



The Change and Innovation in Pancasila Education in Post Reform Era (2003 to 2022)

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Abstract. This paper will discuss the change and innovation in Pancasila education especially in at higher education. Pancasila Education in Indonesia has become a national identity and deep concern for the Indonesian Government to deliver the knowledge and values of Indonesian identity. During the post-reformation era, Pancasila was neglected by a number of students, policy makers, and society. The research question is how does the impact of the change and innovation of Pancasila education for young generation and nation's and character building ideas? This topic is interesting to be researched because it is deal with the national and moral foundation for Indonesian society in visioning future nation state. The impact of Pancasila Education being neglected in all aspects of life in Indonesia caused social and political disruption. This paper is based on empirical research to explore and cultivate the change and innovation of Pancasila Education that was developed by educators in Indonesia. This paper will focus on the change of Pancasila Education during 2003—2022 and the innovations that were developed by educators and policy makers in the aspect of regulation, text book, and methods of teaching. The methods of this research are survey, interview, and observation in the Pancasila Education classroom. The result of this paper shows that understanding on the change and innovation of Pancasila Education at higher education is very important because it becomes milestone to understand how strong the ideas of nation and society to take place the philosophy and its ideology in education.

Keywords: Pancasila · education · change · innovation · higher education

1 Introduction

The social development and dynamics have certainly brought changes of value, behaviour, and attitude to view our life. Social and political influences, stemmed from internal and external factors, also affect community's lives. Seeing how presently ongoing issues in Indonesia, especially pertaining to the issue of ideology, identity, and community character, ideology remains to be an important factor as to state the position to which and where a nation is heading. Pancasila, as the state foundation of Indonesia, has remained to be a philosophy and essential basis in shaping the legal norm in Indonesia and continued to be a topic of discussion after the reformation. What is interesting in the contextual discussion of Pancasila is the discussion on its changes and innovation in the

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realm of education. The presently growing issues of radicalization, intolerance movement, extremism, and terrorism have weakened the nation and state ideology, as well as its nation's system of value. It is fair to say that Pancasila is one essential subject in the face of nation and state life in Indonesia. The study of Pancasila had long begun since Suharto's government era as he emphasized on the importance of Pancasila as essential instrument in both ideological and mental education or training for the community. The term Pancasila was initiated at the onset of Indonesia's independence, on a plenary meeting about the state foundation and foundational law conducted by the founding fathers on 1 June 1945. Soekarno initially coined this term "Pancasila" and introduced the ideas to be the state philosophy of the sovereign Indonesia. Afterward, Pancasila had been a subject of talk and discussion in any state meetings and forum; it being a thought, state and nation idea, and the foundation to build a nation state. Soekarno had initially, in few chances, laid down his explanation on Pancasila by the year of 1959. The historical record might be evidenced by the summary document of BPUPKI plenary meeting, one as the forerunner of Pancasila that was introduced on 1 June 1945 from Soekarno's speech entitled Birth of Pancasila (*Lahirnja Pantjasila*). In what followed, Pancasila was established with The Constitution of The State of The Republic of Indonesia (UUD 1945) on 18 August 1945. Pancasila comprises of five principles explicitly stated in the Foreword of The Constitution of The State of The Republic of Indonesia (UUD 1945) at the fourth paragraph as follows:

"...therefore the National Independence of Indonesia shall be composed in a Constitution of the State of Indonesia, which is structured in a form of the State of the Republic of Indonesia, with people's sovereignty based on the belief in One and Only God, just and civilized Humanity, the Unity of Indonesia and a Democratic Life guided by wisdom in Deliberation/Representation, and by realizing social Justice for all the people of Indonesia". (Indonesia, The Constitution of The State of The Republic of Indonesia Year 1945, 1945). [1].

The five principles in Pancasila have been recognized in the Foreword of The Constitution of The State of The Republic of Indonesia (UUD 1945) in a sequential order. This being an attractive discussion as the birth of Pancasila was predicated by the birth of the state of Indonesia. This turns to be different from any concept or ideology that generally predicates the thoughts from ones' own reflection and analysis on social and political issues growing in a certain place or nation. Pancasila has become an appealing topic, historically speaking, as it continually colours the process of establishment of the nation state. Such historical records, ones related to Pancasila as the foundation of the state hence became an ideological process and a working ideology, can be seen from the President Soekarno's discourses document by the year of 1958 at The State Palace. Discourses of Pancasila documents have been rightly compiled by Universitas Gadjah Mada. [2] In the compilation books of Pancasila discourses, Soekarno discussed about the birth of Pancasila speech, Pancasila as the state foundation, The Belief on One God, Nation, Humanity, People's Sovereignty, and Revolutionary Social Prosperity based on Pancasila. Preceding President Soekarno's discourses, the discourse had also been delivered by Notonagoro when granting Doctor Honoris Causa to Soekarno in 1951 at Siti Hinggil Yogyakarta. The historical journey of Pancasila thence shifted from educational politics to political education since Soeharto's regime took over. The power transition

from Soekarno to Soeharto had been a turning point of underlying changes of Pancasila that might be seen from the epistemological and structuralist perspective. By such transition from Soekarno to Soeharto, what followed was not only pertaining to the authority style but also on dealing with Pancasila as a state foundation and ideology that was apparently different. Issues of changes and innovation on the education of Pancasila had been brought from the structural authority arena to the epistemological power structure and finally the system of education.

1.1 Change and Innovation of Pancasila Education

Study on the changes and innovation of education of Pancasila had drawn attention on the third phase of the country after Soeharto placed it as a political and character education for the citizens. [3] which had rightly become the national legitimacy and moral formalism on education system in Indonesia. Such study, explaining about Pancasila as the basis of developing a character education, had been done numerous times since the birth of Guidelines of Appreciation and Practice of the Pancasila (*Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila*) executed in time of Soeharto's government since 1978's. [4] The internalization process of Pancasila since the time of Soekarno to Soeharto and finally to the reformation era in 1998 presented its attractiveness to many. After reformation, this era marked a paramount phase in the historical process of nation and state life after the 32 years under Soeharto, what followed were changes in any aspect of life, ranging from political order and structure to political policies impacting the direction and orientation of Pancasila education. In the era of Soekarno, Pancasila was placed as the fundamental idea to build the Pancasila character in establishing social, political, humanistic, and development value. While under Soeharto, he tried to put the concept and ideas of Pancasila to be the ideological vision for Indonesia through indoctrination. Pancasila hence became accepted as the foundation of political order and one justification for the blueprint of national development. [5].

Changes that occur in the context of Pancasila education occur because of changes in education politics that are developing in Indonesia, starting from the Pancasila education curriculum policy to the material taught about Pancasila. [6] In the institutional context, new institutions emerged after the New Order such as the Presidential Work Unit for the Development of Pancasila Ideology (UKP-PIP) in 2017, and later changed its name to the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency (BPIP) in 2018. Based on Presidential Regulation Number 7 of 2018 concerning the Development Agency The ideology of Pancasila in article 3 and article 4 explains that the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency (BPIP) has the duties and functions as an institution that compiles and organizes education and training related to Pancasila, and provides recommendations based on a study of a policy or regulation that is contrary to Pancasila. Through the statement contained in Presidential Regulation Number 7 of 2018 concerning the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency (BPIP), it can be concluded that the government after the post-Reformation era continues to strive and to uphold the values of Pancasila which in the previous leadership era there were no firm steps or steps. -concrete steps in upholding Pancasila values after the Reformation era. [7].

Education regarding Pancasila or Pancasila education has become a necessity that is considered very important to be carried out after the Reformation era, although many

experts are of the view that the establishment of the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency (BPIP) is not sufficient to lead or direct the development of Pancasila ideology to the community. [8].

The government after the Reformation era believed that Pancasila education was a very urgent need to overcome various discourses that occurred after the reform era, the establishment of the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency (BPIP) which was supported by Presidential Regulation Number 7 of 2018 concerning the Development Agency The ideology of Pancasila, is expected to be able to formulate and implement education and training on the practice of Pancasila values.

The aim of this study is to analyse changes and innovation on Pancasila Education in the Post-Reformation Era from period of 2003 to 2022. This period is intentionally selected since the birth of The Law No. 20 Year 2003 on National System of Education has made Pancasila, as a subject of teaching and learning, no longer compulsory and essential to the national compulsory curriculum from the primary to high education (Indonesia, The Law No. 20 Year 2003 on National System of Education, 2003). As far as post-reformation era is concerned, terms related to Pancasila have undergone a change and inconsistency in its linguistic aspect and the decline of Pancasila ideology is unavoidably raising an issue. Such concern will be the main focus in this writing.

1.2 Perspective and Innovation Models of Pancasila Education

Perspective and innovation models about Pancasila education in the post-reform era will be a critical turning-point in this study. The novelty of this research based on the literature review that has been carried out regarding the discussion of Pancasila, it can be seen from the perspective and innovation in discussing the Pancasila education model in general, many discuss techniques and learning methods such as the study conducted by Putra (2018) which describes that the innovation of implementing Pancasila education at the Sembilan Belas November University of Kolaka is implemented through a learning system for Pancasila education courses. The material contained in the Pancasila education course held at the Sembilan Belas November University of Kolaka, is related to the values of divinity, tolerance, nationalism and values related to the practice of Pancasila. The implementation of Pancasila education which was carried out at Sembilan Belas November University of Kolaka was also developed through a more open learning format and provided opportunities for students to be able to discuss with lecturers who support Pancasila education courses, so that the implementation of Pancasila education at Sembilanbelas November University of Kolaka was not only concentrated on delivering cognitive material. [9].

The same research study was also conducted by Lestanta Budiman, and Hastangka (2021) who described the Pancasila education model and state defense at the National Development University (UPN) "Veteran" Yogyakarta, the article explained that the Pancasila education model at the National Development University (UPN) "Veteran" Yogyakarta is held through Pancasila education courses which must be followed by 3rd semester students to carry out state defense activities and *Wimaya* learning which must be followed by 1st and 2nd semester students, besides the Pancasila education model developed at UPN Veteran Yogyakarta was also developed through the learning methods used, learning materials related to the values of Pancasila practice, as well as media books

for students related to Pancasila and the points of Pancasila as well as books related to the form of *Wimaya*. [10].

The Pancasila education course held by UPN Veteran Yogyakarta and Sembilanbelas November University of Kolaka is an innovation in implementing Pancasila education carried out at the higher education level or at the University level and shows the seriousness of educational institutions, especially at the university level in practicing Pancasila values in an academic scope. The implementation of Pancasila education at the University level is also regulated in Law Number 12 of 2012 concerning Higher Education in Article 35 paragraph 3 which explains that Pancasila education courses are one of the mandatory courses contained in the Higher education curriculum, this shows that higher education or universities have an important role and are considered capable of developing the ability or potential of an individual to become a smarter individual and an individual who is able to practice the values of Pancasila in social life. [11].

Pancasila in educational institutions has a role as the moral foundation of students, therefore activities that are formed and held in schools must also contain and be in accordance with the values of Pancasila, the practice of Pancasila values at the elementary school level is carried out through civic education, briefly education citizenship has a goal so that students are able to understand and practice the values of Pancasila. [12] Seeing this statement, it can be interpreted that citizenship education in Indonesian education is aimed at making students able to understand and practice the values of Pancasila in social life, therefore the learning process should not only focus on students' knowledge about the concept of citizenship but also must able to create and develop the experience of students as citizens who are able to participate in social life through the learning process. The use of innovative and varied learning models can be one of the efforts in achieving the goals of civic education in forming students as individuals who are able to practice the values of Pancasila. The use of learning models such as *project citizen* in civics education at the secondary education level is also a form of Pancasila education innovation in educational institutions in Indonesia, the *project citizen* aims to shape students into citizens who are able to compile, analyse and determine various solutions to problems that are studied through stages in the learning process as well as being one of the adaptive learning models in shaping the character of students. [13].

Pancasila education innovation at the primary and secondary education levels is carried out through the theme of citizenship and the use of innovative and varied learning models in order to create a learning experience for students as citizens who are able to actively participate in social life and become individuals with character in accordance with the values of Pancasila. Pancasila education at the primary and secondary education levels can also be developed through extracurricular activities such as scouting activities. Scouting activities are an innovation that is able to develop the character of students to play an active role and be able to prioritize the values of attitudes and skills in accordance with Pancasila values, for example in a research study conducted by Antini & Adi (2019) explaining the implementation of Pancasila education in scouting activities in SMK Negeri 1 Surabaya which is implemented through *night cruising (Jelajah Malam)* as a form of practicing the precepts of the One and Only God, long march activity as a form of practicing the precepts of Just and civilized Humanity, *festival camp* as a form of practicing the principles of the Unity of Indonesia, and enforcement level deliberation

activities (*Mustegak*) as a form of practicing the precepts of a Democratic Life guided by wisdom in Deliberation/Representation, and the activities of selecting ceremonies officer in starting or ending activities as a form of practicing the precepts of social Justice for all the people of Indonesia. [14].

Through the research literatures that have been carried out related to the innovation and model of Pancasila education, it can be concluded that the innovation and model of Pancasila education at the primary and secondary education levels as well as at the university level has varied innovations and models of Pancasila education. Pancasila education innovation at the primary and secondary education levels is carried out through the theme of citizenship, the use of innovative and varied learning models, and the involvement of scouting activities in implementing Pancasila education. Based on these literatures it can also be concluded that the implementation of Pancasila education at the elementary and secondary levels is considered an effort to develop the character of students in accordance with the character values in Pancasila, this can also mean that Pancasila education at the primary and secondary education levels more emphasis on developing the character of students to become individuals and citizens with character in accordance with Pancasila. [15] This is different from the innovation and model of Pancasila education at the tertiary level, Pancasila education at the university level places more emphasis on the insight of Pancasila as the basis of the state, state ideology, philosophical system, ethical system, and the basis for the development of science, in this case Pancasila education at the higher education level see Pancasila in a more complex perspective. So that the difference between this study and previous studies is that it discusses actual ideas and concepts related to changes and innovations in Pancasila education that have occurred in Indonesia.

The method applied in this research is focused on the qualitative approach. The data employed here is secondary data obtained from literature study, state documents in a form of Rules of Legislation, also research reports and journals published in the same field of research. The analysis applied in this study is critical and historical education analysis. That is such analysis offers us to view the phenomena and dynamics of education critically and comprehensively. Meanwhile, historical analysis prompts us to view and interpret the phenomena and dynamics descriptively in a time-based chronology. This research will explore the change and innovation of Pancasila education in education. This method used try to interpret the change and innovation based on the secondary data that found in previous research and publication.

2 Pancasila in the Post Reform Era (2003–2022)

Pancasila is Indonesia's genuine idea formulated for its nation's life foundation. Such genuine idea is of part and process, one related to vision and dream of the nation. Governor of Indonesia National Security Agency (Lemhannas) mentioned that Pancasila is of sublime value, cultivated from the noble culture of Nusantara that is universally true, prevailing in all ages. [16] In other statements, Pancasila is said to be cultivated from the everyday life value of The Indonesian [17] Amidst the dynamics and development through ages, Pancasila offers itself a learning process of political education, from both its essential nature and ideology, and of the national vision for the society. As far as this

changing process is concerned, this can actually be seen from the post-Reform period since the birth of The Law No. 20 Year 2003 on National System Education does not assert Pancasila as a national compulsory subject. Such gesture of not asserting Pancasila as the national compulsory subject shows that Pancasila in this currently post-reform period has not been a paramount priority for in the circles of power. The existence of Pancasila is of the authority's commitment. So long as those in authority either hold no commitment or lack the will to do so, the role of Pancasila in the society slowly declines or disappears at all. Secondly, on the seemingly ongoing changes about Pancasila in this post-reformation period, Pancasila has been a subject of political commodity, offered and sold by either the authority or a group of individuals in the name of Pancasila. The institution that has no authority would dare to do socialization to the society, selling Pancasila by concealing its money and power motives. This might be evidenced by what the National Institution of The People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia (MPR RI), as it commercializes Pancasila by its socialization program of 4 Pillars of MPR RI. The socialization becomes an instrument thence a sale commodity and a product, which has produced disruption among the people as the coinage of the term "pillar", historically speaking, is inaccurate to the nation history or its original term. Far from the terminology history, Pancasila is neither mentioned as one pillar nor part of other pillars. In fact, such coinage of the term "4 Pillars of MPR RI", consisting of Pancasila, The Constitution of The State of The Republic of Indonesia Year 1945, Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, are fatally false categories done by The People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia (MPR RI). This subsequently weakens the Pancasila ideology, of its meaning and linguistic distortion by the state institution. The following question arising is on why MPR RI that has no such constitutional mandate would do such constitutional violation. The Article 3 of The Constitution of The State of The Republic of Indonesia (UUD 1945) clearly does not state the duty and authority for MPR RI to do socialization. Thirdly, the continual changes since the post-reformation era have been a claim and justification for other national institutions to use Pancasila to endorse themselves in using this term of 4 Pillars of The People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia. Lemhannas RI, for instance, uses Pancasila as 4 basic consensus, and Ministry of Internal Affairs held a program of Civic Knowledge Education (*Pendidikan Wawasan Kebangsaan*) by including Pancasila as part of the civic knowledge education materials. In Yogyakarta, Sinau Pancasila has been held since 2017 and in 2022, socialization of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika was organized. The previously mentioned change of Pancasila happening in post-reformation era is the coinage of new terms produced by some state institutions as explained in the following table:

Based on Table 1, shown here a change and innovation related to terms, activity program, and communication strategy about Pancasila that have occurred since post-reformation. If compared, there is an increasing change, before and after reformation, of the use of terms, activity program, and activity organizer. For instance, in 2017 the government established the presidential working unit on the implementation of the state ideology of Pancasila (UKP-PIP) and afterwards changed into Agency for Pancasila Ideology Education (BPIP) through Presidential Regulation No. 7 Year 2018 about Agency for Pancasila Ideology Education (Indonesia, Presidential Regulation No. 7 Year 2018

Table 1. Result of analysis on the usage of Pancasila terminology since post-reformation.

No	Sebelum Paska Reformasi (1945–1999)	Setelah Paska Reformasi (1999–2000)
1	<i>Philosophische Grondslag (The foundation of state Philosophy)</i>	<i>Pilar Negara (State Pillars)</i>
2	<i>Dasar Negara (The Foundation of The State)</i>	<i>Konsesus Dasar (Foundational Consensus)</i>
3	<i>Pandangan Hidup Bangsa (Vision of Nation's Life)</i>	<i>Pembumian Pancasila (Grounding Pancasila)</i>
4	<i>Ideologi Negara (State Ideology)</i>	<i>Ideologi Negara (State Ideology)</i>
5	Rechtideologie (Legal Ideology)	<i>Pelajar Pancasila, sinau Pancasila (Pancasila Learner. Study of Pancasila)</i>
6	<i>Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila (Guidelines of Appreciation and Practice of the Pancasila)</i>	<i>Pembinaan Ideologi Pancasila (Pancasila Ideology Education)</i>

Source: obtained from the result of the research, 2022.

about Agency for Pancasila Ideology Education, 2018). [18] Though BPIP has stood against the possible internal and external challenges, as far as internal challenge is concerned, this institution is new to the field and study of Pancasila, this including but not limited to the human resource and organization structure that are still on subject of structural changes on its leadership and policy makers. Taking this into consideration, BPIP is beyond hope of reinforcing Pancasila as the state independence envisioned. Pancasila has undergone changes of meaning and interpretation. So far BPIP has continually used the term “Pancasila Ideology Education” and grounding Pancasila instead of using the term the foundation of the state. Such terminology usage will be problematic to embody. This idea will only lead to a confusion for the society likewise how other institutions such as MPR RI would employ the term state pillars or MPR RI pillars, as previously stated by MPR RI, that Pancasila is one among other pillars.

This study found that such aforementioned changes and innovation happen with Pancasila education are due to the weak structure of the state in organizing state institutions that are in charge of coordination and synchronization to re-assert Pancasila as the foundation of the state. In fact, changes on Pancasila position in the field of education had undergone two stalling negotiations whether or not inserted to the national compulsory curriculum. The crisis phase related to Pancasila was, as stated by The Law No. 20 Year 2003, when it was left out from the national compulsory subject in the curriculum. In high education level, Pancasila was restored to be taught in high education and this was reinforced in the rules of legislation recognized from The Law No. 12 Year 2021 about The High Education. 10 years later when Pancasila by its status and position in education became a subject of debate, Pancasila was reintegrated to the high education curriculum Indonesia, The Law No. 12 Year 2021 about The High Education, 2012). [11] These changes and innovations are found on three main aspects: firstly, institution changes, executing and doing the socialization that are inclined to more variative and

sporadic approach. Secondly, some innovations emerge about the education of Pancasila value, especially ones related to communication technology approach and learning mediums based on technology. Thirdly, there is a change on the communication pattern in conducting the socialization. Pancasila which once was centralistic has advanced to be sporadic.

3 The Role of Educational Institution

The role of educational institutions is important in an effort to strengthen the values of Pancasila among the younger generation. If the relationship is drawn, it can be explained that the state has a responsibility to its citizens and sovereignty, therefore in solving all the problems that occur in people's lives, the state makes it happen through state institutions that have an agenda in creating an answer to solve these problems. [19]

This can be interpreted that state institutions without exception educational institutions have the responsibility to create solutions in solving problems that occur in people's lives, problems such as terrorism, issues related to ideology, and other problems that threaten the sustainability of Pancasila as an ideology. The Indonesian nation shows that educational institutions have a role and responsibility in overcoming these problems. Cooperation of educational institutions with other government institutions is an agenda that can be carried out in order to create solutions in overcoming problems related to the sustainability of Pancasila as the ideology of the Indonesian nation.

Several studies have shown that the role of educational institutions to instil Pancasila values has certain goals that can encourage the strengthening of national identity, national insight, and strengthening the values of Pancasila, including from the aspect of understanding and internalization. Research conducted by Kristiono, Wiratomo and Alfira (2019) which describes the implementation of Pancasila values in scouting activities, which also includes supporting factors such as programs, school facilities and infrastructure as well as supervision and guidance by scout coaches. [20]

Educational institutions not only have a role in creating students as individuals has moral and able to practice the values of Pancasila in social life, but more than that educational institutions must also be able to become real examples in the application of Pancasila values both students to staff or employees in educational institutions, the application of Pancasila values to students can be done by habituation of Pancasila values carried out in the school environment so that students not only develop cognitive knowledge but are also able to develop attitudes and behaviour that are in accordance with Pancasila, while inculcating Pancasila values in educational institutions. For educators or staff of educational institutions, this can be done by collaborating between staff and establishing communication with more than two educational institutions. [21] It can be concluded that the role of educational institutions to instil Pancasila values into the younger generation and society is important.

4 Conclusion

The reformation era has been an important process to the history of the nation. It not only affects the societal perspective on nation and state life but also generates various changes in the community and state administration. One being the highlight is the existence of Pancasila continuously being a subject of conversation by the laymen and authority figures. The existence of Pancasila continuously discussed here is due to the strategic role and function in state and nation life in the face of age and ideology challenges which push us to the direction of politics of identity, intolerance, radicalization, and terrorism. The main issue discussed in this research is focused on the changes and innovation happening since the post-reformation era. In this research, it is found that changes pattern and innovation occur both internally and externally. Meanwhile, the main conclusion of this research shows that the pattern of changes and innovation about Pancasila education since the post-reformation era are surely affected by the authority's commitment to reinforce Pancasila position as the basis of the state. The authority's commitment is hence affecting the Pancasila education implementation in the community and formal schools. Likewise, the aforementioned innovation also affects the communication changes and socialization to the society. Thus, the role of language and rightly coined terms are truly paramount to communicate the idea and vision of the nation to generate changes and innovation but for the intellectual truth and the succession of Pancasila to be a working ideology.

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