# Student Volunteerism: Corvée Labors, Behavioural Science, and Social Reproduction in Indonesia

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*A KULIAH KERJA NYATA participant, an engineering student, assigned as a generalist, helping a villager construct a water wheel to help meet village energy needs*
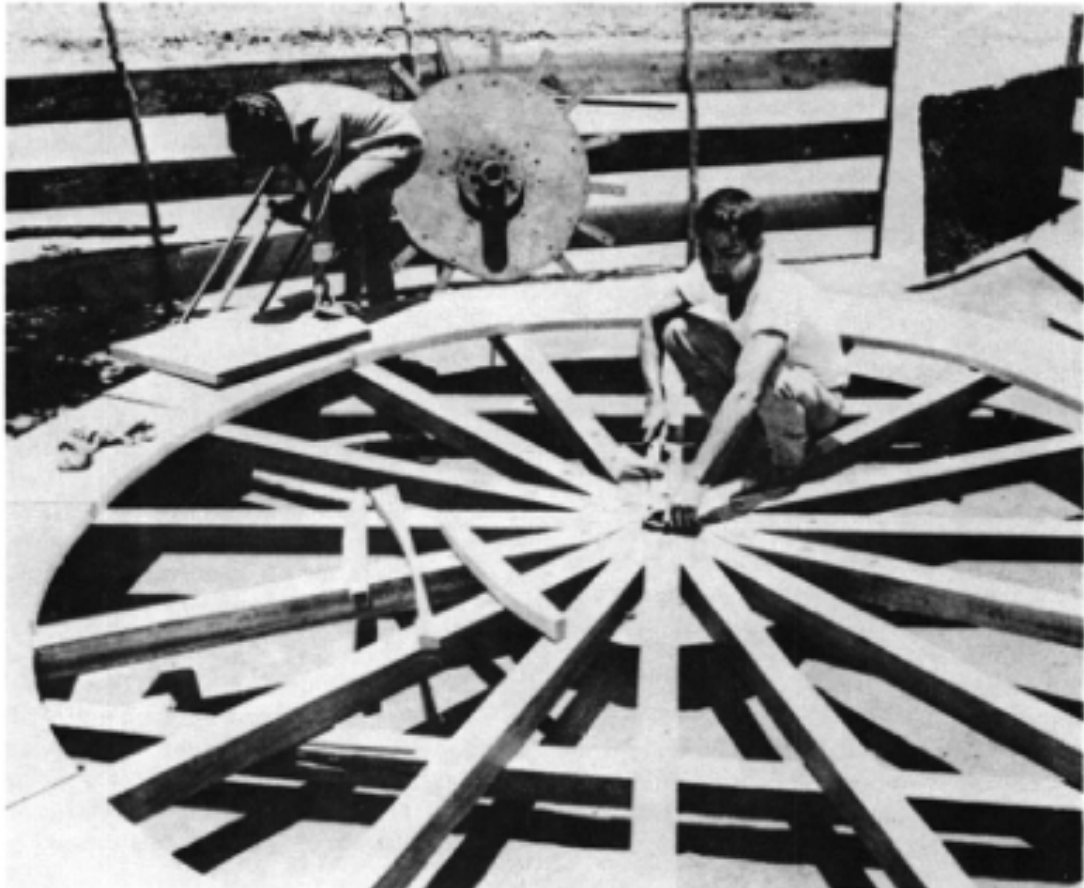
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Leiden University, 2024

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# Statement of Purpose

'Development requires martyrs' - a slip of the tongue that usually colored a conversation with my friends in Jakarta. A belief I took for granted until I was in Tanzania, where I was confronted with the realities of development. Comparing personal narratives of development from Indonesia, Congo-Kinshasa, Peru, and Haiti ignites me to re-examine the meaning of development for nation, community, and self in particular. Can a pristine asphalt road indicate development? Or is it the presence of a security force? Do 'full stomachs' and/or a 'pride march' in June symbolize development? Or do those benefits only apply to the privileged few?

I intend to reimagine the development as inclusive toward the benefit of common people. In my personal pursuit of decolonizing development discourse, I have to construct a body of knowledge in regard to historical, economic, and cultural consideration in correlation. In tandem with Feyerabend's epistemological anarchism, I believe that knowledge should not be dogmatic and instead continually rethink the established facts by considering every possibility. An aspiring academic, I surf between different realities, societies, and schools of thought. My intellectual intention lies in the words of Chinua Achebe (1998) that '*Our humanity is contingent on the humanity of our fellows. No person or group can be human alone. We rise above the animal together, or not at all.*'

Positioned in-between the periphery and the core, I inadvertently embody the 'border thinking' which I utilize to expand the geographies of knowledge. Riding a scooter from the outer margins of the globalized world, I take a pilgrimage to *metropoles* in hope of gathering the fruit of science that was forcibly taken during the colonial era.

*Never got love from a government man*
*Heading downstream till the levee give in*
*Coming down, feeling like a battery hen*
*Waves won't break 'til the tide comes in*
*What will I do in the sunrise?*
*What will I do without my dreams?*

*I just can't believe what they've done to me*
*We could never get free*
*We're all together in the same boat*
*I know you, you know me*
*Baby, you know me*

'Get Free' - Major Lazer (2012)

Andy Fharose

In their work *Study-Service: A Survey* (1979) D. Fussell and A. Quarmby mentioned:

> In trying to achieve this goal, it would seem to be better, if possible, for the main consumers of the research findings (i.e. the developers of study-service schemes) to be deeply involved in the research project at all stages and for the project to remain largely dependent on their initiative for its progress. This may possibly reduce some of its objectivity (although some other members of the research team can provide balance and control of objectivity) and it is quite likely to delay the project considerably (because these people usually have many other responsibilities that may receive greater priority than the research project). However, if this is not done, *the danger is that the research may merely contribute to the mounting piles of unused research findings to be found in so many countries.*
>
> *Although the irrelevance of some research to practical needs is one of the major causes of these dusty piles, much very relevant research also remains unused, largely because the support that is given to researchers and research institutions in so many countries is not backed by equivalent or greater support for institutions that can implement the results of their research.*
>
> In the case of study-service, it is likely that this imbalance will be avoided, because the implementation aspect of study-service is well established in several countries, whereas research is only now being considered. Nevertheless, *there is a need to guard against this danger by making sure that the research done is action research, carried out in full and continuous cooperation with those who will make use of its findings, and that support for research into study-service does not begin to exceed support for study-service itself.* (Fussell and Quarmby, 1979:33-4; my emphasis)

While in their work *Hidup dan Warisan Guru Besar Rakyat* (2007), PPI Belanda/PPI Leiden et al. wrote:

> Prof. Koesnadi stated that he is open for any initiatives, *"As long as it is constructive,"* he asked, "*who are called activists are not only the ones who prefer politics!*". Then he continues that "*If you did not appreciate other forms of activities and thoughts, it means that you could not become a good leader*." And thus, the course of dialogue can be predicted in the end. On 'educating' the students, Prof Koesnadi also uses many methods that are different according to activists' nature. *One can be 'dielus' (lured), scolded (but it needs to be finished), in discussion, etc.* PPI Belanda/PPI Leiden et al.], 2007:12-14; my emphasis)

Both citations are from the student volunteerism architects. I want to show the sheer scale of 'schooling culture' where one simply could not criticize phenomena, in this case mandatory student volunteerism (*Kuliah Kerja Nyata*) in Indonesia, without inside the '*discursive regime*'. Fussell and Quarmby (1979:33-4) wrote this suggestion in the context of further research for

study-service that should not be critical (unused research findings and need to be 'objective') and if one is critical, it is not useful for the 'main consumer' and is dangerous. PPI Belanda/PPI Leiden et al. in Koesnadi Hardjasoemantri memoir (2007:12-14) wrote recollection during 'Normalization of Campus Life' (*Normalisasi Kehidupan Kampus*) that banned the students' political activities during New Order periods when Hardjasoemantri was a rector of Gadjah Mada University (1986-1990). When the hegemonic political discursive regime becomes 'apolitical' and normalized, how could one escape reality? Foucault on once argues in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1977:187):

> Traditionally, power was what was seen, what was shown, and what was manifested...Disciplinary power, on the other hand, is exercised through its invisibility; at the same time it imposes on those whom it subjects a principle of compulsory visibility. In discipline, it is the subjects who have to be seen. Their visibility assures the hold of the power that is exercised over them. It is this fact of being constantly seen, of being able always to be seen, that maintains the disciplined individual in his subjection. And the examination is the technique by which power, instead of emitting the signs of its potency, instead of imposing its mark on its subjects, holds them in a mechanism of objectification. In this space of domination, disciplinary power manifests its potency, essentially by arranging objects. The examination is, as it were, the ceremony of this objectification.

In this light, the purpose of my research is to break the silence that student volunteerism's architects have placed in the 20th century. As Indonesia has entered another chapter of development, I want to examine the power of the paradigmatic regime in the Indonesian higher education system. In this research, I will examine the power of the discursive regime that has permeated Indonesian educated elites up till now.

Andy Fharose

# Introduction

> Likely in Latin America and Asia as well, it might be possible to show that technical "development" interventions ostensibly organized around such things as agricultural production, livestock, soil erosion, water supply, etc. have in fact often had "instrument effects" that would be systematically intelligible as part of a two-sided process of depoliticization and expansion of bureaucratic state control. (Ferguson, 1994:267)

Inspired by James Ferguson's critical research on development projects in Lesotho, my research interrogates mandatory student volunteerism, specifically *Kuliah Kerja Nyata* or KKN in short. KKN is used to and/or still compulsory program in Indonesian higher education system through a concept called *Tri Dharma Perguruan Tinggi* (the university's three main responsibilities of education, research, and community services) where university students perform development projects such as sanitation, infrastructure projects, and modernization and live in the local communities for three to four months (Mustafied, 1999:44; Hardjasoemantri, 1982). KKN as development projects can be in the village, peripheral urban settlement, and impoverished community. A heroic act of students to develop the periphery has not been discussed from a critical lens in academics where the discourse runs on the cul-de-sac of student centric roles to bring 'real' development and they often overlook the impacts beyond 'stated' goals of the projects. As a program has been implemented since 1971, it seems that failure is common rather than an exception in transforming rural and peripheral areas (Mustafied, 1999; Darmanto, 1999; Ferguson, 1994). When students leave, the project is finished and the locals return to normal life as if nothing has happened. My thesis would engage in another dimension of student volunteerism, deconstructively inquiring what KKN has done in Indonesia?

When I was in Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM) for 6 months in late 2023, I observed KKN from my friends' experiences.[1] Their KKN projects are far from materialized to improve the living condition and produce the desired effects of development. Yet what are left are the consolidation of the friendships between UGM students from different faculties, the image of peripheral Indonesia, nationalistic sense of purpose, and entrenchment of the nation-state literally

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[1] I was in the ACICIS student exchange program in UGM from August to December 2024 as a part of a course program from South and Southeast Asian studies in Leiden University. In the campus, I met a lot of students who prepared for or have conducted KKN projects that always colored my discussion with UGM students.

and figuratively. During a coffee break in mid-October 2023 one of my friends who will perform in KKN told me, what should I do in KKN? His senior suggested to him to build a public toilet, making a volleyball court for village youth, creating *taman PKK*[2] with village women, organizing sport matches, or replicating earlier projects in the previous rural site. That suggestions came from the idea that participating in KKN is mandatory for university graduation instead of doing it sincerely for 'improving' life in the rural areas. I also found the suggestion is standardized and does not begin from empirical research, where the development project is predetermined prior to fieldwork. Starting from my experience in UGM, it sparked my interest in development programs that are heavily standardized as if it is a rite of passage than actual will to improve rural areas.

**Research Question**

Instead of looking at KKN from developmentalist perspectives that seek to improve KKN as a development project according to its stated goals, my research on KKN will focus on the instrumental effects and intentions beyond the institutional framework of Indonesian higher education system that are engendered since its inception to the present day. Following a critical developmental approach, there are several questions in relation to the consequences of KKN: What are the instrumental effects and intentions that Kuliah Kerja Nyata has done in Indonesia in regard to students as a development agency? The next question that is also important is: In what ways does the state reap the benefits from implementing Kuliah Kerja Nyata as development projects?

I intend to focus on the state and students as developmental agencies rather than on targeted-rural communities of KKN project in my thesis as they are the ones who perform and legitimize the development projects in the rural areas. By focusing on their actions and discourse, I hope to comprehend the developmental paradigm that has permeated Indonesian intellectuals, bureaucracy, and society at large.

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[2] Taman PKK literally means 'village garden', which is usually planted with vegetables and flowers. Initiated by Suharto's New Order, PKK is abbreviation of P*embinaan* K*esejahteraan* K*eluarga* (Family welfare) that exists in villages throughout Indonesia. It mainly involved women in the villages. For more on PKK, see PKK Pusat ([1986]; 1993.

**Theoretical Framework**

Inquiring what *Kuliah Kerja Nyata* have done or lack thereof in the peripheral communities, I rely on the existing theoretical literature on development from anthropology and Indonesian studies. In this research, I intend to focus on several key concepts namely 'governmentality', 'developmentalism', 'coloniality of power', and 'nation-building' in order to accentuate the instrumental effects that have taken place among the students and impacted locals and to highlight the importance of KKN for Indonesian government.

Researching mandatory student volunteerism means indulging in the development discourse in Indonesia. This discourse can be referred to in the encompassing term of *pembangunanisme* or developmentalism in English according to Heryanto in *The Making of Language: Developmentalism in Indonesia* (1990). As a postcolonial nation-state, Indonesia is in the state of 'developing' where the government and intellectuals are mainly concerned on how to be a 'developed' nation-state through development planning in all sectors of areas for the sake of industrialization and having modern socio-economic construction (Heryanto, 1990; Mignolo, 2000).

In order to grasp developmentalism in Indonesia, there are two dominant perspectives that articulate development, I called them 'constructivist' and 'critical development'. The constructivist perspective is represented by researchers such as Henley in *Asia Africa Development Divergence* (2015), Suwignyo in *Mass Education* (2017)*,* Hardjasoemantri in *Study-Service as A Subsystem in Indonesian Higher Education* (1982) that the state needs to actively initiate development project in rural areas in order to produce economic growth and modernize the society at large in line with the spirit of industrialization through standardization and top-down approach.

This perspective accentuate developmental paradigm that roughly started during the colonial era to modernize and emancipate the impoverished and unproductive areas to contribute to the national economy which will induce prosperity in return by redistribution and pro-poor policy

through the usage of technology, modern education system, improving sanitation, integrating into global market, and industrialization in the scope of nation-state (Henley, 2015; Suwignyo, 2017; Hardjasoemantri, 1982, 2006; cf. Mignolo, 2000; Heryanto, 1990). They emphasize economic planning to reach the stated goals of being developed that is defined from high productivity of land, natural, and human resources.

On the other hand, the critical development perspective inspired by Foucault's analysis of power deconstructs the development framework and outcomes in the rural areas that are regularly subjected to be worthy to perform development projects. Instead focusing to seek 'real' development that commonly found in classical Marxist and liberal-developmental analysis, Ferguson in *The Anti-politics Machine* (1994), Li in *The Will to Improve* (2007), Fakih in *Authoritarian Modernization in Indonesia's Early Independence Period* (2021) and Mignolo decolonial focused in *Local Histories/Global Designs* (2000) articulate the reflective comprehension to look at historic-political implications of socio-economic engineering from development. In their perspective, development that is headed by the state and foreign aids did not benefit the locals much, but it introduces a form of state hegemony, strengthening the ruling group authority, and placing the locals as innocent subordinates in relation with the trustee (i.e. students, Non-Governmental Organization activists) or government apparatus (Ferguson, 1994; Li, 2007; Mignolo, 2000). In short, postcolonial nation-state and society is the extension of colonial state to 'develop' and mold the societies where continuation can be traced in spite of political independence.

This research, thus, will lie on critical development discourse to articulate the side-effects of KKN as a development strategy by Indonesian intellectuals-elite to transform the landscape of rural areas. Their consideration to modernize rural areas even with the best intention is often ahistorical and omitted the colonial impacts and rearranging reality in justifying their intervention (Ferguson, 1994; Mignolo, 2000). Ferguson (1994) argues that the failure in a development project does not equate with doing nothing. Rather it produces an intelligible rendition beyond the stated goals as instrumental effects that allow it to continue in transforming the rural areas. In this research, I intend to delve into the side-effects or instrumental effects that student volunteerism has articulated for the students.

**The Organization of the Thesis**

In exploring KKN as development projects by Indonesian educated elites, I will divide my research into several chapters that intermingle to create a coherent body of knowledge. First chapter discusses the preconditions of student volunteerism where I look into the origin of educated Indonesians and developmentalism which are the kernels for student volunteerism. In addition, I will specifically discuss Koesnadi Hardjasoemantri, the pioneer and architect of KKN, to contextualize his conception and the reason for student volunteerism.

In revisiting KKN, I scrutinize the history of student volunteerism in the rural areas in the second chapter. Even though Hardjasoemantri (1982, 1983, 2006) insists that student volunteerism began during the Independence war as a student brigade, I am not convinced because during my research on student militia during Indonesian Revolution 1945-49, I did not find convincing sources that can be used to proof Hardjasoemantri's assertion. In this chapter, I will explore the history of Indonesian student volunteerism and developmental programmatic endeavors in supporting state development plans.

The third chapter deals with the popular understanding of KKN among students, academia, and locals. I examine KKN's body of literature that is accessible for the students during the assignment period. I survey KKN guidebooks, proposals, and journals to look at ramifications from student volunteerism. I think there is a probability that KKN did not effectively produce the desired results according to the proposals, but it has undeniably engendered something intelligible for educated elites in Indonesia.

In the fourth chapter, I analyze the archives on student volunteerism during the New Order periods. I suspect that institutionalization of KKN as a university curriculum has an underlying hidden intention than what is written in the KKN literature for students and locals. I utilize literature from government and pro-regime related institutions and academic sources to examine the intentional purposes of student volunteerism.

Conflating two types of sources in order to construct KKN discourse, the fifth chapter assembles from previous chapters the findings that characterized KKN. Rather than engaging from inside of developmentalist discourse following Mustafied (1999), Darmanto (1999), and Aedi (1999), I take alternative architectonic that provides comparative interpretation. In this chapter, I expound the consequential outcomes from KKN in the rural areas in regards to the student and the state.

Lastly, the conclusion of my research is directed toward the implication of KKN as development projects that are institutionalized in Indonesia. I hypothesize that *Kuliah Kerja Nyata* cannot be understood as merely development projects, but also nation-building which, directly or indirectly, was inspired by colonial political policies in the past.

# Chapter One

## Precondition of Student Volunteerism

Phenomena and ideas did not come out from nothingness, they can be traced through the confluence of previous instantiations and surroundings. In post-independence, the emergence of a newly created nation-state did not equate with attrition of the colonial system and ideological foundations that have run over for millennia. More often the legacies of colonial structure of power and conduct is reinvented and reutilized by the new ruling group unconsciously as if it is an estafet stick.

My interest in KKN started from my experience in UGM where I was told by my peers about it, some of them felt that student volunteerism is a useless artifact of the past curriculum without significance in the present day. In Indonesian universities, these kinds of stories arise from many KKN experiences, and it is uncommon to find it. In this light, I need to revisit the historical context where it materialized into the livelihood of Indonesians. Without a strong foundational context, locating KKN in the midst of development will fall into ahistorical analysis that intentionally or unwittingly did not count the intelligible intentions by agencies that constitute the building blocks of this phenomena.

Indonesia, similar to others postcolonial nation-states in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, has been the subject of colonial matrix of power whereby the governmental, political economic, and academic norms intuitively follow the existing point of references that institutionalized by the colonial regime (Mignolo, 2000). The post-independence ruling groups resuscitated the previous colonial paradigm and epistemology that were already in place through bureaucracy, education, and laws after reaching relative stability in the 1950s. The development works in rural areas that characterized student volunteerism in the following periods from 1952's *Pengerahan Tenaga Mahasiswa* (PTM) to 1971's KKN is a postcolonial extension of Dutch secular 'improvement' projects and missionaries' activities in the rural and peripheral areas, such as providing native doctors and midwives to improve the health of rural residents (Hesselink, 2011). The difference would be the postcolonial agency that is accomplished by the already dominant class since the colonial periods.

## 1.1. The Making of Educated Elites

In Indonesia, students and scholars have a special position inside the nation, they are regarded as the 'protector' of the people and the scion of the progress. In the historical and popular narratives, *pemuda* (youth) and *pelajar* (student) are interchangeably used to describe the social groups that consist of educated adolescents who assume that they are the agent of changes - during 1945 Indonesian Revolution, 1965 anti-communist protests and its subsequence Sukarno downfall and 1998 Reformation. Students are a crucial fabric of the nation-state; they position themselves as 'representative and the bearer' of the people in the dialectical relation with the state. In UGM, this paradigm manifests as *kampus kerakyatan* (populist campus), where the students and scholars are regarded as the 'vanguard of the people's interest'.[3] Nevertheless, the interest that they serve is the agenda of developmentalism where it is a projection of the idealized vision by the elite on how the nation-state should manifest into everyday life.

Elite are at the helm of the nation where their discourse is the dominant in Indonesia. Elite are disproportionately educated than the rest of the population (Mysbergh, 1957). According to Fakih (2021:19), the formative periods of the modern Indonesian educated elite consisted of the descendants of the *priyayi* or aristocratic class. As a consequence, *priyayi* worldview is one of the important factors in the construction of Indonesian academics. Their access to state power during the colonial era enabled them to dominate the colonial indigenous bureaucracy (*Pangreh Praja*). In order to fill bureaucratic positions, they needed to have the education that Dutch provided after the enactment of Ethical Policy in 1901 (Fakih 2021; Mysbergh, 1957). In that sense, *priyayi* monopolized both education opportunity and colonial bureaucracy which continued to the 1970s and largely dominated the bureaucratic and academic landscape (Fakih, 2021; Mysbergh, 1957).

Originating from the *priyayi* class, the educated elite amassed their power inside colonial bureaucracy and later filled the gaps of Indonesian government apparatus. During the transition

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[3] Indonesia's national historiography emphasizes the role of the students in reaching Indonesian independence and significant historical events: i.e. Budi Utomo, Indonesian Student Association, 1998 May Protest. For more on the *pemuda* movements during the Japanese occupation in Indonesia, see Anderson (1972), which was then translated into Indonesian under the title *Revoeloesi Pemoeda: Pendudukan Jepang dan Perlawanan di Jawa 1944-1946*. Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1988.

period to the modern Indonesian state, *priyayi* had institutional advantage where they had Dutch modern education and as a consequence from the former, they monopolized local bureaucracy (Fakih, 2021:19). Their access to state power and education prepare them to be the authority of experts and dominate the modern Indonesian state in which they are the proponents of developmentalism since the Sukarno era (Fakih, 2021).

Dutch education was the principal unifying factor of the educated elite since the 19th century (Mysbergh, 1957). In fact, since the beginning of the 20th many children of the *priyayi* had been sent to the Netherlands to continue their studies in higher education (Poeze 1986; 1989). Koesnadi Hardjasoemantri, the pioneer of KKN, is one of the examples of *priyayi* who became prominent in shaping Indonesia through his position as UGM rector and bureaucratic positions where his background gives a chance to access a limited spot of education and close to the government. Educated elite claims that they are representing and leading the masses – *rakyat* by positioning themselves as public intellectuals (Suwignyo, 2017; Mysbergh, 1957). Public intellectuals in Indonesia are not public nor the masses. They claim to represent the 'masses', yet intellectuals are not *rakyat* per se. Intellectuals, who are students, scholars, and technocrats, are conscious of their position in relation to *rakyat*.

> Many of the elite have an idealized theoretical concept of the "rakjat" (people) but no real identification with the workers and peasants nor understanding of their actual problems. Their attitude, partly based on the utopian ideals of the revolution, is that it is their duty to work for the people's welfare and to lead and instruct it, but their approach is paternalistic. (Mysbergh, 1957:39)

Educated elite did not have a real identification with the *rakyat* that included peasants and workers. Throughout the history of Dutch East Indies and by extension Indonesia, the authority of the state is sourced on the bureaucratic employment of *priyayi* and later educated elite in which they are the ruling group that define the trajectory of Indonesian state. According to Fakih (2021:21), the modern Indonesian state is a history of its bureaucracy and by extension, the nation's educated elites. The so-called modern Indonesia is a syncretism of western scientific advancements that is introduced during Ethical Policy with the opening of schooling for *priyayi* and feudalism of traditional corporatism that has been instituted by Dutch (Van der Meer, 2020;

Fakih, 2021). It implies that the liberal colonial legacy of the 19th to 20th century still plays a role in determining the development of postcolonial Indonesia.

## 1.2. Tracing Developmentalism and Developmental Works in Colonial Times

The current structure of rule where intellectuals are included as technocrats can be traced back to the colonial bureaucratic regime where the colonial paradigm has embedded itself into the mind of the educated elite, especially in justifying the role of knowledge and the existence of the state. According to Li (2007) and Van der Meer (2020), the Dutch colonial regime legitimized their conduct by bringing the improvement and modernity for the natives and extracting profits from the colony.

Simultaneously contradictory, the Indies colonial discourse is a contestation of being the protector and enlightenment for the populace and state corporatism that extract the resources and subject natives to the colonial exploitation such as corvée and indentured laborers (Owen, 2010; Li, 2007). Colonial administration paradoxically tried to improve locals' livelihood as a benevolent liberal regime while enhancing economic productivity by extracting and exploiting more efficiently. By introducing modern technologies and training, the colonial bureaucracy expected the natives could reinvigorate their natural autonomy and responsibility on their own improvement while benefiting the colonial economy (Li, 2007:43). Forget to realize that socio-economic natives' hurdles and impoverishment are caused by the colonial extractive economy (Li, 2007; Alatas, 1977).

> In the Indies as in others colonies, the contradiction of capitalism and the dual mandate of profit and improvement continually reemerged and were debated…In the century before the Ethical Policy, the official instructions of the Residents (the senior Dutch officials in each district), reflected a diffuse paternalism concerned with protecting Natives from multitude of treats, while stopping short of recognizing the complicity of colonialism itself in creating or exacerbating the problems that benevolent rule had to correct…Ethical programs attending to Native welfare included no provisions to counter the growing inequalities within the Native population - inequalities in which Dutch policies were implicated. (Li, 2007:41-4)

Fakih (2021) adjoining Li (2007) noticed that during the 19th to the 20th century the role of experts in rural areas has expanded and in itself constitutes the state intervention in the rural societies. Modernity which implies the usage of technology and scientific knowledge for the betterment of the future has justified the state territorial and hegemonic legitimacy. Li (2007) asserts that the postcolonial improvement project resembles closely with the colonial development project, in fact missionary works and rural improvement, i.e. sanitation, introduction of new cash crops, modernization, were recycled as development projects after the 1950s.

> Like the British "white man's burden" and French *mission civilisatrice*," the Ethical Policy was based on the presumption that with Western superiority, rooted in scientific and technological prowess, came the moral obligation to civilize and improve the welfare of the allegedly stagnant, backward, and indolent colonized peoples. This idea was reflected in educational policies, agricultural reforms, and a modernized rationalization of colonial governance. (Van der Meer, 2020:49)

I think that liberal-era native improvement projects were relegated to the indigenous bureaucracy in the subsequent rationalization of early 19th century colonial administration with the help of Dutch experts. By establishing education institutions such as *School tot Opleiding van Inlandsche Artsen* (native medicine school) and *Holladsch-Inlandsche School* (native secondary school) after the enactment of Ethical Policy, the colonial government experimented with utilizing native elite who are descendent of aristocracy as their apparatus. In line with the previous tactic of indirect rule during the 18th century, the colonial government tried to assimilate the native upper class into the colonial modernity in ruling Indies (Van der Meer, 2020; Fakih, 2021). As colonial governments employ technocratic experts to the rural areas, social hierarchy is recast to include experts in local politics as authority without acknowledging political agency of the experts as they claimed to advise, consult, and direct the conduct of conduct for the improvement projects. The educated natives in this period were placed at the bottom of the hierarchy of experts and mandated to perform technical jobs (Van der Meer, 2020). The colonial rationalization did not materialize entirely as metropole indicated where feudalistic form of relation was still entrenched in power of authority even with the eve of modernization.

> [In the late 19th century] as advisor, Snouck Hurgronje drew attention to a contradiction within colonial policy: the government's continued reliance on Javanese forms of deference while seeking to modernize the

> colonial relationship…Yet to Snouck Hurgronje's dismay, Dutch civil servants clung to the notion that deference etiquette not only remained relevant but was indispensable for upholding colonial authority. (Van der Meer, 2020:60-1)

It should not be surprising that postcolonial development resembles 19th century Dutch colonialism. Developmentalism or known as *pembangunanisme* that based postcolonial state legitimacy on the economic performance: developing resource-based economy, rural and pro-poor improvement, and modernization is the extension of colonial liberal paradigm that has been inherited by the educated Indonesians. They are trained to perform rural improvement as technical issues rather than touching rural impoverishment and poverty as result of colonial extractive policies. Educated Indonesian that is exemplified by Koesnadi Hardjasoemantri, Widjojo Nitisastro, and Soemitro Djojohadikoesoemo who are New Order technocrats that designed modern Indonesia are indirectly exposed to these ideals before it was called developmentalism through their background from colonial bureaucratic family. Most of them are born from aristocratic families whose parents worked in the colonial bureaucracy as native officials that directly implemented the improvement projects during Ethical periods. In addition, as I mentioned earlier, they have monopolized and accessed Dutch modern education in shifting their social status from aristocracy to knowledge-based position of experts to solve technical issues in the societies while avoiding political repercussions of the problem. Hence developmentalism is hand to hand with the *priyayi* persistence in dominating the research and scientific sector of the society.

> At the same time, considering the *priyayi* background of most of these intellectuals, they were also rooted in indigenous society with their own languages, social customs, and cultural performances. It was their challenge to combine these experiences—East and West—in their endeavor for kemajuan (progress), for which the notion of modernity was key. (Van der Meer, 2020: 56)

## 1.3. Understanding Student Volunteerism through the Life of Koesnadi Hardjasoemantri

To understand the continuation of the late Dutch colonial improvement project, it can be explained through the life of Koesnadi Hardjasoemantri who institutionalized student volunteerism. I position him in the node of historical continuation from colonial to post independence whereby Hardjasoemantri exemplified the 45' generation of intellectual-elite.

Hardjasoemantri's background is a typical educated elite, similar to nationalists and technocrat figures such as Sukarno and Soemitro Djojohadikusumo. Born in Tasikmalaya, 9th December 1926 from Sundanese *ménak*[4] (nobility) class whose father Gaos Hardjasoemantri was educated *Pangreh Praja* high official during Dutch colonial era and later as a Bogor resident (1945-46) for Republic of Indonesia (PPI Belanda/PPI Leiden et al., 2007:9).

Coming from a nobility background, it allowed him to access higher education than average Indonesian in the early 20th century where according to Fakih (2021:19) their access to state power afforded them to equip for the demands of the modern state through near-monopoly on higher education. When Dutch was replaced by Japanese occupation in 1940, he went to Bandung for *Holland Indische School* (HIS). Later in 1947 during the midst of the Indonesian revolution, he enrolled in *Hogere Burgerschool* (HBS), equivalent to secondary education for aristocrats and European youths.

I suggest that this period is crucial for Hardjasoemantri's life, his experience ultimately connected to the preconceived concept of student volunteerism. As a young student in Jakarta during the Revolution, it is safe to say that he was influenced by the nationalist agenda of the educated elite. The fact is that he is a member of *Tentara Pelajar,* student militia, under Letkol. Alex Kawilarang who operated around West Java (Bogor-Sukabumi) and Central Java (Banjarnegara-Yogyakarta) (PPI Belanda/PPI Leiden et al., 2007: 8-9). According to Laily Muzdalifah in PPI Belanda/PPI Leiden et al., 2007:23), Alex Kaliwarang entrusted him to deliver Japanese looted jewelry to the Finance Ministry in Yogyakarta and he was also nearly captured by the KNIL (The Royal Netherlands East Indies Army) army if he was not a short man. Not only that, Sabam Siagian, an Indonesian journalist in Koesnadi's obituary stated that during his time as *Tentara Pelajar*, he founded 'guerrilla school' for refugees that was impermanent because of war.

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[4] *Ménak* is a Sundanese term to connote *priyayi*, a nobility class that already existed from the precolonial era and continued to rule and incorporated into the Dutch colonial system as *Pangreh Praja* (indigenous administration) bureaucracy and interestingly, they played a pivotal role as post-independence bureaucrats as exemplified by Hardjasoemantri father (Fakih, 2021). For more on the Sundanese *ménak*, see Herlina (1998).

He taught algebra, English, and French around the end of 1948 (PPI Belanda/PPI Leiden et al., 2007:27; Koesnadi Hardjasoemantri, 1983:21). It is not superficial to say that 'guerrilla school' during the Revolution is the kernel of *Kuliah Kerja Nyata* as Koesnadi acknowledged:

> At that time, arising a concept to make Brigade XVII that would become "vanguard" for intellectuals. Under this Brigade, it is felt that there is a need for education and general teaching and specialization for the members beside education and military assignment. To accommodate these two urgent needs, the students can be mobilized, so that besides having military assignments, they need to serve as teachers. (Hardjasoemantri, 1983:21)

The Revolution period has left an impression on Koesnadi as a son of *priyayi* in the nascent of a newly born nation-state called Indonesia. Differing from the previous 1928 generation, Koesnadi and 1945 generation like Mohammad Sadli and Widjojo Nitisastro, who participated in the revolution as student battalions, place a greater emphasis on nation-building through social sciences and its implementation. Fakih (2021) and Mysbergh (1957) identify several generations in Indonesian elite-intellectual divergence where the 1928 generation are primarily Dutch-educated against 'Western' social sciences, and they lay their power on mass agitation and idealize '*rakyat'* - populism. For example, Sukarno and Roslan Abdulgani despise *Holland denken* (Dutch mentality). The 1945 generation which includes Koesnadi is more inclined to adopt and utilize social sciences in the name of development and sourced their legitimacy from education. In the New Order 1966-1998 they became what are known as technocrats. Their inclination to back to the improvement project is facilitated by the stability of the New Order where Indonesia reverted back to the colonial justification of developmental state that lay the state existence on the basis of modernization, performative economic growth, and rural improvement.

According to Henley (2015:200), the educated elites' participation in the national revolution and mingling with rural population and urban poor has created an inclusive nationhood and a sincere belief of social justice among elites that was forged during violent revolution. This expression can be found on Koesnadi's essay entitled 'Peran Pemuda Pelajar Indonesia dalam Perjuangan Bangsanya' (The role of Indonesian youth students in the struggle of their nation) in his book (2006:227) in which he reflected that 'they (students) are a genuine part of the people that *sepi*

*ing pamrih,*[5] and willing to die for their people'. Nationalist and knightly as it sounds, his statement represents a common view among Indonesian educated elite in their perceived role in the nation-state as a guardian of the people and public intellectual of the state similar to the colonial expression of power during the Ethical Policy period.

Partaking as a student militia prompted Koesnadi nationalist precedent and his interest in education where he later worked as academic and bureaucrat. After 1949, Koesnadi delved into environmental laws and student organizations in Universitas Gadjah Mada to continue his 'guerrilla school'. This time not only in Java, but in the periphery of Indonesia. It seems that in his book *Ekologi, Manusia, dan Kebudayaan* (2006) KKN is seen as a continuation of the struggle that Brigade XVII and Corps Mahasiswa/Tentara Pelajar had initiated. In his reflection, he narrates the direct 'organizational' links of the 1945 generation and their student organizations like Corps Mahasiswa (Student Corps) and *Ikatan Pemuda Pelajar Mahasiswa* (Assotiation of Pupils, Youth, and Student) to institutionalize student volunteerism.

However, as I have discussed on the colonial improvement project, I do not think that Hardjasoemantri's student brigade can be fully attributed for the creation of student volunteerism. Improvement project that is now viewed as development did not suddenly prop up from his guerrilla school; it can be said that most of the student volunteerism is indirectly derived from the localized improvement project. It is a question of agency, but even if we analyze the agency of development, they are still dominated by the educated Indonesian that has been created as a middle class and bureaucratic apparatus since the colonial era (Van der Meer, 2020; Fakih, 2021).

In the subsequent chapters, I will analyze further to explain student volunteerism by linking the continuity rather than disfracture on the intersectionality of development and educated elite in attempts to produce the narrative of developmental state that is intact in Indonesia. As I have discussed earlier, the colonial improvement project has relied on the educated elite to maintain legitimacy. The shifting of authority to experts and education was not merely the sign of

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[5] *Sepi ing pamrih* means sincere without reciprocation.

modernization, rather it followed the educated elite's source of power as the Dutch performed rationalization of colonial government.

# Chapter Two

## Student Volunteerism for the Counter Revolutionary Regime

> Global designs also hide the local history from which they themselves emanate and are presented as if they were a natural unfolding of history. (Mignolo, 2000)

Prior 1951, the government launched a program that began with 3 young students to teach voluntarily in Kotaraja, Aceh in 1949 to supplement educational manpower (Hardjasoemantri, 1983). This program in 1951-1962, called *Pengerahan Tenaga Mahasiswa* (Student Resource's Mobilization - PTM) was aimed to establish Indonesian 'education' outside of Java. In return, the students were regarded as civil servants and would receive scholarships by the government. After the end of the program, the government and the educated elites especially the one who joined PTM earlier started to plan for the nationalization of the program where students are mandatory by laws to work on the peripheries, mostly rural areas to enforce development for the nation-state.

Starting in 1972, Andalas University in Sumatra, Gadjah Mada University (UGM) in Java, and Hasanuddin University in Sulawesi implemented *Kuliah Kerja Nyata* (KKN) as a part of their curriculum. As the pioneer of this program, UGM even sent its students to various parts of Indonesia (Figure 2). In English, KKN can be translated as Study-Service Scheme by Indonesian government and Koesnadi Hardjasoemantri's works where it is a two-way concept of interaction between ('service' for and 'study' of) rural masses and (study by and service by) students for development of the nation-state (Hardjasoemantri, 1982:148-150; Atmakusuma, 1978; Fussell and Quarmby, 1979).[6] The literal translation of KKN according to the Department of Education and Culture is 'Learning through Real Work' (Antmakusuma, 1978). KKN as a term was coined in November 1972 during a seminar about PTM that combined two idioms, *Kuliah Kerja* which means fieldwork and *Kerja Nyata* means practical work for the benefit of a society (Hardjasoemantri, 1982:157). Depending on the periods, KKN that started as substituting teachers by students in the peripheral area in the 1950s turned into development works such as

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[6] As aforementioned, study-service Scheme is the official translation of KKN by the government and Koesnadi Hardjasoemantri (see Hardjasoemantri, 1982). In most of the English books of KKN, it refers to KKN as study-service rather than student volunteerism as the Koesnadi and the government who adopt and enact his idea regard KKN as *pengabdian* (devotion) to the masses by students.

building bridges and creating public toilets and promotion of new techno-economic applications in rural areas, and lastly became an unpaid internship program in some universities for two to six months.

Although PTM in 1951 is a starting point in most popular literature, Indonesian student volunteerism did not start there. According to Hardjasoemantri in his dissertation on *Study-Service as A Subsystem in Indonesian Higher Education* (1982:100)*, student volunteerism was initiated during Indonesian Revolution 1945-49 where students formed student militia which continues to exist after the revolution through various youth organizations. Even though they no longer hold weapons, they lobbied the government to create PTM (Hardjasoemantri, 1983). In addition, another volunteerism for graduated students developed independently in the scheme called *Badan Urusan Tenaga Kerja Sukarela Indonesia* (Board of Indonesian Volunteerism - BUTSI) directly by the government which also paved the way for KKN to exist alongside PTM (Hardjasoemantri, 1983; Fussel and Quarmby, 1974). Yet the historical facts on BUTSI is rarely mentioned as the precursor of KKN and Koesnadi Hardjasoemantri was not the only one who design KKN (Fussell and Quarmby 1979; 1974), what is it then the contextual history of student volunteerism?
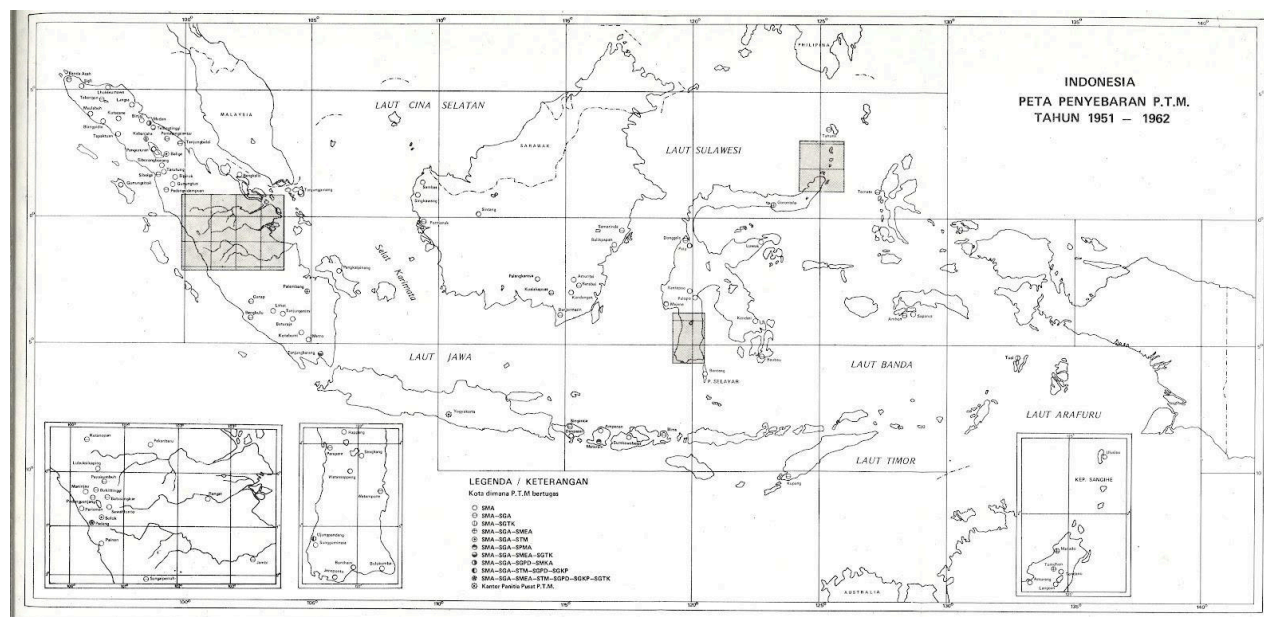


Figure 1: Earlier phase of student volunteerism (KKN) (Hardjasoemantri,1983)

Figure 2: UGM KKN in 2020 (UGMKKN, 2023)[7]

## 2.1. Global Designs

Between 1951 and 1961, Ford foundation created Fund for Adult Education (FAE) in United States where US university embarked on Experimental Discussion Project (EDP) to social engineering that 'was not only inspired by social science, but also how it was practically set up as an applied scientific experiment' (De Jong, 2019:401). In the trial in the 'test cities', FAE hoped to 'derive clues from these observation posts as a laboratory, a microcosm in which the national programs in related application' could be observed in the 'whole process of community education'. Meetings of various kinds and the use of mass media would be experimented with. Communities should grow 'self-aware'. Their needs and resources in adult education were assessed, 'to encourage and observe invention and experimentation.' (De Jong, 2019:409).

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[7] From: (https://kalikarung-kalibawang.wonosobokab.go.id/postings/details/1048133/KKN_PPM_UGM_2023.HTML), Accessed 15th June 2024.

> The programme was likened to a tree. The roots were fact-finding about the community, discussion programmes, and mass media, out of which would grow the trunk of the community; its branches would be economic, international, political, and humanities education; its leaves mature and responsible citizens'. This suggested a harmonious idea of citizenship. (De Jong, 2019:409)

De Jong (2019:441) stated that the results of EDP is that 'participants become more open-minded and tolerant of opposing views and demonstrating that to the extent adults become involved in such a coordinated pattern' in short, the participants become docile and mealabe while the social structure becomes paternalistic. EDP is a 'package' of an 'adult education' that can be used in order to control the educated elite, especially college graduates and the community they are inserted into. But what is the 'application' of social engineering?

### 2.1.1. *The Myths of Indonesian 'Low Quality' Research*

When I was in Leiden Library for the introduction of South and Southeast Asian studies in 2021, a librarian once told me that 'you cannot use Indonesian research papers because it is 'low quality''. This argument is not true at all, instead what happens is 'that power produces knowledge, or how 'carceral' their schools, offices, or factories are.' (Heryanto, 2002:20). In many cases, Indonesian researchers who study abroad, such as the Netherlands, can produce more abstract and far-reaching research, but when they return to Indonesia, they are tasked by university or government to find 'applicable' solutions rather than continuing their advance research.[8]

This is by design rather than cultural. In Hardjasoemantri (1982:267) and Fussell and Quarmby (1979), they noted that the main theories for student volunteerism come from E.F. Schumacher's *Small is Beautiful* (1973) where 'science and engineering produce 'know-how'; but 'know-how' is nothing by itself; it is a means without an end, a mere potentiality, an unfinished sentence. 'Know-how' is no more culture than a piano is music. Can education help us to finish the sentence, to turn the potentiality into reality to the 'benefit of man'?' The problem with Schumacher is that 'The text lacks a systematic critical appreciation of global power structure'.

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[8] I heard these stories multiple times from Indonesian students and researchers that they 'prefer' to research 'technical' solutions that the result is assured rather than complex problems.

While Schumacher acknowledges capitalist and colonial legacies, his political economy fails to overcome the 'North-South divide, and despite his overtures to holism, he fails to erect an analysis that pays attention to the global dimensions of socio, political and economic analyses.' (Ford and Harris, 2023:3). As a result, Indonesia is unable to produce high quality academic research as the epistemological regime that is taught needs to be 'technical' while other 'developed' countries can conduct more research (cf. Putro, 2000:166).

Meanwhile, Netherlands after Indonesian independence has a surplus of unemployed skilled colonial officers where 'in 1962, the Netherlands government had to consider what to do with its former colonial administrators and with a new generation that would not have the same socializing (and employment) experiences that had reinforced Dutch nationalism in the past. Both would be funneled into the *Jongeren Vrijwilligers Program*.' (Cobbs, 1996:103). They become the volunteer instructors and 'experts' for 'development' that is supported by United States as 'Cold War necessities naturally led people (US and European government) to think of how the proselytizing strategies with which they were familiar-like missionary outreach and philanthropic support to 'underdeveloped' areas-might be applied to psychological warfare.' (Cobbs, 1996:92).

2.1.2. *Netherlands, America, and Cold War: Student Volunteerism*

It is known in development discourse that 'there is even a measure of continuity between contemporary 'development' work and the popular and student movements centering on Third World issues.' (Ferguson, 1994:282). As development studies, and by extension anthropology, in post-world war 1950 is born out of Western allies' efforts to contain communism and 'revolution' in the colonized nation-states, while simultaneously controlling their educated elites and rural communities. (Parmar, 2015).

> A 1952 letter from one of the first three Australian volunteers, who went at their own, not their government's expense, revealed similar concerns. The young engineer, writing to his parents, revealed a patriotic sense of Australian exceptionalism and a Cold War anxiety remarkably similar to that of Peace Corps founders a few years later. The Indonesian revolutionary spirit, if broken by intransigent poverty and disease, would be followed by a loss of hope, he warned. "They'll turn to the Communists—like China." Australia, he believed, was uniquely positioned to win over the revolutionaries to the way of the West. "No

country matters more to Indonesia than we do," the volunteer asserted. "Britain and Holland — NO—
colonial countries. America —NO— imperialist. Russia —NO— imperialist. If Australia fails — they'll
turn to China." In the same letter the volunteer also quoted an Australian chargé d'affaires: "If Indonesia
fails, Australia is sunk! "

The Cold War, the fear that the West might lose it, and the increasing attention to political and
psychological warfare in the twentieth century all provided one framework in which policymakers and even
the public could readily understand the need for something like the Peace Corps and see the advantages it
would bring. For the governments that had allied with the United States in this war, starting their own
"peace corps" fit into another framework as well. (Cobbs, 1996:94)

During the Cold War, America created Peace Corps in 1961, a student volunteerism that is
designed for middle to upper class young Americans, which, as developed by Kennedy, contain
communism and to bring improvement to the 'underdeveloped' nation-states (Cobbs, 1996).
They certainly used EDP and Schumacher (1973) as an educational paradigm to mold the youth.
This programme evolved into an international consortium that included western allies, such as
Netherlands, British, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand called International Secretariat for
Volunteer Service (ISVS) that published an *International Volunteer Newsletter* in 1963. (Cobbs,
1996:88) that tries to 'export' American volunteerism to third world countries (Fussell and
Quarmby, 1981).

As a result of Indonesian academics being focused on technical research during the New Order,
the position of expert reverted back to the 20th century colonial era where ex-colonial officers
who joined JVP and independently serve as higher echelon on Indonesian bureaucracy vis-á-vis
knowledge production. This caused unequal knowledge production that still permeates to some
degree in Indonesia and other Global South nation-states. This condition is not uniquely
Indonesians, but some countries in Africa and Asia experience unequal knowledge production
with the 'west' where their researcher is regarded as an interlocutor rather than on equal footing.
It is systematic as well as normalized in the 20th century that Indonesian academia 'need' to
consult to foreign consultants/experts/ researchers. In the postcolonial era, the Netherlands,
United Kingdom, and America had a grip on power of knowledge production and 'export' of
expertise that in my estimation has contributed significantly to each national economy of the

'west'. The significant economic downtrun in the 'west' currently is the result of alternative experts, similar to the shifting of the global dynamic to China and other non-western countries.

I noted that Diana Fussell and Anfrew Quarmby was a UN Development Programme consultant who works with BUTSI and KKN, basically a student volunteerism expert who is assisted by Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) who are also the subject of Ferguson (1994) research in Lesotho (Fussell and Quarmby, 1979:23; 1974. They 'formerly worked in the development of New Zealand's national 'export' volunteer scheme, VSA' (Fussell and Quarmby, 1981).[9] They are the agency that export student volunteerism to Indonesia by promoting it to Koesnadi Hardjasoemantri and other Indonesian bureaucrats that was in charge post-1965. In this context, *Badan Urusan Tenaga Kerja Sukarela Indonesia* (BUTSI) was born in January 1968 (Hardjasoemantri, 1982:111) with the help of them  (1974; 1979; 1981) who are the representatives of ISVS to the 'developing nation-states'.

## 2.2. Local Histories

After Independence in 1945, Indonesia under Sukarno was politically unstable. In 1965, there was a counter-coup that established the new regime called New Order, headed by Suharto. It is the result of the military-educated elite alliances that felt uneasy with Sukarno's administration and the growing influence of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) which at the time was the third biggest communist party outside of China and the Soviet Union. The New Order is a counter-revolutionary regime that massacred 500,000 to 1,2 million Indonesians and installed military into civilian positions who are supported by the United States (Roosa, 2020).

### 2.2.1. *Indonesian New Order and Education*

In the aftermath of counter-coup in 1965, the New Order's state wanted to 'eradicate', 'reeducate', and 'maintain' the order, especially in the rural areas from communist/nationalist

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[9] Diana Fussell and Andrew Quarmby persuasion is really important in the making of KKN in Indonesia. To illustrate this, Hardjasoemantri (1983) dissertation on KKN has intertextuality with Fussell and Quarmby (1974). Look at their chapters on 'Consumer Education', it is the same text. They already worked for BUTSI and KKN where they used that as the prominent examples of study-service success in their brochure of development programme (1979).

influences. BUTSI is precisely created to accommodate these needs with the help of Ford Foundation, ISVS, and pro-army students' organizations such as IPPM and *Corps Mahasiswa* (Hardjasoemantri, 1983). As a local derivative of Peace Corps, it was made to accommodate 'foreign volunteers' and unemployed youths, namely the United States, Netherlands, and Australia while gathering 'rural' information and spreading Americanization of Indonesian education and socio-cultural (Fakih, 2021; Cobbs, 1996; Fussell and Quarmby, 1974).

In East Java, where once a communist stronghold prior-1965, Ford Foundation sent A.L. Becker, American Southeast Asianist to report and oversee Brawijaya University students (I.K.I.P. Malang, 1971:27). Through 'opening elementary school', the university alongside American consultants conducted 'classified research' on the influence of PKI in South Blitar on 24th to 26th September 1969 (I.K.I.P. Malang, 1971:20). The university used students to find the 'communists', by training them from the provided materials from Ford Foundation covertly through English class that A.L. Becker is sent.

The continuation of this programme is BUTSI and KKN in 1971 to maintain the students' vis-a-vis rural population by subjecting them to 'voluntary' service and 'reeducation' that is inspired by Schumacher (1973). Fussell and Quarmby (1974, 1979, 1981) worked as the 'consultants' for this student volunteerism programme where they published reports on preparing students in the rural areas. In addition, Koesnadi Hardjasoemantri in the 1970s worked on consolidating Indonesian higher education systems for the New Order to reduce the influence of Marxism and (probably) Islamist by Americanizing Indonesian universities (Hardjasoemantri, 1976). In continuing BUTSI, with local flavors, student volunteerism is handed down to Indonesian students as a compulsory part of their education and still in effect till now.

> In November 1972, a group of people interested in study-service schemes, including representatives of many of the world's pioneering schemes in this field (from Indonesia, Ethiopia, Nepal, Nigeria, Thailand, India, and the United Kingdom), met in Yogyakarta for a seminar organized by Indonesia's Department of Education and Culture on "Study-Service Activities in Higher Education." As far as we know, this was the first international meeting devoted specifically to the subject of study-service.
>
> Participants at this seminar came to the conclusion that some research needed to be done on the effects of study-service activities. It was also suggested that this research be developed in the form of individual but

> parallel research projects in different countries, with the projects interlinked to allow an exchange of ideas on methods, experience, and results. As a preliminary step in helping this research get under way, the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) asked us to write this background paper on study-service. (Fussell and Quarmby, 1979:7)

In the same event, Koesnadi Hardjasoemantri remarked:

> This seminar gives all of us just this opportunity to exchange views and experience on the question of the development of study-service activities in higher education, a concept that I would define as students obtaining a very important part of their education by direct practical involvement in work which is of value to the welfare of other people and the nation as a whole as well as of value to the development of their own personal integrity. The inclusion of study-service activities in higher education curricula is a major change in itself and, if successful, is likely to assist a number of other changes to take place within education.

> Because of this potential for change, this potential to disturb the status quo, people seeking to pioneer the study-service concept in their countries must expect to find themselves traveling at times on a difficult, often frustrating and sometimes lonely road, and the chance to meet and exchange experience with other pioneers from other institutions and from other countries is always a very welcome one. (Hardjasoemantri, 1982:154)

As Hardjasoemantri said, Indonesia is not the only case. Student volunteerism that Fussell, Quarmby, and Hardjasoemantri developed during the 1960-70s was exported to other countries in dire need to control their student activism and in need of cheap labor resources. The seminar in 1972 is akin to the promotion for KKN model, a standardied package of student volunteerism.

### 2.2.2. *Nepal on Student Volunteerism*

Similar to KKN who claims history of student volunteerism is an originated from local history (e.g., Student Militia during Revolution), work on rural improvement, technical and community service that try to solve 'immediate problems' [similar to Schumacher (1973)], patrimonial state, and intended for 'educated elite', there are multiple nation-states that enacted 'similar' mandatory student volunteerism for political purposes and/or gain cheap labor resources in Asia and Africa (see Table 1). And when student volunteerism is successful, it is washed into 'traditional/education culture'.

| Nation-states | Mandatory Student Volunteerism | Establishment Year |
|---|---|---|
| Ethiopia | Ethiopian University Service | 1964 |
| Indonesia | Kuliah Kerja Nyata | 1972 |
| Nepal | National Development Service | 1973 |

Table 1: Student volunteerism that Fussell and Quarmby helped to establish.

Nepal was undergoing a democratic revolution in 1951 when it was suddenly stopped by the counter-coup in 1960 that gave rise to a repressive regime by King Mahendra who changed Nepal into a *Panchayat* system, similar to one-party dominant state like New Order (Messerschmidt et al., 1970:189).[10] Yet the resistance to the authoritarian regime commenced from students who use student's organizations to organize resistance. The National Development Service (NDS) that Fussell and Quarmby (1979), the same people who work on KKN, helped to introduce did not hold the wave as it instead became a medium for students to spread the revolutionary message (Messerschmidt et al, 2007:188). It was stopped as students' protests became ineffective and reversed for the government to curb student activism.

> The Panchayat government again tried to curb partisan student activity through its institution of the 1971 National Education System Plan (NESP). The new educational policy was a step toward American education; it introduced a semester system with regular exams and attendance, which left little time for politics. Many who were student and party activists at the time continue to regard the education policy suspiciously as a Panchayat machination to eliminate dissent rather than improve education under the pressure of foreign aid. NISC [National Independent Student Council] students violently enforced these new education policies on campuses from 1975 to 1979, a period known as the "mandale terror" (Ojha 2012: 150). One of the keys demands the students made during their political movement of 1978–79 was to roll back the NESP mandates affecting higher education and disband the NISC student organization.

> Another plan the Panchayat government introduced in the hopes of tamping dissent was the Back to the Village campaign through the National Development Service (1972–79). Implemented as part of the 1971 NESP policy, this program required master's students at Tribhuvan University to perform a year of service that involved practical training in first aid, agriculture, teaching, and local development; a ten-month village stay working with local Panchayat officials; and the submission of a village report to the central

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[10] 'In 1960 King Mahendra abolished the nation's first struggling multiparty parliamentary system and replaced it with a partyless *Panchayat* system, sometimes characterized as a form of 'guided democracy'. Because all political parties were banned, there was only one official or legal point of national allegiance and political articulation: the partyless *Panchayat* system, with the royal palace at its apex.' (Messerschmidt et al, 2007:189)

government. Over 90 percent of the districts participated (Messerschmidt, Gautam, and Silwal 2007). As frustration mounted over the confusing implementation of the service program, students put forth a twenty-eight-point demand to the government, which led to region-wide strikes in 1975. Ultimately, negotiations with the government failed because the students did not maintain a united front. The program was the Panchayat's answer to sustainable development that would also provide surveillance of local administrators (Gellner 2015). But in reality, the students took advantage of this process in order to politicize village leaders and broaden their underground political networks. The program served to unify the country, but in ways unforeseen by the Panchayat government. (Snellinger, 2018:38)

Ford Foundation funded a study called *The Rise and Fall of National Service in Nepal: A Critical Study of Service and Citizenship Building in Nepal* by Chandra Dev Bhatta (2009) to rehabilitate NDS and 'repackage' it as 'apolitical' as a means to promote 'citizenship' by presenting it through statistical data of participants, disregard why it is unsuccessful in the first place historically. Instead, it uses 'religious service', 'Nepalese culture', and others origin stories and justifications to persuade the Nepalese government to implement it once again (Bhatta, 2009). I think it is worth citing the lengthy research conclusion to demonstrate how 'detached' the research is to the Nepalese socio-political situations, especially for the students that render the problems as technical.

> Returning to the discussion of the research presented here, it is often said that the Maoist insurgency in Nepal is *linked both to a lack of civic engagement and a growing radicalization of youths by political parties and their leaders.* It has also been argued that *effective and politically secular service programs could have engaged youths in productive ways rather than leaving them to be shaped by political leaders and their parties.* It is possible that *effective service programs would have had positive impacts on youths and resulted in the growth of civic citizenship building in the country.*
>
> Service programs in Nepal are not effective to promote citizenship primarily because *every successive government of Nepal has attempted to "politicize" them for their own benefits.* The findings from the study appear to confirm these hypotheses. Any sociological account of citizenship—and its relationship to service—needs to consider three interconnected dimensions of citizenship (Roche, 2002, p. 217). The first dimension encompasses *the typical ideals and values of citizenship;* the second is the socio-structural context that underlies citizenship; and the third is *the change in the nature of citizenship and its structural context* (Roche, 2002, p. 217, cited in Obadare, 2005, p. 40). The failure of NDVS to promote perceived citizenship values in the youths towards the construction of civil society in Nepal can be understood as the result of the objective and subjective conditions of the socio-political context. These conditions were

exacerbated by the state's partisan national policies. *These policies, over the years, appear to have had direct bearing on the effectiveness of service programmes; and promoted clientelism.*

There is no doubt, as both the survey, FGDs, and interviews point out, that NDVS offers important social services without which life in some rural areas in the country would be less tolerable. *It has also helped to mobilize youths in different geographic regions of the country* and make them aware of the realities of those regions. The program has also helped volunteers to interact with people from different social, political, economic and cultural backgrounds, which ultimately helps to bring them together. At the same time, the findings suggest that the NDVS would have been more successful if it had its own independent secular program of citizenship training that required mandatory service and that had set educational criteria for participation. With the change of government, the political party that comes into power tends to introduce their own program of citizenship building in Nepal. This has not been helpful for NDVS to work independently and design its own operational framework.

The idea of participation in the NDVS does not appear to have inspired patriotic interest as inspired by NDS. Likewise, the surfeit of NGOs and civil society groups did not help to generate a sense of service in society. The intermediary institutions did not help to transform the notion of citizenship, based on clientelism, into a modern one based on rights and duties. It is also clear from the findings that the mushrooming NGOs in the country that are engaged in service delivery in the rural areas have usurped the appeal of voluntarism and service largely due to monetization. Even several of the interviewees in this study were uncooperative because they expected money in return for their time. Hence, one can argue that the old notion of service and voluntarism is fading away with the arrival of NGO-led service programs.

Moreover, *political struggle in Nepal is centered on who should participate in the determination of people's sovereignty over state power and how* (Dahal, 2004)*. This has been further confused by the growth of civil societies based on power of kinship culture* (Dahal, 2006a) and has resulted in the emergence of large impersonal associations engaged in vested political actions detrimental to the growth of citizenship. *The gap between "duty-bound" rural voluntary groups, with no access to modernity, and "elite urban civic groups" with all modern amenities at its disposal, has further deconstructed the notion of citizenship equality and devalued the purpose of public politics.* (Bhatta, 2009:19; my emphasis).

And this is what Fussell and Quarmby (1981) wrote in conclusion when NDS is implemented:

We have gone into some detail about the NDS because it is at present almost certainly the world's best example of an effective national study-service scheme, i.e. an educational programme in which a period of community service is a required part of an educational curriculum.

However, it is by no means the only such scheme. Since 1972, Indonesia has been steadily introducing a similar scheme (KKN, which now involves all Government universities and approximately 6,000 students

each year). Bangladesh is in the very early stages and several other countries are showing steadily developing interest. In Africa, Nigeria and Ghana have national study-service schemes of a slightly different type, while several other countries are exploring the idea, as are some in South America.

The recent and steadily developing interest in study-service by UNESCO (which is now supplementing already established support for study-service from other organizations such as UNICEF) should help study-service to develop even faster. UNESCO's Director General said, after a recent visit to the NDS, that he considered it a scheme that other countries should emulate. And if study-service is steadily growing in Third World countries, what about the situation in First World countries? A little study-service has begun, for example in the USA (under the term 'service-learning'), in Britain and in New Zealand, but it so far involves a very small percentage of those passing through the education system.

Voluntary groups in society, while operating for many years, have done little by their voluntary service but scratch the surface of the vast, social, economic and political problems faced by the world. True changes seem likely to come only when the great educating and other potentials of participation in community service activities are fully appreciated, as they are now being appreciated in some Third World countries. Education systems are so pervasive in society, and exert such an influence, that only by creating change in and through the education system is society likely to be truly changed. *Changing the experience of everyone through participation in community service activities can be used (through the establishment of study-service) as a means of penetrating and changing the world's education systems, effective maintainers of the status quo.* (Fussell and Quarmby, 1981:268; my emphasis)

This is what Cobbs (1996) called psychological, or perfectly behavioral science warfare that was built during the Cold War. 'Burch (who develop EDP) warned about the dangers of scientific engineering, naïvely trying to find hard statistical facts about adult education: 'We don't want to give the local adult educator a detailed blue-print–we want to help him, and his fellows, develop one. I would assume that evaluation and fact-finding–as we envisage them in this project–are a shared process'' (De Jong, 2019:411-12). De Jong (2019:412) also noted that 'social scientific presentation of the project helped to claim objectivity, to counter accusations of indoctrination, typical of the depoliticising nature of the Cold War.'

The Ford Foundation, while being 'easily the most influential single patron of the behavioral and social sciences in the 1950s', also wanted to ground scientifically its social engineering activities. Its reconstitution in 1949 coincided with a great expansion of social science in universities, as well as a faith in its applicability to solve social problems, which lasted until the 1960s. Historian Ellen Herman thinks the restricted Cold War climate contributed to the popularization of the term 'behavioral' which promised

'hard' objectivity, fending off accusations of socialist tendencies. Psychologists, sometimes grudgingly, accepted this to obtain funding. Political scientist Bernard Berelson, head of Ford's programme area investigating the 'understanding of man', also chose the term, however, because it denoted mathematical, behavioral social science. Porter famously calls this turn 'trust in numbers'. He sees social scientists' 'neutral' value objective attitude as stemming from the idealization of natural science as a model, and from the desire to win social science a prominent role in the world as social problem solver. (De Jong, 2019:410)

This is why the number in statistics is absurd and unreadable, but what is visibly stated is that they need docile laborers from Nepal and Indonesia. Their reasoning is absurd for researchers who know the historical data on Nepal or Indonesia, that what they said is not true, unless it counts the historical political economic considerations. It is noted that Fussell and Quarmby (1981:268; my emphasis) said the same things more clearly that '*community service activities can be used (through the establishment of study-service) as a means of penetrating and changing the world's education systems, effective maintainers of the status quo*' than Bhatta (2009:19; my emphasis) '*the gap between 'duty-bound' rural voluntary groups, with no access to modernity, and 'elite urban civic groups' with all modern amenities at its disposal, has further deconstructed the notion of citizenship equality and devalued the purpose of public politics.*'

Reading this without context will result in a rabbit hole of mathematical conspiracy where the discursive logical fallacy is unknown or hidden. Similar to how Javanese astrology calculates *weton* to marry or build a house. If this is highly successful in Indonesia and Nepal (Fussell and Quarmby, 1979), why don't they implement the *student volunteerism* in similar fashion, forcing *technical research implementation* in their own country when their economic performance stagnates? They are the beneficiaries of this, not Indonesia or Nepal.

# Chapter Three

## *Kuliah Kerja Nyata* in the Eyes of the Students

While benefits, access to infrastructure, education, and healthcare outweigh the excess of mandatory student volunteerism where physically and temporally has transformed the lives of rural and educated Indonesians, it should not be exempted from critics and radical rethinking of the program. The current state of KKN has far-fetched from its inception where disinterested students are grinding the same volunteering work from previous batch by rote and unsurprised locals wait to resume their normal life when KKN is finished. The comical Sisyphean interactions between students and locals are a folklore among them unsurprisingly.

## 3.1. Standardization of Student Developmental Works

KKN serves as paradigmatic reality-making to introduce 'developmentalism' as the narrative of Indonesia as a modern nation-state to students. The example can be seen through guidebooks for student volunteerism where *pembangunanisme* (developmentalism) discourse has taken as a foundation. One of the subtitles in *Membangun Desa* by Ir. Kusnaedi (1995) stated '*Membangun Masyarakat Primitif Menjadi Masyarakat Modern*' (Developing Primitive Society to Be Modern Society) where in this subchapter he discusses how primitive society, i.e. Asia, Africa, and Latin America should be modern societies by becoming 'developed' countries.

The developed countries are defined by economic growth, science and rationality, infrastructure, and consummate society. This is what in Ferguson (1994) called 'rearranging reality' where development discourse subjected countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America as backward, primitive, and poverty ridden. In this logic, the reasonable evolution from being primitive is developing (intermediate) to being developed (modern) (Kusnaedi, 1995:43). In this literature, Indonesia as a whole is regarded as a part of global design in the process of becoming modern and 'developed' through development, in which planning is a necessity (Mignolo, 2000; Ferguson, 1994).

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In line with Ferguson (1994) on the development planning, there is a certain standardization of KKN projects that is done by universities and experts. In *Belajar dari Masyarakat* by Prastowo (2010) for LPPM UGM, a student volunteer institution, it recommends 'best practices' for KKN projects. Prastowo (2010) suggests empowerment for the locals through *Batik* workshop, hydroponic method, flower farming, nutrition promotion, encouragement for tourism, etc. This seemingly 'suggestion' is the standard theme for development projects vis à vis KKN project regardless of the localities and temporalities. This project can be conducted in Aceh as well as in Papua. In some discussions with peers when I was in Indonesia, most of the projects after the end of the KKN session were *terbengkalai*, neglected. Ferguson (1994:259) stressed:

> The way 'development' interventions are institutionalized, there is a strong tendency for programs to be mixed and marched out of a given set of available choices. "Development" comes as a "package" of standard available "input"; the overall frame is standardized, and odd paragraphs are varied to fit in the names and basic geography of particular project areas.

When students do development projects in the rural areas, they will have a brief from the university, usually university teams will divide the groups with the supervisor, a graduate and lecturer as the guardianship of the team. The KKN team has roughly 10-15 people where they will do surveys for a few weeks and then work on the standardized project that the government through university is required to conduct. This can be seen that the government is a conduct of conduct from top to bottom which is students and local population. There are many exceptional circumstances, but most of KKN is similarly conducted in the rural area with its ceremonial pomp when the students arrive in the villages.

In the official guidebook of UGM KKN (2023), it even has a theme for a KKN year, '*Inklusif Mengabdi Bersama Masyarakat*' means 'inclusive service with the masses'. The guidebook (UGM KKN, 2023) explains the system of KKN, the available choices of desa *binaan* – empowered village, and the projects students can choose from available themes. One of them is from 'Klaster Agro' where students can choose between 'smart farming' or 'Educative agrotourism' (Figure 1). According to Ferguson (1997), in Lesotho the agency is located by the foreign aid apparatus, but in Indonesia, the state, through universities, utilizes students as domestic agencies in KKN for the development. In all fairness, most of the sources (UGM KKN,

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2023; Prastowo, 2010; Kusnaedi, 1995) acknowledged the development paradigm as the discursive regime of KKN.

Student volunteerism in Indonesia is usually institutionalized through semi-independent institutions, such as UGM KKN, KKN UNAND, under the university ruling body. This institution will decide what development program students do, what will be the main theme of the year, and the evaluator of KKN. This institution also grades the students' conduct in the rural area or KKN site, if the student did not 'sincere', 'satisfy' enough they need to redo KKN. Figure 3 shows the 'Klaster Agro', one of themes in KKN program that can be chose by the students of Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta while figure 4 demonstrate KKN stakeholders that UNAND student should network and contact during KKN to satisfy student volunteerism requirements, i.e. funds, legal formal permission, and hierarchical organization.



Figure 3: A presentation slide from UGM KKN Preparation that demonstrates the conduct and standardization process of KKN development project. (UGM KKN, 2023)
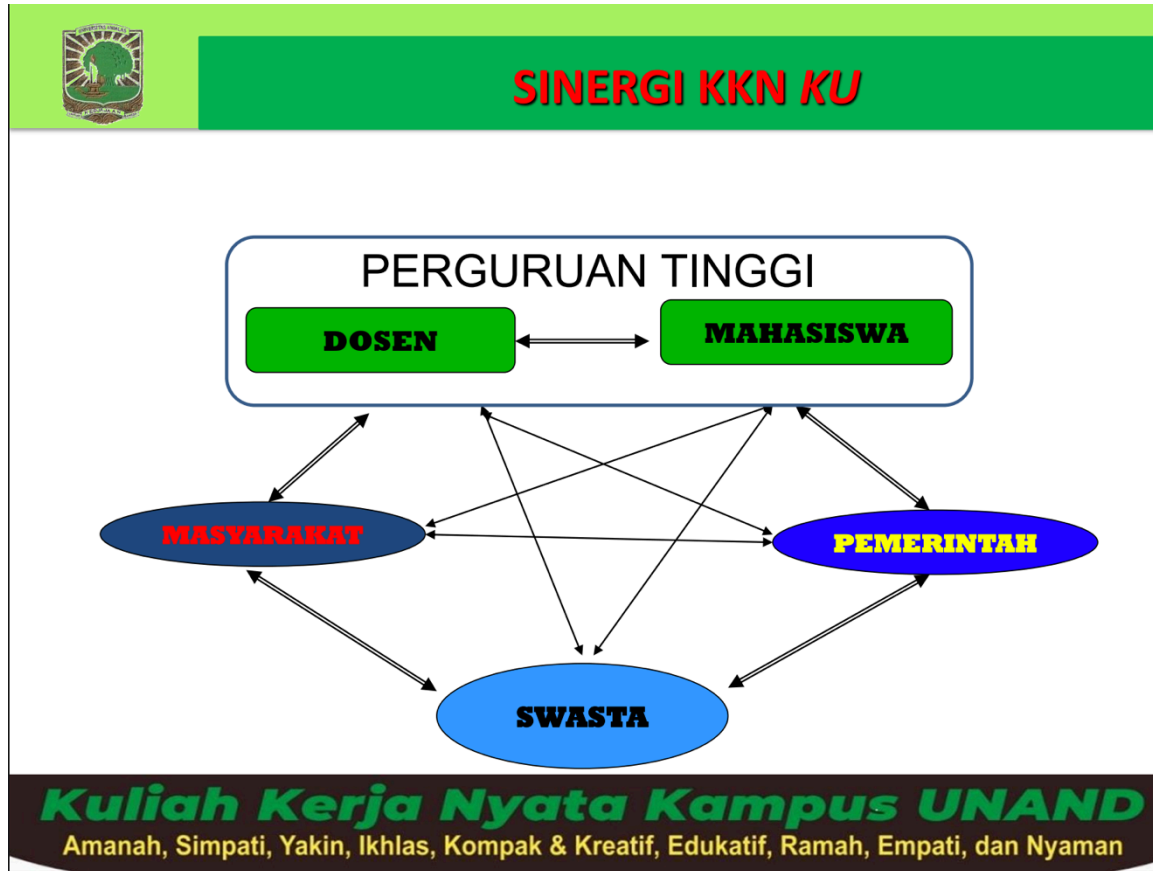
Figure 4: The organizational structure of KKN in UNAND KKN (UNAND, 2024)

The result of structured student volunteerism is that they create the solutions before they know the problem in the street. It is a top-down approach that ignores the social condition for the sake of student volunteerism to be done. As can be seen in figure 1, there is a 'standard package' of development works for the students regardless of their faculty, but the idealized group would be multi/interdisciplinary students in the team. The top-down approach of naïvete development apparatus already prepares the standardized solutions rather than starting from the contextual case on the peripheral areas. More than often development projects replicate existing programs and 'invent' the problems to begin with. Development apparatus have a target and a development model in mind prior fieldwork and execution whether it is suitable or needed by the receiving ends. Joining Ferguson's critical development, Tania Murray Li in *The Will to Improve: Governmentality, Development, and the Practice of Politics* (2007) that conducted research on development projects in the villages near rural areas in Sulawesi - Indonesia illustrate these surreal habitual practices.

> Micro-hydro-generators were installed in places with insufficient water; rivers bunds to prevent flooding were swept away with the first modest flood. A villager I interviewed in Napu expressed his frustration thus: "What's the point of having fish without fish ponds, or building fish ponds without water? It is absurd. (Li, 2007:136)

## 3.2. Student Volunteerism according to UGM Student Magazine

The question why they should learn cooking from students has opened the interesting question I would ask, why should they? I found KKN as an institution of imagining and pedagogy of nation-building that has never been systematically criticized. Rarely a thorough critical study of mandatory student volunteerism has been conducted, if there is one it would be to solve the short-term problems, to enhance the students' service effectiveness and from the framework of educational merits that praise the positive impacts for the students and rural development.[11] In search of critical local discourse, I stumbled upon *Balairung* magazine from UGM that has issued a special edition with the title: *Jangan Gadaikan Kampusku* (Don't Pawn My Campus) in 1999. As one of the KKN pioneer campus, the editorial board in UGM asks:

> As the pioneer, UGM should be consistent with KKN. But in the fieldwork there is abuse in practice. Maybe *ndeso* (ruralist) university now has been *ngutho,* bourgeois? (Penjaga Dapur, 1999:4)

In *Balairung* (1999), there are four articles that critically discuss KKN that UGM has failed to 'accommodate' the locals; its development program does not 'transform' the locals. In one example in Dusun Banaran, Sleman the locals felt that the cooking program by students was not useful, instead it subjugated and positioned the locals as 'student', subordinate to the students.

> Students created cooking skill programmes that were not interesting for the local residents. Worse, locals felt that they were subjugated and positioned as pupils. According to Sugiyanto (34), a local resident, ladies

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[11] Most of the academic journals and papers discuss the positive impacts of KKN and it tends to glorify and construct the justification and theretical pedagogy for KKN, especially in relation to the rural societies. The focus of the research also lies in the students as the agency rather than to look at KKN as an academic ritual and its far-reaching impact in the nation-state of Indonesia. See, for example, *Saba Desa: Media Komunikasi Intern Kuliah Kerja Nyata* (1976) under editor Fadholi Hernanto et al.; Evelin Christy. (Ed.), *Ketahanan Wilayah di Kepulauan Tengah Nusantara: Mengembangkan Resiliensi Masyarakat di Pulau-Pulau Kecil melalui Program Kuliah Kerja Nyata* (2021). About the various experiences of students while carrying out KKN, see Yan Lubis, *Baranangsiang* (2019).

> felt disappointed because they did not get any new knowledge from those programmes. (Darmanto, 1999:40).[12]

Articles in *Balairung* (Darmanto, 1999; Aedi, 1999; Mustafied, 1999) concludes that most of KKN projects are a failure, they are not effective programs, they call it *'salah sasaran',* not working properly as it should be. I find that *Balairung*'s articles acknowledge that KKN has a problem as a developmentalist institution, but they rarely touch on the foundation of KKN in itself. The article has more focus on looking at and searching for the 'real' development or transformation for the alternative of developmentalism in neo-marxist thinking that assume there should be 'another way' of modernization and industrialization or how to effectively 'perform' development project without subjugating and 'heartfully' listening to the locals (Mustafied, 1999; Darmanto, 1999; Aedi, 1999).

I heard an absurd experience from an interlocutor whose village in the Bandung regency was subjected to KKN. When the students finished their projects to build the village library, the villagers sold the books and took the cabinet back.[13] Another instance from an UGM student, the senior classmen told their junior to build another toilet, after they made the toilet before. From the same university, some students built a windmill or sophisticated software to manage finance that nobody knew how to operate and needed for the long run. The most interesting one that I found is when a student teaches the local adults how to cook, something that is futile and ironic while most university students mostly buy their food from the food stall (Darmanto, 1999:40). In my interlocutor's words who is a student in UGM on reflectring his KKN experience, '*Gua akhirnya banyak yang gak gua laksanain, bener-bener rekayasa*' - In the end, there is a lot of things that I did not do, fake it till you made it.'[14]

Failure, in Ferguson (1994) terms, did not equate with doing nothing. Instead it produces instrumental effects that allow development programs to continue in rural areas despite its blatant disenchantment from its stated goals like improving agricultural production, bringing rural society into modernity. Development programs expand and entrench bureaucratic state power

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[12] The original: Mahasiswa membuat program keterampilan masak-memasak, yang ternyata kurang diminati masyarakat setempat. Parahnya lagi, warga merasa digurui dan diposisikan layaknya murid. Menurut Sugiyanto (37), warga setempat, ibu-ibu merasa kecewa karena mereka tak memperoleh tambahan ilmu dari program tersebut.

[13] A friend of mine told me when I discussed my research on KKN around March 2024.

[14] The interlocutor is an Indonesian student who is currently studying in FISIPOL UGM and has KKN experience.

that benefit the ruling group who are headed the state by making rural areas easier to access, mapped and censused, and establishing state apparatus such as police and government offices (Ferguson, 1994). In addition, the development program is consciously avoiding political complications by rendering socio-economic questions into technical problems that are apolitical and did not touch the underlying unequal power relations and local politics which are at the heart of the problems (Ferguson, 1994). Rarely does the government have the best intention to fulfill locals' aspirations, it utilizes the instrumental effects for its own purposes.

In the last article by Muhammad Mustafied: 'Kapan KKN Harus Dihapus?' (When shall the KKN be gone?), he wrote in lengthy analysis that developmentalism is embedded in KKN as a paradigm that students and people are merely 'an object that needs to be empowered, educated, and rationalized' (Mustafied, 1999:45). Nevertheless, his critics rooted in the idealism of how 'intellectual-elite' should behave towards '*rakyat*', outside of capitalist developmentalism and the idealistic view that KKN should enlighten, liberate, and transformative for *rakyat*, similar to the neo-marxist critics of development program (Ferguson, 1997:11).

> These programmes work without an awareness process on civil rights and political citizenship, injection of ideas and progressive discourse that is dialectic in society has been taken out. Relation between rulers and *rakyat* is still understood in the context of patron-client and not otherwise. Transformation of historical consciousness that placed them (students) as a creative minority that can bring change, did not happen in the young generation. (Mustafied, 1999:46).[15]

Rather than discussing the actual effects of KKN, most critics in Indonesia that are exemplified by Mustafied (1999) and Darmanto (1999) that focus within the development discourse and the notion of progress that ultimately mention the 'side-effects' in supporting critics, but rarely question the implication. Instead they are falling into the similar conclusion like developmentalist researchers that rethink the purpose of KKN through utopian realism where the emphasis is how to ambitiously improve the development formula of technical projects rather than question the intentions and the instrumental effects from student volunteerism.

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[15] The original: Program itu berjalan tanpa disertai proses penyadaran tentang hak-hak sipil dan politik warga negara, suntikan ide-ide dan gagasan progresif yang dapat terus berdialektika di masyarakat sekalipun telah ditarik. Hubungan penguasa dan rakyat tetap dipahami dengan logika tuan-hamba, dan bukan sebaliknya. Tak terjadi transformasi kesadaran historis generasi muda bahwa merekalah minoritas kreatif yang mampu menggerakkan perubahan.

I discern that there is inadequacy of the current Indonesian development and education discourse to evaluate KKN 'beyond' the curricular activities on Indonesian universities and 'supposed and desirable' impact of student volunteerism. As I have pointed out earlier, KKN is nearly as old as Indonesia and the discourse surrounding KKN is still around 'mass education', peripheral development, national consciousness, and citizenship for the students and the locals (Suwignyo, 2017; Mustafied, 1999; Darmanto, 1999; Koesnadi, 1976, 1982, 1983). From Koesnadi (1982) to Suwignyo (2017) and Mustafied (1999), the discourse has not left cyclic points inside of development and nation-building, it stagnates into dialectical idealism among the educated Indonesian.

Mustafied (1999) that suggested 'young generation is the creative minority to initiate (socio-cultural) transformation' is indifference to the initial conception of KKN by Koesnadi Hardjasoemantri (1982:163), the KKN initiator that '[KKN should] helping the students to become 'motivators' and 'problem-solvers'. The fact that Mustafied (1999) did not know that his suggestion of KKN that it should 'inform civil rights and politics as citizens' was the earliest intention of KKN for mass education in 1950-1960s illustrates the repetition of discourse among educated Indonesians (Suwignyo, 2017; Koesnadi, 1982; 2006). It demonstrates historical amnesia is a rule rather than an exception in Indonesia.

# Chapter Four

## Student Volunteerism from Another Sides

After discussing the available literature for the students in university, I think it would be mindful to take another perspective beside popular sources intended for students. While the student's literature emphasizes student volunteerism to transform the rural areas, to do service for *rakyat,* and for the student to support development for the national economy, and so on in line with the National Development Plan, other sources draw other perspectives that are omitted in many popular sources of student volunteerism.

In questioning the intentions and instrumental effects of student volunteerism, a discursive regime of government is highly important to investigate. Yet rarely are these sources consulted even though their importance has undoubtedly shaped the trajectory of student volunteerism in Indonesia. Looking at other sides of the discourse is to look at their 'actual' purpose in enacting student volunteerism when the results are largely a failure. If the government knows that development projects in KKN did not meet the 'expected' goals, why then does the program that has been instituted since 1972 through government regulations still exist? As the sources are outside of the student reach, what do they tell concerning student volunteerism that is not mentioned in the student literature? The discrepancy of the discourse that originated from the same system of knowledge, in this context pro-government intellectuals and institutions, but articulated a different narrative tells the hidden 'intelligible' purpose of student volunteerism. I would argue that their importance could not be overstated when it has directly and/or indirectly influenced the course of student volunteerism since its inception.

> But if two discourses operate within virtually identical epistemic constraints, how is it that "development" discourse comes to have its distinctive regularities? Where, if not from the *episteme,* do the "rules" come from? As long as one treats discursive practices as autonomous (Foucault 1976), the answer to this question must remain mysterious As Dreyfuss and Rabinow (1983: 79-85) have argued, discursive regularities or "rules of formation" cannot be elevated to causal principles. What is needed instead is a way of connecting observed discursive regularities to non-discursive practices and institutions (as Foucault did in later work). This suggests at least the beginnings of an answer to our question. *What changes when we move from academic discourse to "development" is not the library of available thoughts, but the institutional context into which both discourse and thought are inserted.* (Ferguson, 1994: 67-8; my emphasis).

Ferguson (1994:64-73) on governmentality asserts that in development discourse the main features of economy and society require to be within the control of an objective and effective national government and hence responsive to technocratic planning. In the logic of developmentalism, development intervention is apolitical, neutral, and technical where political and structural problems are left unaddressed. Even if the government is part of the problem, it will seek other ways to employ and justify standardized development projects regardless of the socio-political structural issues. Where the state is seen as a capable machine to deliver development programs by which state control is determinant in changing the society 'altruistically'. In rearranging reality to be needed for development intervention, Ferguson (1994:71-2) explains that the target is rendered as 'backward', working in agriculture, contributing to the national economy, and subject to the principle of governmentality.

> It is to be expected that in other countries, where economic situation is less far removed from that of the mythical generic LDC (countries possessing greater national autonomy, greater economic cohesion, and greater governmental control over the economy), the discontinuity between "development" discourse and academic discourse will be less sharp, and less easily observed, although the same process may be at work. (Ferguson, 1994:73)

Keep this in mind. As I will explore Hardjasoemantri's works and consultants' research on student volunteerism, Ferguson (1994) reasoning on development discourse is helpful to find the omitted instrumental effects of student volunteerism according to the needs of the state. In many cases, the whitepapers from state's institutions are a conduct of conduct similar to the definition that Li (2007:5) inspired by Foucault offered.

> To achieve this purpose requires distinctive means. At the level of population, it is not possible to coerce every individual and regulate their actions in minute detail. Rather, government operates by educating desires and configuring habits, aspirations and beliefs. It sets conditions, ''artificially so arranging things so that people, following only their own self-interest, will do as they ought.'' Persuasion might be applied, as authorities attempt to gain consent. But this is not the only course. When power operates at a distance, people are not necessarily aware of how their conduct is being conducted or why, so the question of consent does not arise. (Li, 2007:5).

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## 4.1. The 'Boring' Whitepaper

In his explanation on the student study service as part of Indonesia Higher Education, Koesnadi Hardjasoemantri wrote:

> A. The Tridharma Principle
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> **Education and instruction are a constitutional task of the** Government in the framework of developing **the intellectual life of the nation** as meant by the fourth paragraph of the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution. In addition, Article 31 of the 1945 Constitution–as the realization of the guarantee given to every citizen to receive an education–places **the responsibility upon the Government to endeavour to organize a national education system**, arranged by law.
>
> The organic law as meant by Article 31, insofar it involves education and instruction in higher education, is Act No. 22 of 1961, i.e. the Act on Higher Education.
>
> Based on the Act on Higher Education, the Department of Higher Education and Science introduced in 1961 the formulation of the Tridharma of Higher Education.
>
> **The Tridharma of Higher Education embodies three elements**, namely:
>
> (1) **education and instruction**, (2) **research** and (3) **community service**.
>
> The second element, i.e. research, forms a connecting link between the other elements. **The results of research can be utilized for the benefit of education and instruction, while the determination of research projects and research topics is based on criteria of the social need, and can therefore be considered as a community service of higher education.**
>
> **The Tridharma Principle means** that Higher Education in Indonesia has three functions, namely: (1) the function as **centre of education and instructio**n, (2) **the function as centre of science** and (3) the social function in the context of **"dedication of life"** of the academic community. (Hardjasoemantri, 1982:98; my emphasis)

The first time I presented my research project in the seminar, one of the lecturers who looked at Hardjasoemantri (1982) told me that this book is boring, that it is not interesting.[16] The dissertation that is written by Hardjasoemantri (1982) in Leiden University on 12th February 1981 who constructed *Kuliah Kerja Nyata* is exemplified by the citation above. It is a list of a list; it is a conduct of conduct. Yet as boring as it is called, the book is the institutional basis of the government to conduct student volunteerism.[17]

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[16] I attended a seminar in Leiden University on the Future of Southeast Asia as a part of my bachelor degree on 25th April 2024.

[17] 'Although the Directorate of Higher Education (whom Koesnadi Hardjasoemantri was secretary in 1967-69 and director in 1969-74) prepared and distributed a set of detailed basic guidelines, each university has been free to develop its own particular form of study-service scheme in accordance with local wishes, needs and conditions. In

Most of the governmental sources such as *Petunjuk Angkatan Bersenjata tentang Peranan Apter dalam Proyek KKN* (Guidance of the Armed Force on the Role of Territorial Apparatus) from Departemen Pertahanan Keamanan and Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan (1980)–the Army and the Ministry of High Education and Culture, *Mahasiswa KKN Mengemban Misi Pendidikan Luar Sekolah* by Napitupulu (1982) from the Department of Education and Culture, *Guidelines for Carrying Out Kuliah Kerja Nyata (K.K.N.)* by Atmakusuma (1978) are strikingly similar in content with Hardjasoemantri (1982) where they are the interpretation of the positive regulations of power that intent to 'utilize' students as state apparatus. Where it is almost hard to read, it offers standardized and technical reforms and solutions as if humans are a social engineering experiment. The nature of the society, such as developmentalism (usually called *paradigma pembangunan*) that is modern, capitalist, and industrialized is hidden in obscurant. 'A nation of farmers, not wage laborers; a country with a geography, but no history; with people, but no classes; values, but no structures; administration, but no rulers; bureaucracy, but no politics' (Ferguson, 1994:66).

The obscurant whitepapers are not meant to be read, but to instruct and submit for the development projects that is uncontextual and evading the issue at the hands in the notions of idealized virtues. The instrumental purpose is directly told through conversation where it passed down in semi-public space. In order to understand Hardjasoemantri (1982, 1983), Napitupulu (1982) and Atmakusuma (1978), I need 'a way of connecting observed discursive regularities to non-discursive practices and institutions' (Ferguson, 1994:67) through students' reports in *Balairung* (Aedi, 1999:37-9; Darmanto, 1999:40-1; Mustafied, 44-6), and Diana Fussell's report on KKN (Fussell and Quarmby, 1973) who translated Atmakusuma (1978).

Fussell and Quarmby who are an expert of study-service 'exported from one country to another and from one continent to another' in similar terms with Ferguson (1994:69-70). They worked closely with Hardjasoemantri to construct a study-service scheme that is implemented through Nepal's National Development Service (NDS) and Botswana's Tirelo Setshaba. While producing many papers for student volunteerism, student volunteerism discourse that is presented is highly

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fact, most of the 13 universities have followed the guidelines…it would appear these guidelines are very relevant and practical.' (Diana and Quarmby, 1974:5-6)

different with omitting sensitive intentions and purposes in accordance to Ferguson (1994) observation that it is dependent on the institutional context in which the program is presented.

I can prove this by looking at the difference and what is being omitted by Fussell and Quarmby when student volunteerism discourse is presented to/from the government, development academic community, and their working paper. During my research, I found Fussell and Quarmby published the papers dealing with *Kuliah Kerja Nyata* in Indonesia (Fussell and Quarmby, 1974; 1975) which have been referred to in previous chapters. In both papers, the content is similar but because of Fussell and Quarmby (1974) is the earlier and working version, there is some redaction that does not change. However, Fussell and Quarmby in *Study-Service - Voluntary Service in the form suitable for Third World Countries* (1981) for development community and *Study-Service - A Survey* (1979) funded by International Development Research Center (IDRC) who are 'in business of trying to 'sell' these packages, trying to locate and justify potential applications' (Ferguson, 1994:70), there are some details that can be constructed for the intentions and 'instrumental' effects of the student volunteerism.

## 4.2. Student as Cheap Labor Resource

What is 'dedication of life' mentioned by Hardjasoemantri (1982:98)? If you try to find it in Hardjasoemantri (1982; 1983), he did not write in direct fashions. More often readers will stumble upon unintelligible devspeak gibberish on technical operation and guidelines; it is a list of oblique abstractions and instructions that need to have contexts in order to be understandable. Why is it so? It 'was however something that was necessarily left unspoken' as 'there are a host of statements and lines of thought which are, if not actually forbidden, at any rate profoundly unhelpful in the discourse of a 'development' agency' (Ferguson, 1994:68). In order to circumvent this, Fussell and Quarmby (1979: 24, 30) explained that the 'dedication of life' means 'capable of meeting manpower needs in development program, service is a requirement, and provides cheap labour' and in (1981:282) it is 'to use these graduates to meet shortages of educated manpower in rural areas'.

> Obviously, this (KKN) is quite inadequate for the sort of intensive village level work needed to have a real impact on rural development. However, although the numbers of career Government extension workers

> (bureaucracy) are obviously inadequate, they cannot be increased because the Indonesian Government is firmly committed to a policy of not increasing the number of Government officials. Given this situation, there is a need to seek some other, *unorthodox* source of village level extension workers (bureaucrats), compatible with the ban on new hirings. (Fussell and Quarmby, 1974:7)

The students are 'commodities' for 'consumer education' who are village heads and local government that 'are taken into an effective 'partnership' by the university, they fully understand the purpose of the programme [told orally], *they can make full use of the students, and give them needed supervision and support*' (Fussell and Qarmby, 1975:39; my emphasis). In short, student volunteerism deliberately regards the students as 'cheap labor resources' or to put it simply, a corveé laborer.

I do not think that corvée labor is hyper exaggerated as Fussell and Quarmby (1974; 1975; 1979; 1981) and Hardjasoemantri (1982;1983) already prepared the systematically 'reasoning' and argument to deny the accusations as they know that it is a forced labor for educated elite. The government, when Indonesia was called Indies, used forced labor from the local population for infrastructure projects of Ethical Policy till the early 20th century to build bridges, roads, and improvement projects in rural areas (Furnivall, 1944; Owen, 2010). Since independence, the weak government imbued with the promise of independence could not enact coerced labors into the locals as they did not have enough strong authorities that has been reduced after the Indonesian Revolution and instability of Sukarno era that in some areas occurred a purge of state bureaucrats that left state control almost impossible (Owen, 2010). In this case, the immediate and available pools of laborers that can be controlled for development is the one who has a strong attachment to the institutions, that is university with its students where students are under the university authority and required to oblige in order to graduate. The chained students to the controllable institution are hence promising cheap labor resources as Fussell and Quarmby (1975:32) remarked: 'The universities, with their study-service schemes, are offering a new and much larger source of extension manpower, and local Governments, which so badly need more extension manpower (coerced labors) to make their rural development programmes effective, are in many cases already showing themselves willing to help meet the costs of these schemes.'

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In their insistence to avoid the accusation of corvée labors, they created a 'argumentative verse' to justify this practice and direct the accusation from the public called 'Voluntary or a requirement/compulsory' (Fussell and Quarmby, 1979:24; 1975; 1981) where it is used in many countries who buy the development packages of study-service to justify the educated elite or students corvée labors. Hardjasoemantri (1983) also used 'voluntary or compulsory' verse to justify KKN. The trace of this verse can be traced from PTM *studie commissie* who in 1950 debated the principle of student volunteerism, is it 'compulsory' or 'voluntary'? (Hardjasoemantri, 1983:22). In the earlier versions of student volunteerism–PTM, the decision is to call it 'voluntary' rather than compulsory. 'After much conversation, the principle of 'compulsory' that is mentioned by students' representations, changed to the principle of 'voluntary' (Hardjasoemantri, 1983:22). Yet as Hardjasoemantri (1982) reflected on fewer students willing to join PTM, he changed it into 'voluntary' that holds student's degrees till they do the Study-Service (KKN). It hides corvée labor under the rubric of the exam requirement (Fusell and Quarmby, 1979:24) where 'it does not seem to be a major issue in developing countries and most study-service schemes…such countries have, or plan to have, service as a requirement, just as other aspects of formal education (e.g. sitting exams) are also requirement.'

> Purists reading this will immediately wish to discount this scheme on the grounds that it is 'compulsory' rather than voluntary. We could answer that the period of study-service with the National Development Service (NDS) is an integral part of university education, and that university education in Nepal is entirely voluntary. *But this would be to enter into an argument about 'voluntary' and 'compulsory' which we are convinced through experience has little relevance to the real issues involved in the development of more effective forms of community service activities that improve both communities and those who serve.* (Fussell and Quarmby, 1981:284; my emphasis)

Also, if student volunteerism is to study as it is claim than corvée labors, why then Fussell and Quarmby (1975:38) told that

> **Extension Work, Not Research**
> …
> However, apart from this simple and necessary survey, research is not a part of study-service although some universities still have a tendency to try to mix the two, with detrimental results with regard to the students' effectiveness. The students are in the villages to work, to help put into practice some of the considerable volume of research findings on rural development that already exist, not to add to these findings.

It seems that 'extension work', 'manpower' is another old new term for corvée labors. The government and ISVS obscure the nature of *Kuliah Kerja Nyata* intentionally, so the students and university staffs did not ask the real purpose of student volunteerism, in a similar fashion that I have discussed earlier on EAP by Ford Foundation.

# Chapter Five

## Student as Development Cadre: In Controlling the Youth and the Nation

Lasting impact of KKN could not be overstated as merely rites of passage in the Indonesian education system. As a nation-wide program encompassing generations of educated population for 73 years, from 1951's PTM started to 2024, KKN as an exercise of nation-building by the state and educated elite has transformed the rural and urban societies in Indonesia. The student who is sent to the village has become the teachers and the technocrats, the villagers who interact with the student have desired Indonesian modernity. KKN has embedded itself into the socio-cultural fabrics of Indonesian society, either as the agent of progress that is represented by students and lecturers or as the subject of change that is overrepresented by marginal, peripheral, and rural communities.

### 5.1. *Les Petite Bureucrates*

Network reproduction defines social reproduction, especially in the case of student volunteerism. The networking locates the position in between the ruling elite matrix. By knowing *kepala desa* (village chief)*,* private or corporate sponsor for KKN projects, and rural subjects, the students are molded to be 'educated elite' for the nation-state. For students, it is an achievement to do the public 'service'. It can be compared with mandatory military assignments in Singapore, Taiwan, and South Korea, but this time the bureaucratic position assignment is limited only for the educated elite. Aware of Indonesian educated elite origin in Fakih (2021) and Mysbergh (1957), the social reproduction during student volunteerism continues *priyayi*'s positionality and hegemony that has been established during Dutch colonial era (Van der Meer, 2020). In Suwignyo (2017) on public intellectuality as the project of educated elites, he discerned that in the 1950s they created the program called '*pendidikan masyarakat*' (mass education) to inform citizenship and create national consciousness among the 'masses' or *rakyat* using top-bottom approach.

When they stay in the village, their status is not equal to the locals, but to the officials/bureaucrats in the district office. Following Henley theory of the stranger king (Henley

& Caldwell, 2008), their position is outsider who help solve the village conflicts and can be a mediator between conflictual relationship between officials and locals, not only in the development matters, but also socio-political life. They come as the anti-politics machine of the educated elite, the ruling group of Indonesia. As a paternalistic developmental state, Indonesia utilizes students as cheap labor resources to do development and nation-building projects in which students who are the future educated elite 'normalize' their aspiration and imagined 'being' Indonesian and way of thinking to the general masses–*rakyat*. The result is that the Indonesian state is a developmental state as a result of KKN procedural construction of social and network reproduction of the elite.

In Yogyakarta 2023, I had a heated discussion with one of UGM student volunteers. He told me his experience during KKN where he tried to improve *bank sampah* (trash collection) in one of the islands near Jepara, Central Java. He was the group leader for his KKN team. During the KKN period, he needed to talk and negotiate with a lot of 'stakeholders', namely Village Chiefs, residents, NGO, and many business owners and sponsors in Kecamatan Mlonggo. This person was frustrated with the village chief who is the one who is part of the problems in the decision-making and was not popular with the locals. In looking for the 'problems' to improve, he researched for roughly one month through archives about his 'subject' village territory and border of authority. He realized that the problem is indeed political; village chief's unpopularity, ambiguous government regulations, et cetera. Yet despite his research results, the only things that he can do are technical projects, working with the local government–which is the village chief and he becomes his assistant. His group censused and built the system of trash collection that is lacking through subjecting and reforming residents to 'work on his project' on trash collection alongside him. In the village, he also built a regulation for the village on top of existing regulations rather than evaluating and discarding the pre-existing ones. He also regarded local residents as 'powerless subjects' and they did not care about their environment as the older trash collections' project failed because the 'doer' that is appointed is gone as there was no payment. He also blamed the residents for producing a lot of trash without knowing how to discard it 'properly' in the island; I think everybody who uses products will create trash as they do not have choice from mass produced consumptions introduced by economic development where there is an increasing conspicuous consumption.

It should be noted that this village is 'planned' to be a 'tourist spot' for economic development according to the government development plan that there is a chance the village as a tourist spot will be for 'commercial values' that disregard the local residents. The government utilizes the students as petty bureaucrats to prepare for next 'development' projects that have economic incentives disregarding the locals' will. I think the students know this, but they simply could not express it as their grade and degree is at the hands of the university and by extension, the government. In KKN, students are the bureaucratic representatives of the state; they are the technocrats; they are the paternal authority where the class consciousness is created, the facts are not regular '*rakyat*'; they are educated elite, as an instrumental effect from bureaucratic positioning. Similar when graduated *priyayi* from HIS or STOVIA get their first job in the local colonial bureaucracy where they became the petty bureaucrats in the 19th century; that they are the lower ranking officials, but not *rakyat,* and under the power of higher echelons (Van der Meer, 2020).

And this is their theme for the development program:

> Tourism optimization for KG and KS through health improvement and microindustry supported by expanding Public Administration for sustainable prosperity of littoral society. (KKN-PPM UGM Jepara Abirupa, 2023)

The purpose of KKN project intentionally to avoid being political, the students render the socio-political problems as 'technical, apolitical intervention requires preliminary theoretical rearrangement of a more than usually violent or imaginative kind' (Ferguson, 1994:73). They are there to work not to 'research' where 'typically involves not only special terms, but a distinctive style of reasoning, implicitly (and perhaps unconsciously) reasoning backward from the necessary conclusions… Policy makers, experts, and officials (in which students are the case here) cannot think how things might improve except through their own agency' (Ferguson, 1994:259-60). In performing student volunteerism, they 'prided themselves on bringing order, overlooking their own role in creating chaos' that is the characteristic of Indonesian bureaucratic technocrats in development since Raffles onward (Li, 2007:59).

As the extension and revolution of Dutch East Indies, I argue that Indonesia has continually and perpetually utilize the same machinery of colonial regime through what then was called 'civilizing mission' now has been whitewashed as 'development' (Mignolo, 2000; Ferguson, 1997; Anderson, 1983; 2016; Berger, 1997). The nature of student volunteerism can be seen on the first batch in 1949 to Kotaraja–Aceh, the westernmost province in Indonesia where there has been prior tension between Daud Bureueh, the local ulema and Acehnese authority, and the central government that culminated in the Darul Islam Rebellion from 1950-1961 (Apipudin, 2016). The mission to educate *rakyat* in Kotaraja is arguably to strengthen the state power in the periphery, it is to spread the imagined or national consciousness to *rakyat* (Suwignyo, 2017; Anderson, 2016).

Rearranging reality in student volunteerism can be seen through the earlier guidelines by the government such as Atmakusuma (1978) and Koesnadi Hardjasoemantri (1982, 1983, 2006) where they state that the rural area and Eastern Indonesia are needing the rural development for the integration, modernization, and literacy and leadership. In the introduction of KKN guidelines in English, they state that 'More than 80% of Indonesians live in rural areas, in about 58.000 villages scattered over the country's 3000 islands. Many things are lacking in these villages: for example, there is a shortage of skilled and educated leaders and manpower' (Atmakusuma 1978:1).

Using Fakih (2021:21) assertion that 'the history of the modern Indonesian state is thus a history of its bureaucracy and, by extension, the nation's (educated) elite' became 'ruling group', united by its near-total dependence for its social reproduction upon its control of the state apparatus' (Ferguson, 1994:268). The developmental state is born out of the contra revolutionary regimes in conjunction that Indonesia is once regarded as a *staatsbedrijf*, an economic enterprise during 19th century Dutch colonial era that directly influenced the thinking of developmentalism as the educated elite is a managerial class (Henley, 2015; Furnivall, 1944; Li, 2007). Fussell and Quarmby (1974:2) stated Hardjasoemantri wants to produce developmentalist (and anti-communist) New Order young educated elite for the state: 'They [Koesnadi Hardjasoemantri and comrades] often say that they see study-service as providing today's student with a challenge that they hope will have profound effects, as did the challenge they themselves

faced when young.' In short, they suggested that student volunteerism is needed to control and expand the state apparatus, bureaucracy. Because 'as the (Indonesian) state expanded, so did the power of this ruling group, which in turn required, for its reproduction, the continued expansion or 'involution' of the bureaucracy. But this very process eventually led to a crisis of 'diminishing reproduction' of the social resources (especially peasant, household-based production) on which the state depended for its own reproduction' (Ferguson, 1994:268).

Student volunteerism demonstrates the actuality of *pembangunanisme* or developmentalism that has been spearheaded since post-independence, notably New Order by Indonesian educated elite to the peripheral (rural) areas in maintaining the state hegemony.

> The state-dominated economies of the late colonial period set the stage for the emergence of a distinctive postcolonial 'developmental state' (Dutkiewicz and Williams 1987:41). The 'developmental state' was distinguished by the central and direct involvement of the state in the appropriation of surplus values from producers, and by the dependence of the 'ruling elite' (Dutkiewicz and Shenton 1986:110) upon this form of appropriation' (Ferguson, 1994:267) The state-dominated economies of the late colonial period set the stage for the emergence of a distinctive postcolonial 'developmental state' (Dutkiewicz and Williams 1987:41). The 'developmental state' was distinguished by the central and direct involvement of the state in the appropriation of surplus values from producers, and by the dependence of the 'ruling elite' (Dutkiewicz and Shenton 1986:110) upon this form of appropriation' (Ferguson, 1994:267)

The purpose of student volunteerism is not what it stated explicitly in the guidebooks for students, but implicitly through oral and practice. The hidden curriculum that strengthens social reproduction by instilling 'superior complex' among students, positioning students as petty 'bureaucrats' in action during development projects. It is through the establishment of vertical relations to *rakyat* and horizontal relations with other interest groups that students are schooling to be the educated elites. By then, they can navigate life as educated elites who need connection, deal with bureaucracy, know their position, and seek sponsors for their own benefit.

Student volunteerism is an act of renewing the social contract that has been represented by the students, who come from the core of the power of policy-making, governmentality, and discourse. People who are in the rural areas of Indonesia, do not necessarily resist KKN and its

students. The resistance is usually not from the development, but if the students mock the locals as inferior and unequal in the public (Darmanto, 1999).

There should be some resistance to the intrusion of the educated elite, but from what I recognize in some areas that the people, rakyat, want to be modern aligned with the elite-intellectual projection of Indonesia (Fharose, 2024). It also in line with Fanon's assertion on the psyche of the colonized that, 'people in whom an inferiority complex has taken root, whose local cultural originality has been committed to the grave - position themselves in relation to the civilizing language: i.e. the metropolitan culture the more the colonized (in our discourse is the peripherals) has assimilated the cultural values of the metropolis' (Fanon, 1952). This also can be seen through the concept of *sekti* in traditional Indonesian rendition of power where one can attain advancement, in this case is progress, by emulating the *sekti* - prowess of someone more refined (Wolters, 1982; Fharose, 2022). Both, from Fanon's psychoanalysis and the notion of *sekti* can conclude similar thing that the students, who are regarded as superior and have superior complex in relation to the locals, transverse their 'being' Indonesian, according to the educated elite rendition, to the rakyat or peripherals, who are placed as inferior in relation to the metropole.

## 5.2. Developmentalist Complicity: *Raksasa* Hive in the Minds

Fussell and Quarmby (1981:285-6) explicitly stated that the instrumental intention of student volunteerism is to maintain the status quo, or to put it simply, the regime (with its educated elite) in charge of the nation-state as if it is an anti-political machine. Student volunteerism is the social reproduction of the educated elite through placing them as petty bureaucrats and corvée labors that 'obtain the exercise of power at the lowest possible cost; secondly, to bring the effects of this social power to their maximum intensity and to extend them as far as possible, without either failure or interval; thirdly, to link this 'economic' growth of power with the output of the apparatuses within which it is exercised; in short, to increase both the docility and the utility of all the elements of the system' (Foucault, 1977, 218).

> *The relatively small group of elites who effectively run the country will inevitably come to be almost totally composed of people whose knowledge and values have been profoundly influenced…*Education systems are so pervasive in society, and exert such an influence, that only by creating change in and through the

> education system is society likely to be truly changed. Changing the experience of everyone through participation in community service activities can be used (through the establishment of study-service) as a means of penetrating and changing the world's education systems, *effective maintainers of the status quo.* (Fussell and Quarmby, 1981:285-6; my emphasis)

Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), an organization that is known to be the intellectual backbone of 'New Order' that conducted 'informal diplomacy' with United States (Nair, 2021) where they published monthly journal: *Analisa* (since 1977) where they supported the government (read: New Order) to increase the economy and political control of the students, they need to be 'educated' to avoid them from communism and support New Order, and hence developmentalism (Harto, 1977a; 1977b; Silalahi, 1977).

Fussell and Quarmby (1974;1975;1979;1981) who are the 'foreign' architect of BUTSI and KKN and many others student volunteerism in Asia and Africa is more direct than Hardjasoemantri (1982;1983) on the 'hidden' intentions and 'instrumental effects' of student volunteerism. The discursive regime and the 'technical' manifestations (e.g. study-service and Normalization of the Campus Livelihood; Normalisasi Kehidupan Kampus) that has been placed since New Order to the present day on the educated elite and academia 'assured the articulation of the written on the oral, the secret on the public' and justify corvée labors and developmentalism for their entire life; Hence, they are quiet, docile, and obedient to New Order and subsequent developmental regime (Foucault, 1977:55).[18] It is no wonder that the problems of KKN never get attention more than discussing the symptoms inside 'developmentalist discourse and improvement of KKN', 'practical and technical changes' (Mustafied, 1999; Aedi, 1999; Darmanto, 1999) where the research and questioning student volunteerism publicly will make one unfortunate, where researchers, in academia, journalism, or politics and even KKN participants who 'produce such discourse would not necessarily be censored or suppressed, as would the unfortunate who mention local politics, but they would find their analyses quickly dismissed and discarded as useless, as indeed they would be' (Ferguson, 1994:68). Indonesian academia and educated elites are self-inflicted on the complicity from developmentalism that

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[18] Continuing Foucault: 'It made it possible to reproduce the crime on the visible body of the criminal; in the same horror, the crime had to be manifested and annulled…the anchoring point for a manifestation of power, an opportunity of affirming the dissymmetry of forces' (Foucault, 1977: 55)

rarely one speaks up on the larger issues that have permeated in every part of person, community, and society livelihood.

The first time I stumbled upon KKN, some researchers and lecturers dismissed my hypothetical analysis as 'nonsense' and did not touch the ground. While I use deconstruction on reality-making of Indonesia through surveying the reports, combining theories, and looking at the 'oral' information on KKN, I found a similar conclusion that Fussell and Quarmby (1974;1975;1979;1981) already wrote 50 years ago.[19] But why is student volunteerism (KKN) still on the Indonesian curriculum? KKN is needed to reduce urbanization as the state, for the First Development Plan that prioritized rural development to succeed, which it did (Henley, 2015), needed rural laborers, not urban.[20]

As in some guide on KKN (Buana, 2008; Prastowo, 2010), the peripheral societies/area is the 'laboratorium' for the students, whether to implement or to test their power and its pragmatic usage.[21] The projects in the eyes of the locals are not particularly useful or even if it helps them, it is complementary, but for the students, who are the would-be educated elite, the projects are exercises of power and establishing the commitment to the imagined community, Indonesia and its justification, development. It serves this dual purpose that is important.

By its own merits, KKN is intended consciously to enforce the imagining of Indonesia to the peripheral communities.[22] As an institution, KKN has far-reaching consequences for the students, for rural areas, and for Indonesia. One could argue that Indonesia as a developmental state is pedagogically instilled and sustained by student volunteerism where developmentalism is a mode

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[19] The fact that they know 'that these attempts (BUTSI, especially) were misguided is indicated by the high rate of failure' (Fussell and Quarmby, 1981:281).

[20] It can be seen from Hardjasoemantri (1982;1983) and Fussell and Quarmby (1974;1979). The success of the First Development Plan 1970-1974 can be attributed to the mobilization of students as corvée laborers and managers in rural areas (Harto, 1977).

[21] The projects in KKN are meant to fail because it makes them have an obligation to the state and their class, educated elite and by doing that, they are disciplined as if they are in the school labs.

[22] Usually it sends the students from Java, the most developed island and post-independence metropole, to the East Indonesia and borderlands or from the urban to the rural area where, according to its guidelines, the development necessary for the interest of the nation and by extension implicitly, the urban elite who reside in the cities like Jakarta. (Silalahi, 1977; Harto, 1977a; Harto, 1977b)

of thinking among the policy-makers and educated elite of Indonesia that have reigned the political, intellectual, and economic life of the country since colonial era to the present day.

# Conclusion

> Study-service is seen by different people as being capable of meeting manpower needs in development programs and bridging gaps between town and country; educational institution and community; the educated élite and others; theory and practice; and different ethnic and social groups within a country. Study-service also puts some relevance into education; contributes directly to solving problems of the unemployed educated or at least to softening the political impact of those problems; helps students to mature; diverts student activism away from protest; instills discipline into students; provides cheap labour; and facilitates changes in education. (Fussell and Quarmby, 1979:30)

Student volunteerism is a global design with local articulations to extract the resources from the Global South and also to provide cheap labor resources that are docile that never leap the ground of developmentalism similar to what Fussell and Quarmby said 50 years ago. Student volunteerism as a 'product for the state' is promoted by development experts during the cold war as if it began from the local traditions, just a little modification to fit the 'standardized packages'. The student volunteerism for the state is useful for two reasons; first it makes a cadre of developmentalism that is docile, technical, controllable, and second it provides cheap labor resources for rural and development projects for state developmentalism that emphasize economic growth, productivity, and efficiency. The instrumental effect that is profound is that it creates the imagined community through the interaction and contestation between educated elite and *rakyat*; in short, nation-building that is cyclical.

If Anderson (2016) argues that the nation is an imagined political community, then the state is the maintenance of the political community where nation-building constructs a nation produced by the state. By keeping politics as apolitical in the schooling similar to how 'civilizing' mission is conducted, nation-state self-produces the construct of shared belonging through development. By complicit in detriment, the state can enforce the sense of belonging among the population through the shared point of references.

Student volunteerism where BUTSI, KKN, and PTM are exemplified has an instrumental effect. Failure in development projects is common because it is the 'schooling' for the educated elite before they become technocrat and/or bureaucrats in the next phase of their life. The result of the paradigmatic and discursive regime of developmentalism indirectly incarcerated the Indonesian nation-state into a developmental state, *pembangunan* and *pembangunan, where the educated*

elite has been taught since adolescence that development is important. Developmentalism became a dogmatic regime in higher education vis-à-vis in the government and upper-middle class in Indonesian society; one simply could not escape it. Continuing the trend in the 19th century, student volunteerism is indirectly a continuation of Dutch colonial Ethical Policy. In fact, the locals accepted student volunteers as a petty bureaucratic apparatus that helped them. Student volunteerism can be seen as extenuating the ceremonial social contract between educated elites (who are the representatives of the state) and rakyat. In student volunteerism, students allow the expansion of the state with its modernity in rural areas. It is a social reproduction of the state and its educated elites in imagining Indonesia.

The history of student volunteerism in Indonesia and elsewhere (i.e. Nepal) lies in the context of cold war behavioral science in the mid 20th century; not from local traditions or during Indonesian Revolution 1945-49; not student militia (*Tentara Pelajar*) in the case of KKN. Instead, student volunteerism is made by foreign 'volunteer' experts (Fussell and Quarmby) that tries to quell communist influence in Asia and Africa and pacify student activism. Indirectly, I found out that the discursive and paradigmatic regime that was promoted in the 1960s-70s caused inequality of knowledge production by placing Indonesian researchers to be technical. Through student volunteerism, educated elites are 'schooled' to focus on technical research. The experience of student volunteerism influenced the educated elites' research and conducts, confining their research into small-scale and technical. I do not think it is bad, but on the larger scale it created a gap in expanding the geographies of knowledge in Indonesia for the long-term.

Even without Foucault (1977), Heryanto (2002) asserts that power in Indonesia can be seen bluntly through discipline (i.e. need to be constructive – only criticizing inside of the discourse) and social engineering that makes Indonesian educated elites as a group imagine the belonging; vertically with their seniors in office or university and rakyat on the bottom, horizontally with peers and sponsors of student volunteerism that construct the matrix of power in Indonesia. This production of power resembles the 19-20th colonial liberal era that placed *priyayi* on similar experiences for their own sake.

Lastly, an absurdity in justifying student volunteerism in Indonesia and other 'Third World' countries who are offered assistance from behavioral science hides the real intentions and points

of reference through complex mathematical calculation (See: Nepali NDS case) that hides the historical and economical foundation of argument and reality. It can be said that calculation and devspeak wordy papers promote development and hides the 'instrumental effects' from the users and the subject of development. Unknowingly, the instrumental effects occurred silently, but intelligible for the person who experienced it.

In the end, I want to conclude my thesis through the words of Ranggawarsita who is one of the last Javanese Court poets that lived during high colonial modernity in the 19th century (Florida 2019). In the midst of modernization in December 1873, he wrote *Kala Tidha* – Time of schizophrenia[23] that can perfectly summarize my research:

> *Now the glory of the nation-state*
> *Is manifest an empty void.*
> *The rule of rules in ruin*
> *Because there are no discourses left.*
> *Respectful ways forsaken,*
> *The bachelor, the good are carried away,*
> *Swept up in the time of schizophrenia,*
> *Silent, the signs of Constructs,*
> *Is revealed a worthless wretch.*
>
> *The president, a eminent leader,*
> *His technocrats, pure excellence,*
> *Flawless, the hearts of the ministers all,*
> *The apparatus fine each one*
> *Yet none can serve*
> *To stay the Time of Wrath.*
> *Rather ever greater grow*
> *The troubles that do plague,*
> *Different agency, different discourse and intentions*
>
> *The words of the Knowledge Corpus*
> *Teach with the warning that*
> *In an age that is accursed*
> *'Tis the good-intentioned man who fails.*
> *And so if one reflects on it,*
> *What merit then in taking faith*
> *In absurd news?*
> *Lest it break the heart,*
> *Better to write the obsolete discourse[24]*

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[23] This is my personal rendition, instead of time of darkness I prefer to use schizophrenia.
[24] *Serat Kalatidha* is made by Ranggawarsita and I used rendition according to Florida (2019:92-93) with slight modification of personal interpretation.

Mangkya darajating praja
Kawuryan wus sunya ruri
Rurah pangrèhing ukara
Karana tanpa palupi

Andy Fharose

We are in the era of developmentalism.

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Atilar silastuti
Sarjana sujana kèlu
Kalulun kala tidha
Tidhem tandhaning dumadi
Ardayèngrat déning karoban rubéda (Kongas kasudranira)

Ratuné ratu utama
Patihé linuwih
Pra nayaka tyas raharja
Panekaré becik-becik
Parandéné tan dadi
Paliyasing Kalabendu
Malah sangkin andadra
Rubéda kang ngreribedi
Béda-béda ardané wong sanagara

Ujar Panitisastra
Awawarah asung péling
Ing jaman kenèng musibat
Wong ambek jatmika kontit
Mangkono yèn nitèni
Pédah apa amituhu
Pawarta lalawora
Mundhak angraranta ati
Angurbaya ngiketa caritèng kuna

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