

## Analysis of the Construction of the Meaning of Political Populism as Phenomenology in the Perspective of Civic Education

Randiawan<sup>1)</sup>, Karim Suryadi<sup>2)</sup>, Prayoga Bestari<sup>3)</sup>

<sup>1), 2), 3)</sup> *Citizenship Education Study Program, Faculty of Social Science Education University of Education Indonesian, Jl. Dr. Setiabudi No.229, Isola, Kec.Sukasari, Kota Bandung, Jawa Barat 40154*  
Corresponding Author: Randiawan, Email: [randiawan@upi.edu](mailto:randiawan@upi.edu)

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**Abstract.** Political populism is a phenomenon that can affect the health of democracy if misused by political actors, political populism is often only used as a strategy for political victory, so populism always has a negative meaning in society. The purpose of this research is to contribute in interpreting political populism from the perspective of civic education, it can describe the meaning of rational political populism in a democratic state through the dimensions of civic education as an educative process in society. This research uses a descriptive method with a qualitative approach. The results of this study describe political populism as something that can have a negative impact and can have a positive impact. So that through the study of civic education it is necessary to build the concept of rational populism. Rational populism is considered necessary in directing populism to have a positive impact on the development of democracy in Indonesia. Rational populism is a strategy in politics by prioritizing reasonable considerations, based on facts and data, and providing constructive narratives in the democratic process. Civics Education provides a more concrete and systematic picture and understanding of political populism. The conclusion of this research is that through the dimensions of civic education, namely, civic disposition and civic engagement as a lens in examining political populism as a more complex phenomenon, exploring the implications of political populism, thus providing a more comprehensive picture of its meaning. The meaning of political populism is a political strategy that can be built based on rational arguments supported by scientific facts and data.

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**Keywords:** *Meaning Construction; Political Populism; Civic Education*

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### INTRODUCTION

The decline of democracy is influenced by many things, one of which is caused by the phenomenon of political populism. Hara argues that Populism is a phenomenon in political development in democracies and at the same time a threat to the development of democracy itself (Hara, 2017). Populism in democratic systems is understood as the paradoxical nature of constitutional democracy (Cannovan, 1999). Populism becomes a way to criticize political opponents (Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2017). Populism as political imagination, this is because political populism is often a political strategy in gaining

power through more effective means (Muller, 2015). Political populism is considered effective in gaining public sympathy. Weyland said that populism is a political strategy that is often used by politicians to seek direct support from the public (Weyland, 2001).

Some of the problems that can result from the phenomenon of political populism are efforts to clash the "ruling elite" and "the people" because they think the ruling elite is not doing its job properly. This can lead to social cohesion and socio-political polarization between social groups on the basis of common identity and culture (Gammon, 2021). The political construction of unmet

demands from the community and unresponsive 'rulers', often linked to common backgrounds such as religion, culture and ethnicity (Laclau, 2005). Populism can deepen antipathy, leading to discrimination against other groups (Kusuma, dkk, 2023). It can be said that populism is a political expression that represents coalitions as a manifestation of collective interests (Margiansyah, 2019).

The emergence of political populism as an antithesis to fight against the establishment or against the structure of the ruling elite to attract public attention in order to gain political support (Mouffe, 2018). Political populism is a way of doing politics that mixes the emotions of the masses (Budiman, 2021). So that political populism becomes a strategy used by groups that have interests (Rydgren, 2005). The existence of provocative political actions in attracting mass attention.

In 2016, there was a phenomenon of populist movement by carrying the identity of one particular religion. The movement to defend Islam by the National Movement to Guard the Fatwa of the Indonesian Ulema Council (GNPF-MUI) by responding to Basuki Tjahaja Purnama's (Ahok) statement when alluding to the Qur'an Surah Al-Maidah is considered blasphemous, which raises the anger of the Muslim community then mobilized by GNPF-MUI and FPI (Kusumo & Hurriyah 2018). From this case, we can call it a political agenda using Islamic identity as a way to mobilize the masses (Hadiz, 2017). The

case above identifies that religious identity is used as a strategy in populism to gain support and bring down political opponents. Populism can carry the risk of creating tensions in society. Therefore, it is important to understand populism correctly and use it as a strategy to build an inclusive society.

In addition to the above case, the emergence of contemporary political populism was marked by the competition of populist politicians in the 2014 presidential election between Joko Widodo and Prabowo Subianto. At that time, Joko Widodo as a populist characterized a populist style by using a political communication style directly to the grassroots, featuring a 'blusukan' political style directly to the community. Meanwhile, Prabowo Subianto displayed an ideological populist style and played a political narrative that wanted to make Indonesia a strong nation, and was characterized as a charismatic leader (Mietzner, 2015).

Displaying characteristics as a charismatic figure is one of the approaches or strategies of political populism (Kenny, 2017). Displaying populist characteristics like this is the goal of achieving popularity and sympathy from the public. As a shortcut effort by political actors to gain power and direct support from the public (Bonikowski, 2016).

There needs to be a scientific effort to examine political populism more deeply through the study of civic education. From previous research, there has been no research

that focuses on interpreting political populism through the perspective of civic education so that this research becomes the first research that focuses on the study of civic education as a lens that can look at political populism. Existing research only focuses on the phenomenon of political populism as a cause of democratic decline. But it does not see the meaning of political populism as a positive response from another perspective.

Civic education is a multidisciplinary discipline in the context of cross-disciplinary fields (Kardiman, 2014; Sutrisno dkk, 2020; Wahab & Sapriya, 2011). As stated by Chreshore (1886) civic education has the main study of political science, especially political democracy on the rights and obligations of citizens, democratic values, and how to participate in the political life of society. Civic education aims to form citizens who are aware of their rights and obligations and are able to participate in the political life of society.

Through the study of civic education in viewing political populism, the author hopes that this research will contribute as a new view in interpreting political populism from the perspective of civic education. It can describe the meaning of rational political populism in a democratic state through the dimensions of civic education as an educative process in society. The novelty of this research is to get a construction of the meaning of rational political populism through the perspective of civic education.

From this, the study of political populism through civic education can answer the socio-political problems caused by populism. So that the purpose of this research can construct a comprehensive meaning of political populism as an effort to add a new perspective on political populism and more subjectively build hypotheses about populism. The compilation of scientific studies on strengthening in responding to the phenomenon of political populism through the construction of a comprehensive meaning of political populism. In addition, the purpose of this research is to provide evaluation and critical analysis related to the meaning of political populism which is always considered negative.

## RESEARCH METHODS

The approach used in conducting the research is a qualitative approach. This approach was chosen to find out the construction of the meaning of political populism through the perspective of civic education. According to (Creswell, 2013) This approach is more appropriate in studying social and humanitarian problems by analyzing in a complex and holistic manner. The type of research used is descriptive.

The subjects in this study were civic education academics and political experts/observers. The number of civic education academics is 3 people and 3 experts/political observers. The procedure in

this research starts from diagnosing problems, formulating problems from the results of diagnosis, creating a research background based on the results of initial observations, conducting interviews with sources, and conducting documentation studies as a process of collecting documents relevant to the research.

The instrument in this research is the researcher himself, as the key instrument (Sugiyono, 2016). The technique used in analyzing data in this study begins with data reduction as an effort to focus on research results that are considered important, then display data compiles data comprehensively, then draws conclusions from the data that has been obtained and processed by researchers to answer questions in the study. Data validation is carried out to check the data that has been compiled. Through continuous observation to determine the consistency of the research subject, conducting member check efforts in checking the results of interviews, and triangulating data through triangulation of techniques and triangulation of sources to check the credibility of the data obtained by researchers.

## **DISCUSSION**

### **How to Construct the Meaning of Political Populism in Civic Education Studies**

Political populism is a very interesting study if studied through the perspective of civic education. It can provide a new, more

comprehensive picture. Civic education encourages active participation in a healthy and democratic political life. Civic education can provide an understanding of the importance of critical and informed citizen involvement in forming political opinions.

Based on the results of this study, according to civic education experts, the study of Civics is quite broad in scope. According to (Prewitt, dkk, 1977) One of the topics of study is the study of politics both from theoretical political studies and their application in society. In general, the study of Civics is divided into two scopes, namely, School Civics and Community Civics, the two scopes of Civics cannot be separated from each other, because it is a complete unit in Civics learning.

The quality in the study of civic education, which is a dimension in the orientation of Civics learning, namely, civic knowledge, includes political, legal and moral fields. This dimension emphasizes the principles and processes of democracy. Civic values, consisting of religious values, human values, democratic values, and justice values. Civic skills, including participation skills in the life of the nation and state, political decision-making processes, and collaboration skills (Branson, 1999; Karliani, 2014; Wahab & Sapriya, 2011). Civic education has the role of fostering citizens into a society that understands its rights and obligations, besides that it can form responsible citizens in the social life of society (Kerr, 1999; Yasunaga,

2014). The study of citizenship includes the rights of citizens, humans as part of political, social, and economic organizations and individuals who are part of the entity of a country (Ubaedillah & Rozak, 2013). As an effort to form good and intelligent citizens who have been equipped with comprehensive knowledge and attitudes based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution (Susilawati, 2018).

Political populism is closely related to democracy, the phenomenon of political populism is often born in democratic countries. Of course, this is one of the topics of study in civic education. Political populism and civic education have a complex and mutually influential relationship in the study of social and political science.

The construction of the meaning of populism in relation to democracy provides a fairly broad meaning, populism was born and developed in a democratic country which can be a threat to democracy itself (Jubaedah & Suryadi, 2021). So that civic education becomes an effective instrument in preventing the emergence of political populism that is dangerous for the development of democracy and social stability.

Examining in depth political populism in order to get the meaning of political populism through the perspective of civic education can use the civic disposition and civic engagement approaches. In the civic disposition approach, political populism can be understood as a phenomenon that can affect

the character of citizens in the political process (Quigley,dkk, 1991). Meanwhile, when viewed from the civic engagement approach, political populism is interpreted as something that can affect the process of citizen participation to be unhealthy and have negative effects (Dudley & Gitelson, 2003). These two approaches become very subjective in constructing the meaning of political populism in the perspective of civic education. Citizenship education is a systemic and coherent process of democratic education that includes an understanding of the ideals, values, concepts and principles of democracy for the better (Winataputra, 2012).

Civic disposition describes both public and individual character traits that are important for the development of constitutional democracy. Civic disposition develops slowly and is learned by a citizen in school, community, and civil society organizations. In the phenomenon of political populism is related to the actions of citizens, so citizen concern, critical thinking, compromise, and understanding of the rules are needed in a democratic state (Branson, 1999; Mulyono, 2017). So that a citizen needs to have qualified civic knowledge, have intellectual and participatory skills, and in the end the knowledge and skills will form an established character or character, so that it becomes a daily attitude and habit (Cammelia & Dianti, 2016).

In addition to civic disposition, which is one of the dimensions of civic education, more specifically civic engagement sees the meaning of political populism as a phenomenon in political development in Indonesia. Civic engagement is a concept of collective and individual actions that can be taken to identify and show interest in contemporary issues. Referring to this concept, the concept of civic engagement is related to democratic government (Karliani, 2014). Based on this concept, it can be understood that in realizing civic engagement, there is a need for more important political knowledge, namely accurate information and in accordance with the facts. So that in developing civic engagement, one of the important requirements for political knowledge can be referred to as a precondition for developing civic engagement (Dudley & Gitelson, 2003).

Keeter (in Karliani, 2014) There are 19 indicators of civic engagement divided into three major indicators, namely civic indicators, electoral indicators, and indicators of political voice. Civic indicators consist of: (1) problem solving process in the community, (2) volunteering in non-electoral organizations, (3) actively involved in organizations, (4) participating in fundraising, (5) collecting other funds for charity. Electoral indicators consist of: (1) the existence of a voting system, (2) being able to influence other people, (3) using stickers, pictures, or symbols,

(4) contributing to campaigns, (5) volunteering for political candidates or organizations. Indicators of political voice consist of: (1) having a communication relationship with officials, (2) using print media, (3) using TV media, (4) having protests, (5) being able to make petitions via email, (6) making written petitions, (7) boycotting, (8) drawing. Researchers get an overview of political populism from the civic education study process as follows:

Table 1. The Meaning of Political Populism in Civics Studies

Dimensions of Civic Education	According to Civic Education Experts	The meaning of Populism in the study of Civic Education
<i>Civic Disposition</i>	In the Civics dimension, political populism can be a threat to unhealthy and constructive civic engagement. This is because populism often ignores the complexity of political issues and encourages the adoption of approaches that reduce public debate.	Political populism is something that can have a negative impact and can have a positive impact depending on how individuals (political actors) direct political populism. So that through the study of civic education it is necessary to build the concept of rational populism. Rational populism is considered necessary in directing populism to have a positive impact on the
<i>Civic Engagement</i>	Political populism can be understood as a phenomenon that affects	

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citizens' political participation. It is important to consider the implications of political populism for a healthy and inclusive political participation process.	development of democracy in Indonesia. Rational populism is a strategy in politics by prioritizing reasonable considerations, based on facts and data, and providing constructive narratives in the democratic process.
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### Why Civic Education Needs to Study the Phenomenon of Political Populism

Citizenship education is based on the concept of multidimensional citizenship as a context that fits the needs of the 21st century (Wahab & Sapriya, 2011). Educating for 21st century citizenship focuses on the continuous study of different elements, issues, and contexts (Anjani dkk, 2014). Civic education is very important in shaping the attitudes of citizens. Providing a more concrete and systematic picture and understanding of political populism, citizens must have adequate knowledge and skills and be able to solve various problems through wise decision making and have a positive impact on society, this can show the quality of citizens (Prewitt dkk, 1977; Wahab, 2011).

Community citizenship education becomes a process of application in everyday life to enable individuals to carry out their duties and responsibilities as citizens. Such a concept becomes an integral part of developing more comprehensive civic education materials and becomes a sociocultural domain in civic education (Rahmat, dkk 2009). Civic education is an effort to counteract the development and polarization of political populism because people are not easily influenced. People who have adequate knowledge and critical reasoning can distinguish right from wrong. It can overcome untrue issues that are deliberately politicized by populists (Herianto

From these two dimensions of civic education, the construction of the meaning of political populism in the study of civic education as a dynamic political process can occur as a common phenomenon in politics. So that the meaning of political populism does not become a negative meaning but can have a positive meaning. In building the meaning of political populism, rational populism needs to be a new concept in understanding political populism. Rational populism means a strategy in politics to achieve political victory by building a scientific and fact-based narrative so that the narrative is not wild and can cause divisions in political mechanisms in society.

Political populism in the study of civic education is a political process in a democratic country that tends to be sensitive and is often misused as a political strategy that can put the people and the ruling elite at odds.

& Wijanarko, 2022). Forming citizens who have an awareness of the importance of democratic life as a pillar in the development of the country (Diamond, 2003).

The results of this study indicate that according to civic education experts there is no specific material on political populism in civic education material, although there is no specific subject matter, this is where the competence of civic education teachers or lecturers can connect existing material in Civics Education. For example, the material on the democratic system can be linked to the phenomenon of political populism. So that civic education teachers or lecturers are not only stuck on concepts. The lens of civic education can provide a critical understanding of this phenomenon. Civic education can also contribute to shaping the construction of the meaning of political populism.

Herman (In Winatapura, & Budimansyah, 2007) The substance of civic education values can be understood and can be implemented, internalized, and standardized as an inherent part of one's personal quality through the learning process. The meaning of the statement can be interpreted as the learning process does not occur in a culture-free space but in a culture-conditional society.

Because populism develops in democratic politics and can have an impact on the health of democracy itself, the phenomenon of populism that occurs indirectly the emergence of charismatic

leaders who build political narratives that can cause problems (Ufen, 2019). Political populism is only a strategy in seeking political victory, and populism is often a strategy of opposing the people and the ruling elite. Political populism is also often depicted in the political act of creating ethnic, religious and racial issues as a form of political identity to gain support from the public (Agasi dkk, 2023; Madung, 2018). So this is the urgency of civic education to examine political populism into a more comprehensive discussion theme.

Civic education has a crucial role in the implementation of democracy by exploring conceptually and implementatively (Azra, 2001). Civic education is a forum for the formation of a culture of quality and responsible participation of citizens in political and community life at both local and national levels, so that citizen participation requires civic abilities, such as mastery of knowledge and understanding, development of intellectual and participatory abilities, development of character and attitudes, true commitment to basic values and principles in constitutionalism (Winatapura & Budimansyah, 2012). Civic education as a tangible manifestation in the process of democracy, nation and state (Febrianti & Darmawan, 2016).

Civic Education is to form democratic and responsible citizens. Through civic education there will be socialization and socialization of democratic values in society.



This is part of the ideals of democracy, one of which is to realize Civic Education as democracy education (Widyatiningtyas, dkk, 2023). A component of civic education that translates as the dispositions, attitudes, character and civic commitments needed to nurture the health of democracy (Malatuny & Rahmat, 2017). Looking at the reality of political and democratic processes in Indonesia to realize national stability (Hayati dkk, 2019; Nurazizah & Dewi, 2021).

Civic education can also anticipate polarization Political populism is a political phenomenon that can disrupt the health of democracy therefore. It is important to scientifically examine political populism in the perspective of civic education as a new approach to political studies. In the formation of good and smart citizenship, it is very supportive of democratic development. Civic education provides the conceptual foundation and values needed to critique and analyze political phenomena, including political populism. Through civic education, individuals are equipped with knowledge of the political system, the democratic process, the rights and obligations of citizens, and the ability to participate actively in political and community life.

## CONCLUSION

The perspective of civic education through the dimensions of the civic disposition and civic engagement approaches, it can be

said that political populism is a more complex phenomenon, exploring the implications of political populism for inclusive political participation, substantial public discussion, and fundamental democratic values such as justice, equality and tolerance. In the context of civic education, encourage individuals to develop critical thinking skills, access diverse information, listen to different views, and engage in constructive dialog. It can help people understand and evaluate the claims of political populism objectively, as well as take responsible and informed stances on complex political issues. Thus, civic education provides a strong framework for analyzing and understanding the meaning of political populism holistically. The construction of the meaning of political populism in the perspective of civic education can be referred to as rational populism, which is a strategy in politics by prioritizing reasonable considerations, based on facts and data, and providing constructive narratives in the democratic process.

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