



Pancasila Education in Indonesia: The debate on Pancasila in the post reform era between legitimation, recognition, and institutionalization during 2000-2021

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Abstract

Pancasila is mentioned as the basis of the philosophy of the State. Understanding the narrow and limited meaning of Pancasila has resulted in polemics in the life of the nation and state, especially in Pancasila education. This study aims to analyze the debate and dynamics of Pancasila education from the aspects of legitimacy, recognition, and institutionalization. This research is philosophical research, using qualitative research methods through literature review. The analysis in this study used critical discourse analysis. The research process includes data inventory, data categorization, and data analysis. The results of this study indicate that the debate about Pancasila education since the post occurred from the framework of the legitimacy of power, there has been a dualism of legitimacy between the executive and the legislature. Based on the recognition aspect, Pancasila education has not yet received adequate recognition from the state and educational institutions. From the institutional aspect, efforts to institutionalize the values of Pancasila from the educational aspect still encounter problems because there is no certainty in placing Pancasila under what kind of institution.

Keywords: education; legitimacy; Pancasila; post-reform

Introduction

After the reformation, the phenomenon of the interpretation and understanding of Pancasila in education experienced dynamics. Research and studies on the interpretation and understanding of Pancasila in the post-reform era are interesting to examine from three aspects. *First*, the historical aspect, how the interpretation model developed in the historical context of the formulation of Pancasila. *Second*, the political aspect, how the political elite interprets Pancasila in the life of the nation and state after the current reform. *Third*, the academic aspect, how scientists understand and interpret Pancasila in the world of education in the post-reform era. This study will analyze the Pancasila debate in the world of education



in Indonesia regarding issues of legitimacy, recognition, and institutionalization. The reform period became an important period in changing the political and social system in Indonesia. The most fundamental change was the issue of institutionalization and the legitimacy of power from the new order, which was considered an authoritarian order to the reform era as an era of renewal (Mutaqin, 2018). The study of political and social change in the reform era has been widely discussed and described.

The exciting thing about the research discussed here is that it focuses more on the study of Pancasila changes and debates in the world of education since the post-reform period from 2000 to 2021. The critical issue in the debate on the legitimation of Pancasila in the post-reform era starts from who has the authority on Pancasila implementation since the fall of Soeharto and the end of the Upgrading Course on the Directives for the Realization and Implementation of Pancasila? (Iskandar, 2016; Morfit, 1981). During Soeharto period, legitimation of Pancasila brought under Soeharto leadership (Iskandar, 2016; McGregor, 2002; Morfit, 1981). However, after the post-reform era, the legitimation of Pancasila spread to various political institutions. On the aspects of recognition and institutionalization of Pancasila experiencing tension, whether Pancasila is recognized as belonging to certain powers or as an open ideology? Moreover, which institution has the right to legitimize Pancasila?

Pancasila was mentioned as the philosophical basis of the state at the same time as the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution (*Undang-Undang 1945*) was stipulated on August 18, 1945. The process of the birth of Pancasila as the basis of the state's philosophy is based on the historical process of the formulation of Pancasila at the BPUPK session on June 1, 1945, which discussed the basis of an independent Indonesian state, one of the members of the BPUPK, Ir. Soekarno proposed that Pancasila be made the basis of an independent Indonesia (Abdulgani, 1963). From a historical perspective Pancasila was evident stress as the basic state of Indonesian philosophy (Winarno, 2012). As shown in the study during the BPUPK meeting only focused on Pancasila but was also concerned with the concept of the state and citizen (Syarifa et al., 2022).

Fachrudin (2018) explained in Bung Karno's idea, the "digger" of Pancasila himself, as quoted by Latif (2011), was explicitly read that the order of the Pancasila precepts was not a principal thing; it was sequential order, not priority order. In Sukarno's initial formulation, the first precept was nationality, while the divine principle ("*yang berkebudayaan*" or "the cultured") was in fifth place (Latif, 2011). On the other hand, in the hierarchical-pyramidal point of view, the order of importance is that the first precept plays the role of permeating all the precepts. In contrast, the precepts below it is not encompassing but illuminated by the precepts above it. Hence, for instance, the second precept is illuminated by the first and includes the third, fourth, and fifth precepts. The first and second precepts illuminate the third precept and include the fourth and fifth precepts. The hierarchical-pyramidal perspective determines which precepts are perceived as more basic or fundamental than other precepts (Fachrudin, 2018).

The values of Pancasila as a source of state inspiration must animate the behavior of social life. The narrow meaning of Pancasila will result in a limited understanding of the meaning of social life. The narrow meaning of Pancasila will also cause a limited understanding of the meaning of national and state life, which has broad aspects. In such a context, how much the cultivation or internalization of Pancasila values is essential to conduct, to foster mental awareness and responsibility in social life (Asrom, 2017).

Pancasila has been interpreted in such a way as to justify and strengthen the authoritarianism of the state. One of the characteristics of authoritarian power anywhere is that it always considers ideology as an important business closely related to social stability or cohesion. However, the assumption that efforts to homogenize ideology are important to create stability and strengthen community cohesion is misleading (Wahyudi, 2007). Pancasila is the basic point of view that can be returned to the mono-plural nature of the human person. The Pancasila Point of View can be implied to have no innate attitude of "*Eka Paksi*," which is looking

at something and a single exclusive point of view. However, using various basic points of view as an organic unit, each of which in the organic unit has a functional position and role. Organic unity is the unity of several elements or parts, each of which carries out its function if it is in the overall unity (Mudhofir, 2006).

Fachrudin (2018) mentions "*Cara berpikir Pancasila*" which means "The Pancasilaist way of thinking", it is possible to produce it, will contain an essentialist paradigm that assumes that everyone can easily agree upon interpretations of Pancasila. The problem is that the interpretations of Pancasila that have appeared, even from the generations of the nation's founders, are not uniform, and some are even contradictory. An example is the issue of communism. Sukarno often quoted Marxist intellectuals explaining Pancasila (especially the fifth precept). It could even be said that the embryo of formulating Pancasila was from the will to unite the nationalist, Islamic, and Marxist movements, not just "socialism." In the statement of Roeslan Abdulgani, a PNI (The Indonesian National Party) figure and spokesperson for Sukarno at the time, "Pancasila is a synthesis of modern Islamic ideas, Marxism, and genuine democracy as found in villages in the communalism of the population" (Fachrudin, 2018, p. 4). However, communism/Marxism-Leninism was later banned by the New Order regime. In this case, it is difficult to rule out the thesis that what is called discursive-ideologically faithful is closely related to power relations, not merely neutral-objective.

Arif's statement stating that the era of "monolithic interpretation of Pancasila by power" has passed, replaced by scientific authority, has not been fully confirmed considering that what is referred to as "teachings or understandings that are contrary to Pancasila" as stated in the Elucidation of the 2013 Ormas Law only contains a slight difference from the 1985 Ormas (Society Organization) Law, a product of the New Order (this issue is alluded to in the Report on the first pages). It means that the interference of power has not completely disappeared, or there may be an interpretation process completely separated from the power relation, especially for something declared as the basis of the state.

Pancasila should be willing to accept the main characteristics of science: openness to criticism, acknowledgment of the possibility of error, and willingness to change if new, more convincing theses are found—this applies to both the natural sciences and the social-humanities sciences. Thus, following the will to scientific Pancasila in Pancasila education, the first step is the recognition of the existence of multiple interpretations in the layers of understanding about Pancasila, from the abstract to the concrete, and an effort to avoid claims of absolutes, especially with the existence of many sufficient ideas voiced a few years ago, which were making Pancasila an "open ideology". Pancasila will lose its scientific value if it is used as an anti-critical doctrine and acts as a "conversation cover", for instance, by making it a tool to dissolve an organization without going through a process of deliberation and adjudication in the courtroom (Fachrudin, 2018). The dynamics of Pancasila in the Indonesian education system have emerged, which is focused on the cognitive side rather than implementation. According to Suparno, Pancasila education today is still stressed on the cognitive side, if Pancasila as fundamental character values that affect the student's behavior in their lives. It needs to change its model and program (Suparno, 2021). In other studies, the issues of Pancasila education in schools generally focus on methods, objectives, and implementation. The study of Murdiono focus on innovation media in Pancasila teaching to engage student's participation and the material quality of teaching Pancasila for junior high schools. The result of this study showed that media usage is important in improving the quality of teaching on Pancasila and civics (Murdiono et al., 2023). Regarding implementation, Pancasila has stressed on basis state for forming laws and regulations and as character building (Adhyanto, 2016), Perspective from Lukito also focuses Pancasila re-contextualization in the international relation aspect (Lukito et al., 2022).

The existence of debates and polemics on interpreting Pancasila in the context of education and whether it should be included in the educational curriculum is interesting to

observe. This study seeks to analyze the dynamics and debates of Pancasila in education in terms of 3 main frameworks: legitimacy, recognition, and institutionalization. This research is urgently needed by going through a critical study and philosophical analysis as a formal object. This study aims to analyze how the debates and dynamics of Pancasila education since the post-reformation era have attempted to interpret and position Pancasila from three approaches to legitimacy, recognition, and institutionalization. This research is educational philosophy research.

Method

This study used a qualitative approach. The qualitative approach is used because the data is from documents and phenomena related to education and Pancasila. The data used in this study were obtained from document sources, archives, journals, books, and scientific articles. Documents that become references regarding the legitimacy and institutionalization of Pancasila were obtained from laws and regulations made by the government, both central and local governments. Meanwhile, confession-related documents were taken from thought notes in archives, journals, and books developed since the post-reformation era. The analytical method used in this study employed the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) analysis method. This CDA is used to analyze the object of study on Pancasila education from meaning in power and social relations, examines how language is created in certain social and political contexts, and the purpose of developing discourse construction (Haryatmoko, 2016). This critical method is to analyze the development of Pancasila education since post-reform.

Result and Discussion

Legitimacy, Recognition, and Post-Reformation Pancasila Education Institutions

Pancasila education in Indonesia has been known for a long time. It has gained legitimacy through Law Number 2 of 1989 concerning the National Education System, in article 39, paragraphs 1 and 2, which states as follows:

"(1) the curriculum content is an arrangement of study and lesson materials to achieve the objectives of the education unit concerned in the context of efforts to achieve national education goals. (2) The curriculum content for each type, path, and level of education must contain a. Pancasila education; b. religious education; and c. civic education". (Indonesia, Undang-Undang Nomor 2 tahun 1989 tentang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional, 1989).

The word "Pancasila education" has been introduced based on the laws and regulations made by the government. For this reason, the legitimacy of Pancasila education subjects already exists in the national education system in Indonesia. The function and role of Pancasila education are also explained in the explanation section of article 39, paragraph (2) of Law No. 2/1989 on the National Education System as follows:

"Pancasila education directs attention to the morals which are expected to be realized in everyday life, that is behavior which radiates faith and piety towards God Almighty in a society consisting of various religious groups, just and civilized humanitarian behavior, behavior that supports national unity in a society with diverse cultures and diverse interests, behavior that supports the people who prioritize common interests over individual and group interests so that differences in thoughts, opinions, or interests are overcome through deliberation and consensus, as well as behavior that supports efforts to realize social justice for all people of Indonesia" (Indonesia, Undang-Undang Nomor 2 tahun 1989 tentang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional, 1989).

The nature of Pancasila education, as stated in the explanation, leads to morals embodied in daily behavior. The existing elementary to high school curriculum includes Pancasila Moral Education (PMP) as a compulsory subject at the elementary to high school level. In its development, this subject matter lasted until the end of 1999, when there was a change in the political and social order in Indonesia, which was followed by the reform era. The reformation era became the starting point for changes and dynamics of Pancasila education in Indonesia. In

this phase, reforms impacted the change of president from Suharto to the reform era. Another impact is that several political and administrative systems have changed. For instance, the formation of the Constitutional Court, National Commission on Human Rights, the Ombudsman Commission, and the Corruption Eradication Commission. From the aspect of education, there has been a debate about whether Pancasila should be included in the national compulsory curriculum from primary to secondary education. In 2003, Law Number 2 of 2003 concerning the National Education System was issued to improve Law Number 2 of 1989 concerning the National Education System. With the existence of Law Number 2 of 2003 concerning the National Education System, the polemic about whether Pancasila education is included in the compulsory curriculum has been decided to be eliminated based on article 37, paragraph 1, stating that:

"The primary and secondary education curriculum must contain: a. religious education; b. civic education; c. language; d. mathematics; e. natural Science; f. social science; g. art and culture; h. physical education and sports; i, skills/vocational; and J. local content". (Indonesia, Undang-Undang Nomor 20 tahun 2003 tentang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional, 2003).

With the issuance of Law No. 2 of 2003 concerning the National Education System, the legitimacy and state recognition of Pancasila in education began to disappear. It is what makes the existence of Pancasila in education increasingly weak. Since Pancasila subjects were not included in the compulsory curriculum for basic education to higher education, it has created a new polemic. Some people and educators see that the loss of Pancasila subjects in education has caused moral problems; people are considered to have lost their grip and guidelines in the life of the nation and state. Social conflicts, violence, crime, corruption, political conflicts, and feuds between groups have increased in the post-reform era. This social and political situation is assessed as the impact of the loss of the grip on national and state values taught in the education world. Pressures and requests from several groups to re-enter Pancasila subjects from basic education to higher education emerged. This view was stated in the activities of the Third Pancasila Congress, which was held at Airlangga University in 2013. The results of the congress recommended that they review Law Number 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System and include Pancasila subjects at the basic education level until the intermediate (Pancasila III Congress document, Airlangga University, 2013). Recognition of Pancasila re-emerged with the issuance of Law Number 12 of 2012 concerning Higher Education, article 35, paragraph 3 states that:

"The Higher Education Curriculum as referred to in paragraph (1) must contain the following courses: a. religion; b. Pancasila; c. citizenship; and D. Indonesian". (Indonesia, Undang Undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2012 tentang Pendidikan Tinggi, 2012).

Recognition of Pancasila in education is starting to emerge again, which is legitimized through legislation for higher education levels. Pancasila subjects that did not exist were legitimized and recognized through Law Number 12 of 2012 concerning Higher Education. However, this recognition is still at a higher education level, not yet reaching the primary to upper-secondary education level. As for the institutionalization aspect of Pancasila since the post-reformation period, it became a concern until 2017. In 2017, the government began to think about establishing the Presidential Working Unit for the Development of Pancasila Ideology (UKP PIP) issued through Presidential Regulation 54 of 2017 concerning the Presidential Working Unit for the Development of the Pancasila Ideology. One of the roles and functions of the Presidential Working Unit for the Development of the Pancasila Ideology is to socialize and foster the Pancasila ideology in people's lives, administering the state through education and training. One year later, this institution changed its name to the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency (BPIP), established through Presidential Regulation Number 7 of 2018 concerning the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency.

The findings of this study indicate that the legitimacy and recognition of Pancasila in education experienced ups and downs in the post-reform era. Pancasila gained legitimacy and recognition in education by enacting Law Number 12 of 2012 concerning Higher Education. Then, Pancasila gained legitimacy, and institutionalization began to emerge in 2017 with the formation of the Presidential Working Unit for the Development of Pancasila Ideology (UKP PIP) which later became the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency (BPIP). The following table is related to the process of changing legitimacy, recognition, and institutionalization conducted by the state related to Pancasila, which is viewed from the regulatory aspect.

Table 1

Legitimacy, recognition, and institutionalization of Pancasila from the regulatory aspect

No	Regulation	Description
1	Law No. 2/1989 on the National Education System	Mention that Pancasila subjects are part of the national compulsory curriculum, which is conducted for basic education to higher education.
2	Law No. 20/2003 on the National Education System	Pancasila subjects are not included in the content of the compulsory curriculum for basic education to higher education
3	Law 12/2012 on Higher Education	Pancasila courses are included as a compulsory curriculum content at the higher education level

Source: the results of the researcher's analysis, 2023.

Based on the findings of this study, the government's regulations are related to legitimacy. The recognition of the presence of Pancasila education in the national education system can be seen in Table 1, which explains that regulations have an important role in providing recognition and legitimacy to Pancasila. The first regulations that recognized the existence of Pancasila in the national education system began to emerge in 1989 with the existence of Law Number 2 of 1989 concerning the National Education System. The existence of Pancasila in the world of post-reform education from 2003 to 2021 is not in the regulation with the issuance of Law Number 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System. The existence of Pancasila has just re-emerged in education with the issuance of Law Number 12 of 2012 concerning Higher Education. However, it is limited to higher education levels. In contrast, for primary and secondary education, the existence of Pancasila in the world of education has no legal legitimacy and recognition. Meanwhile, from the aspect of institutionalization of the evolution of the Pancasila existence, broadly speaking, it has developed, which can be explained in the following table:

Table 2

The development of the institutionalization of Pancasila

No	Pancasila Institute	Description
1	BP-7	The Education Development Agency for the Implementation of the Guidelines for the Live and Practice of Pancasila (BP-7) was formed in 1979 through Presidential Decree No. 10/1979 on BP 7 and later repealed in 1999 through Presidential Decree No. 27 of 1999 concerning the revocation of Presidential Decree Number 10 of 1979 concerning the Educational Development Agency for the Implementation of Guidelines for the Live and Practice of Pancasila.
2	UKP PIP	The Presidential Working Unit for the Development of Pancasila Ideology (UKP PIP) was established through Presidential Regulation Number 54 of 2017 concerning the Presidential Working Unit for the Development of Pancasila Ideology
3	BPIP	The Pancasila Ideology Development Agency (BPIP) was formed through Presidential Regulation Number 7 of 2018 concerning the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency.

Source: the results of the researcher's analysis, 2023.

Based on the research findings in Table 2 shows that the process of institutionalizing Pancasila was introduced in the regulations that emerged in 1979 when the government issued Presidential Decree Number 10 of 1979 concerning BP 7. In 1999, it was dissolved. In 2017, a

new Pancasila-related institution called UKP PIP changed its name in 2018 to BPIP. The role and function of this institution is an important effort to present Pancasila in the community, especially in education in Indonesia (President, 2017).

Pancasila History

Pancasila, as the basis of state philosophy, the nation's view of life, the nation's philosophy, and the nation's ideology have different consequences in their realization (practice). The values of Pancasila are extracted from the real life of the Indonesian people in the form of the values of customs, culture, and religious values that the Indonesian people had before forming the state (Kaelan, 2002). Densmoor (2013) provided an analysis of the meaning of Pancasila in the context of the three leadership periods in Indonesia. Densmoor explained that during the Sukarno era, as a radical nationalist, he interpreted Pancasila to ensure territorial integrity by providing a space for dialogue for national leaders from various religious and ethnic backgrounds. Second, Pancasila ensured the country's stability in the Soeharto era by reducing the radical Islamic rebellion movement (Darul Islam) and eliminating communist ideology. It means that Suharto used Pancasila to reject the Islamic and atheist states. Third, in the era of democratic leadership, Pancasila was used to create integration conditions among religious communities (Densmoor, 2013).

The history of the birth of Pancasila can be viewed from two main views, comprising of first, a historical review where Pancasila is an objective reality, the values behind the formation of Pancasila have aims and objectives as the basis of state philosophy which can be traced from historical documents. Abdulgani (1963) stated that Pancasila is the name for the foundation of our country. Since then, Pancasila has been officially listed as the basis of an independent Indonesia. Notonagoro explained that Pancasila was used as the basis of the philosophy of the state and had the following origins or causes:

"First, the Indonesian nation, as the origin of the material (*causa materialis*), is found in customs, culture and religions. Second, the BPUPK member, Bung Karno, who later together with Bung Hatta became the founder of the state, as the origin of the form or structure (*causa formalis*) and the origin of the purpose (*causa finalis*) of Pancasila as a candidate for the basic philosophy of the state. Third, a total of nine people, including the two of them, are all members of the Investigating Agency for Preparatory Work for Indonesian Independence, which consists of national and religious groups, by drawing up a plan for the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution in which Pancasila is contained and the Investigative Agency for Enterprises. Preparations for Indonesian Independence accepted the plan with changes as the origin of the connection both in the sense of the origin of the form and the origin of the purpose of Pancasila as a candidate for the basic philosophy of the state. Fourth, the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence was the origin of the work (*causa efficien*), which made Pancasila the basis of the philosophy of the state. Before being established by the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence, there was only Pancasila as a candidate for the basis of the State philosophy." (Notonagoro, 1984).

Notonagoro's rationale used this theoretical framework of Aristotle's thought to reveal why Pancasila came into existence starting from a reality experienced by the Indonesian people struggling to gain independence from the Dutch colonialists. The existence of Pancasila to gain legitimacy as the basis of the state is to depart from the reality of the Indonesian people who want to be independent. Then, it was followed by the formation of an institution to formulate the basis of the state up to the establishment of Pancasila as the basis of the state of the Republic of Indonesia. The historical context related to the birth of Pancasila began on April 28, 1945; the Japanese occupation government formed the Agency for Investigating Efforts to Prepare for Independence or *Dokuritsu Junbii Chōsakai*. This body has 62 members chaired by Radjiman Wediodiningrat. The task of this body is to consider the main issues and then formulate the main plans for an independent Indonesia (Darmaputera, 1988). Early academics such as

Notonagoro, Soepomo, and Driyakarya explained the basic essence of Pancasila from various perspectives. Notonagoro reveals the origin of Pancasila from the causalis theory. Soepomo put Pancasila as a process of philosophical reflection on the values that developed in society. Driyakarya puts Pancasila within the framework of metaphysical anthropology. Pancasila is the result of human civilization and humanizes oneself and the body (Suwarno, 1993).

A juridical-constitutional review where the position and function of Pancasila can be seen as the basis of state philosophy is stated in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution. The affirmation of the name Pancasila for the state foundation as stated in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution is also contained in MPRS Decree Number XX/MPRS/1966 concerning the DPR-GR Memorandum Regarding the Sources of Order and Law of the Republic of Indonesia and the Order of Legislations of the Republic of Indonesia in the MPRS Decree Number XX/MPRS/1966, it is stated that Pancasila is also the source of all sources of law for the Indonesian nation (MPRS/XX/MPRS/1966 Decree). In the Decree of the MPRS/XX/MPRS/1966, it is explained that:

"The sources of the legal order of the Republic of Indonesia are views of life, legal awareness and ideals as well as ideals regarding individual independence, national independence, humanity, social justice, national and mondial peace, political ideals regarding the nature of the form and purpose of the State, moral ideals regarding social and religious life as the embodiment of Human Conscience (*Budi Nurani Manusia*)". (MPRS, 1966).

Soekarno first introduced Pancasila as a term in the BPUPK session. Pancasila, which Soekarno introduced, is called *Philosophische grondslag*. Since being born on June 1, 1945, by Soekarno, Pancasila is meant to be "Philosophische grondslag" rather than *Indonesia Merdeka* (Independent Indonesian). *Philosophische grondslag* is the foundation of philosophy, the most profound thoughts to establish an everlasting and eternal *Indonesia Merdeka* (Purbopranoto, 1979).

The philosophical basis of Pancasila as the fundamental value for the nation and state of the Republic of Indonesia has an abstract, general, universal meaning that remains unchanged. The Pancasila precepts have key points: Divinity, Humanity, Unity, Democracy, and Justice. Morphologically, Pancasila has the basic word form comprising God, human, one, people, and just makes these words abstract. These abstract words have a general (unlimited) and universal meaning. The content of the general and universal word is fixed and does not change (Notonagoro, 1957). Pancasila is a *staatsfilosofie* (state philosophy) because within the contents of Pancasila, it is a unified whole and contains the spirit of kinship and reflects the soul of the Indonesian nation (Kartohadiprodjo, 1970).

The philosophical rationale contained in each precept can be described as follows: Pancasila as the philosophy of the nation and state of the Republic of Indonesia, implies that in every aspect of social and state life, it must be based on the values of God, Humanity, Unity, Democracy and Justice. Therefore, the values of Pancasila as the fundamental basis of the nation and state because of several arguments as the underlying philosophical basis, which are: 1). In the philosophical aspect of the Indonesian state, it was founded on a mono pluralist human philosophy (the Notonagoro concept) which has natural characteristics, natural positions, and natural structures. 2). The state is a living community as a creature of God Almighty (the essence of the first precept) which essentially aims to realize human dignity as a civilized person (the essence of the second precept). 3). The embodiment of the state as an organization of human life must form a bond as a nation (the essence of the third precept). 4). The realization of unity in a country creates the people. Therefore, Pancasila contains moral implications contained in the substance of Pancasila as a value (Soeprapto, 1998, 2013).

As the fundamental basic state value, Pancasila is a set of integrated values concerning living in society, nation, and state. Suppose the main ideas in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution are essentially understood. In that case, Pancasila is a fundamental value for the state (Syarbaini, 2012). The understanding of Pancasila in the current context is diverse. The

understanding of Pancasila placed by the MPR RI or elite political members of the legislature, such as the DPR and DPD, in this post-reform context shows that the understanding of Pancasila is placed in one category and is termed as part of the 4 Pillars of the MPR RI which includes Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, NKRI, and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika (Unity in Diversity). The interpretation of Pancasila conceptually has undergone a shift, Pancasila is understood as the pillar of the nation and state. This has affected education. From the historical aspect, is Pancasila interpreted as a basis or a pillar? The actualization and internalization of Pancasila in society experience a duality of understanding. Pancasila, on the one hand, in the historical context, is the basis of the state and, on the other hand, a pillar.

The legitimacy and recognition of Pancasila experienced a shift in political contestation in Indonesia. The MPR RI views Pancasila as part of one of the pillars of the MPR RI, which are Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika. However, the Constitutional Court overturned the legitimacy and recognition in its decision. The decision of Constitutional Court Number 100/PUU-XI/2013 regarding the use of the term Four Pillars has presented that the term Four Pillars is normatively contradictory. However, the MPR RI still maintains the term by changing the name of the Four Pillars of the MPR RI, consisting of Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, NKRI, and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika. The facts above show that the issue of the Four Pillars of National and State Life has become an important study in philosophical studies.

Pancasila has been understood in four aspects, comprising historical, juridical, sociological, and philosophical. The historical understanding of Pancasila explains that Pancasila is the basis of state philosophy (*Philosophische grondslag*). Since it was introduced as a term by Soekarno at the BPUPK session, June 1, 1945, it has been intended to serve as the basis of the Indonesian state. This explanation was presented to answer a question from the chairman of the BPUPK session, Radjiman Wedodiningrat, namely, "...what is the basis of the state that we will form?" This historical aspect shows that the position and meaning of Pancasila from the historical aspect are used as the basis of the state and not the pillars of the nation as intended by the MPR RI in the Four Pillars of the MPR RI. Theoretical implications for using the Four Pillars of the MPR RI which categorizes Pancasila in terms of historical aspects, indicate that there has been a discontinuity of meaning and deconstruction of the meaning of Pancasila from the base to become a pillar in education.

Understanding Pancasila from the juridical aspect can be identified from several regulations that explain the position of Pancasila in state life in Indonesia. The Preamble to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia in the fourth paragraph states that:

"Then from that to form a Government of the State of Indonesia that protects the entire Indonesian nation and the entire homeland of Indonesia and to promote public welfare, educate the nation's life, and participate in performing world order based on independence, eternal peace and social justice, the Indonesian National Independence was organized in a Constitution of the State of Indonesia, which is formed in an arrangement of the Republic of Indonesia which is sovereign by the people based on: Belief in the One and Only God, just and civilized humanity, Indonesian Unity, Democracy led by wisdom in deliberation/representation, and by realizing a social justice for all Indonesian people" (Indonesia, Undang Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945, 1945).

The fourth paragraph of the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia above explains that the Pancasila precepts outlined in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia explain the process of formation and structure of the sovereign Republic of Indonesia, which should be based on the principles of Pancasila. The term based gives the understanding that the precepts of Pancasila are the basis of the composition of the Indonesian state. This explanation differs from the MPR RI's understanding in describing Pancasila in its Four Pillars as the pillars of nationality. Theoretical implications for the use of

the term Four Pillars which include Pancasila in the category of pillars in a juridical-state manner, make the position and function of Pancasila in state life causing uncertainty in the meaning and legal status of the position of Pancasila. Law Number 12 of 2011 concerning the Establishment of Legislation Article 2 reads: "Pancasila is the source of all sources of state law" and Article 3 paragraph (1) reads: "The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia is the basic law in the Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia is the basic law in the legislation. Therefore, the use of the term Four Pillars of the MPR RI as the name of the program for socialization activities has a weak position to include the term Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia in the category of the pillars of the life of the nation and state or the Four Pillars of the MPR RI.

Understanding Pancasila sociologically, Pancasila in people's lives has been accepted as general knowledge as the basis of state philosophy, the nation's view of life, and the nation's collective memory that works as values inherent in people's daily lives. Pancasila is a working memory as the basis of the state and the nation's view of life.

The understanding of Pancasila is philosophically placed within the framework of Pancasila as Indonesian philosophy. The Indonesian people have believed that the spirit and values of Pancasila already exist and are practiced in Indonesian values and cultural systems. Pancasila is the socio-cultural personality of the Indonesian nation (Fauzi et al., 1979). Kaelan also explained that Pancasila, as a philosophical system, is essentially an organic unity. The precepts of Pancasila are interrelated, interconnected. Pancasila as a system can be understood from the basic thinking contained in Pancasila which is unique (Kaelan, 2010).

Pancasila as a unified philosophical system is not only a unity concerning its precepts but also includes the basic nature of the Pancasila precepts or philosophically has a fundamental philosophical basis, which are 1). Ontological basis, 2). Epistemological basis, and 3). Axiological basis. First, philosophically, Pancasila has an ontological basis from the precepts of Pancasila. Pancasila consists of five precepts, each of which is not a stand-alone principle but has a single ontological basis. The ontological basis of Pancasila is essentially a human being who has an absolute mono plural nature, therefore, that basic nature is also referred to as the anthropological basis. The notion of human nature is an abstract understanding so that the senses cannot grasp its existence but can be understood by the mind or reason. Intellect can formulate an understanding of human nature through the abstraction of empirical data from sensory observations about real human life (Soeprapto, 2009).

Pancasila since the reformation in 1999, is considered to have disappeared as if swallowed by the earth from the life of a nation of multi-ethnicity and multi-belief. The state of the Indonesian nation is experiencing various kinds of problems such as ethnic wars happening everywhere, one group clashing with another group, and residents of neighboring villages attacking each other, eradicating corruption is getting more intense, but corruption is increasingly rampant and transparent. These various events have disturbed the life of the nation and state (RI, 2011). The legitimacy, recognition, and institutionalization of Pancasila Education until have now been contested from discourse to education politics, as discussed in this study.

Conclusion

The debate about Pancasila in education has attracted public attention. The results of this study find and show that the debate that has developed about Pancasila in education since post-reformation can be seen from three aspects, that is, the aspect of legitimacy conducted by power which tends to be less consistent in providing space for the growth and development of Pancasila in education since post-reform. Changes in laws and regulations in recognizing the existence of Pancasila in education. The recognition aspect shows that the recognition of Pancasila from power has not presented totality and can fully provide confidence in the presence of Pancasila in education. This can be seen where Law No. 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System has not included Pancasila subjects in primary to upper secondary education. In the institutional aspect, it appears that Pancasila in education began to be

strengthened by the existence of a state institution called the Presidential Working Unit for the Development of Pancasila Ideology (UKP PIP) and later became BPIP as part of the effort to institutionalize Pancasila constitutionally to reaffirm Pancasila education as state education.

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