

From Paulo Freire to the Emergence of Popular Education in Indonesia

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Abstract

This paper discusses the emergence and development of popular education in Indonesia. It studies the emergence and development of critical education after the translation of Paulo Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed in 1985. In addition to Freire's influential book, the Frankfurt School's critical theory has influenced the development of critical pedagogy in Indonesia, where critical pedagogy and critical theory are developed in a dialectical and humanizing manner to build people's self-consciousness and establish justice and democracy in society. The evolution of critical thinking in education happened during the reign of the Indonesian dictator Suharto's centralized government (1967–1998). The diffusion of Freire's ideas contributed significantly to people's education in Indonesia during 1980–1990, when many activists and NGOs developed forms of emancipatory and participatory practices in building grassroots organizations and civil society activities. Popular education is a praxis of critical pedagogy in Indonesia's experience. This paper uses critical pedagogy for the contemporary debate in this field.

Keywords: *Paulo Freire, critical pedagogy, popular education, empowerment, grassroots*

Introduction

In Indonesia, critical pedagogy began to develop after Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire, 1970) was translated into Indonesian as *Pendidikan Kaum Tertindas* (Freire, 1985). Freire's book influenced many education activists and non-governmental organizations to empower the marginalized in society. The book had and still has profound implications for the development of critical consciousness in educational processes. The intellectual foundation of Paulo Freire's work also advanced advocates' understanding of issues related to the complex domain of knowledge and knowing, and the social action it requires. Although this perspective became mainstream in social empowerment, it has yet to influence school culture, that is, to transform school culture into a democratic one and raise teachers' and students' critical consciousnesses. Democracy and justice became sensitive issues during Suharto's 32 years of centralized politics.

Under the leadership of President Suharto, Indonesia was considered to be one of the strong authoritarian states in Asia (Chalmers, 1997; Ganie-Rochman, 2002). Suharto's "New Order" authoritarian regime and his iron fist style of government dominated almost all sectors: politics, economics, social, and especially education. For the most part, education policy decisions and implementation remained highly centralized and reflected the will of the ruling elite. In many developing countries, educational systems have not fulfilled democratic expectations and in some cases they have even caused new problems for nation-building (Woolman, 2001). Freire acknowledged the discrepancy between educational hopes and political realities as he often stated that education alone could not change an unequal society: the political change must come first (Freire, 1970). In the global context, the Freirean approach became a critical contributor to emerging social movements in post-apartheid South Africa (Sinwell, 2022).

In Indonesia, the educational sector has suffered several problems since the fall of Suharto's government, especially for the marginalized. First, education is still too centralized. Second, teachers use the traditional "banking model" of education at all levels of education. As (Freire, 1970; Suoranta, 2008) put it, the banking model treats students as empty vessels to be filled with knowledge. In Indonesia, the banking model means that the educational system functions to legitimate and preserve existing institutions, values, and political structures, the dominant social order (Stanley, 2007). Thus to build a critical pedagogy, we need a cultural challenge to develop critical awareness in schools and society.

To build critical pedagogy and develop critical awareness in schools and society, a collective effort from various stakeholders is required. Educators, both in formal and informal settings, play a pivotal role in integrating critical pedagogy into curricula and teaching methods. Alongside teachers, activists, community leaders, and NGOs have a responsibility to engage with communities and raise awareness of the importance of critical thinking and social transformation. Moreover, the government and policymakers must support educational reforms that encourage critical consciousness in schools. It will take a cultural shift in how education is viewed to move away from traditional, top-down approaches to more participatory, dialogue-driven methods that empower individuals to question, reflect, and act. This cultural challenge will need to be championed by a coalition of progressive thinkers, practitioners, and change-makers committed to social justice and educational equity.

The purpose of this article is to discuss the emergence of critical pedagogy in Indonesia. The pioneering work of the Frankfurt School was fundamental in the development of critical thought and critical pedagogy in Indonesia. Interestingly, critical pedagogy as well as popular education has yet to become a

field of study in Indonesia, although it is emerging in some university courses. It is important to note that, according to Suoranta (2023) critical pedagogy remains marginal in some countries, including Indonesia, as well as in his home country, Finland. However, the groundwork was laid in the first decade of the new millennium. Research on critical pedagogy, its conceptualization, and implementation, is also limited in Indonesian universities. The study and use of critical pedagogy in Indonesia lags behind other Asian countries. This is important, as Suoranta (2023) points out that neoliberalism has narrowed the opportunities to teach and study popular education and related fields in universities around the world in recent decades.

Thus this article aims to contribute to developing the academic discourse of critical pedagogy in Indonesia. This paper analyzes the connection between Freire's ideas and the emergence of popular education in Indonesia. Additionally, this paper tries to find linkages between critical pedagogy and constructive dialogue in various academic debates. Throughout this research, I look to Freire as a pioneer and essential cornerstone of pedagogy (McLaren, 2007).¹

Critical Pedagogy and Popular Education

Critical pedagogy is a pedagogical approach inspired by Marxist critical theory. Critical theory (*Kritische theory*) forms the foundations for critical pedagogy (Gruschka, 2005; Hidayat, 2013; Kincheloe, 2008; McLaren, 1989; Weiner, 2007). Influential individuals of critical theory include the likes of Max Horkheimer (1895–1973), Herbert Marcuse (1898–1979), and Theodor W. Adorno (1903–1969). Intellectuals from *Institut für Sozialforschung* in Frankfurt am Main became widely known as the Frankfurt School. In general, most of their work provided the basis for developing what became known as

critical theory. The Frankfurt School conceptualized the framework of critical thought, focusing on contemporary social analysis within the context of a pessimistic perception of the state of the world (Sünker, 2007).

The Frankfurt School's influence on Paulo Freire and critical pedagogy is substantial, rooted in a shared commitment to social justice and transformative education. Both movements emphasize critical consciousness, where dialectical reasoning enables individuals to confront and transform oppressive social structures (Macdonald, 2017). Several works by Frankfurt School thinkers directly engage with themes of critical consciousness and dialectical reasoning. Max Horkheimer's *Traditional and Critical Theory* (1972) outlines the role of critical theory in exposing and challenging social domination through reflective, dialectical analysis. Theodor W. Adorno, together with Horkheimer, wrote *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (2002), which explores how Enlightenment rationality turned into new forms of oppression and highlights the need for dialectical critique. Adorno also developed these ideas further in *Negative Dialectics* (1973), which deepens the philosophical foundation for understanding contradiction and transformation in society. Freire integrated these concepts into his framework of critical pedagogy, which aims to empower marginalized voices through a dialogical and participatory educational process (Lather, 1998 ; Shudak & Avoseh, 2015; Budnyk et al., 2023).

Lather (1998) identifies critical pedagogy as a synthesis of Freirian ideals and other philosophical schools, including those of the Frankfurt School, which together promote critical engagement and praxis during the educational process. Moreover, McLaren and Houston discuss how critical pedagogical discourse intertwines with ecological consciousness, urging a broader understanding of justice that resonates with the Frankfurt School's critiques of capitalism (McLaren & Houston, 2004). This intersection encourages a diversified

approach to critical pedagogy, affecting various contexts such as global education and environmental crises, shaped by Freirean thought and its adaptations (Kahn, 2006; Whiting et al., 2018). Consequently, Freire's legacy continues to evolve, embodying both local and global challenges in the educational landscape (Choules, 2007).

Additionally, for Amsler (2009, 2012), the bridge between critical theory and critical pedagogy is necessary to create the cultural conditions for people's liberation. These possibilities are themselves deeply affected by social and material contingencies. The essential notion of pedagogy—its concern with transforming oppressive relations of power in various domains that lead to human oppression—has its origins in critical theory and evolves as it embraces new eras. Kincheloe explained its relevancy (2010) by stating that critical pedagogy works to help educators and teachers reconstruct their work to facilitate the empowerment of all students (Kincheloe, 2008).

Critical pedagogy was first developed in the late 1970s as a radical left-wing reaction amongst academics and activists to the repeated failures of socialist governments worldwide to deliver on their promises of economic equality. Critical pedagogy was a project to a large extent based upon the work of Paulo Freire. It was further spread in the United States by figures such as Henry Giroux, Stanley Aronowitz, and Peter McLaren (Peters, 2003). Their critical project was influenced by Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), a seminal text for the study of critical pedagogy (Freire, 1970). The first textbook to use the term critical pedagogy was written by Henry Giroux. The books *Ideology, Culture and the Process of Schooling* (1981) and *Theory and Resistance in Education: A Pedagogy for the Opposition* (1983) were ambitious, even visionary books on the subject. In the US, Giroux expanded his previous

critique of educational theory and began developing a radical pedagogy that illuminated and sought to transform the existing inegalitarian power relations central to society. At the same time, the new sociology of education, which focused on the reproduction of knowledge, was introduced by the scholars Michael F.D. Young and Karl Mannheim, based in England.

An Overview of Freire's Pedagogy

Suoranta & Tomperi, (2021) argue that Freire's magnum opus, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, published in 1968, gained its most sweeping significance within the debate that began in the human and social sciences and social criticism in the second half of the 1960s. He conceptualizes a dynamic relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed, asserting that both can achieve liberation through a dialogical process. Freire argues that the oppressor dehumanizes both themselves and the oppressed, leading to a mutual need for emancipation (Arriagada, 2014; Lamboloto & Zaphan, 2024). He advocates for an education that transcends the oppressive "banking" model, which treats learners as passive recipients of knowledge, and instead promotes critical engagement and collaboration between educators and students (Govender, 2020; Pouwels, 2019).

What Freire made clear in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, his most influential work, is that pedagogy at its best is not about training, teaching methods, or political indoctrination. For Freire, pedagogy is not a method or an *a priori* technique to be imposed on all students but a political and moral practice that provides the knowledge, skills, and social relations that enable students to explore the possibilities of what it means to be critical citizens while expanding and deepening their participation in the promise of a substantive democracy (Giroux, 2010). According to Freire, education should not be a one-way transfer of information but rather a process of dialogue and reflection that fosters critical

consciousness. This dialogue-based approach enables learners to understand their social realities and recognize the power structures that influence their lives (Ramis Salas, 2018). By prioritizing the co-creation of knowledge, Freire emphasizes that education must be deeply connected to the lived experiences of the students, making it a tool for personal and collective liberation (Costa, 2024).

Freire also addresses the relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed, asserting that both groups require liberation through dialogue. He argues that oppressive educational systems dehumanize both the oppressor and oppressed, perpetuating a cycle of inequality. In contrast, Freire advocates for a pedagogy that encourages active engagement and collaboration, allowing both educators and students to learn from one another (Arriagada, 2014; Lamboloto & Zaphan, 2024). This pedagogical shift promotes critical awareness, urging learners to challenge oppressive systems, thus creating a foundation for both individual transformation and collective action aimed at social justice (Segalerba, 2023).

In contemporary educational settings, Freire's ideas offer valuable strategies for empowering marginalized students and advancing social justice. Shifting away from authoritative teaching models to dialogical approaches can encourage students to actively participate in their learning, fostering critical consciousness about the social issues that affect them. Paulo Freire addresses this term as "praxis," one of the central concepts which he adopts to capture the dialectical relationship between consciousness and the world, reflected in the pedagogical approach for which he became famous (Mayo, 2020; Shudak & Avoseh, 2015; Thomas, 2009)

Incorporating community engagement into the curriculum and ensuring culturally sustaining pedagogies also allows students to connect their education

with real-world experiences, thus empowering them to challenge systemic inequalities (Sun, 2025; Uddin, 2019). Freire's emphasis on love, solidarity, and care further strengthens the relationship between educators and students, creating an environment where students feel trusted and valued, enabling them to envision a more just future (Lugueti et al., 2019).

At the core of Freire's pedagogy is the concept of "critical consciousness," which refers to deep awareness of the social, political, and economic forces that shape an individual's reality. Through dialogue and reflection, learners become conscious of the injustices that affect them and are empowered to take action toward societal transformation (Kumlu, 2024). Freire believes that education should foster this type of awareness, allowing students to critically analyze their circumstances and understand their role in challenging oppressive systems. This critical consciousness not only enhances individuals' agency but also promotes collective action for social justice (Ćumura & Petrović, 2022; Torres & Bosio, 2020). In Freire's view, education is a transformative process that equips individuals to question the status quo and work toward a more equitable and just society (Freire, 1998). Thus critical consciousness serves not just as a cognitive process but as a catalyst for socio-political change, essential for dismantling oppressive systems and fostering a more just world (Elmore, 2014).

Between the Introduction of Freire's Ideas and the Empowerment of the Grassroots in Society²

According to (Nuryatno, 2006), Peter Danuwinata was the first person to disseminate Freire's ideas in Indonesia. Danuwinata was a professor at the School of Philosophy (*Sekolah Tinggi Filsafat, STF*), Driyarkara,³ Jakarta. He met Freire in Santiago, Chile, having received a scholarship from a church association to visit Latin America in 1972. His meeting with Paulo Freire

facilitated the exchange of ideas central to critical pedagogy and social justice in education. During this period, Freire was promoting his educational philosophy, emphasizing dialogue and critical consciousness as means to challenge oppressive structures in society (Corbett & Guilherme, 2021; McLaren & Jandrić, 2018). Their dialogue likely revolved around Freire's critique of traditional forms of education that perpetuate inequality, advocating instead for participatory methods where learners actively engage in their educational processes to transform their realities (Corbett & Guilherme, 2021; Nemer et al., 2020).

This meeting also aligned with broader movements in Latin America, where education was regarded as a powerful tool for liberation and social change. Danuwinata's engagement with Freire allowed him to assimilate these pedagogical insights into the educational context of Indonesia, particularly at a time when post-colonial societies were grappling with issues of identity and empowerment (Antonini & Heideman, 2020). The principles discussed in their meeting could be seen as formative in shaping both Danuwinata's educational practices and the wider socio-political consciousness of educators in Indonesia, promoting a more inclusive and equitable approach to education (Bolin, 2017; Shih, 2020).

From his initial contact with Freire, Danuwinata gathered the impression that Freire was an open-minded person, a good listener, enthusiastic about sharing his experiences, and eager to learn from others. Danuwinata recorded his journey (which included visits to other parts of Chile and Columbia) in various articles. After observing Freire's theories and methodologies in practice in local contexts, he found that Freire and his colleagues used cultural circles in their literacy teaching. On his return to Indonesia, Danuwinata began to disseminate Freire's ideas through seminars and workshops.

In 1973, he held a workshop in East Java for social workers on Freire's thoughts, such as dialogical method, critical consciousness, and empathy toward the oppressed. Danuwinata also disseminated Freire's ideas within his institution. His work centers on embedding critical thinking and social consciousness within educational frameworks, with the goal of empowering marginalized groups. Danuwinata's contributions have been pivotal in the growth of popular education movements in Indonesia, supporting broader goals of social transformation.

Moreover, Freire's ideas became more familiar to Indonesians after the publication of two of his books in the Indonesian language, *Education as the Practice of Freedom* (1973) as *Pendidikan Sebagai Praktek Pembebasan* in 1984, and *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* as *Pendidikan Kaum Tertindas* in 1985. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* was translated by the NGO activists Roem Topatimasang, Mansour Fakih (1957–2004), Utomo Dananjaya (1936–2014), and Jimly Asshiddiqie⁴. It became an influential book among popular educators, dissidents, and teachers in Indonesia.

At the end of the 1970s and in the early 1980s, some NGOs in Indonesia, such as the Institute for Research, Education and Economic and Social Information (*Lembaga Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi Sosial*, LP3ES), the Institute for Development Studies (*Lembaga Studi Pembangunan*, LSP)⁵, Sekretariat Bina Desa,⁶ and Bina Swadaya,⁷ were given many objectives to create programs to empower society (Billah, 1996, 1997; Mahasin, 1997). The tasks of empowering society through educational and social programs during the late 1970s and early 1980s were given primarily by progressive individuals within NGOs and civil society organizations in Indonesia who sought to address the needs of marginalized communities and challenge the dominance of the

authoritarian regime (Billah & Nusantara, 1988; Culla, 2006; Nordholt, 1987; Sinaga, 1994).

Some NGOs such as LP3ES, LSP, Sekretariat Bina Desa, and Bina Swadaya took on the responsibility of promoting grassroots empowerment and social transformation (Clark, 1995; P. Eldridge, 1989; P. J. Eldridge, 1989, 1995). Despite the oppressive environment under Suharto's dictatorship, where political and social freedoms were tightly controlled, these NGOs found ways to work under the radar by focusing on community development and non-political issues. They carefully navigated the political landscape by aligning their programs with government policies on rural development and economic growth, which allowed them to operate without drawing direct attention from the regime (Korten, 1987). These organizations also built networks with international organizations and leveraged international support, which helped sustain their work during this period of strict authoritarian control. Through these strategies, they were able to implement educational programs aimed at raising critical awareness and empowering communities, despite the challenging political climate.

Sekretariat Bina Desa's mission is to participate in realizing a just and democratic social order by encouraging people to take initiative, by driving social transformation, by strengthening peoples organizations and the networks linking democratic movements at all levels, and meeting the people's basic needs through economic empowerment. The most significant program was the training of society's grassroots, such as peasants, fisherman, workers, and the poor (Billah, 2000; Hannam, 1988; Robet, 2014). The period of 1970–1980 was the period of the emergence of NGOs in response to a tightly controlled political system that denied political parties an independent voice.

Development NGOs began to emerge during the late 1960s and early 1970s in direct response to the impact of accelerated economic growth on the lower echelons of society, with NGOs concerned about the effects of macro-economic growth, which benefited the elite while excluding those at the grassroots from the decision-making process (Anderson, 2005; Ganie-Rochman, 2002; Hikam, 1999).

In this context, most of the NGOs concerned with empowerment at the grassroots level were familiar with the ideas of Ivan Illich and Paulo Freire. They discussed these in many programs and projects. What was most important about this phase was Freire's ideas of developing critical self-consciousness among the people. Their training was designed to promote dialogue and critical emancipatory skills. Dialogue as a pedagogical communication mode has a central role in critical pedagogy praxis (Burbules, 2005). The training programs developed people's collective capacities and enabled them to continue to engage in egalitarian relations in their lives and society at large.

Each program was conducted by facilitators who were usually NGO activists. They played a significant role in mobilizing and organizing people. The approach focused on exploring people's social and political worldviews, building their critical capacities to solve their problems, and better understanding their oppressed conditions. These training programs enabled people to grasp the dynamics of oppression. The programs were part of the overall drive for social transformation.

Under Suharto's regime, Indonesian NGOs primarily focused on empowering rural communities, such as farmers and fishermen, through various programs aimed at enhancing their participation in decision-making processes and fostering economic development (Prasetyani et al., 2023). These efforts were

centered on utilizing local resources and promoting community involvement to restore dignity, with economic initiatives that encouraged self-reliance and supported local traditions (Alfian et al., 2021; Suwarno et al., 2019). However, the political climate, characterized by co-optation and repression, impeded broader social movements and collective empowerment, particularly in the agricultural sector (Boillat et al., 2022; Sinambela et al., 2025). Additional challenges, including insufficient government support and competition among grassroots initiatives, often limited the effectiveness of these efforts (Alfian et al., 2021; Pratama et al., 2022).

At that time, LP3ES played a key role in empowering communities by promoting critical awareness through educational programs and grassroots initiatives. LP3ES focused on socio-economic education, addressing issues like poverty and inequality that were worsened by the New Order regime (Nababan et al., 2024). The organization provided training and resources that helped local communities understand their rights and participate in governance, enabling them to voice their concerns and push for change (Baistow, 1994). LP3ES also applied critical pedagogy, encouraging participants to reflect, question dominant narratives, and engage in discussions about social justice (Budiman, 2011). By building networks with local organizations and promoting civic participation, LP3ES helped communities develop a sense of agency, political awareness, and collective action. This approach not only challenged existing power structures but also contributed to the *Reformasi* movement in 1998, which marked a significant shift toward democracy in Indonesia (Edward Aspinall, 2013; Hadiz, 1999; O'Donnel & Philippe Schmitter, 1993; Tribowo, 2006; Uhlin, 1998). One of the critical community empowerment movements during the New Order era was the structural legal aid initiative led by Legal Aid Institutes (*Lembaga Bantuan Hukum, LBH*) (Abdullah, 1988; Anugrah, 2018; Theunis, 1991). This movement played a vital role in addressing systemic legal challenges faced by

marginalized communities. LBH provided essential legal services to economically disadvantaged individuals and groups involved in civil, criminal, and administrative legal issues, aiming to reduce injustices driven by socioeconomic inequalities and thus contributing to the broader social justice framework (Rochman, 2020). Additionally, LBH focused on legal literacy and empowerment, offering workshops and community engagement to help people understand and assert their legal rights (Joshi et al., 2022). These efforts not only provided legal assistance but also promoted collective awareness of legal rights, which significantly contributed to the mobilization of civil society during Indonesia's reform and democratic movements (Cummings, 2018; Evans & Fernandez-Burgos, 2022; Prasetyorini et al., 2024).

When Freire's pedagogy was applied in the training programs, it was not identified as critical pedagogy. However, the in both spirit and practice the programs exhibited Freirean critical pedagogy. The key concept used in the programs was conscientization, encompassing the political and social understanding of society. As critical educational praxis, the idea of conscientization contrasted with the formal educational institutions' banking model of education. When Freire's thoughts began to be applied in Indonesia, the concept of developmentalism was dominant. Suharto's regime had introduced developmentalism as a basis for the nations' improvement (Berger, 1997; Nuryatno, 2011; Rock, 2003). Suharto's plans significantly affected rural society in terms of the modernization or mechanization of agriculture and had a massive impact on the green revolution (White et al., 2023). In response to this issue, many activist NGOs continuously tried to organize meetings, workshops, training programs, or short courses to respond to the discourse of developmentalism as a critique (Wiradi, 2009).

During the New Order regime, developmentalism was marked by several critical flaws that affected socio-economic progress. Foremost among these was rampant corruption, which led to the diversion of public resources by elites for personal gain, undermining developmental efforts and creating inequities in wealth distribution (Nababan et al., 2024). The reliance on foreign investment intensified dependency, with many local industries struggling to compete against imported goods, consequently stifling national economic resilience (Gellert, 2010; Mulyaman et al., 2021). Moreover, a defining feature of New Order developmentalism was the authoritarian governance structure, which suppressed democratic participation and concentrated power, thus alienating large segments of the population from the decision-making processes affecting their lives (Amir, 2017; B. R. O. Anderson, 1983; Ganie-Rochman, 2002). This built-up socio-political discontent led to widespread protests that ultimately culminated in the regime's collapse in 1998 (Puspitasari, 2019).

The New Order's modernization strategies often overlooked rural development and localized needs, exacerbating socio-economic disparities and contributing to environmental degradation (Gellert, 2010; Nasution & Wicaksono, 2023). Additionally, institutional rigidity and an inability to respond flexibly to global economic changes proved detrimental to sustainable development (Eddyono, 2019). These compound issues laid the groundwork for the crises that precipitated the regime's end.

Toward Popular Education: the Work of Roem Topatimasang and Mansour Fakih

From the early 1980s, Freire's educational ideas were utilized by many NGOs in training programs in Indonesia. They formed a critical movement at a time when the government practiced centralized management. In the Suharto era, the

strategy of political stabilization was organized through formal corporatist organizations, which were built and controlled by the government. During Suharto's "New Order," the elite dominated the state as a principal tool for maintaining power.

Under Suharto's regime, NGOs had relatively little space within which to work for the empowerment of those at the bottom of society. The training programs mentioned above comprised a rational strategy to counter the authoritarian regime. They were used as vehicles to criticize the government and its violations of human rights and the environment. At this point, Freirean critical pedagogy had been promoting human rights and democratic socialism since the 1970s (Suoranta, 2021). Let's focus on two activists instrumental in using Freire's pedagogical ideas: Roem Topatimasang, and Mansour Fakihi. During the 1980s and 1990s, these activists developed what came to be known as Indonesian popular education. Their practices resembled Latin American popular education.

During the period 1980–1990, Mansour Fakihi and Roem Topatimasang became central figures in transforming Freire's pedagogy into practical approaches for grassroots empowerment in Indonesia. As (Shor, 2017) noted, Freire's educational ideas have "traveled the world encouraging democratic opposition in and out of education, leaving us a treasure of ideas and practices to build from and to reinvent." However, despite the prevalence of his ideas, it cannot be said that there is a particular Freirean paradigm; instead, there is a plethora of Freire-inspired approaches. Freire's liberatory education and philosophy of hope have strengthened and empowered many people's and citizens' movements, which have been essential in the struggle for social equality worldwide since the 1970s (Suoranta et al., 2021).

While Fakihi and Topatimasang did not explicitly use the term "critical pedagogy," their work closely aligned with the concepts of popular education, similar to movements in Latin America. The term "popular education" was seen as a more accurate description of their work, as it emphasized education that served the interests of ordinary people, rather than being imposed from above. Mayo & Randford (2023) define popular education as having the potential to engage people in processes of critical dialogue, exploring alternative understandings of the causes of their problems, building solidarity for more progressive futures. This approach was based on the belief that education should be for and with the people, not simply for the people, which contrasted with the top-down educational systems prevalent in Indonesia at the time (Fakihi, 1996a).

The activist scholars and practitioners did not use the term critical pedagogy and argued that popular education was more fitting: an education that serves the interests of ordinary people (Crowther et al., 1999). Mansour Fakihi and Roem Topatimasang worked together to disseminate critical pedagogy and popular education in Indonesia from the 1980s onward. In their work, they combined theoretical knowledge and empirical experiences. Fakihi was strong in theory and discourse because he had an excellent academic background. In contrast, Topatimasang has been an activist in the student political movement and a grassroots organizer since the late 1970s.

In facilitating the training, it was often Fakihi who employed theory as a point of departure, while Topatimasang relies on real situations and practical experience. From the 1980s onwards, Topatimasang devoted himself to popular education within the country, such as in Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Maluku, Bali, and Nusa Tenggara, and outside it, such as in Malaysia, Cambodia, Vietnam, Thailand, Burma, and East Timor. He and his colleague Jo Hann Tan⁸, a Malaysian community organizer, recorded their experiences as popular

educators for 20 years in a book entitled *Mengorganisir Rakyat: Refleksi Pengalaman Pengorganisasian Rakyat di Asia Tenggara* (2003).

Most recently, Mansour Fakih was entrusted with being a member of the National Commission for Human Rights (*Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia*, KOMNAS HAM). Mansour was chosen as a member of the "Helsinki Process," an international forum coordinated by the Foreign Ministry of Finland, several southern nations, and various international NGOs to solve the problems of globalization.⁹ Within the Helsinki Process, only two people represented Asia. One of them was Mansour Fakih from Indonesia. The dialectic of theory and practice influenced him. His two degrees (master and doctorate) from the University of Massachusetts, United States, did not give him an arrogant attitude or fill his head with intellectual amusements and honors. In 1996, he completed a doctoral dissertation entitled *The Role of Non-Governmental Organizations in Social Transformation: A Participatory Inquiry in Indonesia*.

Mansour Fakih's intellectual journey began when he was a student at the State Institute of Islamic Religion (*Institut Agama Islam Negeri*, IAIN)¹⁰ Jakarta, in the Faculty of Ushuluddin (Philosophy), in the early 1970s. During that period, IAIN Jakarta was fertile ground for various thoughts about Muslim renewal, mainly theological rationalism developed by the rector, Professor Harun Nasution. Mansour began to think about Muslim rationalism seriously. He concluded that many religious people in Indonesia followed a mistaken theology. Religion had become dogmatic. An understanding of Islam that simply received faith and revelation "as is," he felt, led to a rigidity of thought, particularly in facing the problems of everyday life. Mansour argued that there need not be a correlation between religious teachings and the issues that people face.

Eventually, Mansour began to study community education. He met various groups and individuals active in popular education and advocacy in this intellectual and political-practical journey. Through conversations with these people, Mansour became more directly aware of Paulo Freire's critical education methodology. Mansour started to relate to Catholic intellectuals who used Freirean educational techniques, such as Ruedi Hoffman (1938–2008)¹¹ from *Pusat Kateketik* (PUSKAT)¹² and Y.B Mangunwijaya (1929–1999)¹³ (Sutrisno SJ., 2018). It can be said that this meeting between structural social analysis and critical education methodology bonded with Mansour's thoughts about critical theology of Islam; a fusion that has lasted until the present day. The opportunity to realize these ideas in a more integrated and systematic way through entire programs came when LP3ES and LSP formed the Network for Pesantren and Community Development (*Perhimpunan Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat, P3M*).¹⁴

In his attempt to maintain and refresh the tradition of pedagogical thinking, Fakih was a pioneer of critical pedagogy in Indonesia. Fakih knew how to approach oppressed people educationally. His experiences shaped his concern for the poor and contributed to building a distinctively critical world view. Fakih has written many publications and books such as *Masyarakat Sipil untuk Transformasi Sosial: Pergolakan Ideologi LSM* (1996a), *Analisis Gender & Transformasi Sosial* (1996b), *Sesat Pikir Teori Pembangunan dan Globalisasi* (2001), *Runtuhnya Teori Pembangunan dan Globalisasi* (2002).

The evolution of popular education in Indonesia has been shaped by a growing recognition of the need for educational frameworks that empower marginalized groups through critical awareness and active participation. This shift began to take hold in the late twentieth century, especially during the New Order era, when grassroots organizations started addressing the unique educational needs

of rural and underserved populations. LP3ES played a pivotal role in fostering literacy and social awareness by implementing Freirean methods of community engagement (Nugroho et al., 2019). Over time, popular education expanded to include diverse initiatives such as Islamic education and community programs, integrating local cultural values and addressing social justice issues. This growth has led to greater political engagement and activism among students and communities, contributing to a more inclusive educational landscape across Indonesia (Pratomo, 2017; Yli-Panula et al., 2019).

As popular education continues to evolve in Indonesia, the work of Fakhri and Topatimasang remains foundational. Their creation of the Indonesian Institute for Social Transformation (INSIST) in 1999 marked a significant milestone in spreading the principles of popular education. INSIST has focused on empowering communities by promoting dialogue, critical thinking, and participatory learning. Through outreach programs and collaborations with other NGOs, INSIST has played a central role in training educators, activists, and community leaders in Freirean methods, extending these ideas to social movements advocating for democracy and human rights. Their efforts bridged the gap between education and activism, demonstrating the potential of education to transform societies and empower marginalized communities. The legacy of INSIST continues to shape Indonesia's educational landscape by encouraging the integration of popular education with broader social justice movements (Pratiwi, 2024).

Social Transformation and Freirean Education

Mansour Fakhri and Roem Topatimasang have consistently referred to the spirit and tradition of Freirean education in their work to continue Freire's popular education approach. For followers of the Freirean school of thought, the essence

of education or training is to awaken critical consciousness. Freire (1970) categorized educational ideologies into three frameworks based on society's ideological consciousness. The central theme of Freire's ideas essentially refers to the contention that education is a "process of humanizing humans again."

This idea originated from an analysis of how social, political, economic, and cultural systems lead to the "dehumanization" of society. Education, as part of the societal system, inadvertently perpetuates this dehumanization. More specifically, Freire explains this dehumanization process by analyzing people's consciousness or worldview about themselves. He categorizes human consciousness as magical consciousness, naïve consciousness, or critical consciousness and uses these categories in explaining how to awaken critical consciousness through emancipatory and critical methods and techniques.

The popular education approach designed by Fakhri and Topatimasang uses training methods that stimulate critical consciousness and the process of liberation. They prepared training modules and trained facilitators from various communities such as farmers, fishermen, workers, indigenous people, and student activists (Rahardjo et al., 2000). The educational method developed is a dialogue-based approach between facilitators and community members. The dialogue method is conducted with the spirit of transforming the relationship between facilitators and participants into a "dialogical" relationship. Inspired by Freirean thought, they proposed dialog as a "praxis" (Mayo, 1999, 2021). In this regard, Freire argued that dialog as a cultural activity is the revolutionary process in which people develop their critical consciousness (Suoranta, 2022a). The central argument is that education must create spaces for free and critical identification and analysis aimed at social transformation. In other words, the primary role of education is to "humanize" people who have undergone "dehumanization" due to an unjust system and structure. The popular education

approach implemented by INSIST aims to create opportunities to restore the function of education and training as a process of social transformation.

This critical educational perspective aligns with the transformative paradigm. In this perspective, the learning process becomes an arena for ideological critique. In training processes for workers, for example, participants need to be challenged to understand the exploitation they face and think about how to achieve liberation from alienation and exploitation, in addition to focusing on work motivation theories that only serve the accumulation of capital. Similarly, in agricultural training, farmers are often directed solely towards achieving productivity and efficiency, which was driven by the dominant Green Revolution or *Revolusi Hijau*¹⁵ during Suharto's administration and genetic engineering views. However, they are rarely encouraged to question power relations and the detrimental effects these techniques may have on farmers. This method harks back to Paulo Freire's as his main concern was for the pedagogy of liberation (Suoranta & Moisio, 2006). Freire provides an explanation of how the teacher unveils the world of oppression with the oppressed, who in his time were for the most part illiterate peasants exploited by landowners. Indeed, Freire provides a very insightful analysis of the way human beings participate in their own oppression by internalizing the image of their oppressor (Mayo, 1994, 2008, 2014; Suoranta, 2022). In this context, the choice of educational paradigm and learning process plays a strategic role in social change and transformation.

Since 1998, INSIST has independently developed and organized an educational program called the Indonesian Volunteer for Social Movement—known as Involvement—which began its first educational initiative in 1999 (Avonius, 2020). The project received donor support from KEPA,¹⁶ based in Helsinki (Finland), until the year 2002. By 2002, four classes had launched the one-year program. The Involvement program aims to strengthen civil society in

Indonesia, which was severely weakened during the 32 years of Suharto's dictatorial rule. Each course recruits 20–30 participants from university students, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and other civil society sectors. The program starts with two months of study at the educational center in Yogyakarta, where participants engage in lectures on development theories, social analysis, gender, environmental issues, and human rights.

Utilizing a participatory approach inspired by Paulo Freire's educational methods, the program encourages students and the community to apply theoretical knowledge through action. Key components of the curriculum include field visits to local NGOs, evaluations based on these visits or participants' own NGO work experiences, and group discussions. Practical skills, such as facilitation and research techniques, are also emphasized.

The majority of the program consists of a field trip, during which students are placed in NGOs across Indonesia to engage in advocacy work, conduct research, and deliver training, allowing them to immediately apply what they've learned. INSIST monitors these field activities and after the fieldwork, students return to Yogyakarta for two weeks to share and evaluate their experiences. In 2003, the program decentralized, establishing five Involvement schools throughout Indonesia in regions such as the Moluccas, West Kalimantan, North Sumatra, Bali, and Maumere.

Additionally, INSIST runs a “Fellowship” program aimed at experienced NGO activists, designed to enhance their theoretical knowledge and analytical skills based on their career experiences. This program includes studying theories and reflecting on their work in textual form. A board of advisors, composed of scholars and NGO activists, oversees the participants, and their research is published by Insistpress in books or articles. The program began in 1999 with

five participants and by 2001, nine individuals were enrolled, researching topics such as Islamic fundamentalism, peasant rights, and indigenous peoples' movements.

Challenges and Criticisms of Popular Education in Indonesia.

The challenges facing popular education in Indonesia are diverse and complex, particularly in terms of its practical implementation and ability to meet the needs of marginalized communities. A central issue is the dominance of formal educational systems, which often marginalize community-based and non-formal education initiatives. This hierarchical structure limits the growth of more inclusive educational models that are sensitive to local contexts and specific community needs (Pratiwi, 2024).

There are concerns about the effectiveness of popular education in fostering genuine critical thinking and participation. Many critics argue that such initiatives often lack depth and sufficient support, which can result in a superficial engagement with the principles of critical consciousness rather than effecting real change. This superficiality, while difficult to measure in specific terms, is widely recognized as a failure to effectively challenge the status quo, thus limiting the potential of popular education to truly empower participants.

The adoption of Paulo Freire's pedagogy in Indonesia faces its own set of obstacles, many of which are related to the entrenched traditional educational methods in the country. Indonesia's education system is largely characterized by rote memorization and a top-down teaching approach, which limits the potential for dialogical learning and critical engagement, core aspects of Freire's philosophy. This resistance to change, both from educational

institutions and cultural norms, creates barriers to implementing Freire's principles of learner autonomy and active participation (Ramis Salas, 2018).

Additionally, the socio-political context in Indonesia, with its authoritarian governance structures, presents further challenges to adopting Freirean pedagogy. Fear of dissent or political repercussions discourages educators and students from engaging in critical discussions that might challenge the established social order. The gap in teacher training and resources exacerbates these challenges, as many educators lack the necessary preparation to facilitate the kind of transformative learning that Freire advocates, leading to a superficial implementation of his ideas (Clemitshaw, 2013).

Another significant issue surrounding the implementation of popular education in Indonesia is the misinterpretation or oversimplification of Paulo Freire's educational philosophy. Freire's ideas are often reduced to mere teaching methods, neglecting the deeper philosophical aspects such as dialogue, critical awareness, and education's transformative potential. This superficial adoption of Freirean terminology without engaging in the critical reflection that Freire emphasized leads to an education system that fails to encourage the kind of social transformation Freire envisioned. Some programs also tend to focus on technical skills or rote learning rather than fostering critical consciousness, which was central to Freire's pedagogical approach.

This shift towards a "banking model" of education, which Freire critiqued, prevents learners from engaging with their social realities and questioning societal norms. Furthermore, the increasing prevalence of global pedagogical models and foreign cultural influences further complicates the effective implementation of Freire's philosophy. The influx of external ideas risks overshadowing the importance of locally situated knowledge, ultimately

undermining the cultural relevance and authenticity of education in Indonesia (Pratiwi, 2024).

Moreover, there are critiques of Freire's original framework, particularly regarding its ability to address contemporary social issues such as race and gender within the Indonesian context. Some educators argue that while Freire's work laid the foundation for critical pedagogy, it does not fully account for the complexities of race and gender dynamics that are prevalent in Indonesian society today. As a result, adaptations and expansions of his framework are necessary to address these concerns effectively. Despite these limitations, the influence of Freire's ideas remains evident in grassroots educational models, which focus on local cultural and environmental contexts to ensure their relevance and sustainability. In Indonesia, initiatives that integrate environmental sustainability, such as those promoted by Muslim NGOs, demonstrate how education can empower communities by addressing local challenges. By incorporating local knowledge and fostering community participation, these initiatives create a strong foundation for transformative education that aligns with Freire's principles of dialogue and cultural relevance (Koehrsen, 2020).

Conclusion

Critical theory, conceptualized by the Frankfurt School, has influenced the development of critical pedagogy in Indonesia. Critical pedagogy tremendously influenced many scholars and intellectuals around the world to engage in discourse around this subject. Combined, critical theory and critical pedagogy can serve as a dialectic and praxis sphere for transformation, humanization, development of self-consciousness, justice, democratization, and emancipation. Critical theory and critical pedagogy relate to the basic meaning of

“emancipation,” “liberation,” or “transformation”; these are the intended outcomes of dialogue and praxis. Freire’s work has ensured that critical pedagogy has been known in Indonesia since the 1970s. Indeed, the diffusion of Freire’s ideas, most significantly during the decade 1980–1990 when many activist NGOs developed training and advocacy groups directed at the grassroots of society. From Indonesia’s perspective, the essence of education is to create critical consciousness within marginalized groups and humanize society. In Indonesia, this is a necessary task of critical popular education.

The continuing impact of Freire’s educational philosophy in Indonesia is evident in the rise of popular education and the application of his theories across various educational contexts. His concepts of critical pedagogy, dialogical learning, and conscientization have inspired numerous educational initiatives focused on empowering marginalized groups and promoting social justice. These efforts, particularly community-driven education projects, align with Freire’s belief that education should serve as a tool for liberation. Through participatory methods, these projects not only raise awareness of important social issues but also provide participants with the skills and knowledge necessary to advocate for change within their communities. Through these grassroots efforts and the integration of Freirean principles in educational reforms, there has been a notable shift towards promoting critical engagement, social activism, and community empowerment, key aspects of creating an inclusive and socially just educational environment.

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Notes

¹Freire showed visionary capacity and intellectual rigor in the context of global education in his books *Politics and Education* (1998), *Pedagogy of Heart* (1998), *Pedagogy of City* (1993), *Education for Critical Consciousness* (1994), *Letters to Christina: Reflections on my Life and Work* (1996), *The Politics of Education: Culture, Power, and Liberation* (1985), *Pedagogy of Process: The Letters to Guinea-Bissau* (1978), *Cultural Action for Freedom* (1975). These works heavily influenced my understanding of critical pedagogy and the debates within it.

²In studying the historical emergence of critical pedagogy in Indonesia, I used a qualitative approach. First, a literature study was conducted to examine the primary data consisting of books, international and national academic journals, theses and dissertations. Second, interviews were conducted among Indonesian popular educators. I previously conducted in-depth interviews with NGO activists who were working in popular education. The interviews were conducted in Jakarta and in Yogyakarta where the informants resided. The fieldwork was conducted in two stages. The first stage took place in 2016–2017 in Jakarta and Yogyakarta. The second stage was carried out in 2024–2025. During this period, I participated in several discussions on Paulo Freire's ideas with various communities, such as teacher activists, and since 2021, I have been teaching Paulo Freire's Thought in the Sociology of Education Program, State University of Jakarta. During that time, I undertook two important tasks. First, conducting a literature review relevant to the research topic, particularly focusing on the emergence of Paulo Freire's influence and thought in Indonesia, the context of Indonesian NGO movements during the New Order era, and the praxis of popular education as implemented by Mansour Fakihi and Roem Topatimasang through their NGO, INSIST. Second, I carried out a critical analysis of Paulo Freire's educational concepts, including challenges to and critiques of the practice of popular education in Indonesia. In 2025, along with several activists in Indonesia, I initiated the Henry Giroux Studies of Indonesia.

³ STF Driyarkara (*Sekolah Tinggi Filsafat* Driyarkara) is a philosophy school that was established on September 16, 1965, in Jakarta, Indonesia. It aims to provide a strong foundation in philosophy, focusing on intellectual development, ethical reasoning, and social engagement. The institution is dedicated to fostering critical thinking and philosophical inquiry in alignment with Christian values and Indonesian cultural contexts.

⁴ Jimly Asshiddiqie is an Indonesian constitutional law expert and former Chief Justice of the Constitutional Court of Indonesia. He is known for his significant contributions to legal scholarship and his involvement in shaping Indonesia's legal framework. One of his notable contributions is his translation of Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (*Pendidikan*

Kaum Tertindas) into Indonesian, a work that has had a profound impact on education and social justice movements in the country. Through this translation, Asshiddiqie helped bring Freire's critical pedagogy to a wider Indonesian audience, fostering discussions about empowerment, equality, and the role of education in challenging systemic oppression. His work has influenced many in Indonesia, especially in the fields of education and social activism.

⁵ The Institute for Development Studies (Lembaga Studi Pembangunan, LSP) was founded by Sritua Arief (1938-2002), an Indonesian economist with a structuralist orientation, often critical of the New Order's development strategy, which heavily emphasized economic growth. Together with Adi Sasono (1943–2016), he published a book titled *Indonesia: Ketergantungan dan Keterbelakangan* in 1981. This book was published by the Institute for Development Studies. Since then, LSP has become a think tank focused on studying structuralist perspectives and discussing Indonesia's economic dependency. Structuralist or populist thought dominated the mindset of the political elite in these countries during the early stages of their development process, as they transitioned towards a modern capitalist society. At that time, few intellectuals applied dependency theory to analyze development issues in Indonesia. Sritua Arief was the first Indonesian social scholar to use dependency theory to analyze Indonesia's economic dependency. Sritua Arief and Adi Sasono introduced the term "structural poverty," explaining poverty as a consequence of the New Order's misguided policies. In the 1980s, many structuralist intellectuals became key references in the resistance against the New Order regime.

⁶ Sekretariat Bina Desa is a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) focused on rural community empowerment, established on June 20, 1975, in Jatiluhur, Purwakarta, West Java. This NGO was founded with a non-profit, non-partisan, and independent orientation. Its inception was driven by a strong commitment to marginalized rural communities, who were increasingly being left behind in development processes that prioritized growth without equity.

⁷ Bina Swadaya is an NGO established on May 24, 1967. Initially, this organization was known as the Tani Membangun Social Foundation, which was part of the Pancasila-based Socio-Economic Movement. Bina Swadaya aims to empower communities, particularly the poor and marginalized, through various programs and initiatives.

⁸ Jo Hann Tan is a Malaysian community organizer and activist known for his extensive work in popular education and grassroots organizing across Southeast Asia. He has collaborated with various non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and educators to develop participatory training programs aimed at empowering marginalized communities. His experience in facilitating dialogue-based education has contributed significantly to strengthening social movements and fostering democratic engagement in the region.

⁹ The Helsinki Process, launched in the early 2000s, is a global initiative focused on promoting adult education and empowering communities. It aims to enhance adult education's role in social and economic development by aligning educational policies with global goals, like the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. The initiative fosters international collaboration to support lifelong learning, particularly for marginalized groups. Mansour Fakih, as a participant in the Helsinki Process, played a key role in highlighting the significance of adult education and empowerment, advancing the understanding of social justice and the role of education in addressing inequalities.

¹⁰ State Institute of Islamic Religion (IAIN), now transformed into the State Islamic University (UIN), is an Islamic higher education institution under the supervision of Indonesia's Ministry of Religious Affairs. It provides academic programs in theology, education, law, and other fields related to Islamic scholarship.

¹¹ Ruedi Hofmann was a Swiss-born Jesuit priest and media educator who significantly contributed to community empowerment and interfaith dialogue in Indonesia. In 1970, he founded *Pusat Kateketik* (PUSKAT) in Yogyakarta. Under his leadership, PUSKAT became a key hub for social communication, promoting democratic values and cultural diversity. Hofmann also initiated the "village hall" project, which used traditional arts and media to foster grassroots communication and civic engagement. His legacy extends through the Ruedi Hofmann Media Awards, which celebrate films promoting solidarity, tolerance, and human rights in Indonesia.

¹² (PUSKAT) in Catholicism is an institution established to support Catholic religious education through communication media and other resources. PUSKAT focuses on developing educational materials to deepen faith understanding, guide the faithful in religious learning, and facilitate the dissemination of Catholic teachings in a relevant and modern way.

¹³ Yusuf Bilyarta Mangunwijaya, known as Romo Mangun, was an Indonesian Catholic priest, architect, writer, and social activist. Born on May 6, 1929, in Ambarawa, Central Java, he joined the People's Security Army at the age of 16 during the Indonesian National Revolution, but was later inspired to become a priest after witnessing the suffering of civilians due to war. Ordained as a priest in 1959, he continued his architectural studies at RWTH Aachen, Germany. Upon returning to Indonesia, he actively built homes for the poor along the Code River in Yogyakarta and established community centers. As a writer, Romo Mangun gained recognition for his novel "Burung-Burung Manyar," which won the Ramon Magsaysay Award in 1996. He also wrote non-fiction works like "Sastra dan Religiositas," which earned awards in 1982. As an architect, he received the Aga Khan Award in 1992 for his Code River development project. Romo Mangun passed away on February 10, 1999, in Jakarta, leaving a legacy in architecture, literature, and community empowerment.

¹⁴ The Association for the Development of Pesantren and Society or *Perhimpunan Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat*, P3M, is a non-governmental organization focused on improving the quality of education and community development through education in *pesantren* (Islamic boarding schools). It was established on May 18, 1983, with the aim of promoting and enhancing the development of pesantren as alternative educational institutions and places for human resource development. P3M was founded by prominent pesantren leaders (*kyai*) in Indonesia and several NGO activists in the 1980s, serving as a platform for the *ulama* or *kyai* to actualize their responsibility toward society and the nation.

¹⁵ The Green Revolution or *Revolusi Hijau* during the New Order era refers to a series of agricultural policies and programs implemented from the 1960s to the 1980s to increase food production in Indonesia, particularly rice. The program aimed to improve food security by introducing modern agricultural technologies, such as high-yield seed varieties, chemical fertilizers, and more efficient irrigation. Led by the New Order government under President Soeharto, with support from international organizations like FAO and the World Bank, the main focus was on boosting rice production to address hunger and reduce dependence on rice imports. While it successfully increased agricultural output and reduced hunger, the Green Revolution also faced criticism for its impact on local agricultural diversity, reliance on chemical fertilizers and pesticides, and its negative environmental consequences.

¹⁶ KEPA, short for *Kehitysyhteistyön Palvelukeskus* in Finnish, meaning "Service Centre for Development Cooperation" in English, was a Finnish umbrella organization for NGOs focused on global development, social justice, and international cooperation. It provided funding, advocacy, training, and capacity-building support to partner organizations in developing countries, including Indonesia. KEPA operated under this name until 2018, when it was restructured and became part of a new organization called Fingo (Finnish Development NGOs).

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