but the essence of freedom, equality and differences is not discussed and the importance of political and economic stability is not presented.
4. Reform is considered a response to the failure of the New Order, several explanations state that there were problems related to democracy that triggered mass protests against Suharto and the New Order: (see page 273). Nevertheless, by paying more attention to the economic development policies of the New Order it became a corruption regime in the country. Another failure was due to its authoritarian political policies and did not provide democratic space for citizens to participate. (without further explanation of how this happened as in the previous section which mostly

praised the policies of the New Order. On page 276 reflections; stated that Reformasi placed the Indonesian people to respect the democracy and the strength of the people and the government had to respect the aspirations of the people. In this case, at the end, there is no further elaboration on the experimentation of democracy taking place in this country and it clearly describes some government policies under the elected president.

From the explanation of the previous points, democracy should be understood as the authority of the people to be able to participate in government activities that will later become a historical fact. Likewise, the people are involved in political activities which are general election activities or have the authority to become elected candidates. In addition, in a democracy the people have civil rights which are fundamental freedoms that are obtained as the essence of a human being. Each country guarantees the rights of citizens constitutionally written in the laws of each country. As in Indonesia, which guarantees the rights and obligations of its citizens in article 28 to article 31 of the 1945 Constitution. State guarantees for the rights and obligations of citizens are then implemented in all aspects of the lives of its citizens. For example, efforts to recognize the rights and obligations of citizens through important institutions through which citizens pass.

The 7th grade social studies book introducing the term citizen and its associations appears in chapter IV, which is about the dynamics of social interaction in one of the student activity guides which states: as Indonesian citizens, students must be responsible for preserving and preserving the country's cultural heritage. The statement does not really explain the rights of citizens but states the obligations as citizens to their culture. So it is necessary to clarify the social rights or cultural rights of citizens. Thus, there is a balance between what is done with what is obtained.

Overall, the discussion in the 7th grade social studies book explains the concept of space which is embodied in Indonesian layout materials, natural resource potential, maritime affairs, population, natural conditions, Indonesian flora and fauna. The 7th grade social studies book tries to show different conditions and different potentials and will ultimately affect social, economic, cultural and educational life. The main objective of the 7th grade social studies book is more on the introduction and understanding of space in terms of conditions and potential resources in Indonesia. Therefore, the concept of democracy has not been so introduced in books at this level.

The 8th grade Social Science book discusses a broader scope, namely the scope of ASEAN as part of Indonesian history. The four main sub-chapters in this book include 1) spatial interactions in life in ASEAN countries, 2) the influence of social interactions on social and national life, 3) advantages and limitations between spaces and their impact on economic, socio-cultural activities in Indonesia. and ASEAN, 4) changes in Indonesian society during the colonial period and the growing spirit of nationality.

Citizens were briefly mentioned at the discussion of deforestation in Southeast Asia. Ecosystem conditions and the balance of citizens are influenced by forest conditions in an area. This means that citizens are discussed in terms of the impact of forest conditions in an area. This identifies, the social conditions in the form of citizens are still seen through the dynamics of nature around citizens. The description of citizens who are affected by the dynamics of the government system has not been discussed in this book. Given that the 8th grade social studies book continues the explanation from the 7th grade social studies book which explains more about room conditions.

In chapter 2, regarding social interaction in the life of society and nation, it is said that one of the consequences of democracy is the existence of open social mobility. In this case, every citizen who has the same political rights includes being president of a country. This

statement indicates that democracy occurs in an environment with open social mobility. A condition that indicates that the people have political rights, civil rights and social rights based on the constitution. The explanation of open social mobility is understood as an interpretation of democracy in Indonesia. The concept of democracy that provides free access to the community encourages open social mobility. Communities with the ability and willingness will gain upper social status on vertical open social mobility. Meanwhile, people who do not have the ability and willingness will get lower social status in the vertical open social mobility. Free up or down access to open social mobility will increase competition among people to obtain upper social status. It is not uncommon for conflicts to occur in the process.

Conflict can be said to be an indicator of the democratic process. The discussion on conflict in the 8th grade book is related to the diversity that exists in Indonesia. Chapter 3 explains that the social/ ethnic diversity of the Indonesian people has the potential for conflict in it. The ultimate goal of democracy is also mentioned in this discussion, namely Indonesian citizens must be aware and involved in anticipating through the motto of Unity in Diversity in the social life.

Grade 9 books as a whole describe citizens; Indonesian citizenship is more concerned with being a good citizen in republican terms. However, no further explanation was made about citizenship rights and other related topics. Then for the issue of democracy, the 9th grade book continues the 8th grade book which explains social mobility. Where democracy will provide sufficient equal opportunities for citizens to participate in the country's political sphere, including running for president through national elections.

Democracy is an important concept that must be understood by people from various elements. It is hoped that the concept of democracy will become like a concept of understanding character that does not need to be explained theoretically but is practiced in

the form of behavior, values and assumptions for every citizen, especially in educational institutions. Textbooks are only tools that educators can use to direct what should be done. More deeply than that, educators in the field of social science have a duty and responsibility to practice democracy for their students. The hope is that students understand the concepts and practices of democracy not only through textbooks but through examples or direct understanding from social science educators.

Meanwhile, in the book *Araling Panglipunan* in the Philippines, there is a similar tendency not to provide an explanation or criticism of the implementation of democracy and democratization in the past government. This equation can be summarized in several statements:

(i) comparing democracy with various other ideologies such as capitalism, socialism, totalitarianism and authoritarianism, although there is no explanation for their relevance to the Philippine form of government. It does not even explain how totalitarianism is a system of government or power that is total domination over the entire life of citizens or authoritarianism in which the people submit and obey the authority and groups in power. This book does not provide a parallel comparison comparing capitalism and socialism and equates it as a democratic system.

(ii) the absence of explanation or criticism of the implementation of democracy in the Philippine government, for example in the presentation of the difference in leadership between Ferdinand Marcos and Aquino without explaining that the former is a dictator while the second is democratic. This book does not explain how Ferdinand Marcos runs an authoritarian government and directly compares it with Aquino who is claimed to be a "democratic" system of government. Assuming Ferdinand Marcos as a symbol of a dictatorial government system in a country and Aquino as a revolutionary and democratic system of government.

### **c. Democratic Emphasis: Economic Prosperity and Civil Welfare**

Economic prosperity in democracy is described in grade 7 material on human activities in meeting the needs. In this material, it is discussed that the lowest level of welfare is how to fulfill the basic human needs. These basic needs are Food, Clothing, and Housing. The substantive objectives of democracy can be achieved if the basic needs are met, otherwise democracy will not work if hunger and basic needs are not met. Poverty alleviation and increased welfare have an impact on the progress of democracy of a nation, this book indirectly directs a logical narrative on the basis of human beings. Democracy is an exciting concept, the increase in the number of states ascribing to democratic practice has signalled a different life for many who now live free from political oppression or authoritarian rule. It is a complex term for many, especially those in newer democracies. It takes a long time coming to grips with its practical meaning. There is a lot of information about democracy. The duty of educators is to clarify this information at the appropriate level to the learners. Democracy provides a very special challenge because it incorporates aspects of behaviour, skills, knowledge and attitudes as well as questions of politics and power.

Furthermore, grade 7 material about humans, places, and the environment, talks about the environment more specifically Natural Resources have an influence on the lives of the people. This book tries to show how the inadequate management of natural resources by Indonesia has thus become a factor in the relatively low quality of Indonesian human resources. In addition, it also discusses the large number of illegal fishing activities that often occur in Indonesian waters, which is an indicator of weak state supervision. In addition, controlling the population with the availability of employment opportunities and the quality of education needs attention. This book provides readers with facts about the problems in Indonesia.



Meanwhile, *Araling Panglipunan* discussed the impacts of Democracy with Economic welfare more at the macro level, the discussion was not only on the local state but more about how the international economy affects the Philippine economy. They started from grade 7 on the economic progress of Asian countries. Asian countries gained independence, economic upturn started, and Asian countries began to be recognized as game changers and major players in international trade. This book has the courage to explain how Asian countries are changing international trade.

Furthermore, in grade 8, The enhanced economy and the prosperity of different countries are experiencing has to struggle for armaments - ironically for peace-keeping. Western imperialism is driven by territorial expansion and economics — market and source of labor. This book tries to uplift the morale of students by showing the economic struggle during the imperialism era. Nevertheless, it shows the weak side of democation in the phase of the struggle for imperialism in the Philippines.

Grade 9 discusses labor and economic equality with migration. Development is more than increased GNI Labor migration is path economic success if labor migration is the key to economic success and to liberating people from poverty, then it must, to the best of the state's abilities, be intensified and taken advantage of. The Philippine government encourages “exporting” its people for the much needed dollars. This book discusses the role of the government to alleviate poverty. In democratic principles, democracy can run well if the people's economy is fulfilled.

In grade 10, the issue of global economy is not only focused on the Philippines, so that students gain basic knowledge of how the global economy works. Issues on a global scale are beyond economics, complex and multifaceted and the effects trickle down to individual lives. Students need to be able to develop skills to see the interconnections.

The final findings in this study elaborate on the relevance of democracy in the lives of citizens as described in the Social Science textbooks for junior high schools in both countries. In the social studies book for junior high schools in Indonesia, there is little discussion about citizens and is not an important topic. This can be understood because the topic of citizenship is the subject and book of Pancasila and Citizenship Education (PPKN). In addition, the discussion about citizens in a democratic climate is not presented explicitly by only emphasizing the openness and equal economic opportunity for all citizens and emphasizing the importance of participation in maintaining the integrity of the unitary state of Indonesia. The topics of equality between citizens, civil liberties (opinion, assembly, organization), political participation and social justice which are important principles in democracy, are not well discussed.

Meanwhile, in the book *Araling Panglipunan* for junior high schools in the Philippines, the discussion about citizens and their rights in democracy is discussed more explicitly, although without any explanation of its practice in social and state life. The topics of human rights, civil liberties (right to opinion, work, to organize), and political rights in particular to vote in elections received a good portion of the discussion. However, it is a bit similar to the social studies book for Junior High School in Indonesia, the discussion of citizens is more directed to be good citizens who obey the rules, work hard and have a variety of knowledge and skills needed by the labor market in the 21st century without being accompanied by critical discussion about their rights and relations with the state/ government.

As a final note, a comparative analysis of the contents of the Social Science textbooks for Junior High Schools in Indonesia and the Philippines shows several conclusions. First, the discussion of democracy and democratic education - as an effort to teach and institutionalize democratic principles of equality, individual freedom and social justice, does not appear to have become mainstream in social studies learning in Indonesia. This finding

is an important note for researchers on democracy in Southeast Asia, especially in Indonesia and the Philippines, which in the last 1-2 decades have marked stagnation and regression of democratization. Second, social studies learning materials for junior high school level in both countries, especially from text books published by the government, need to be updated with materials that build students' critical awareness as a provision to become active and critical citizens in the social-community and the state life; as discussed in several trends in social studies learning in more established democratic countries.

### **C. Discussion**

The findings of research in the book *Social Sciences and Araling Panglipunan* about democracy and democratization in Indonesia and the Philippines, are not only as a historical content of a country's democracy. Nevertheless, it goes deeper than that as a reference for the improvement and progress of democracy. During the journey, Indonesia and the Philippines experienced progress, stagnation as well as regress in several phases of democracy. A democratic ideal is to be able to place citizens to have equal rights and access.

According to Robert Dahl's (2008) statement, democracy is defined as a political system that regulates society by placing all individuals with equal citizenship status in equal rights and opportunities to pursue their potential so as to achieve prosperity and happiness and participate in public affairs in a country that in the end affect their social and individual life.

In Indonesia and the Philippines, it has similarities with the rise of illiberal democracy, where the state has the power to suppress individual freedom and human rights violations. For example, both countries have experienced dictatorial state leadership, in Indonesia under the Soeharto regime with the New Order which is called Pancasila Democracy but in practice it is used as a tool to continue power. And in the Philippines, under the regime of Ferdinand

Marcos, who was in power for 21 years, it is the same as the Suharto regime which castrates the voices of the people and commits corruption and violations of human rights. The two regimes of the two countries (Indonesia-Philippines) ended due to the power of the People Power, in Indonesia it is referred to as the "1998 Reformasi" starting with the inauguration of Suharto by acclamation, the monetary crisis where the economy of the country was in chaos, human rights violations and demonstrations of thousands of students demanding that Suharto step down gradually disrespect. Meanwhile, in the Philippines, it is called the "EDSA Revolution" where a wave of demonstrations from the Filipino people. Starting with the killing of opposition leaders and being overthrown by the power of the people and assisted by the Philippine military. Even though the two countries have experienced a phase of dictatorship, illiberal democracy is still a challenge until now, such as President Duterte, the Philippines, who is fighting drugs by ignoring legal processes and courts, giving the impression of violating human rights values (Thompson, 2017; 2019; Heydarian, RJ (2018) Meanwhile, the current status of Indonesia as partly freedom as there are ongoing cases limiting and denying citizenship rights particularly for minorities and the rampant corruptions within the government amid the successful general election in 2019 and other local elections has confirmed the trend (Warburton & Aspinall, 2019; Hadiz, 2017; Mietzner, 2019).

The democratic progress of the two countries cannot be separated from the role of the development of NGOs (non-governmental organizations/ NGOs), previously during the New Order era the hegemony of government power was where the people were completely powerless when faced with the government in fighting for their rights who were victims. development (Cholisin, 1998). There were NGOs/ NGOs who dared to speak out loudly about democracy in the 1980s, they criticized the regime in power but did not form political power so that they split because of differences in ideology (Humaidi, 2009). However,

NGOs/ NGOs provide an opening as an effort to make people aware of the democratization process. After the reformation, there is a new challenge for NGOs/ NGOs in contributing to democracy in Indonesia. Since this organization has access to the grassroots and policy makers so that the growth of NGOs/ NGOs is growing rapidly and even becomes a driving force in overseeing good governance.

Nevertheless, the strong progress of NGO democratization was not matched by strong economic conditions, this was due to medium GDP growth in both countries. In 2020, GDP growth in Indonesia is -1.5% while the Philippines -8.3%. This data was taken in October 2020 from the official website of the IMF (International Monetary Fund). Theoretically, economic progress is in line with the country's democratic system, but the conditions for Indonesia and the Philippines in building a political system have not been optimal. The democratic system that was built for more than a decade has not had a major impact on economic progress. The democratic systems of Indonesia and the Philippines cannot contribute to economic growth due to continued corruption, so they cannot create a conducive environment for business activities, investment, and exchange and flow of domestic and foreign capital.

Many challenges to democracy still affect the quality of democracy, such as money politics, which is the purchased form of democracy. So that the cost of administering democracy is so high, this has resulted in corruption to return the capital spent during candidacy. Such a cycle repeats itself and has yet to find a solution that directly touches the "traditionalized error". Here, democratic education is needed to open critical insights and become good citizens. Have awareness and understanding of democracy which has been the ideal of democracy to this current time.

Amy Gutman (1993) explains democracy education as the inheritance of democratic values, namely equality, equality, citizen participation and social justice which must be

developed to maintain existing democratic achievements. The future of democracy to guarantee egalitarian values and freedom for all people in a society always requires commitment from the community and continuous socialization to the next generation. Democracy education as part of the agenda, material or social studies learning outcomes which aims to build civic competence; where students critically understand and participate in their position as citizens who not only enjoy civil liberties (act, argue, work, prosper, practice culture) but also use their political rights to participate critically in public policy in addition to carrying out their obligations as good citizens.

One of the important stages in democratic education is building a tradition of democratization - freedom of opinion and building a participatory critical atmosphere in learning. Democracy education as a concept as well as a project for the preservation of democratic values in society has the same goals and objectives with learning. In order to build awareness and understanding of democracy from an early age.

The democratic awareness of the younger generation (students) is starting to show progress, especially social media factors that can be accessed easily and provide knowledge. Even though their understanding of democracy needs assistance, learning and in-depth socialization. Although the Social Sciences and *Araling Panglipunan* for Junior High School students have not taught direct democratic practices such as elections. In this case, it has an impact in explaining and instilling democratic values from an early age. We all know in the previous discussion that it has not been explicitly explained how democracy and citizens' rights are. Students who can implement democratic practices (elections) in Indonesia are usually at the senior high school level in grade 12 as first-time voters.

The younger generation, especially students, are now starting to have an influence in determining the progress of democracy in a country. Especially elections for students become an active participation role in democracy and become one of the bases for political

contestation (Rohim, 2019). The category of voters that will have a major impact on democratic life in the future is the first time voters. As well as increasing numbers, the potential power of new voters can also determine election results. But beyond that, the existence of novice voters will certainly promise in every election in ensuring the strategic position that each candidate wants to achieve. In general, new voters do not have adequate political literacy, and new voters tend to follow community trends. Therefore, novice voters are always the target of political activities, because it is relatively easy for them not to have tendencies and interests. Moreover, it is easier to access new voters through social media, almost the recent trend is making social media an effective campaign tool that can touch the public more.

Apart from the elections, the participation of the younger generation (students) has begun to lead to criticism of the government through demonstrations. This trend in the past year in Indonesia, high school students participated together with students in demonstrations to criticize government policies. Even though the demonstration carried out seemed talkative because of the role of social media, it shows that awareness of democracy is starting to grow. What remains is the role of schools, government, families, and media to shape the young generation, not only good citizens but critical citizens to maintain democracy.

## **Chapter 5:**

### **Conclusion**

Democracy education in textbooks is based on the spirit of continuing the ideals of democracy to form an egalitarian society from an early age by creating a participatory society, building social awareness and having civic skills. But the topic of democracy does not become the main subject in the textbook, namely Social Sciences (IPS) and Araling Panglipunan directly. They tend to convey democracy implicitly and it is assumed that students have understood the concept of democracy (taken for granted) by only mentioning the forms of political institutions. It causes ambiguity in students' understanding of democracy and political instances, even in some conditions they do not understand what they are learning.

In Indonesia, the 7th grade textbook (IPS) concludes democracy in the concept of power in society which implicitly contrasts the concept of democracy with the form of feudal power and an authoritarian political system. Meanwhile, the Class 8 textbook describes democracy as a condition of openness and equal opportunity for all members of society and explains it in the material of open social mobility. Furthermore, it is mentioned that the resolution of problems in society/ state through deliberation and consensus that involves all parties with the same rights. In the 9th grade democracy textbook, historical material from the time of independence to reformation appears, this material shows every post-independence Indonesian government regime. First, the era of parliamentary democracy at the start of the Soekarno government. Second, the guided democracy era under Soekarno's more authoritarian regime. Third, the New Order was called Pancasila Democracy. Fourth, the reform era is a transitional period. Although the overall concept of democracy is not explained in detail, several explanations are found related to democratic practices.



Meanwhile, *Araling Panglipunan* in Grade 7, democracy is defined as equality between ethnicities and religions that can support government. Narrative that emphasizes group differences that must be accepted as a form of acceptance in coexistence. Democracy is seen as an ideology to accept differences in society. Grade 8 text book describes various understandings (isms) in the world such as capitalism, democracy, authoritarianism, totalitarianism, socialism but the discussion on these discussions is not discussed in depth. Grade 9 explains the openness for citizens to participate in politics / government that has an impact on socio-economics. Meanwhile, grade 10 indirectly describes the government system in the Philippines on the division of authority between state institutions and the principle of maintaining equality and freedom.

Democracy is more used as a name/ term that generally describes the administration of government in the two countries without providing an explanation or criticism of each period of government. In the Social Science of Junior High School in Indonesia, democracy is said to be one of the most debated governments to be elected and adopted as a form of Indonesian government along with Pan-Islamism, Nationalism, Socialism and Communism - in the early pre- and post-independence era. An important note about the term democracy is that there is a different picture of the government or regime when the rulers govern the country with their own democratic model, in the name of democracy as a means to easily accept it as a form of post-colonial revolution. Coupled with the absence of several explanations why they failed or succeeded in running a government with a modified democratic concept according to their style and approach.

The next conclusion explains that democracy has an influence on economic prosperity, but in the social studies book the narrative is directed at the not optimal management of natural resources carried out by Indonesia so that it is a contributing factor to the relatively low quality of Indonesian human resources. Meanwhile, *Araling Panglipunan* discussed the

impacts of democracy on economic prosperity at a more macro level. The discussion was not only on the local state but more on how the international economy affects the Philippine economy. This book has the courage to explain how Asian countries are changing international trade.

In general, it can be understood that the discussion of democracy is more in the lessons of citizenship as a separate part of Social Studies. Furthermore, the Araling Panglipunan textbook refers more to international social studies standards than the Social Sciences textbook from Indonesia. The material presented is a lot but the discussion is not in-depth, and seems incomplete in explaining it. The two textbooks are not straightforward in explaining the concept of democracy, so they do not yet have a focus on how the textbooks bring a democratic perspective.

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