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Education for Citizenship: Rethinking Social Studies in the Context of Indonesian National Insight

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Abstract

This research aimed to analyse the significance of social studies in the context of education for citizenship framework and democratic politics. It also highlighted the fundamental issue of growing intolerance as well as radicalism in schools and campuses, reflecting a discernable trend in national insight over the past two decades. National insight, within the context of national education, refers to the standard instruction in classrooms aimed at promoting social understanding and civic efficacy. However, this crucial aspect has been disregarded in social studies, rendering it seemingly irrelevant within the framework of education for citizenship and democratic politics for students. The negligence of critical scientific and pedagogical elements, as well as the absence of repositioning, and actualisation contributed to a one-dimensional understanding and a dual standard in the approach to social studies. This consequently facilitated conventional practices and the status quo of education for citizenship towards national insight.

Keywords: Citizenship, Social Studies, National Insight

1. Introduction

This research is motivated by the rise of intolerance and radicalism during the Reformation era in Indonesia, a country with diverse religions, ethnicities, languages, and cultures in Southeast Asia, and even globally. In this study, these two social phenomena are linked to educational failures, particularly in social studies at the elementary, secondary, and even tertiary levels. This research specifically examines the social studies curriculum, which is a compulsory course from elementary school to university. Despite being taught at all levels of education, why do radicalism and intolerance, which contradict the principles of good citizenship, continue to increase in Indonesia? This is research that explores the relevance of social studies and its relation to national insight in Indonesia within the framework of education for citizenship and political democracy. It also highlighted the crucial issues of increasing intolerance and radicalism observed in junior and senior high schools, as well as on campuses, over the last two decades. These trends, particularly concerning religion, ethnicity, and race, not only contradict the principles of multiculturalism, aimed at fostering social cohesion, but also undermine Indonesia's aspiration to be a safe, comfortable, emancipatory, humane, and peaceful country.

This research further delved into the potential link between the perceived failure of education for citizenship and the role of social studies as a fundamental source of these problems. While acknowledging that other factors may be involved, the vitality of social studies also plays a crucial role in early preparation for social and citizenship competencies, fostering national insight, identity, patriotism, and democratic politics. In addition to examining the social studies curriculum that aligns with national insight in the context of citizenship, this study also compares curriculum trends in various pluralistic countries, particularly the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and Japan. This is done to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the social studies curriculum in Indonesia and provide relevant implementation examples. In many countries, social studies curriculum policies are adjusted to the country's goals which are based on the order and structure of society in realizing national integration. The investigation established a relation between the social studies curriculum from Grades 1 to 12 and Semesters 1 to 4 with the prevalence of deviant behaviour among students. Understanding the urgency and significance of this research formed the basis for considering potential curriculum repositioning. The data from 2000 to 2022 showed the extent of intolerance and radicalism among students, teachers, and lecturers. Interestingly, 9.5% of teachers rejected pluralism, 48.95% of students rejected other religions, and 58.5% of content textbooks and parallel textbooks rejected ethnic diversity (Kirana, 2018). Furthermore, 23.4% of university students and 23.3% of Senior High School students supported *Jihad* and the Islamic State, 16.8% advocated for Islam as the state ideology and 39% of university students in 15 provinces were exposed to radicalism (Ali & Purwandi, 2017). In 2018, as many as 23% of students at Brawijaya University, the University of Indonesia, and Syarif Hidayatullah State Islamic University supported the Islamic Caliphate (Pranawati, 2012; Hamdi, Mukaffa & Masrifah, 2019). Regional disparities were also observed, with 51.6% of students in Makassar displaying intolerance, and religion emerging as the dominant factor influencing students' intolerant and radical attitudes in Lampung (Syafe'i, 2018). Ironically, 39% of students in 10 state universities across Jakarta, West Java, Yogyakarta, East Java, and East Nusa Tenggara were exposed to intolerance and radicalism (Azhari & Ghazali, 2019). In 2022, for example, it was reported that 10% of the Radicalism Potential Index comprised women, with over 600 sites disseminating 900 propaganda content through social media platforms. The Terrorism Risk Index could be classified into two dimensions, 51.54 for targets and 29.48 for perpetrator supply (Kirana, 2018).

Unfortunately, students were the predominant group vulnerable and ingrained to intolerance and radicalism, which reflected in acts of violence, the penetration of identity politics, and the division of society. These negative tendencies were also perpetuated through the medium of organisations and social platforms (Mufid, 2011; United Nation Development Project [UNDP], 2018). Consequently, educational institutions were no longer seen as centres of knowledge and critical inquiry but rather as breeding grounds for intolerance and radicalism. This shift was evidenced by the increasing number of students who engaged in intra-organisational setups that no longer prioritised research and innovation (Tempo, 2018). Most of the resolutions are militaristic approaches such as Special Detachment 88, the State Intelligence Agency, the Strategic Intelligence Agency, the National Counterterrorism Agency, and even religious institutions. Despite the government issuance of Regulation Number 55 of 2018 on Pancasila Ideology Development, social studies has remained entirely overlooked. This situation posed a pressing question; how students understand and combat intolerance and radicalism when they are not educated from an early age? Education for citizenship in this research encompassed three main aspects; (1) the examination of the social studies curriculum in schools and campuses, (2) an exploration of the influence of the New Order and Reformation eras on national insight and citizenship promotion, as well as (3) an in-depth analysis of 47 textbooks and parallel textbooks.

This research specifically aimed to investigate the function of social study as an early foundation for fostering national insight amidst the internet revolution and globalisation, as well as its position in addressing deviant behaviour, an aspect that has not been extensively addressed. The subject was found to be essential for 21st-century education, not only for well-being but also for enhancing students' ability to learn and develop a strong sense of national insight. Based on national perspective, social studies represent standard instruction in classrooms aimed at promoting social understanding and civic efficacy. However, they are considered irrelevant in the context of education for citizenship framework and its impact on students. The findings, novelty, and contribution of this research lay in presenting a new perspective on social studies as the most relevant education for citizenship framework in 21st-century Indonesia. Within this research, intolerance is defined as being "least liked" towards individuals or groups with different attributes, while radicalism denotes a disposition towards violence and law-

breaking against fellow citizens. Social studies, as an integrated teaching of the social sciences and humanities, serve to promote social understanding and civic competence. National insight, on the other hand, involves adopting a broader perspective on the nation and country that transcends individual and group interests, emphasising self-awareness and loyalty as citizens to build social cohesion. The education for citizenship framework acts as a mechanism to promote social understanding and civic efficacy effectively. Lastly, rethinking social studies entails examining conventional thinking and practices, embracing critical pedagogy, repositioning, and actualising social studies to support the status quo of education for citizenship.

Based on 476 textbooks during 1950-2011 examined in 78 countries, it is confirmed that the waning of social awareness is the impact of prioritisation of individual rights (Lerch, Bromley, Ramirez & Meyer, 2017). Various other research in 43 countries affirmed the importance of democratic personalities (Inglehart, 1997), the Melting Pot (Glazer, 2000), and civic culture (Almond & Verba, 1963). Moreover, separatism in Eurasia strongly indicated ethnic politics (Hale, 2008) and religious conflicts in the Middle East (Fox, 2001; Schleutker, 2016). These diverse investigations highlighted the significant role of social studies in fostering social understanding and civic efficacy (Chitadze, 2022; European Commission, 2018; OECD, 2022; Hadiz & Dhakidae ed., 2005; Carreras & Verghese, 2018). *As a coordinated and systematic research, the integration of social sciences with humanities content is a crucial aspect of developing national insight. Within the context of education for citizenship framework, social studies aim to equip students with early social understanding and civic efficacy (Ross, Mathison, and Vinson, 2014; Brant, Chapman & Isaacs, 2016). Social studies programmes are designed to promote social and civic competence by integrating knowledge, skills and attitudes, enabling students to build a knowledge base and attitudes drawn from various academic disciplines. This specialised view of reality reflects the changing nature of knowledge and fosters entirely new and highly integrated approaches to resolving issues of significance to humanity (National Council for Social Studies [NCSS], 2023).*

In line with the explanation above, the current standardisation of the curriculum not only encompasses various issues, such as race, gender, sexuality, critical multiculturalism, visual culture, moral deliberation, democracy, digital technology, controversies, globalisation, and the environment (Brant, Chapman & Isaacs, 2016; Camicia, 2008; European Commission, 2012) but also addresses intolerance and radicalism, including crime, health, drugs, and free sex. The objectives is beyond presenting current issues in classrooms, as it entails elements that shape daily life. This provides students with learning experiences to interact and understand how society and individuals function (Ochoa-Becker, 2007; Ross, 2017; European Commission, 2018). In this context, teachers (and lecturers) play a crucial role in evaluating the needs of students to develop their interests, abilities, verbal intelligence, high-level cognition, social skills, and attitudes. The awareness and responsiveness of educators to cognitive, emotional, social, physical, motivational, and self-concept aspects of students are also essential for supporting their success. An example of the general developmental complexities of most students is illustrated in “Stepping Stones” (Government of Ontario, 2021), which recognises individual differences, life experiences, and expectations, while not solely relying on age as a determining factor. Cognitive, emotional, physical, and social domains are interconnected and influenced by the environment or context of an individual. Within the centre of these aspects is the enduring, but changing sense of self, or spirit connecting the different facets of development and experience (Ministry of Education, 2018; Government of Ontario, 2021). This approach elevates instructions that promote students to think critically about ideas, concepts, people, places, events, and facts rather than merely repeating the information heard or read (Yell, 2009).

Despite the challenges in defining and conceptualising social studies due to its diverse understanding and approaches across different countries, it remains oriented towards three fundamental points: (1) building national identity and patriotism, (2) supporting human rights, humanities, and emancipation, and (3) promoting citizenship and democratic politics (Coleman, 2021; Ross, 2006). Different countries prioritise specific aspects, for instance, the United States emphasises national identity and patriotism (Myers, 2006), Germany focuses on nationalism (Erdman, 2015), Japan on sustainable professional development and humanity (Shimura, 2015), and Finland on citizenship and humanities (Lofstrom, 2019). Denmark, Turkey, the Netherlands, and Canada place emphasis on human rights and democracy (Ersoy, 2010; Kus, 2014; Hansen, 2020; De Kort, 2018), while Wales, England, Australia, and France prioritise humanities (Hughes, Makara & Stacey, 2020; ACARA, 2013; Heilbron, 2004). Besides textbooks, students are equipped with social research guidelines as an effective mechanism to consume

and implement interdisciplinary outcomes, to balance knowledge, skills, values, underlying developments, and the practical complexity of learning (Steinberg, 2015; Manfra & Bolick, 2017; Solhaug, Borge & Grut, 2020; Rutherford & Boehm, 2004; Evans, 2018). The method follows the C3 Framework, College, Career, and Civic Life, to frame content understanding, concept implementation, evaluation, conclusion drawing, and follow-up plans (Herczog, 2013; NCSS, 2013; Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2022).

In Indonesia, the introduction of social studies in schools in 1975 led to numerous research primarily focusing on philosophy, concepts, and applications (Gunawan, 2016; Jaenudin, 2014; Sapriya, 2017), professions (Rachmah, 2014), teaching methods, and models (Damanik, 2019a; 2020a; Wahab, 2007), training and learning resources (Depdiknas, 2011). Despite the increasing suicide bombings involving women, students, teachers, and lecturers, targeting minorities and public facilities (Damanik, 2020b; 2022), none of these investigations addressed social studies. Related questions on the position of social studies are limited even though social and religious tolerance has significantly decreased. Since the Reformation in 1999, extremists have selected schools and campuses as places to plan and discuss intolerance, radicalism, and terrorism (Darni, 2018; Kuntjara, 2019; Suryana, 2022). The rise of extremism began in the early 1980s and peaked during the transition period following Soeharto's resignation (Sidel, 2007; Hasani, 2012), influenced by the collapse of the World Trade Center in 2001 (Kuntjara, 2019; Ropi, 2017; Van Bruinessen, 2014). However, the military approach taken was repressive, and top-down, and did not address the root causes. While the vision and purpose of social studies in Indonesia are directed towards social understanding and civic efficacy, such as social concern, recognition of diversity, and support for human rights, humanities, and emancipation (Depdiknas, 2005), the country is practically grappling with intolerance and radicalism, both vertically and horizontally, in various fields, including schools and campuses.

This research referred to social tolerance (Inglehart & Baker, 2000) and religion (Grim & Finke, 2006) as democratic politics, an essential part of developing national insight. It also highlighted the failure of social studies as an education for citizenship framework in light of the prevalent intolerance and radicalism in schools and campuses. The interdisciplinary approach of social studies enabled students to explore various concepts, ideas, and issues, offering integrated learning experiences that fostered a deeper understanding of the interconnections between social, political, economic, health, environmental, and other issues. Schools and campuses can facilitate high-quality learning by providing opportunities that align with national strengths, needs, and situations. The curriculum is thoughtfully designed to reach its full potential by offering coherent, relevant, and age-appropriate programmes that demand critical thinking, enabling students to synthesise information, make decisions, communicate effectively, or thrive in an ever-changing national and global community. By guiding self-understanding and its impact on both the country and the world at large, the social studies curriculum aims to develop knowledge, skills, and attitudes as well as the perspective to foster informed, productive, caring, responsible, and engaged citizens within the communities, nation, and the world

2. Method

This research focused on educational institutions in Indonesia over three years from 2021 to 2023, using social research methods (Bryman, 2012) and conducted qualitatively with a mixed approach (Creswell, 2014; Schutt, 2016). The primary aim was to address the fundamental issues of social studies as an education for citizenship framework in developing national insight and examining intolerance and radicalism in schools and campuses. The investigation established a relation between the social studies curriculum from Grades 1 to 12 and Semesters 1 to 4 with the prevalence of deviant behaviour among students.

The research procedure involved six key steps; (1) analysing the curriculum from Grades 1 to 12 since 1975, compulsory courses, and faculty courses in semesters 1 to 4, with a specific focus on overall and specific expectations. This phase involved an in-depth examination of applications, including causes, consequences, and interrelationships; an inquiry into perspectives; and an understanding of context, patterns, trends, and significance, (2) comparing the vision, purpose, and mechanisms of social studies during the New Order and the Reformasi period, (3) examining 47 textbooks and parallel textbooks to evaluate weaknesses, such as the rule of frameworks, meaningful names, manageable numbers, hierarchy, and repetition that emphasised authority, currency, coverage, purpose, accuracy, and objectivity, including content and didactics (Gurung, 2003).

Furthermore, (4) conducting a critical review through focus group discussions (FGD) on October 10, 2024, and March 4, 2025, involving 5 curriculum experts in social studies, 5 members of the Teacher Working Group (*Musyawarah Guru Mata Pelajaran [MGMP]*), 5 members of the Indonesian Teachers Association (*Persatuan Guru Republik Indonesia [PGRI]*), 5 lecturers, and 10 teachers. (5) distributing questionnaires to 73 teachers and lecturers, 118 randomly selected students from public and private schools, and 150 university students in April 2023. The questionnaire consisted of 16 questions with four Likert scale options (Bertram, 2007). Lastly, (6) conduct a critical analysis of the 21st-century social studies model in Indonesia involving 2 curriculum experts, 3 teachers, and 2 lecturers.

The literature review followed four sequential stages: (1) searching relevant databases and abstract reading, (2) evaluating relevant publications, (3) categorising relevant publications according to the analysis phase and type of problem, and (4) searching for the most cited publications on e-books, e-journals, reports, and official websites (vom Brocke, 2015). Reflective data were collected by watching, asking, and examining, enriching the data collection process (Kozinets, 2010). All data and information were presented as narrative text, depicting a series of events in chronological order, based on the competence of the informants and transcribed verbatim. They were subsequently categorised and tabulated manually. Qualitative-interpretative analysis was conducted to conclude, develop follow-up actions, and propose the concept of 21st-century social studies as an education for citizenship framework in the context of Indonesia.

3. Results

In Indonesia, the introduction of social studies in schools and campuses was inspired by England and the United States, which were the first two countries to implement it as a subject. Similar to these nations, education experts in Indonesia recognised the intricate interplay of religion and belief, race and ethnicity, language and dialect, socio-politics, economics, and territorial issues. It was concluded that teaching social sciences and humanities separately would not adequately prepare early students for social understanding and civic efficacy. As a result, social studies was introduced as a subject in 1975, with history and geography being the main components. In 1994, the focus shifted towards promoting citizenship and democratic politics. The vision and purpose of the curriculum showed a dual standard, as it aimed to foster national insight and democratisation as well as the importance of faith, piety, and noble character. This ambivalence has had a profound impact on the formulation of national identity, leading to persistent and unresolved struggles between religion and ethnicity.

The social studies curriculum is tailored with different emphases for Grades 1-3, 4-6, 7-9, and 10-12, including semesters 1-4 at the university. This differentiation was based on vision and purpose, as well as developmental psychology. The subject was integrated thematically, encompassing Indonesian language for Grades 1-3, history, economics, geography, sociology, and natural sciences for Grades 4-6, history, economics, geography, and sociology for Grades 7-9, as well as history, economics, geography, sociology, and anthropology for Grade 10-12. On campus, more specifically in semesters 1-4 taught separated into three compulsory courses; religion, Pancasila and Citizenship Education (*Pendidikan Pancasila dan Kewarganegaraan [PPKn]*) and the Indonesian language. More specifically, at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, a course on identity was developed which consisted of Indonesian Social and Cultural Studies, pluralism and multiculturalism. Despite the overarching vision and purpose of fostering social understanding and civic efficacy, the main differentiating characteristics in Indonesia included the existence of religion, the Indonesian Language, and PPKn as compulsory subjects taught separately in Grades 1-12 and semesters 1-4 at university. Figure 1 shows the current design of social studies through compulsory and supporting courses currently applicable to the development of national insight.

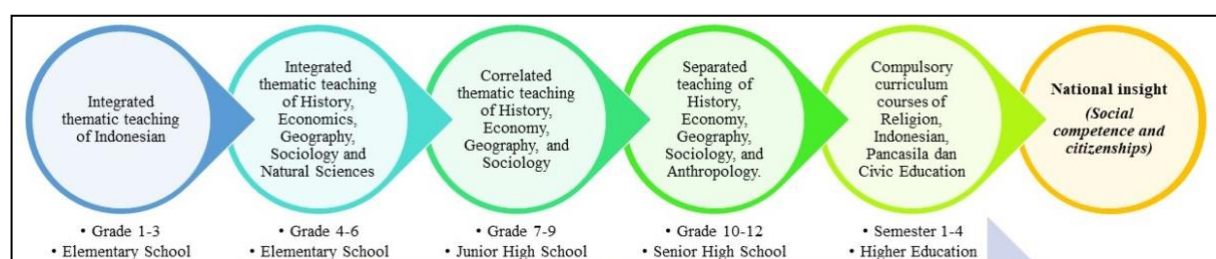


Figure 1: Social Studies Design for the Development of National Insight

Based on Figure 1, the primary objective of introducing social studies in schools was to foster social competence and citizenship that reflects national insight. The separation from other subjects resulted in a double standard of learning, as social studies aim to develop social competence and citizenship, religion focuses on dogmatics based on holy scriptures, and PPKn addresses Pancasila morals. The lack of significant and adequate integration among these three subjects had a profound impact on students. This fundamental issue also led to divided awareness and loyalty among students who struggled to balance ethnic nationalism and religious beliefs. Another concerning issue is the negligence of intolerant and radical content, including terrorism, narcotics, free sex, criminality, and ethics on social media as learning material. The phenomenon of social studies during the Reformation period was entirely different from the New Order period, whose mechanism and pattern of developing national insight through social studies were centralised, structured, systematic, and coordinated. Besides being one of the subjects in the national final exam, the curriculum, textbooks, and parallel textbooks were also determined by the Minister of Education and Culture, with notable figures such as Soemantri Brojonegoro, J.B. Sumarlin, Syarief Thayeb, and Daoed Joesoef serving as early initiators. Nugroho Notosusanto, who served as the Minister of Education and Culture from 1983 to 1985, significantly contributed to the foundation of history in social studies and also played a vital role as the chief editor and backbone in writing the six volumes of the National History of Indonesia, which was the main social studies textbook until 1999. These six volumes were significant content sources for History Education and the Struggle of the Nation (*Pendidikan Sejarah dan Perjuangan Bangsa* [PSPB]), which was extensively printed and distributed. In addition, the production and widespread distribution of struggle films, including the controversial film "Movement of 30 September 1965/Indonesian Communist Party (*Gerakan 30 September 1965/Partai Komunis Indonesia* [G30S/PKI]) in 1984, along with the establishment of various struggle monuments across the country, including the capital city, sub-districts, regencies, cities, and provinces, were all part of the efforts to instil national insight and identity. Despite controversies, Nugroho Notosusanto was considered successful in the "indoctrination mission" to build national insight and identity (McGregor, 2007).

In 1979, Education Development Agency for Implementing Guidelines for Understanding and Practicing Pancasila (*Badan Pembinaan Pendidikan Pelaksanaan Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila* [BP7]) was established to coordinate and popularise the values of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. This agency published the Outlines of State Policy (*Garis-Garis Besar Haluan Negara* [GBHN]) and Guidelines for Understanding and Practicing Pancasila (*Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila* [P4]), two main books used in P4 training, and a short national insight course lasting for two weeks for new students. The agency was also involved in designing the curriculum and determining the content, textbooks, and parallel textbooks used in all educational institutions. The curriculum emphasised national insight and identity, with a particular focus on the role of the Indonesian Army during the period 1942-1971, the Youth Pledge of 1928, and the Oath of Palapa Gajah Mada from the Majapahit Kingdom. Besides these obligations, students were also required to memorise national songs. During the New Order regime, any student organisations or activist movements that criticised the state were suppressed by the military or paramilitary forces. For instance, on campuses, the Student Regiment, a trained paramilitary group connected to the local Military Command, was established to monitor "Cipayung Group," a student organisation comprising the Association of Islamic Students, the Association of Indonesian Catholic Students, the Indonesian National Student Movement, the Indonesian Christian Student Movement, and the Indonesian Muslim Student Movement. At the grassroots level, mass-based paramilitary organisations such as Youth of Pancasila, Indonesian Youth Renewal Force, Forum of Communication for Sons and Daughters of

Veterans, and others carried out monitoring. Discussing ethnicity, locality and other sensitive topics was considered taboo and subversive, which could result in the arrest and imprisonment of violators. For instance, the Tanjung Priok riot in 1984, which began with brochures criticising the government and rejecting the singular principle of Pancasila, was resolved with force and the involvement of mysterious shooters. During this authoritarian regime, intolerance and radicalism, including terrorism were non-existent. Social studies, at this period, served as a tool of the state to "enforce" citizen compliance, organised in a centralised, structured, measurable, systematic, and coordinated manner.

During the Reformation period in the mid-1999, all mechanisms of the New Order were criticised and abolished. Alongside regional autonomy, educational institutions were also decentralised through Law Number 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System. Although still under the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology control, the management responsibilities were divided into three levels: (1) higher education, controlled by the Directorate General, (2) secondary education, controlled by governors, and (3) primary and junior secondary education, controlled by mayors or regents. This decentralisation led to two politicisations: (1) the appointment of school principals requiring approval from the executive or rector by the minister, and (2) the publication of textbooks and parallel textbooks containing local content and lacking standardisation. In the second point, the potential of locality was tendentiously directed towards religious, ethnic, racial, and linguistic themes, resulting in segregation and intimidation through regulations or the formation of new territories (Damanik, 2019b; 2020c). Despite a change in weightage to 30% religious knowledge and 70% general knowledge in Islamic schools (*madrasah*) according to Law Number 20 of 2003, the figures practically obtained were vice versa. This reality is no different from *Pondok Pesantren*, a type of boarding school focused on religious knowledge. Since 2005, curriculum segregation has emerged in all Islamic educational institutions, offering specialised subjects such as Islamic Education, Islamic Economics and Business, Islamic Law, Islamic Archeology, Islamic Cultural Studies, Islamic Basic Natural Sciences, Islamic Geography, Islamic Ethics, Islamic Anthropology, Islamic Sociology, Islamic Culture, and others. This characteristic specialisation aligned with the Arab Spring since 1999, supporting political parties, regulations, or religious-based business institutions while rejecting what is perceived as secular Western knowledge.

Although decentralisation of education is an essential part of democratisation, its implementation has been heavily influenced by direct elections of executives and legislators, the formation of new territories, and the presence of multi-party systems, including local parties that exploit ethnicity as a political tool. Since there was an explicit desire from many parties to resist the secularisation of knowledge, many students, teachers, and professors were not only caught up in identity politics but also displayed intolerance, radicalism, and even terrorism, including those who rejected Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. All of these reflected the impact of educational decentralisation on identity politics and significantly affected the development of national insight. In response to the changing face of education in 21st-century Indonesia, the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency was formed in 2017 as a Presidential Work Unit to develop ideology-related policies and standardise educational implementation. This agency collaborated with the National Counterterrorism Agency, the State Intelligence Agency, and the Indonesian Armed Forces Intelligence Agency to monitor government institutions, civil servants, political parties, community organisations, schools, and campuses.

An examination of 47 textbooks and parallel textbooks from 2000 to 2020 revealed the following facts: (1) despite the emphasis on education for citizenship, double standards in overall and specific expectations led to biased perceptions towards national insight and citizenship, (2) the content in grades 1-9 did not emphasize integrated and correlated thematic but rather provided a summary of social sciences. In grades 10-12 and semesters 1-4, although taught separately, the subjects did not support each other effectively, (3) based on vision and goals, social studies was less effective in supporting social and citizenship competencies, and (4) the taxonomy used in the textbooks primarily emphasised Low Order Thinking Skills (LOTS) for cognitive characteristics, such as remembering, understanding, and applying, affection focusing on attending, responding, and valuing, as well as psychomotor skills for academic tasks. As a result, social studies was less effective in fostering nationalism, emancipation, humanism, and human rights. Crucial issues, such as intolerance, radicalism, terrorism, corruption, promiscuity, social segregation, drug abuse, stunting, robbery, and other crimes were not addressed at all. The lack

of coverage of these important issues in classroom instruction hindered students' ability to achieve social understanding and civic efficacy.

Based on the results and explanations, social studies currently face four fundamental issues: (1) the irrelevance of vision and goals to the curriculum, (2) the environment and context lacking a balance of cognitive, emotional, social, and physical aspects, (3) the irrelevance of content and conventional learning practices, and (4) the lack of focus on big ideas, framing questions, and competence for social understanding and civic efficacy. These issues significantly impacted three fundamental points: (1) the double standard of vision and objectives, which emphasised faith, piety, and noble character but irrelevant to the development of national insight, identity, and patriotism; (2) the development principle highlighting knowledge internalisation without balancing skills and attitudes; as well as (3) the lack of orientation towards innovation, collaboration, and creative thinking. These three gaps contributed to the failure and irrelevance of social studies as an education for citizenship framework in providing early national insight and promoting citizenship and democratic politics. In line with these limitations, a survey was conducted from 2000 to 2022 on 341 respondents to reinforce the presence of social intolerance within educational institutions.

Table 1: The Trend of Social Intolerance in Educational Institutions

	<i>Neighbour and household choices</i>	<i>Maternal schools</i>	<i>Socio-political institutions</i>	<i>Ethnic minorities and gender equality</i>	<i>Employees choosing</i>	<i>Social diversity</i>	<i>Religious and cultural expressions</i>	<i>Interpersonal trust</i>
Religion	201	233	149	197	184	239	219	169
Ethnic or Race	79	56	47	85	59	0	0	97
Socio-economic	17	14	56	22	0	0	0	42
Moderate	42	38	89	37	98	102	122	33
N	341	341	341	341	341	341	341	341

Religion, as shown in Table 1, had become a determining factor that reflects the strengthening of social intolerance in educational institutions. This reality contradicted the concept of democratic personality based on World Global Values, which emphasised cohesion, harmony, and social integration. From a social studies perspective, social tolerance represents the understanding and acceptance of beliefs or practices that differ from or conflict with one's own. It involves shared values that serve as the foundation for social cohesion, recognition, equal rights, and fostering peace among diverse groups to support self-actualisation. Therefore, social tolerance lies at the core of life and is an integral part of human rights. The reality of social tolerance was not different from religious tolerance, where 177 respondents strongly agreed with government regulation, and 168 strongly agreed with government favouritism. However, 203 respondents strongly disagreed with the social regulation of religion. Based on these facts, social and religious intolerance was deeply rooted among the younger generation. Another reality in Indonesia was the existence of many regional regulations based on religion and gender bias. In Aceh, the Sharia Police was established, applying caning as punishment for offenders. At the national level, from 2014 to 2016, the Ministry of Home Affairs revoked 1,400 regional regulations that contradicted Pancasila and the Indonesian Constitution, and disbanded two radical organisations, the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) and Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI).

Whether social or religious, intolerance reflects a "least liked" attitude towards individuals and groups with different attributes, stemming from perceptions of superiority in beliefs and lifestyles. The "least liked" phenomenon is a social ailment and a threat to social life, leading to intolerant behaviour and thoughts as well as denial of coexistence. This is marked by prejudice that leads to radicalism, including discrimination, ostracism, defamation, intimidation, expulsion, segregation, and even destruction. In reality, schools are expected to equip

students from an early age to be competent and critical towards intolerance. In this context, social and religious tolerance not only reflects openness towards intolerance but also prioritises social cohesion. Whether social or religious, tolerance can only thrive in a tolerant framework that embodies closeness, cooperation, and social stability. The essence of tolerance lies in social cohesion, reflecting democratic personalities according to global values, a component of national insight that represents permissive values, norms, and attitudes.

4. Discussion

In Indonesia, referring to Figure 1 above, social studies provided two alternatives: (1) updating by integrating religion and civic education (PPKn), or (2) rebuilding its curriculum and content, religion, and PPKn to align with 21st-century social and human literacy. This included promoting the New Human to uphold fundamental rights, emancipation, humanities, critical multiculturalism, and moral deliberation. Integrating content on intolerance and radicalism not only introduced contemporary issues in the classroom but also exposed elements present in daily life to provide students with learning experiences, interactions, and understanding of how societies and individuals function (Ochoa-Becker, 2007; Ross, 2017; 2018; European Commission, 2018; Munniksmas et al, 2023). While the factors were not singular, the vitality of social studies played a crucial role in the early preparation of social competence and citizenship, fostering national insight, national identity, patriotism, and democratic politics.

Table 2: Intolerant and Radical Content Strands in Social Studies

Grade	Overall expectation			Social Studies Expectations
	Application	Inquiry	Understanding context	
1-3	<p>Focus on Perspective, Cause and Consequence: Compare some significant social and religious tolerance and radicalism among diverse groups and it different times, and identify some of the reasons.</p>	<p>Focus on Continuity and Change: Use the social studies inquiry process to investigates social and religion tolerance and radicalism and bring about social cohesions in the families and communities in which they belong.</p>	<p>Focus on Interrelationships and Significance: Describe some of the major groups in their community, including different types of families, religion, race, ethnic, and languages and some of the ways in which traditions are passed on by such groups.</p>	Provide opportunity to explore a number of concepts connected to the education for citizenship framework including beliefs and values, culture, identity, relationships, and stewardship.
4-6	<p>Focus on Interrelationships, Patterns and Trends: Demonstrate an understanding of some key aspects of the interrelationships between humanity, emancipation and human right with social cohesions and national development.</p>	<p>Focus on Cause, Consequence and Perspective: Use the social studies inquiry process to investigate social and religious tolerance as it parallels social cohesions and national development and action taken to reduce the negative impact.</p>	<p>Focus in Significance: Describe social and religious tolerance as well as global values and their significance for building social cohesion and national development including meeting the necessities of life.</p>	Provide opportunity to explore a number of concepts connected to the education for citizenship framework including beliefs and values, community, culture, power, relationships, and stewardship.
7-9	<p>Focus on Cause and Consequence, Patterns and Trends: Assess contributions to Indonesian identities made by various groups</p>	<p>Focus on Perspective: Use the process of social study inquiry to investigate different historical and geographic</p>	<p>Focus on Significance, Continuity and Change: Demonstrate an understanding of significant experiences</p>	Provide opportunity to explore a number of concepts connected to the education for citizenship framework including

	and communities and by various features of Indonesian communities and regions.	perspectives or contemporary experiences from different communities in Indonesia.	and major changes and aspects of life in various historical and contemporary communities in Indonesia.	beliefs and values, equity, freedom, identity, power and authority, and relationships.
10-12	Focus on Interrelationships; Perspective: Explain the importance of international cooperation in addressing global issues, and evaluate the effectiveness of selected actions by Indonesia and Indonesian citizens in the international arena.	Focus on Cause and Consequence: Use the process of social studies inquiry to investigate global issues of political, social, economic or environmental importance and their impact on the global community, and responses for issues.	Focus on Significance, Patterns and Trends: Describe significant aspects of the involvement of Indonesia and Indonesian in some regions around the world, including the impact of this involvement.	Provide opportunity to explore a number of concepts connected to the education for citizenship framework including democracy, equity, inclusiveness, law and justice, power and authority, relationships, respect, and rights and responsibilities.
Se m. 1-4.	Focus on Cause and Consequence, Perspective: Assess the impact of several key social, economic and political factors, including social, economic or political inequalities, on various groups and communities, and on the creation and expansion of Unity of Indonesia.	Focus on Significance, Perspective: Use processes of historical and global inquiry to investigate the perspectives of various groups and communities on key events, developments or issues affecting Indonesia.	Focus on Significance, Cause and Consequence: Describe various significant people, events, and developments and its impact on Indonesian independence.	Provide opportunity to explore a number of concepts connected to the education for citizenship framework including beliefs and values, collaboration, cooperation, culture, equity, freedom, identity, relationships, and respect.

According to Table 2, the success of social studies depended on achieving cognitive, psychomotor, and attitudinal balance through curriculum development based on relevant content. This included: (1) emphasising the main elements of national insight that reflect relevant inter-topic connections, (2) incorporating disciplinary thinking concepts to develop critical abilities for analysing important cases and issues beyond the confines of the classroom, and (3) promoting inquiry processes to investigate and communicate significant events, developments, and problems. The social studies programmes at each grade level should be designed to provide students with diverse experiences and opportunities to learn and apply the four elements of citizenship, namely identity, attributes, structures, and active participation (Ministry of Education, 2018). These elements could serve as valuable guidelines for teachers in developing an education for citizenship framework.

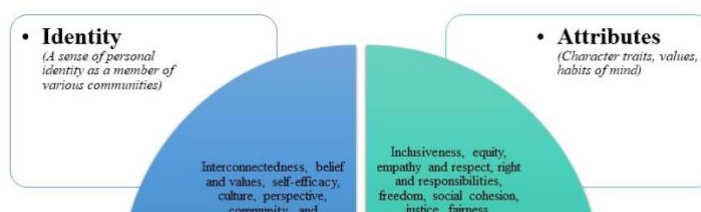


Figure 2: Education for Citizenship Framework based on Social Studies

Figure 2 identifies four main elements of the education for citizenship framework namely identity, attributes, structures, and active participation, each of which was explained in detail. The figure also shows a list of various terms connected to other elements. Teachers used these themes and topics to establish connections between the content reflected in the curriculum. Practically, terms and topics could be applied to more than one element as shown by the circular arrows, fostering interconnectedness within each unit to build education for citizenship. Content related to deviant, intolerant, and radical behaviour was integrated and closely linked to all four components, reinforcing social understanding and civic efficacy. This process enhanced and developed students' critical thinking, problem-solving skills, evaluative judgments, and effective communication of ideas (Ministry of Education, 2018).

In essence, curriculum standardisation aimed to strike a balance between knowledge, skills, values, and dispositions, with a focus on factual content rather than higher-order thinking skills. Suggested variations for curriculum design included expanding horizon models, cognitive taxonomies, subject-specific disciplinary thinking, or using NCSS National Curriculum Standard and C3 Framework; College, Career, and Civic Life (NCSS, 2013). These programmes encouraged students to explore various ideas, concepts, and issues through interdisciplinary and integrated learning experiences, facilitating a deeper understanding of social, political, economic, environmental, and other interconnected issues. Based on the grade level of each class, students were guided to utilise social studies thinking concepts to process relevant content or research skills, formulate questions, as well as gather, interpret, and analyse information, data, or evidence from various primary and secondary sources. This could be achieved by employing various tools and technologies to communicate ideas, conclusions, and judgments effectively.

In the 21st century, social studies connect people globally through the internet, enabling interaction and engagement among individuals (Engle and Ochoa, 1988; Stanley, 2021; Adler, 2004; Wang, Lin, Spalding, Odell, and Klecka, 2011; Miliziano, 2009). However, these crucial aspects are often disregarded, leaving students vulnerable to being influenced by narratives on social media and the internet. It is important to incorporate this dimension in social studies to better understand social relations and functions as well as guide students in interacting with people from different backgrounds. This ultimately prepares them to become responsible citizens with the necessary knowledge, skills, and attributes to contribute positively inside and outside the classroom, communities, and the workforce (Coleman, 2021; Ross, 2006). Based on this research, the education for citizenship framework reflected the crucial aspects of social studies within overall education. In each class, the curriculum provided opportunities for learning that extended beyond the school, empowering students to become responsible and active citizens in a diverse society. Students were encouraged to recognise their roles in multiple communities and as global citizens. Therefore, responsible and active citizens are expected to participate in the common good of a community, as education equips them with these responsibilities. This presents the earliest and fundamental mechanism for developing social and citizenship competencies.

Through the abandonment of scientific and critical pedagogy and the adoption of repositioning as well as actualisation, social studies can overcome superficial understanding and dual standards, challenging conventional practices and the status quo of education for citizenship towards national insight. Revision and repositioning enable the curriculum to actively address intolerance and radicalism, considering their relationships and content. The most relevant approach in this context is interdisciplinarity, which integrates related disciplines to develop transferable skills as needed by students. Knowledge transfer aims to equip students to apply knowledge effectively in various contexts, enabling them to critically examine information, assess the significance of events and processes, develop understanding, respect different perspectives, formulate conclusions, and propose resolutions. The contribution and limitation of the research significantly depended on the political will of the government to act in the interests of the state. This consequently brings together curriculum designers, teachers, lecturers, and supporting organisations to collectively think and formulate the vision and objectives of social studies in the context of the 21st century.

In conclusion, social studies, from a national perspective, served as standard instruction in classrooms to foster national insight while promoting social understanding and civic efficacy as well as assessing its impact on students. Advancing national education entailed creating a learning experience through an up-to-date curriculum that embraced a student-centred education ecosystem. Operating as an education for citizenship framework, the vision and objectives of social studies were firmly grounded in the contents of national insight, including identity, attributes, structures, and active participation. The achievement of these objectives significantly relied on the standardisation of a curriculum that struck a harmonious balance between cognitive, psychomotor, and attitudinal aspects. This entailed ensuring meaningful connections or relevancy between topics, encouraging interdisciplinary and critical analysis of significant cases and issues outside the confines of the classrooms, as well as fostering an inquiry process to investigate or effectively communicate findings regarding crucial events, developments, and problems. However, the negligence of critical scientific and pedagogical elements, as well as the absence of repositioning and actualisation contributed to a one-dimensional understanding and a dual standard in the approach to social studies. This consequently facilitated conventional practices and the status quo of education for citizenship towards national insight. Addressing these challenges, it was imperative to conduct specific studies that explored the interconnections and relevance between various topics, aligning with cognitive, psychomotor, and attitudinal aspects while promoting active citizenship and democratic politics.

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