Between Development and Politics: The Decline of the Community Service Program in Indonesian Higher Education, 1960s – 1970s

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Abstract: The 1961 official enactment of "community service" (CS) as one of the Indonesian higher education (HE) missions aimed to improve the welfare of the Indonesian society, among others, by eradicating illiteracy and poverty. However, the method for implementing CS depended heavily on the ideological orientation of the ruling political regimes. The present article examines why CS programs became marginalized in the management of Indonesian HE during the politically tumultuous years of the 1960s and 1970s. Employing a historical method and drawing upon data from university reports, newspaper articles, and government documents, this article argues that the implementation of CS programs took place asymmetrically with the nature of CS as a social mission. Political agendas of the different Indonesian governments systematically directed away the trajectories and targets of the CS program from its original mission of developing the welfare of the people. The CS programs, in practice, reflected the pragmatic political goals of the governments. Consequently, the Indonesian HE lost its transformative role in society.

Abstrak: Disahkannya "pengabdian masyarakat" (PkM) pada tahun 1961 sebagai salah satu misi pendidikan tinggi (PT) Indonesia bertujuan untuk meningkatkan kesejahteraan masyarakat Indonesia, antara lain dengan memberantas buta huruf dan kemiskinan. Namun, metode penerapan PkM sangat bergantung pada orientasi ideologi rezim politik yang berkuasa. Artikel ini mengkaji mengapa program PkM menjadi terpinggirkan dalam pengelolaan perguruan tinggi Indonesia selama tahun-tahun politik yang penuh gejolak pada tahun 1960an dan 1970an. Dengan menggunakan metode historis dan memanfaatkan data dari laporan universitas, artikel surat kabar, dan dokumen pemerintah, artikel ini berargumentasi bahwa implementasi program PkM terjadi secara asimetris dengan sifat PkM sebagai misi sosial. Agenda politik dari berbagai pemerintahan di Indonesia secara sistematis mengalihkan arah dan sasaran program PkM dari misi awalnya untuk mengembangkan kesejahteraan masyarakat. Program PkM pada praktiknya mencerminkan tujuan politik pragmatis pemerintah. Akibatnya, PT Indonesia kehilangan peran transformatifnya dalam masyarakat.

INTRODUCTION

Higher education in Indonesia carries out a social mission that is officially called Community Service (CS, Indonesian: *Pengabdian kepada Masyarakat*). The Indonesian government first legislated the social mission in 1961 through Law No. 22/1961 concerning higher education (HE). Article 2 of this law reads: "Higher Education generally aims to […] conduct research and make efforts for progress in the fields of science, culture and social life" (Republic of Indonesia, 1961). In 2012, more than fifty years after the first law, the Indonesian government passed Law No 12/2012.

This recent law explicitly states that Indonesian higher education carries out a threefold mission, known as the *tridharma perguruan tinggi* (threefold mission of higher education) (Republic of Indonesia, 2012). The mission includes teaching, research and community service (Direktorat Riset dan Pengabdian Masyarakat [DRPM], 2018).

However, the CS as a social mission has been marginalized in the indicators of HE performance. A number of studies show that issues related to the lecturer's welfare have received more attention than those of the social function of HE (Piscayanti, 2015). Lecturers in Indonesia have long expressed their concern about government policies, which do not give an equal appreciation to performance in the field of community service compared to that in the fields of teaching, research and publication. Government regulations only award 10 per cent credit for the performance of community service for lecturers, an inverse proportion to performance in the teaching and research, which is each valued at 45 per cent (Suwignyo, 2023). On the other hand, some studies see community service as a program that has been 'naturally' embedded in the duties of Indonesian academics (Rahardjo, 2010a, 2010b). As a result, CS has been taken for granted and hardly received any critical scholarly study. In various contemporary studies on the transformation of community empowerment in overcoming poverty issues (Ruja, 2022), the role of CS programs is only touched upon in passing. Other studies related to rural social change in Java and Bali do not consider CS programs in HE as an important part of community-based activities (Meylavinasari et al., 2020).

The present article aims to examine why CS programs have become marginalized in the management of Indonesian HE. This article looks back at the practices of CS in the early decades following the official enactment of CS from the latter part of President Soekarno's administration to the beginning of President Soeharto's administration, roughly during the 1960s and 1970s. The article questions how CS underwent changes in the goals and forms of implementation, and what the implications of these changes for Indonesian HE might have been.

Existing studies on Community Service in the context of Indonesian tertiary education so far have focused on student-led community service programs called *Kuliah Kerja Nyata* (KKN). Some of these existing studies highlight the effect of KKN on the formation of certain individual traits or student competencies, for example, social skills (Perdana et al., 2013; Syardiansah, 2019; Umar et al., 2021). Others review the strategic position and

function of KKN in achieving sustainable development goals (SDGs) (Prijambada, 2021) and in empowering community for entrepreneurial economy (Febriansyah et al., 2020).

A study by Imron and Supangat, which aims to identify problems in the implementation of KKN based on various government regulations, explains the limitations of the student-led community service program. The study by Imron and Supangat provides an insight into the nature, principles and forms of CS as a conceptual guide (Imron & Supangat, 2019). An earlier study by Suwignyo (2024) explores the historical origin of the threefold missions of HE with a special focus on CS. Suwignyo highlights some cases of the patterns of CS activities in its earliest form. These studies have yet to address how come and why the social mission became marginalized in the policy and practice of HE management in Indonesia. The present study thus aims to fill this research gap.

By presenting the Indonesian experience in the CS programs, this article intends to promote a dialogue about the roles of HE in stimulating social transformation, especially in developing countries. In this context, it is relevant to say that CS is not an exclusively Indonesian type of HE social mission. HE in countries such as South Africa, Lesotho and Turkiye also bear a social mission in the form of CS. In Lesotho, as Preece (2011) argues, the public interest in reinventing the HE mission developed in early 2000. It was prompted by the increasing demands for societal needs, capacity building for citizenship, and renewed international cooperation. In addition, the increasing push for lifelong learning "means that universities are no longer the end product of a linear progression route for higher qualifications" (Preece, 2011, pp. 82–83). Meanwhile, in Turkiye, attempts to revive CS in HE had to confront with the various degrees of its perceived importance among Turkish academics (Altun, 2021, p. 111).

South Africa is perhaps a case in point. The prime aim of higher education community service in the South African context has been to find a conceptual framework that best fits African needs and contexts (Bhagwan, 2017). In the South African experience, this refers especially to the urgency for "Africanizing" the process of knowledge-making and hence "decolonizing new knowledge" (Khupe & Keane, 2017; Preece, 2013). Some researchers believe that the CS program needs to be conceptualized in South African indigenous education in order for it to bear a transformative mission through symbiotic collaborations and sustainable initiatives

(Chandramohan & Bhagwan, 2022; Rajah, 2019).

Literatures also show that in order to establish a CS model that best suits the contextual needs of South African society, HE institutions in the country have developed a scheme called Participatory Action Learning and Action Research (PALAR). That is, "a holistic, integrative concept that incorporates related concepts and values such as participation, collaboration, communication, community of practice, networking, and synergy" (Zuber-Skerritt, 2015, p. 6). However, some academics have identified "the lack of a structural and functional framework for the conceptualization of community engagement" (Bender, 2008) and how community engagement could be institutionalized locally in a situated South African society (Bhagwan, 2020). In addition, although the CS discourse began to be known among South African HE institutions already in the 1990s (Eeden & Dippenaar, 2021; Molepo & Mudau, 2020), it was only very recently that scholarly debates about the social mission of higher education became intensified among South African academics.

Although Lesotho, Turkey and South Africa provide interesting cases, making them an apple-to-apple comparison with the present study requires another set of research, which can result in data of a comparable nature. The present study is limited in its state of scope and resources to do so. The presented exploration on Lesotho, Turkey and South Africa cases has aimed to become an extended perspective, which may be useful for further research. Nevertheless, it is relevant to say that as in the case of South Africa, the making of CS as a third HE mission in Indonesia was aimed at decolonizing the country's Dutch colonial legacy in higher education (Suwignyo, 2024). In the Indonesian context, the institutionalization of CS has shaped a triple-helix style of HE mission in the integration of teaching and research (Suwignyo, 2020), which substantially differs from the conventional triple helix concept of European industrial countries (Leydesdorff, 2012). However, in the Indonesian experience the standardization of CS into a threefold HE mission also created a mechanism of control by the Indonesian governments over the direction, contents and forms of academic work and freedom of HE institutions. The present article departs from an assumption that the institutionalization of CS by the Indonesian government in the 1960s transformed the nature of CS from being a social mission to being an instrument of the government's political interests. Consequently, the larger aim of CS, that is to stimulate societal changes, was warped by the political agenda of the government of the day. CS no longer became a programmatic scheme for lecturers and students where they were to explore community problems and to help the community contextually solve the problems. Rather, it became a political tool for the government.

The present study covers the period from the 1960s to the 1970s. These were the early decades of independence in Indonesian history, during which 'passionate participation' in various fields showed growing social citizenship of the people (Lindsay & Liem, 2011; Suwignyo, 2019). The 1960s in Indonesia was also a decade of ideological contestation between the Communists and the religious and secular nationalists that led to a bloody transition of regimes (Hadiz, 2006). During this period, the idea of progress and independence developed in various sectors, including education. The CS programs in Indonesian HE gained important momentum because they directed the integration between the educated elites and the public masses.

METHOD

This article applies an historical method. It uses government documents, university reports, newspaper reports, and other relevant sources published during the period under study. These sources were accessed at the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia (ANRI) and the National Library of the Republic of Indonesia (Perpusnas) in Jakarta, and university libraries in Yogyakarta, Surabaya and Jakarta.

The selection process of the sources followed several steps. First, all types of documents were selected based on relevance to the topic of community service in higher education during the period under study. The degree ranged from "highly relevant" to "least relevant". Only the documents which were deemed as being "highly relevant" and "moderately relevant" were eventually selected for further use. This first step involved using several keywords, such as community service, higher education, nation-state development, student and society, decolonization, anti-imperialism, et cetera. Secondly, the selected documents were categorized on the basis of the type of information they contained. This second process resulted in the categorization of data which showed different characteristics. They were (1) policies, e.g. data of central government's policy, local government's policy, university's policy; (2) practices, e.g. data of the implementation of community service programs by students and lecturers in different localities; (3) discourses, e.g. opinions, scholarly statements and events about community service

program and the role of higher education in the nation-building development. Thirdly, the different types of data were then analysed by reading the text verbatim and by interpretation.

Given this study's reliance on historical documents, the authors were aware of the possibility of biases that the documents might have conveyed from the time period they were produced. The historical method requires that critical analyses be conducted by (1) unravelling who and what historical context has produced the document in concern, and by (2) comparing the message of a document with that of another to see whether it is comparable or contrastable. In historical method theory, this process is called "criticising the sources" (*kritik sumber*). Although this process cannot completely set aside all potentials of biases, it is argued that the potentials of biases have been epistemologically mitigated and consciously taken in data interpretation and the proximate formulation of the research findings.

The structure of this article is as follows. First, it provides a brief overview of the development of Indonesian HE from the 1950s to the early 1970s. It then describes the forms of the CS programs and the politicization of the programs during the period under study.

INDONESIAN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS, 1950S–EARLY 1970S

The development of Indonesian education, including higher education, from the colonial period to the 1970s has been the focus of many studies (Suryo et al., 1999; Buchori & Malik, 2004; Cummings & Kasenda, 1989; Koentjaraningrat & Bachtiar, 1975; Suwignyo, 2012; Thomas, 1973; Van der Kroef, 1955). In the 20 years after proclaiming independence in 1945, Indonesia experienced rapid development in the field of education, including higher education. The number of HE institutions of various types increased from 62 institutions with 6,457 students in 1950 to 209 institutions with 135,000 students in 1963 (Suwignyo, 2024, p. 452).

Koesnadi Hardjasoemantri (1982), who assumed the directorship of the national student-teacher mobilization project from 1951 to 1962, indicated the rapid growth of Indonesian higher education institutions in the early 1960s. Appendix 1, cited from Hardjasoemantri, shows that in just four years between 1960 and 1964, the Indonesian government established 25 new state-owned HE institutions in various cities in Indonesia.

Apart from state universities, there were 23 private HE foundations in various cities in Indonesia, each of which managed one HE institution. These foundations were spread in three of Indonesia's five largest islands, i.e. Java, Sumatra and Sulawesi. The contribution of these private universities was very significant in accelerating the public access to HE. Some of these private tertiary institutions were established and managed by religious institutions, for example the Islamic organization Masyumi (Latief, 2022). Most private HE institutions were universities, but some were Teacher Training and Education Colleges such as those in the city of Yogyakarta (Indratno, 1995).

So, in a relatively short time since proclaiming independence from the Netherlands on August 17, 1945, Indonesia drastically increased the number of HE institutions amidst the limited educational infrastructure, budget and human resources (Suwignyo, 2021). The Indonesian government also transformed the curriculum and learning methods in HE. It replaced the continental European model of educational curriculum inherited from the Dutch with the United States model (Suwignyo, 2017). This was a new era in the history of Indonesian education after the proclamation of independence.

Despite this rapid development, the trajectory of Indonesian education was caught up in the political turmoil following the attempted coup of the Indonesian Communist Party (Partai Komunis Indonesia, PKI) in 1965. Many studies show the magnitude of the social and economic loss stemming from the failed coup and the retaliation that followed. The tragedy began with the kidnapping and murder of six Army generals on the night of 30 September and 1 October, 1965. The kidnapping and murder were carried out by a group of Left-wing military officers who were mobilized by PKI elite leaders (Eickhoff et al., 2017, p. 499). The particular event that would lead to the category of "Indonesian genocide", however, took place in the aftermath of the kidnapping and murder, that is, in the successive months between October 1965 and March 1966. It was an act of retaliation against the Communists by the Army, and the nationalist and religious groups. The "genocide" dealt with the killings of the people who were "of real or perceived affiliation with the PKI or one of its many associated organizations" (Melvin & Pohlman, 2018, p. 29). According to historian Katherine McGregor, the mass killings were done by the Army and the Army-backed civil organizations such as the Barisan Serba Guna (Banser, multi-purpose brigade) of the Ansor, a youth wing of the largest Islamic organization Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). The NU, especially in East Java, had been in a clash against the PKI over

land reform and other issues since long before the October 1965 atrocity (McGregor, 2009, pp. 197–198). Historian Robert Cribb argues that a broader factor within Indonesian society played a significant role in magnifying the death toll in this series of bloody events. The broader factor was whether Indonesian post-colonial modernity was to be "expressed in communist, Islamic, or developmentalist terms, and which set of elites would be in control" (Cribb, 2002, p. 553).

Meanwhile Siddhart Chandra shows the destructive impact of the mass killings on local social networks (Chandra, 2017). One of them, which was enormous and long lasting, was the one in education. The Indonesian Department of Education and Culture was split by opposing ideological camps between the Communists and the religious nationalists (Thomas, 1981). Cribb provides evidence that the total casualties of the mass killings numbered no less than 500,000 people. Many were teachers and intellectuals (Cribb, 2001, p. 233). These teachers were either lost, killed, or displaced from their position (Suwignyo, 2011; 2012). Universities had to reshuffle their faculty members because many of them were allegedly involved in either of the camps, killed or lost (Wahid, 2018a). President Soekarno declared Gadjah Mada University "Socialist University of Indonesia". He mobilized the University students by which UGM "strengthened its political position as a socialist university" (Wahid, 2018b, p. 164)

Robert Murray Thomas, an American professor who was sent by the American government to Indonesia under the Ford Foundation scheme in 1958, said the events of 1965 had changed the landscape and direction of Indonesian education. In an interview at his home in San Louis Obispo in 2010, Thomas stated that the 1965 tragedy destroyed the old foundations of Indonesian education and built a new one (R.M. Thomas, personal communication, 10 September 2010).

According to Thomas, after the 1965 incident, Indonesian education experienced drastic changes through the new structure and function of the central government in determining the direction and management of higher education institutions, the duties of universities in the Five Year Development Plan of the New Order government, the assessment model of higher education standardization, and finally the reformed political role of students (Thomas, 1973, p. 236). Thomas said:

"The nation's educational system was viewed as an important instrument for achieving national development goals. […] The universities, institutes, and academies were given the task of producing top-level planning personnel, administrators, engineers, technologists, and researchers. […] to the requirements of the national economic growth design. […]

Beginning [in] 1967, the central Department of Education mounted the nation's first truly serious efforts to assess the state of higher education. […] By [the] 1970s the typical Indonesian college student had reassumed his original role, that of learner. Political activism within a unified nation-wide movement was a thing of the past. […] From 1969 to 1970, the college student's place was in the classroom. His chief acts were those of attending lectures, reading textbooks and preparing for examinations" (Thomas, 1973, pp. 238; 240; 245; 255–256).

Through a policy called the State Guidelines for the Development Direction, the New Order government led by Soeharto, who became acting president replacing Soekarno in 1966, then established what he named the eight fair tracks of economic distribution (Indonesian: *Delapan Jalur Pemerataan*) in the development program. Although the Soekarno's administration had also made a model of development plan (see MPRS, 1960), the one proposed by Soeharto's government looked more 'promising' in terms of the people's welfare (see BP7 Pusat, 1990). The eight paths in the Soeharto's development plan were equal distributions of (1) the fulfilment of the basic needs of the people, especially food, clothing and housing; (2) opportunities for education and health services; (3) income; (4) employment opportunities; (5) business opportunities; (6) rights to participate in development, especially for the younger generation and women; (7) development in all regions of the country; and (8) rights to obtain equity and justice (BP7 Pusat, 1990, pp. 114–115).

Within the national development framework, the New Order government outlined the principle of equity in higher education through various strategic policies. The principle was to make higher education an instrument of development. The standard formulation of the aim of higher education was normative. That is, "to educate students to be able to increase their reasoning power, master science and technology, have a devoted spirit and have a great sense of responsibility for the future of the

nation and state". Under the New Order government, however, the aim of higher education was altered to bringing the development of science closer to the needs of "present and future development with an insight into national culture, the morality of Pancasila (Five Principles of the state ideology) and Indonesian character" (BP7 Pusat, 1990, pp. 107–108).

It was within these highly tensed political insurgencies that changes in the nature and trajectory of CS of the higher education took place. In the two following sections, we discuss the changes in two different themes. The two themes crossed past the imaginary time divide between "before" and "after" the 1965 catastrophe. First, CS is explored as a program for societal development. Second, CS is explored as a political tool of the reigning regime. From the structure of the following sections, it is very clear that both during the Soekarno's and during the Soeharto's administrations, the political regimes in power made use of the CS programs for their respective political agendas, thus setting aside the philosophical foundation of the CS as a social mission of HE.

CS PROGRAMS FOR SOCIETAL DEVELOPMENT

Amid the rapid growth of HE institutions, which arrived at a critical juncture due to the influence of these political events, the social mission of HE continued to materialize through Community Service (CS). Yet, the process took place dynamically depending on the ongoing political situation. Elsewhere Agus Suwignyo argues that CS originally developed during the Indonesian revolutionary period of the 1940s. The purpose was for the baby Indonesian HE to get decolonized from any Dutch colonial vestiges. CS developed to make HE institutions "Indonesian" in character. In the 1950s, the CS programs showed an active participation of the HE institutions in "mengisi kemerdekaan" (realizing the independence). They were part of nation-building that focused on finding solutions to the daily welfare problems of the people such as poverty, illiteracy, and poor health and living conditions. Suwignyo finds out that, although the term "community service" would only come to an established formulation in 1961 after several years of exchanges of discourses and thoughts among intellectual and political elites, the forms of the practices that would have fallen into the category of "community service" had been there in the HE curricula and educational programs since the 1950s. (Readers may want to read Suwignyo, [2024] for

further details on the emergence and development of CS in Indonesian HE dealing with the philosophical thinking, early policy and trajectory of practices).

In Suwignyo's view (pp. 457-459), the CS programs in its original nature during the 1950s and 1960s can be placed into two categories, namely engagement and outreach. Engagement signified that university personnel and the target community were jointly involved in the process of identifying problems and mutually determining and implementing problem-solving programs. Meanwhile, outreach signified that university personnel carried out an activity targeting a community group or certain parties without the mutual involvement of the community members or that particular party

While the earlier exploration by Suwignyo (2024) has missed to provide elaborate details of cases of CS practices, Tables 1 and 2 of the present article provide some samples of the CS activities according to the two categories.

Tables 1 and 2 indicate the types of CS activities based on the engagement and outreach categories. The engagement category was collaborative, involving lecturers and students and members of a designated community. The university lecturers and students usually initiated a CS program by identifying a social or economic problem in the target community. Then they worked with the community to formulate the problems and the programmatic plans of actions, which they jointly carried out. From the samples of engagement activities shown in Table 1, it is very clear that the immediate goals of CS were pragmatic, namely to find a collective solution to an identified social or economic problem. The overall targets of outcomes were developmental in nature, i.e. for improving the welfare of the people.

The outreach category of CS looked like a one-sided activity when it was viewed from the HE perspective. There was no direct involvement of the members of a designated community in a particular service activity. However, as we can see from Table 2, the community members were clear recipients of the CS activities provided by HE members. The societal benefits were either material (in the case of humanitarian projects) or intangible (in the case of surveys, information distribution and knowledge dissemination). Like the engagement activities, the outreach activities were also developmental in nature.

While the practices of engagement and outreach had been common during the era of President Soekarno's administration, the management of the

Table 1. Engagement Category of Community Service

Types	Sample of Activities
Direct, practical solution to an issue	1. In 1960, veterinary students of Gadjah Mada University distributed 4294 hatching chicken eggs and 480 chicks to Pakem village, aiming to improve people's nutrition. They also trained people to build hygienic chicken coops (Sardjito, 1961, pp. 14-15).
	2. In 1962, medical students of the University of Indonesia created "Marhaen food", namely a blend of rice, corn, cassava, long bean, tofu, fermented soyabean and fish. They aimed to provide nutritious, affordable food for people. The price was Rp40 for 4 people (Ant., 1962).
	3. In 1963 in Tawangmangu, Central Java, Medical, Dental and Pharmacy students opened a temporary public clinic, held midwifery training, and conducted research on local herbal medicine. They collaborated with local people and police, and Hortus Medicus Pharmacist (Johanes, 1963, pp. 9–12).
	4. In 1962, veterinary students and lecturers (1) created a gamma-lighting instrument for chick incubation; (2) developed NCD (non-communicable diseases) animal vaccine to cure a chicken thigh epidemic in Cangkringan and Prambanan Villages in Yogyakarta, collaborating with the Yogyakarta Veterinary Bureau and the Cangkringan Village administration; and (3) held a cow fattening program using corn-cobs and stoves sponsored by the Farmers and Fishermen Cooperative Bank (Johanes, 1963, p. 11).
	5. A total of 227 students and 25 lecturers of the Agriculture and Forestry Faculty held a rat extermination program in Minggir village, Sleman collaborating with local farmers, whose rice plants has been infested by rats (Johanes, 1963, p. 14).
	6. Seventeen lecturers provided rat extermination training for farmers in the 17 districts of Sleman Regency. They were taught how to make animal poisons including endrin ($C1H8Cl6O$), dieldrin ($CH3CO3H$) and aldrin ($C12H8Cl6$). The goal was to save 8000 ha of rice field in 81 villages (Nas., 1962a).
	7. In 1961, engineering students and lecturers built fresh water bamboo pipes for villages on the slopes of Mount Merapi (Sardjito, 1961, pp. 16-17; Pia, 1961a).
	8. Various engagement activities: a. Twenty five Education students provided counselling and testing services in Bandung (Suluh Indonesia, 1961a). b. Fine Arts students of the Bandung Institute of Technology gave public training for home decoration, interior design and mural painting (ibid.).
Surveys and recommendation	1. In 1961, 11 Police Academy students surveyed security threats (Ant., 1961).
	2. Twenty-five urban planning students of Bandung surveyed slum areas in Cipaganti, Cilaki, Cisangkui, Malabar, Ciung, Merak, Abdulmuis Paledang, Pasundan, Sasakgantung dan Ciatevi before creating a hygienic spatial kampong design (Pia, 1961b).
	3. In 1963, 150 law students surveyed a children's correctional house in Tangerang (Pia, 1963).

CS programs involved more institutional collaborations in the Soeharto era. The collaborative schemes took place among HE institutions and between HE and private and government institutions. For example, ministry and departments, provincial governments, and industries (see Soekadijo & Soepojo, 1967; Samino & Soeroso, 1968; Djojomardowo & Soegiman, 1968; Sutami & Padmodipoetro, 1968; Humas UGM, 1969a; 1969b; 1969c; 1969d; 1970).

An example of collaboration in the implementation of CS in the 1960s involved Gadjah Mada University (UGM). The regency governments of Sragen and Wonogiri in Central Java, for example, asked UGM to provide them with scientific knowledge to overcome the problems of drought in their areas. The two regencies had suffered from a terrible scarcity of water for agricultural land. Meanwhile, in the case of collaboration between the Faculty of Medicine and the Tegaljoso Hospital in 1970, it was obvious that the starting point came from the needs of both parties. Some collaborative projects took place over a long period of time. For example, a project for the construction of clean water canals in the villages of Mangunan and Girirejo, Bantul Regency and on the slopes of Mount Merapi, Sleman Regency. The project was approved by the

Table 2. Outreach Category of Community Service

Types	Sample of Activities
Humanitarian project	In 1963, lecturers, students and staff of Udayana University provided medication and supplied food (cassava and fish) for the victims of Mount Agung eruption (Humas Departemen PTIP, 1963, p. 37).
Field study and excursion	1. Thirty-five Geodesy students of Bandung led by Soetomo Wongsotjitra and Nk Tjoa Quo Djok Lien studied the sulfuric soils of Mount Bromo (Pia, 1961c). 2. Agriculture students were deployed to the people's farming fields in the towns of Banyumas (1 student), Pekalongan (4), Besuki (3), Jember (23), Situbondo (5), Bondowoso (3), Rambipuji (2), Malang (3), Kediri (2), Purwokerto (15), and Bogor (15) (Suluh Indonesia, 1961b). 3. In 1961–1963, 40 Social Pedagogy students spent one month living with people of the villages of Sambek, Kalianget, Tawangsari, Wanasari, Djogojitnan, Bumiroso, Bomerto dan Pagerkukuh villages in the regency of Wonosobo, Central Java (Nasional, 1962c). Forty-five others joined technical training in the town of Madiun (Nas., 1962b) and volunteered in the Center for Rehabilitation of People with Disabilities, the Center for Social Training of Prostitutes in the town of Solo (Suluh Indonesia, 1963a), and the Orphanage House in Pakem Village, Yogyakarta (SM-Jg., 1968). 4. Geography education students, led by Moh Hasan and Soetarso Djojo, toured the Dieng Plateau in Central Java, 1963 (Suluh Indonesia, 1963b). 5. In 1968, 31 law and economics students of 17-August University examined vanilla production in Kaligono Village of Purwerejo, collaborating with Sari Peni Cooperative (I-SMJ, 1968).
Information dissemination, public lectures, and advocacy work	1. In 1967, Agriculture Faculty of Udayana University made recommendations for farmer training, granary making, farmer cooperatives and agriculture-industry relations (Wiyana, 1967). 2. Mubyarto and Soedarsono Hadisaputro from Gadjah Mada University also drafted recommendations on agricultural reform emphasizing agricultural production, food consumption and population growth (Mubyarto, 1967; Soedarsono, 1967).

Ministry of Public Works in 1960 as part of UGM's cooperation program, but it was only carried out in 1971 (Humas UGM, 1971a).

The collaboration in CS programs during the New Order era also took place between universities in Indonesia and parties from abroad. For example, an educational aid agency from Australia, Community Aid Abroad, assisted in constructing an elementary school building in Sleman district. This program required collaboration between universities and the target village community. In practice, the implementation of the program lasted for 3 years (1969–1971) (Humas UGM, 1969e; 1971b).

CS PROGRAMS FOR GOVERNMENT'S POLITICAL PURPOSES
Because of the strategic function of CS as a means to reach the lowest level of society *en masse*, and because of the government's need to implement a policy in society quickly, the politicization of CS by the government was inevitable. Unlike the common claims, which tend to view that the politicization of education was characteristic of the New Order regime, this paper argues that the politicization happened both during the Soekarno's and the

Soeharto's regimes. "Politicization" in the present article means using an educational program or institution to reach an immediate goal in the ideological or power interest of the reigning regime. As we will explore in this subsection, Soekarno's student mobilization programs in the 1960s carried on an overt power agenda for supporting his ideological tool, i.e. the so-called "Political Manifesto", and for supporting his ambition to seize West Papua from the Netherlands.

On the other hand, Soeharto's politicization of the CS program in the 1970s was "inward looking" in nature. His administration drove CS programs for politically-heavy social developments. Soeharto's policy seemingly aimed to direct CS to its original nature, that is, to improve the welfare of the people. However, a close observation shows that the New Order regime held a monopoly in defining the concept and operational platform of what "development" should mean. From the regime's perspective, a development had to be State-led. Development programs were defined by the "State" and for the interests of the political elites. CS programs in Indonesian HE during the New Order period were formulated to serve the logic of these pol-

icy makers and not to serve the needs of the people.

This subsection discusses these two dimensional swings of CS politicization by the Soekarno's and the Soeharto's administrations. It is quite acceptable to say that the politicization of CS began with the institutionalization of CS programs. By "institutionalization", it means a process of standardizing the goal, format, contents and indicators of performance. First of all, it has to be recalled that the student teacher deployment scheme called Mobilization of Student Workers (*Pengerahan Tenaga Mahasiswa*, PTM), first launched in 1951, was made a national policy in 1957. Then in 1973, the government replaced the Mobilization program with a student-led scheme called *Kuliah Kerja Nyata* (KKN) or Practical Work (Hardjasoemantri, 1982; 2001; Suwignyo, Sudarmadi, Wahyuni, forthcoming). In both Mobilization and student-led programs, the government intended to involve students and lecturers in responding to community problems. In the 1950s, illiteracy was a major social problem, with some 80 per cent of the Indonesian population illiterate. The abolition of the PTM program and its replacement with KKN in 1973 showed that social problems requiring immediate solutions were becoming wider. It included eradicating illiteracy, paving roads and building bridges, and undertaking humanitarian projects in response to natural disasters such as volcanic eruptions, floods, landslides and earthquakes (Koesoemoprawiro et al., 2011). This adjustment was carried out so that the CS program became more situated in the problems and needs of the society (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1978). In all these changes, the nature of the CS programs was developmental in the sense that it was meant to direct a transformative development in society.

However, the institutionalization of CS also opened opportunities for the government to utilize student workers for political purposes, which can be called "instrumentation" (Suwignyo, 2024, pp. 458–459). The most notable form of politicization of CS by the Soekarno government was the student mobilization program for para-military training. The goal was to carry out Soekarno's ideological programs called Political Manifesto, combining Democratic Socialist ideas, Communism and Religion (Kroef, 1962).

In addition, student mobilization was used for seizing West Papua from the Netherlands. As it is known by the historiography, the Netherlands's recognition of Indonesian sovereignty over the former Netherlands Indies in 1949 did not include West Papua. The former colonial ruler was still in control of West Papua until 1963 (Webster, 2013). Starting in 1959, the Indonesian government made preparations to fight the Dutch with the prime aim of taking over West Papua from their hand (Gietzelt, 1989). For this reason, the Indonesian government invited students to participate in the mobilization under the CS scheme.

The mobilization of students took place very intensively from 1961 to 1963. Some newspapers reported that the National Student Council called for "all students to join paramilitary training for the liberation of West Papua". The paramilitary group was also known as People's Three Commands (Tri Komando Rakyat, abbreviated as Trikora) (KR, 1961). From 2–5 March, 1963, some 4500 people registered for the Trikora training program, of whom 500 were students and alumni of the Law faculties (KR, 1963a). Also in this group were 180 engineering students from Gadjah Mada University (Nasional 1962a). The university hospital in Yogyakarta sent three medical personnel, i.e. Panut, Wagirin and Tukidjan (KR, 1963b), to help in the Trikora training camps in the city. The Trikora training program was scheduled to last for two consecutive weeks, with each batch consisting of 500 participants (Nasional, 1962b).

Another example shows that on 14 September 1962, several HE institutions in Yogyakarta formed what was named after the Yogyakarta Student Regiment (Mahakarta Regiment). It was reported by *Nasional* newspaper that the registered members of the regiment numbered 8000 students. They came from 19 universities, that is, UGM, State Islamic Institute, Indonesian Islamic University, Tjokroaminoto University, State Sugar Academy, Leadership Academy, Indonesian Enterprises University, Veterans National Development Academy, Leather Academy, Cooperative Academy, Indonesian Academy of Fine Arts, Indonesian Drama and Film Arts Academy, Academy of Theology, Indonesian Academy of Music, Plantation Staff College, Wijaya Graduate College (Tamansiswa), Janabadra College, Faculties of Teacher Training and Education of Sanata Dharma, Muhammadiyah, and PGRI. By joining the Mahakarta Regiment, students showed their dedication to President Soekarno's program "The Year of Victory" (*Tahun Kemenangan*). They made Soekarno's Political Manifesto the ideological foundation of their Regiment. The regiment's aim was "to mobilize the potential of Yogyakarta students to actively participate in the development towards a Socialist Indonesia" (see Nas., 1962c; Nasional, 1962a; 1963a).

The members of the Mahakarta Regiment were appointed by the Commander of the Army Chief of Staff, General Ahmad Yani, in an inauguration ceremony in January 1963. Deputy Commanders Subandrio, Chaerul Saleh, and high-ranking officials from Central Java and Yogyakarta provinces attended the inauguration. At the inauguration, General Yani handed over the baton to UGM President Herman Johanes, who served as the commander of the Mahakarta Students' Regiment (KR, 1963c). During the ceremony, members of the Mahakarta Regiment were sworn by reciting the following text:

> Student Regiment Oath
> In consideration of (1) the Indonesian Revolution has not been completed; (2) President Soekarno's teachings are the only way to complete the Indonesian National Revolution; and (3) the task for completing the Indonesian National Revolution is wholly the task of the youth, the Student Regiment therefore promise:
> 1. to defend the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia which is based on the state ideology *Pancasila* and on the [Soekarno's] Political Manifesto;
> 2. to safeguard and complete the National Revolution towards [the making of] a Socialist Indonesian society;
> 3. to defend and practice the teachings of the Great Leader of the Revolution [i.e. Soekarno]
> 4. to devote all the knowledge gained to carry out the mandate of the people
> 5. to spearhead the implementation of the development programs commanded by the Great Leader of the Revolution [Soekarno]" (Source: Nasional, 1963a).

Members of the Mahakarta Regiment received military education and training from the Army. The Mahakarta Regiment's work program covered various activities, including preparing a development brigade for West Papua and other areas throughout Indonesian territory and actively contributing to universities' development projects (Nasional, 1963b; KR, 1963d).

In practice, the activities of the Student Regiment after completing education and training were not limited to mobilization for the liberation of West Papua. Some of them were involved in community empowerment activities. For example, from 11 to 15 January 1963, a platoon of the Mahakarta Regiment were deployed on constructing bridges and water canals in the village of Turgo Kaliurang. The project was a collaboration between the Regiment and the Gadjah Mada University Community Development Unit. The regiment also carried out a reforestation program in Karangmalang village. From 1 March to 7 April 1964, the Mahakarta Regiment sent a medical team to help rehabilitate the transmigrants, who had been displaced by the eruption of Mount Agung in Bali, at the transmigration site in South Sumatra. Regiment members helped increase food production by intensifying mass training (*bimbingan massal*, Bimas) since October 1965. This activity was carried out in collaboration with students from the Purwokerto and the Bogor Agriculture Faculties, a total of 666 people. The topics of the training included improving irrigation, farming methods, and pest eradication methods (KR, 1962; Nasional, 1963c; Nasional, 1964; Suluh Indonesia, 1966).

It was stated earlier that during the New Order era the function and the role of students returned to being learners. Student political movements were prohibited, or were limited only to deal with university's issues inside campus. With such a policy, the New Order made use of the CS program to mobilize students. The sole aim was for the students to contribute to government development programs. The politicization of CS programs for the interests of the government became increasingly prominent during the New Order era. The basic platform of CS, which set its targets in rural communities and which was based on immediate solutions of community problems, was much compatible with the patterns of the New Order development programs. The New Order government, whose development projects were generally philanthropic in nature, saw the characteristics of CS programs as the right spearhead for implementing its development projects.

At the opening ceremony of the Work Meeting on the Regional Development Projects (*Pertemuan Kerja Proyek-Proyek Pembangunan Daerah*) held at UGM from 1 to 3 April, 1969, the Director of Research and Community Service of the Directorate General of Higher Education, Sutardi Mangundojo, said that since 1968 the government had been collaborating with several universities to organize CS programs for the implementation of regional development projects. The aim of the collaborative programs was to change the knowledge, skills and attitudes of community members. According to Mangundojo, lecturers and students had the duties of fostering the autonomy and self-reliance capacity of community members. With the guidance from lecturers and students, it was expected that community members could become

more productive to meet their daily needs especially food supply. Mangundojo said that the three-fold mission of higher education, which had started in 1959 and then became permanent in 1961 through community service institutions, was given a new meaning in 1968. The new meaning of the three-fold mission materialized in the form of a regional development project, thus Mangundojo said (Humas UGM, 1969f, p. 1).

The Work Meeting was attended by nine tertiary institutions which had run Centres for Regional Development. The institutions were Padjadjaran University Bandung (1 project), Bogor Agricultural Institute (2), North Sumatra University Medan (2), Diponegoro University Semarang (1), UGM (2), Brawijaya University Malang (1), Udayana University Denpasar (1) , Manado Teaching and Education Institute (1), and Hasanuddin University Makassar (1) (Humas UGM, 1969g, p. 5).

In the 1970s, collaborative schemes in implementing CS developed in conjunction with the influx of foreign investment, particularly in the mining, plantation and automotive sectors. Under the collaborative schemes with universities, foreign companies in Indonesia made use of student workers to conduct surveys of indigenous peoples and communities before they built factories and developed their businesses. The cooperation process took place with the approval and under the auspice of the Indonesian government. Henceforth, the CS lost its social impact and empowering mission highlighting the need for further research.

CONCLUSION

The article has identified the forms of CS during the early decades of the development of HE in Indonesia. CS was a very effective means for universities to contribute to solving social and economic problems of the people. Even so, the aim of CS at that time was not simply to apply the results of research or teaching on a practical setting, known today as "*hilirisasi*" or downstreamlining. The practice of CS in the 1960s and early 1970s showed an integrated three-fold mission of HE. It was the expectation of the government that, by performing the three elements of the mission (teaching, research and community service), tertiary education institutions in Indonesia would contribute to the improvement of the people's welfare. CS activities hence served effectively as an instrument to realize the HE social function.

However, it was also during the period under study that CS in Indonesian tertiary institutions began to lose the essential aspects of a social mis-

sion. The CS in practice swung between development goals and political interests. This article shows that the change in the orientation of CS was triggered by the state's institutionalization of CS programs. The formalization of CS by the government on the one hand made the HE social mission an integral part of policies that guaranteed sustainability. On the other hand, formalization also stimulated the government's interference in the direction, goals, forms and measurement of CS activities. In developing CS programs, lecturers and students more often had to observe government regulations and policies than prioritise a target community's socio-economic needs. In short, the institutionalization of CS created a State control of the program that led to the decline of its social function. The original goal of CS to decolonize the Indonesian HE, which was so livelily contested in the 1950s (Suwignyo, 2024), had become dim by the advent of a development regime in the 1970s.

This article also shows that political hegemony over universities in Indonesia began during President Soekarno's era. Even though the 1965 tragedy caused a serious intellectual decline in tertiary institutions (Thomas, 1973; Wahid, 2018a, 2018b), the process towards this decline had already begun before the tragedy. The politicization of CS was a notable case in point. Hence. the idea to renew the social purposes of CS should be carried out by studying the policy and its implementation across different political regimes.

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Appendix 1

State-Owned Higher Education Institutions Established between 1960 and 1964

No	Institution	Geographical location	Date of foundation	Faculty, School and/or Department at the time of foundation
1	Diponegoro University	Semarang, Central Java	15 Oct 1960	Law, Economics, Technology, Teacher Training & Pedagogy
2	Lambung Mangkurat University	Banjarmasin, South Kalimantan	1 Nov 1960	Law, Economics, Social & Political Sciences, Agriculture
3	Sriwijaya University	Palembang, South Sumatra	3 Nov 1960	Law, Economics, Technology
4	University of Tekonologi 10 November	Surabaya, East Java	3 Nov 1960	Technology, with sub-departments: civil engineering, mechanical engineering, ship-building, electrical engineering, chemical engineering
5	Syah Kuala University	Banda Aceh, northern Sumatra	1 July 1961	Economics, Veterinary Medicine & Animal Husbandry, Law & Social Sciences
6	North and Central Sulawesi University, renamed as Universitas Sam Ratulangi	Manado, North Sulawesi	4 July 1961	Medicine, Agriculture & Animal Husbandry, Law & Social Sciences, Economics, Teacher Training & Pedagogy
7	State University in Ambon, renamed as Universitas Pattimura	Ambon, Mollucas	1 August 1962	Law, Social & Political Sciences, Teacher Training & Pedagogy
8	State University in Denpasar, renamed as Universitas Udayana	Denpasar, Bali	17 August 1962	Letters, Teacher Training & Pedagogy, Medicine, Veterinary Medicine & Animal Husbandry
9	State University in Kupang, renamed as Universitas Nusa Cendana	Kupang, East Nusa Tenggars	1 Sep 1962	Animal Husbandry, Agriculture, Teacher Training & Pedagogy, Public & Business Administration
10	State University in Samarinda, renamed as Universitas Mulawarman	Samarinda, East Kalimantan	27 Sep 1962	Animal Husbandry, Forestry, Agriculture, Public & Business Administration
11	State University in Pekanbaru, renamed as Universitas Riau	Pekanbaru, Riau Province, eastern Sumatra	1 Oct 1962	Public & Business Administration, Teacher Training & Pedagogy, Mathematics & Physics
12	State University in Mataram, renamed as Universitas Mataram	Mataram, Western Nusa Tenggara	1 Oct 1962	Economics, Veterinary Medicine & Animal Husbandry, Agriculture
13	Cendrawasih University in Kotabaru	Jayapura, western Papua	10 Nov 1962	Teacher Training & Pedagogy, Law, Public & Business Administration, Agriculture, Animal Husbandry
14	Brawijaya University	Malang, East Java	5 Jan 1963	Economics, Law & Social Sciences, Public & Business Administration, Agriculture, Veterinary Medicine & Animal Husbandry
15	State University in Telanaipura, renamed as Universitas Jambi	Jambi, eastern Sumatra	1 Apr 1963	Law, Economics, Agriculture, Animal Husbandry
16	Institute of Teacher Training and Education, Jakarta	Jakarta, the Indonesian capital	1 May 1963	Pedagogy, Teacher Training in Social Sciences, Teacher Training in Letters & Arts, Teacher Training in Exact Sciences, Teacher Training in Technology
17	Institute of Teacher Training and Education, Bandung	Bandung, West Java	1 May 1963	Pedagogy, Teacher Training in Social Sciences, Teacher Training in Letters & Arts, Teacher Training in Exact Sciences, Teacher Training in Technology

No	Institution	Geographical location	Date of foundation	Faculty, School and/or Department at the time of foundation
17	Institute of Teacher Training and Education, Bandung	Bandung, West Java	1 May 1963	Pedagogy, Teacher Training in Social Sciences, Teacher Training in Letters & Arts, Teacher Training in Exact Sciences, Teacher Training in Technology
18	Institute of Teacher Training and Education, Yogyakarta	Yogyakarta, central southern Java	1 May 1963	Pedagogy, Teacher Training in Social Sciences, Teacher Training in Letters & Arts, Teacher Training in Exact Sciences, Teacher Training in Technology
19	Institute of Teacher Training and Education, Malang	Malang	1 May 1963	Pedagogy, Teacher Training in Social Sciences, Teacher Training in Letters & Arts, Teacher Training in Exact Sciences, Teacher Training in Technology
20	State University in Pontianak, renamed as Universitas Dwikora, then as Universitas Tanjungpura	Pontianak, West Kalimantan	20 May 1963	Law, Economics, Agriculture, Technology
21	Jendral Sudirman University	Purwokerto, Central Java	17 August 1963	Agriculture, Biology, Economics
22	Bogor Institute of Technology	Bogor, West Java	1 Sep 1963	Agriculture, Veterinary Medicine, Animal Husbandry, Fishery
23	State University in Palangkaraya	Palangkaraya, Central Kalimantan	10 Nov 1963	Forestry, Economics, Teacher Training & Pedagogy
24	State University in Jember	Jember, East Java	9 Nov 1964	Law (in Jember & Banyuwangi), Social & Political Sciences (Jember), Agriculture (Jember), Economics (Banyuwangi), Letters (Banyuwangi)
25	Institute of Teacher Training and Education, Surabaya	Surabaya , East Java	19 Dec 1964	Pedagogy, Teacher Training in Social Sciences, Teacher Training in Letters & Arts, Teacher Training in Exact Sciences, Teacher Training in Technology

Source: Koesnadi Hardjasoemantri (1982). *Study-Service as a Subsystem in Indonesia Higher Education.* Balai Pustaka, pp. 32–35.