

# Pancasila and Intolerance among Students in Universities

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## ABSTRACT

Intolerance is an unresolved issue in Indonesia; as such it is uncovered through several studies demonstrating the sloping trends of intolerance attitudes in Indonesia. The approaches enacted by groups of citizens come from varied backgrounds, especially university cohorts. Such a group is supposed to have a higher degree of educational experience; however, it is figured out that they belong to a group profoundly advocating radical actions, hoaxes, and religious persecutions. Indeed, the attitudes do not reflect Pancasila values that they have acquired while studying in the university. There is an apparent discrepancy between practices and premises. Due to this fact, this present research has surveyed 212 students in Surabaya who have completed Pancasila Compulsory Course. By using a mixed-method, the study has revealed that the intolerance level in Surabaya tends to be low. Besides, there are some factors influencing student's intolerance: family background, community environment, social media, and fellowship.

**Keywords:** *Pancasila, intolerance, social media, universities, students*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a multicultural state with about 17.000 islands, cultural diversities, races, ethnicities, faiths, religions, local languages, and around 1000 communities with over 400 languages [1]. Multiculturalism is a recognition and development of pluralism as the specificity of some people. The essential definition of multiculturalism is a democratic state strategy aiming at gaining competency "quality" to affect in this state mutually. Multiculturalism is a peace existence principle based on a tolerant attitude to other cultures [2]. To legitimize and protect existing differences, Indonesia's founding father applies a Pancasila as an ideology, then elaborated in the 1945 Constitution's Preamble as National Principle. The National Principle leads to a general harmony at the cost of silencing unpopular beliefs and marginalizing minorities and produces the paradoxical position of criminalizing unorthodox views [3].

Multiculturalism is reflected on the words gripped by state emblem of the Republic of Indonesia, "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika" (Unity in Diversity), as a national motto.

This motto persuades the people to tolerate each other. Tolerance can be defined as an attitude and responsibility upholding human rights, pluralism (including cultural pluralism), democracy, and the rule of law. Based on this definition, people are expected to respect other people's opinions, rights, customs, choices, and ways of life including religion so that the concept of unity in diversity can happen. Ironically, the Unity in Diversity concept does not always happen duly. Indonesia has been proven as Bhinneka (diversity) country, but it still struggles to reach Ika (unity) concept; an idea is an expectation that has to be struggling [4]. The absence of a unity concept is reflected on some intolerance problems caused by religion or ethnicity. Recent studies has examined these problems of intolerance, conducted by Mietzner and Muhtadi (2017), Hadiz (2017) and Menchik, and Trost (2017) [5] [6] [7]. The critical point from previous research is religion becoming more conservative, especially in Muslim people as a majority [8].

The recent major events in Indonesia involving blasphemy and religious freedom generally have been the crises around the 2017 election for the Governor Election in Jakarta. This election attracted worldwide attention and

generated the worst polarization in the country in the years following the fall of Soeharto in 1998 [3]. After the “Ahok effect”, radicalism and several cases of political intolerance have increased, according to such independent researchers as LSI, Wahid Institute, and Setara Institute showing the trend intolerance raising from 2016- 2019 [3] [7] [9] [10]. Moreover, the Alvara Institute’s report in 2018 found strong indications that professional groups, college students, and senior high school students were exposed to intolerance and radicalism thoughts [11]. The escalating intolerance among college students is because they receive an exclusivism religious education. Hence, the students have become close-minded when dealing with other religions [12].

To overcome the problem of intolerance, the government has provided educational assistance through several fields. One of them is through education with Pancasila courses. However, this effort has not been entirely successful because Pancasila course only has taught the normative aspect, so it has not been effective in removing acts of intolerance. So, we did analyze the essential factors that cause intolerance in universities.

This research focused on analyzing the factors affecting intolerance among students in universities in Surabaya. The Location of research was selected in Surabaya based on several reasons: Firstly, Surabaya is a metropolitan city with many races and religions living on it. Secondly, after a terrorist attack on 13- 14 May 2019, no research has been conducted on the topic of intolerance. Therefore, this research also proposes to give a solution to intolerance issue, and it is crucial to know the effectiveness of Pancasila course to counteract intolerance among students in universities in Surabaya.

## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

There have been many studies on religion-based intolerance in Indonesia, by both local and foreign researchers. Although intolerance can arise from adherents of any religion, as a country with the largest Muslim majority in the world, previous researches have discussed a lot the dynamics of Islam in Indonesia. In this last decade, there have been several studies on intolerance and radicalism in Indonesia, one of which is a research conducted by Martin van Bruinessen (2002) finding that the history of radicalism in Indonesia has been existing since post-colonial era and culminated in the end of the Soeharto’s government [13]. William Liddle (1996) discussed Islamic turn which was the development of a more religious orientation within the middle class [14]. Besides, Hefner (2000) stated that Civil Islam would support the democratic process in Indonesia [15], however, this work was recently revised, stating that a conservative Islamic movement has emerged recently in Indonesia [16] (Hefner, 2019). The findings of previous studies show that there are signs that the Islamic religious movement has led to a conservative religious movement. The word “conservative” means several movements declining re-interpretation, and modern, liberal, or progressive ways of

teaching Islam, and believing that doctrine and social order are important[17], even some studies show a tendency to be a radical movement [11] [18] [19] [8]. Radicalism and intolerance actually have a causal interrelationship. In this case, intolerance gives ample opportunity of being radical. In formulating the notion of intolerance, this research is heavily influenced by Seftiani et al.’s views [8] dividing intolerance into two parts: Political Intolerance and Social Intolerance [20] [8]. Political intolerance means the declination against the political and social rights of an unapproved group. Furthermore, Social Intolerance is that if someone or group refuses to interact with the other religion and ethnicity cohorts in daily life [21].

Lately, intolerance condition is widespread within urban middle-class society [11] [22]. Surprisingly, in fact, there is a tendency that intolerance actually thrives among people who go to university level [23] [18]. The educational space, which should have been an open space for discussion, has now transformed into a space that is alleged to be a place for conservative ideology not opened to interreligious dialogue [21] [12]. Thus, there is a space (gap) in order to form inter-religious understanding relationships among the youth [24] [18].

A way of building interfaith understanding is through Pancasila education. Pancasila, as an ideology, has two vital dimensions of the Grondslag and Welshantung philosophy, meaning it is the basis of philosophy and outlook on life. A basic philosophical foundation is needed to overcome differences truly which are fundamental in nature considering that the Indonesian nation is multicultural with different understandings, especially religion. In this case, Pancasila acts as an objective reality in overcoming multicultural subjectivity in Indonesia. Pragmatically, Pancasila education significantly plays a vital role both to open space for interfaith understanding and unite the multicultural Indonesian nation [25] [26] [27] [28].

Many studies have been carried out on the relationship between student and intolerance. For example, Akmal (2020) found that Pancasila serves to counteract transnational ideologies, Fenton (2016) suggested that the Government has been failed in implementing Pancasila to guarantee the religious freedom in terms of the legal products produced. Sudjito (2018) found that the incomplete application of Pancasila causes religious radicalism to get its peak [25] [26] [27] [28]. All of the previous studies were qualitative. There is a weakness from previous studies that the research conducted has not explicitly mentioned the factors that cause intolerance in society.

On the other hand, other studies of intolerance used religion as only a variable affecting intolerance. They are [29] [30] [31] [12] [9] [32]. The weakness of these studies is that they involve or include religious variable only as one of the aspects affecting intolerance. There is no other factor influencing students’ intolerance, for example, primordial factor (congenital). The primordial factor here means the background of students’ family and environment contributing considerably to shaping intolerance attitudes [33]. Therefore, This study seeks to develop a research

related to intolerance among students in relation to the Pancasila Course and it is followed with looking for the main factors of intolerance that have not been found yet in previous studies.

**3. METHODS**

Our analysis used survey data obtained using random sampling technique with a questionnaire distributed to students in several universities in Surabaya who have passed Pancasila course. The reason of the sample selection is because tolerance and Pancasila course are still being implemented in college. Students who have completed Pancasila course are expected to have a spirit of tolerance in society. Based on the distribution of questionnaire, data were obtained from 212 students aged 19 to 23 years in 2020, from both Public and Private Universities. The data obtained have been tested for their validity and reliability. The survey tried to find out how the individuals behave in responding to the issues in the community.

We observed several individual characteristics to measure the level of intolerant behavior performed by students in Surabaya in conducting the analysis. In assessing the characteristics of respondents, we involve several statements with the following answers: strongly disagree, disagree, neutral, agree, and strongly agree. Based on the results of answers, they are grouped into characteristics of intolerance, family background, community environment, fanatical behavior, use of social media, fellowship, and the results of Pancasila course during college. We also control for social characteristics by involving the variables of gender and religion. The following is the formula for calculating the characteristics of the respondents:

$$Characteristic = \frac{\sum Statement \times 100}{n} \tag{1}$$

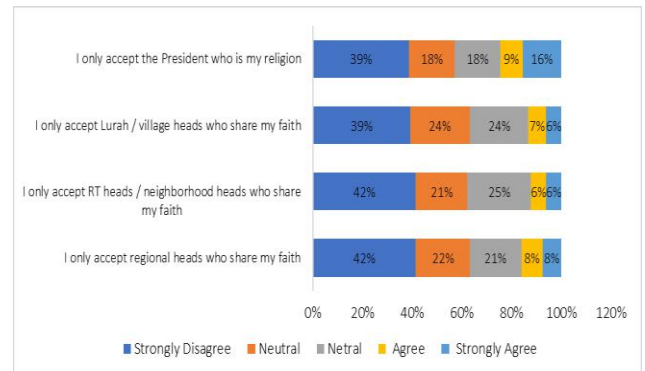
The characteristic values obtained range 100 and 500. The greater the value obtained, the stronger the students feel about the statements that put forward in the questionnaire. The descriptive analysis of our variables is:

**Table 1: Statistical Description**

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std.Dev
Intolerance	212	192.588	80.271
Fanaticism	212	262.736	76.000
Social Media	212	236.887	60.045
Family Background	212	285.849	120.820
Community Environment	212	346.344	128.338
Fellowship Education of Pancasila	212	204.245	63.715
Religion (1=Moslem)	212	423.166	59.921
Gender (1=man)	212	0.821	0.384
		0.519	0.501

Source: Primary Data 2020 (processed)

The main outcome used was intolerance behavior of students in Surabaya. Based on the number of samples obtained, most students disagreed with the statement of intolerance with the score of 192,588. As for other characteristics, students generally feel neutral with statements of fanaticism, with mean score of 262.736 (or close to 300 points). It is similar to the family background with an average score of 285.849. On the other hand, students gave “agree-strongly agree” responses to Pancasila course statement, as indicate with an average score of 423.166. Different backgrounds and environment where students live encourage them to give varying responses.



**Figure 1. Respondents' Political Intolerance**

The interesting thing found in this study is that religion can still be considered as determining a person to choose a leader. The highest statement in determining a similar religion can be found at the lowest level of community, in which 25 percent of students confirmed that they would elect RT/neighborhood heads with a similar religious background, followed by Lurah/village heads (24 percent) and the Regional Head (21 percent). Meanwhile, talking about the presidential election, people are generally more tolerant to the president's religion. Talking about leaders, religion is a factor often discussed, particularly the

response to community acceptance. (note the president should be more).

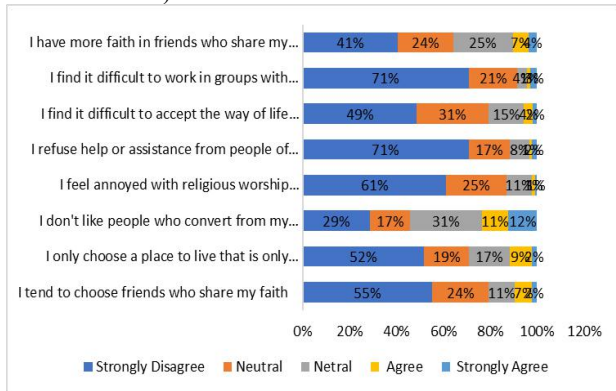


Figure 2. Respondents' Social Intolerance

Social tolerance is considered as a positive orientation to the groups outside the group itself in the terms of general matters [34] (Dunn & Singh, 2014). This is related to social activities in maintaining close relationships and cooperation in the neighborhood. Conditions of social tolerance show better behavior compared with political tolerance. Most of students admitted that they strongly disagreed with the statement admitting that the adherents of other religions were difficult to believe in and could disturb the peaceful environment. About 29 percent of respondents admitted that they did not choose a place to live consisting of only those with similar religious backgrounds and that will assist or help other needy people, despite different religious backgrounds.

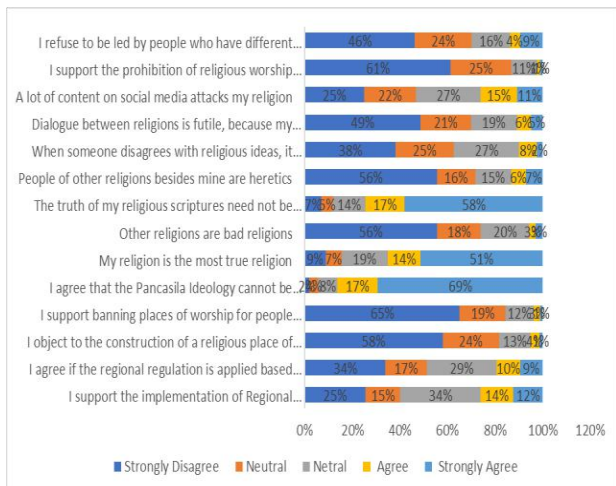


Figure 3. Indicators of Fanaticism of Respondents  
Source: Primary Data 2020 (processed)

The criteria of fanaticism shown in Figure 3 illustrate the interpretation of a person who encourages the followers to promote changes in applicable regulations both actively and passively, in either regional or state scope. We analyze respondents' responses related to the implementation of Regional Regulations and *Pancasila*

ideology. Sixty percent respondents strongly agreed that *Pancasila* ideology could not be replaced by other ideologies. They did not agree with the prohibition of worship house construction and other worship activities, with 61 percent and 65 percent respectively.

We control the confounding variables at the respondent level influencing intolerant behavior. For example,  $Y_i$  is the result of the respondents' bad behavior as measured by the score of intolerance in a certain period.  $X_{1i}$  is a variable underlying the students' intolerance behavior, as indicated with several statements submitted. From the statement submitted, it can be seen the indicators of intolerance, family background, community environment, fellowship, *Pancasila* course.  $FNA_{2i}$  is calculated based on the accumulated value of fanaticism towards one's religion (Appendix 1). Next,  $X_{3i}$  is a control variable coming from the characteristics of the respondents themselves, namely gender and religion. If the attitude of fanaticism is distributed randomly to each respondent, it can be estimated that the marginal effect of fanaticism on religion is estimated using Ordinary Least Square (OLS) by using the cross-section data option, as follows:

$$Y_i = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 X_{1i} + \alpha_2 FNA_{2i} + \alpha_3 X_{3i} + \mu_i \quad (2)$$

$i$  is the number of respondents employed,  $\alpha_1$  is the coefficient of interest, and  $\mu_i$  is the error term. The choice of responses is distributed not randomly across respondents, but it is allocated to the reasons that cannot be observed, such as access to other information obtained, and influencing one's intolerant behavior, so the OLS coefficient for the choice of religious fanaticism will be biased. Therefore, we control various covariate responses of respondents to calculate other factors that may influence the students' intolerance behavior. It is still possible that the unmeasured characteristics of the respondent that will influence their choice of behavior are the choices that must be considered by using this control. Therefore, we used the Instrumental Variable (IV) technique to overcome the challenge of identifying instruments of religious fanaticism with how often the respondents access the social media containing religious content. We estimate the IV model using Two-Stage Least Square. Here is the First Stage equation:

$$FNA_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_{1i} + \beta_2 Z_i + \beta_3 X_{3i} + \varepsilon_i \quad (3)$$

Firstly,  $Z_i$  is an instrument used for endogenous variables of  $FNA_i$ . Next,  $\varepsilon_i$  is the error term assumed to be distributed normally with zero mean and constant variance. The assumption used is that  $\alpha_3$  is an unbiased estimate of the marginal effects of religious fanaticism and intolerance behavior ( $\beta_3 \neq 0$ ). The last, the orthogonal error term instrument on the Second Stage is  $E(z'\mu) = 0$ . We explained that students are vulnerable to the exposure to information encouraging intolerance in the environment where they live.

#### 4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

We tested religious fanaticism through the types of religious content accessed on social media. The more frequent access to social media becomes a determinant of a person's high religious fanaticism. An individual may not show high fanaticism if they access social media rarely. This is shown in Table 2, indicating the estimates from the First Stage of IV estimation. We see that social media access is a strong predictor encouraging an individual to think fanatically about the religion they have. The more frequent access can increase one's fanatical behavior towards religion. The coefficient of social media use to access religious content shows significant results at 1 (one) percent level and the F-statistic in First Stage regression above the rule of thumb 10, in which generally the critical value of Stock-Yogo is 10 percent in the literature.

**Table 2:** First Stage Results of IV Estimation

Variable	Fanaticism
Social Media	0.212*** (0.069)
Family Background	0.036 (0.041)
Community Environment	0.047 (0.038)
Fellowship	0.494*** (0.073)
Education of Pancasila	-0.368*** (0.082)
Religion (1=Moslem)	44.567*** (11.986)
Gender (1=man)	15.671* (8.116)
Cons	196.262*** <hr style="width: 20%; margin: 0 auto; border: 0.5px solid black;"/> (50.313)
Obs	212
First Stage F-statistic	<hr style="width: 20%; margin: 0 auto; border: 0.5px solid black;"/> 19.37

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. \*p < 0.10, \*\*p < 0.05, \*\*\*p < 0.01

The use of social media access for religious content is an instrument to make the right decision on religious fanaticism. Meanwhile, we need to ensure that restrictions exclusively apply meaning that after having controlled all covariates used, the social media access does not directly affect student intolerance behavior in Surabaya. Although this assumption cannot be directly tested, it makes sense because intolerant behavior is determined by the characteristics of respondents accessing information through social media they use everyday.

Table 3 presents the estimated results of the determinants of student intolerance behavior measurement in Surabaya. Column (1) presents the baseline of the OLS estimation that has been carried out, while column (2) discusses the endogeneity of religious fanaticism through the instrument used. The first line contains the coefficient of how fanatical one's religion is. We see that the coefficient on religious fanaticism is positive and significant at the 1 (one) percent level in the OLS and IV models used. The results of the OLS estimation show that fanaticism towards religion encourages someone to behave intolerantly by 40 points. Meanwhile, estimator IV may be better than OLS, showing a greater coefficient value of 50.5 points.

#### 5. CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the research done, it can be concluded that the level of intolerance among students in Surabaya is still relatively low. It may imply that tolerance is well maintained among students. The reason of why tolerance can still be maintained is related to the implementation of Pancasila course as a compulsory subject in college. Pancasila courses can give the students a deeper knowledge on tolerance in both social and political lives. However, the students still show political intolerant behavior when it comes to the election of the leader, especially the President.

Pancasila as an education teaching tolerance is still considered as effective enough to encourage the behavior of tolerance among the students. Even so, it must be admitted that the behavior of intolerance has also begun to enter into the intellectual life of students; it can be seen from the fact that there are still students who agree that ideology and local regulations within the country can be replaced by ideologies and regulations sourced from a particular religion, despite the low number, less than 10%. This kind of intolerance arises because of the backgrounds of students usually coming from heterogeneous environments. When they interact socially with someone who is "different", they find difficulty, even tend to reject. It is noteworthy that intolerance is influenced not only by formal lessons, but also by family, community environment, and fellowship.

So, in the future, Pancasila education has to contain not only formal education material but also other materials. The University has to create Pancasila education that can answer today's challenges. It means that the design of Pancasila education must be adapted to and should consider the background from the student as well.

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