

The Transformation of Character Ideology of Pancasila through Education

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Abstract

Pancasila has already been recognized and adhered to as the ideology of the Indonesian state since its independence, in 1945, until now, within the 2000s reform period. The state is obliged to uphold the inheritance of Pancasila values from generation to generation. Period of 1945-2000s was divided into three periods of power: the Orde Lama, the Orde Baru and the reformation periods. Each period has its own way in intervening the education system about teaching the interpretation of the state ideology in accordance with the political line of power. It is a literature researches that try to figure out the patterns of state intervention in the education system related to the Pancasila ideology.

Keywords: Ideology Pancasila, Character, Civics Education.

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INTRODUCTION

Pancasila is considered as an ideology that has been established as the national principle in Indonesia, and become a nation's views of life for Indonesian people. The ideological implementation of Pancasila as the national principle, was carried out through the formation of character building, and has been started since several years after the Indonesian Independence Day in 1945. Soon after the independence period, Soekarno as the president, started the *orde lama* (Soekarno's Era) period until his fall in 1960s. Soekarno was then substituted by Soeharto, as the leader of the *Orde Baru* (Soeharto's era) era until his fall in 1998, continued by the Reformation era until now. Consequently, the implementation of the Pancasila as the ideologi of the state has experienced changes period by period. After the Soeharto era that is in Reformation era the implementation of Pancasila has also experienced changes. Pancasila, as the state ideology, embraced as the national foundation. Its implementation changed together with the changes of the leaderships. The patterns of the transformation can be seen and observed from the Educational system of the nation. Through the educational system, the nation obliged to inherit the ideological values of Pancasila, generation to generation.

Based the analysis on the policy documentation of the three periods of leadership in Indonesia, the researcher identified how and the extent to which this country intervenes the implementation of

Pancasila through the educational system in Indonesia. The research shows the description about the intervention patterns completed by the government towards the educational system to implement the ideology of Pancasila.

Ideological values of pancasila in the first period: early period of independence

Pancasila has already become the main part of the objective of the educational system in the early era of independence. It can be seen in Law number 4 in 1950 about the Educational principles in school it was stated that the process of teaching and learning is aimed to established the human decency who has capability as a citizen, able to carry out a democratic attitude, responsible for the welfare of society and the country. Every education is based on Pancasila as a principle. Education in this period was directed at patriotism, the formation of national identity integrated with nationalism [1]. This practice is contrary to the purpose of education in the era before independence. In the era of the Dutch East Indies education led to the formation of intellectuality, forming personalities, developing self-confidence, giving rise to courage, initiative and morale [2].

In the early period of independence, Pancasila was introduced as the soul of the nation which underlies the behavior of every citizen as a person who has a national identity (*persoonlijkheid*). Identity as a nation increases patriotic awareness, nationalism. The education system in schools is regulated in the 1947

curriculum known as “*Rencana Pelajaran 1947*” (Learning Plan-red). This curriculum removes all Dutch and Japanese relics, raises objects every morning on the school grounds, remove the flag ceremony. The main focus in the early period of Indonesian independence was the third principle of Pancasila: “*Persatuan Indonesia*” (Unity of Indonesia-red).

Ideological values of pancasila in the second period: orde lama era

A decade after independence, Indonesia entered the initial round of state administration. This period was a period under the leadership of Soekarno (known as *Orde Lama*) who had an interest in translating the implementation of the Pancasila ideology through education. The basis of state intervention in the education system is the Political manifesto USDEK politics declared by President Soekarno. This has a direct impact on national education. The orientation of education tends to be pragmatic, including: i) Restriction of ready-to-use learning materials; ii) Directing students to work more in groups; iii) Linking schools to communities; iv) Develop nationalist, ethical, aesthetic, and national character formation (Djumhur & Danasuparta [2]. Meanwhile, the aim of national education is to make citizens, who are Indonesian socialist, have morals, be responsible for the implementation of Indonesian socialist society, just and prosperous both spiritually and materially, as well as having the spirit of Pancasila in the USDEK Political manifesto [3]. Pancasila and Political manifesto are considered as subjects from school to college [4].

The curriculum is directed at developing the quality set by the government, namely to produce moral and democratic human beings, moral human beings who are socialists and pioneers in defending Political manifesto-USDEK. To achieve this goal, the school curriculum requires Civics subjects as a means of forming citizens who are characterized by Political manifesto-USDEK. Ideologies other than Pancasila such as Liberalism and individualism are considered prohibited and stigmatized as opposed to the spirit of Political manifesto-USDEK. Civics is a subject that contains the nation's ideological education [5]. Civics is a component of subjects consisting of lesson content which is very limited by the ideological and political signs of the government [6]. Based on the aims and patterns of education implemented, it shows that education is used to shape the character of citizens to be in line with a particular political ideology.

The model of character education in the era of *Orde Lama* was refereed legally by the Decree of the MPRS No. II/MPRS/1960 concerning the outlines of the first stage of national development plan pattern, 1961-1969, to ensure that character education policies carried out in a centralized manner.

The materialsof Civics and ideological character education include the intricacies of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, as well as the government's political views. This combined material is referred to as "the seven basic ingredients of indoctrination "which consists of: Pancasila, Political manifesto and USDEK, the 1945 Constitution, Indonesian Socialism, Guided Democracy, Guided Economy and Indonesian Culture. This pattern ends with a transformation from the regime of *Orde Lama* to the *Orde Baru*.

Ideological values of pancasila in the third period: orde baru era

The orientation of the country in this era is about national development, not about national identity and fostering a sense of nationalism. In order for national development ideas to be widely accepted by society, education is used as a propaganda instrument. Teaching, curriculum, organization, and evaluation of education are directed as development accelerators. The development of the Pancasila ideology model and ideological character is justified explicitly through the political product of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) with Decree No. II / MPR/1978 concerning Guidelines for Living and Practicing the Pancasila or *Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila (Eka prasetia Pancakarsa-* a guidance to implement the Pancasila's value) abbreviated as P4. The organization of education is one of the main means of organizing the ideological values of the Pancasila, the state and the government's political views at that time, through the P4. Not only educational institutions, all government apparatus and institutions in the community must attend a short education which concentrates the content of P4 material.

Entering the second decade of the *Orde Baru* era, advancement of P4 must be followed by every new student at schools in all regions of Indonesia entirely. P4 is officially created as the way the government implements the Pancasila ideology in everyday life. Deviations and rejection of P4 are considered as the opposite of development and will be ostracized in the national association. The teaching of civics in the era of *Orde Lama* was substituted with the subject of Pancasila Moral Education which must be learned at all levels of education. Teaching the Pancasila Moral Education also includes a government version of the historical notation process in the content of the History of the Nation's Struggle Education.

In the third decade of the *Orda Baru* era, through the 1994 curriculum, there was a change in the pattern of teaching of Pancasila ideology in schools. Pancasila Moral Education is no longer independent as a subject to replace civics, but there has been a merger of the two subjects into Pancasila and Citizenship Education subjects. Through this format, education about Pancasila ideology is integrated as basic knowledge for citizens. Furthermore, entering the

fourth decade of the *Orde Baru* era, there was a change of government into the era of the Reformation.

Ideological values of Pancasila in the fourth period: reformation era

The culmination of the Pancasila ideology occurred in the reform era. This causes a reduction in the country's interest in education. The government reduced bureaucratic rules and interventions in the education sector but it increased the function of education by raising the education budget nationally. This condition is immediately realized as a mistake. In fact, the community began to lose its ideological direction. There are foreign ideologies which are massively feared to threaten the unity of the nation. Therefore, this country began to strengthen the orientation of the Pancasila ideology through education. Exactly a decade after the Reformation, the Government made Pancasila the mainstream of policy. Development was inspired by the Pancasila ideology as stated in the Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 17 of 2007. The state emphasized the material content in character and ideology education is moral based on Pancasila which includes accepting diversity, faith and piety to the Almighty God, virtuous, tolerant, cooperative, patriotic, and dynamic and science oriented [7]. In order to be operationalized nationally and obtain obedience from all members of the community, this interest is again strengthened through

the juridical justification of two laws (Law Number 20 Year 2003 concerning the National Education System, and Law Number 17 of 2007 concerning the Long-term Development Plans). This is reinforced by the Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 032 of 2013 concerning National Education Standards, regulations on the National Medium-Term Development Plan, ministerial-level rules and operational rules under the ministry. The teaching content of the national ideology not only cognitively teaches material about Pancasila, but also builds the character of citizens. In macro terms, the general goal of the Pancasila education system is to develop the potential of students to become human beings who believe and fear God Almighty, have noble character, are healthy, knowledgeable, capable, creative, independent, and become responsible and democratic citizens. The format of teaching has not undergone many changes compared to the previous era, but historical content has been arranged more objectively by removing P4 indoctrination patterns.

Brief analysis of state interventions in the teaching of ideology

In each period, it can be seen that the state has a certain form of interest in the ideology of the Pancasila. This is implemented in the formulation of certain values in accordance with its political agenda. See the following table:

Table-I: Patern and Impact

PERIOD	Pattern of intervention and state interest	Impact on the education system
Period I	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - focuses on the third principle of Pancasila: "Persatuan Indonesia" - Putting Pancasila as the soul of the nation, forming a national identity (<i>persoonlijkheid</i>), removing remains of the the Netherlands and Japan colonial systems. - Issues the rules for the formation of the ministry of teaching, education & culture for the first time. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lesson Plans 1947. - Obtain the ability of citizens, who are democratic, responsible, patriotic, form a national identity integrated with nationalism. - Civics education
Period II	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Political orientation of Political manifesto USDEK + Pancasila. - Ideologies other than Pancasila are considered forbidden. - Refusing foreign cultural influences through education. - Issue regulations as a juridical basis: Law No. 4 of 1950, Instruction of the Minister of Education and Culture No. 1 of 1959, Decree of MPRS No. II / MPRS / 1960. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Pragmatic education orientation. - Forming an Indonesian socialist citizen, slanderous, responsible for the implementation of a just and prosperous Indonesian socialist society, both spiritual and material, and possessing the spirit of the Pancasila, as stated in the 1945 Constitution Political manifesto. - Civics Study Materials: Pancasila and Political manifesto, 1945 Constitution, Indonesian Socialism, Guided Democracy, Guided Economy, and Indonesian Culture. - teaching content is very limited by the ideological and political signs of the government
Period III	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - National development orientation - The Obligation of Ideology and standardizing Pancasila values into the Establishment of the Guidelines for Living and Practicing the Pancasila (Ekaprasetia Pancakarsa / P4). - Rejection of P4 which is considered a state threat. - Establish a special government institution called Badan Pembinaan Pendidikan Pelaksanaan Pedoman 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Educational propaganda instruments. - Teaching, curriculum, organization, and evaluation of education are directed as development accelerators. - Mandatory for all citizens. - Format: Civics was replaced by Pancasila Moral Education (P4) and government version historical notation (PSPB/ historical education of the nation's

	Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila /BP-7 (Agency of the Education Development of the Implementation Guidelines for the Implementation and Application of Pancasila). - Issue regulations as a juridical basis: Decree No. II / MPR / 1978, Presidential Decree No.10 of 1979, Establishing the 1983 and 1994 Curriculum, as well as centralistic education policies.	struggle).
<i>Period IV</i>	First phase: - orientation to freedom of opinion and ideology Second phase: - The state re-establishes the ideological basis of Pancasila as the mainstream. - Publish a number of rules as a legal basis - Publish curriculum standardization to teaching content	- Discourse that is open in educational institutions to the ideology of the Pancasila and others. - Returning Pancasila and Citizenship education as a permanent format - The main ideas in teaching content are determined centrally

Source: research analysis

The values set by the state in terms of understanding the ideology of Pancasila are divided into two patterns.

The first pattern establishes universally acceptable values such as responsibility, humanity, democracy, character, intelligence and skills. Some universal values are paraphrased by vocabulary that is cultural, such as *keprigelan* (*orde lama* term for skill), "democratic morality" (early era of independence), "*tenggang rasa dan tepo seliro*" (*orde baru* era refer to mutual understanding and tolerance).

The second pattern establishes values, thoughts that relate to or support political ideas desired by the government, establish values that are identified as ideological opponents that must be avoided, and are prohibited from being integrated with the thoughts of every citizen. Among the values included in this pattern are: "socialist democracy", the Political manifesto of the 1945 Constitution (*Orde Lama*), "Deliberation is carried out with common sense and a noble conscience", "shared interests are above personal and group interests" (Translation of the Pancasila points of the *Orde Baru* era). The types of ideas that are defined as prohibited include "liberalism and individualism (the *Orde Lama* era)," socialism, communism "(*Orde Baru* era)," as the appreciation of the Pancasila (reform era)".

Of the two patterns above there is an interesting phenomenon, e.g. certain phrases and ideas prohibited in one period, changed to be accepted in another period. Socialism banned in the *Orde Baru* era and Liberalism in the *Orde Lama* era, became acceptable in the Reformasi era. Some universal values allowed and implemented in one period can also experience changes to be *taboo* for implementation in other periods. For example, tolerance values and *tepo seliro* has become taboo in the reform era, patriotic-minded values commonly used in the *Orde Lama* Era but taboo in the *Orde Baru* era officially re-used in the reform era.

The same pattern of change also occurs in information about Indonesia's national history. In certain periods there is a strengthening of historical stories, while in other periods the disappearance or blurring of historical moments occurs.

Interventions carried out by the state can be identified into one pattern of scenarios: i.e. determination through a formal juridical structure in order to have binding powers and obtain operational support from all elements of government. The *Orde Lama* era was able to encourage the legislature to establish the absolute leadership of the President, who believed that his values and ideas were widely accepted by all citizens. The *Orde Baru* era was able to encourage state organs such as the military and police to participate in propagating the values of Pancasila in either the closed education system or in general.

Educational institutions, as government institutions (*bestuur*) which carry out missions and teaching activities in each period, are used to disseminate ideological values desired by the head of state. Juridical products are issued in order to support the operationalization of the ideas promoted. Thus, the implementation of Pancasila ideological values in four periods tends to be interpreted by the state to be obeyed by all citizens. The absence of discourse between citizens and the state in terms of understanding ideology is characterized by phenomena from each curriculum arrangement to the construction of teaching materials that are always regulated and determined by judicial decisions. This indicates the use of "reglement nature" in education politics. School education is a humanitarian and cultural practice. However, educational institutions at the state level are institutions that are influenced by the country's political policies.

CONCLUSION

Pancasila ideology is global, contains various ideas of universal thought, and is able to accommodate

cultural ideas rooted in tradition. The nature of the Pancasila ideology which tends to be general (general stratum) gives an opportunity to be included in the framework of specific operational values (differentia stratum). The practice of incorporating the general stratum of the ideology of Pancasila into differentia values, which is of a limited operational nature, occurs in the four periods of Indonesian state administration. There is no specific mechanism that has been followed together in operationalizing the great ideas of Pancasila as the ideology of the nation. This is due to the position of the Pancasila as the *Philosophische Grondslag* for the Indonesian people, which can be operationalized in all government systems. The government and the state always have an interest in making Pancasila as the source of the state's living system so that it is implemented with diverse interpretations. This has a direct impact on education, because there is a continuous change in regulation, juridical rules which always contain a certain framework for Pancasila.

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