



The use of Pancasila as Perspective in Designing History Textbooks: A Methodological Exploration

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Abstract. This study aims to explore the criteria for writing history textbooks. The method used is Pancasila as the *genetivus-subjectivus* developed by Kunto Wibisono. Pancasila, in this context, is used as a tool to evaluate and produce knowledge. Judging from the aspect of the content of the Belief in God Principle, it is the most abstract principle, and the hierarchical justice principle is the most concrete. From the aspect of the area, belief in God is the broadest principle, and justice is the narrowest principle. Thus, from the aspect of content and area, the values that need to be highlighted sequentially are justice, democracy, unity, humanity, and belief in God. From this point of view, the narrative of the history textbooks needs to be compiled by prioritizing the discourse of justice followed by democracy, unity, humanity, and belief in God. Through the story of the struggle of the previous generation to realize the ideal life order, the young generation understood that the Indonesian people in the past fought for justice. In the next stage, the young generation becomes aware of their calling to continue fighting for justice for all Indonesian people in the future. The struggle for justice is the collective identity of the Indonesian people.

Keywords: Textbooks, Pancasila, national identity, justice, historical consciousness

1 Introduction

Textbook research in Indonesia shows positive developments, both in terms of quantity and quality. Darmiasti's study [1] found that the authorities used the preparation of history textbooks during the New Order to legitimize their power. Because the New Order was a military government, the history compiled in textbooks also represented a militaristic discourse. The military is the protagonist and the most instrumental in defending independence.[2] The New Order compiled a history that placed Western colonialists as the most instrumental in growing national awareness because they had implemented the Politics of Retaliation, better known as the Ethical Policy.[3] Preparing the ethical-political narrative is a form of retribution for the Dutch nation and the G7 countries,

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who have provided political and financial support to the New Order through the Inter-governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI).

The misuse of history[4] for power is the emergence of distrust of the stories in Indonesian historiography. A sharp critique was delivered by Nordholt,[5] who stated that Indonesia's history is history without society. The history compiled does not place the Indonesian people as the subject of various past events but primarily as objects of foreign powers, especially the Dutch colonialists and their accomplices. From this point of view, it is not surprising that Purwanto[6] concluded that Indonesia-centric historiography failed to materialize.

The failure of Indonesia-centric historiography resulted in history lessons being unable to fulfill their duties of instilling historical consciousness [7, 8] and developing historical thinking skills.[9-11] The inability of history lessons to achieve their goals has also resulted in various diseases in Indonesia's young generation, such as Xenocentrism[12] and the desire to make Indonesia a caliphate.[13, 14]

Does the problem arise whether the abuse of history will be allowed to continue or be stopped immediately? The answer, of course, must be stopped immediately because the misuse of history makes Indonesia's young generation unable to recognize its past.[15] The further question is, what perspectives and criteria enable history textbooks to achieve their objectives effectively?

The study of the criteria for writing history has been carried out twice. The earliest idea is that Indonesian history should be able to:

- a. Reveals "history from within" that the Indonesian nation is the main character,
- b. Describe the factors or forces that cause historical acts, both from the economic, social, political, or cultural aspects,
- c. Disclosing the activities of various groups of people, not only nobles and knights but also the clergy, farmers, and other groups of society,
- d. The historical narrative of Indonesia as a synthesis toward national integration is a history that describes the development process towards geopolitical unity in the Indonesian nation today. The principle of integration needs to be used to measure how far the integration of Indonesian society has reached in a specific historical period.[16]

Badan Standar Nasional Pendidikan (BSNP/ The Board of National Education Standards) has also developed criteria to select history textbooks for the 2006 Curriculum. The BSNP criteria include four elements: material, presentation, language, and legibility.[17]

Both criteria for writing history are outstanding academically and ideologically. The preparation of history as a synthesis toward integration has the content of nationalism that can explain the reason for the birth of the Indonesian nation and inspire the younger generation to develop it. The problem is that nationalism needs to be

directed not only to develop integration but also toward autonomy and national identity.[18] From this point of view, the criteria for writing history must be further developed.

This study will focus on developing alternative criteria for historical writing for the development of national identity. Nationally, there has been a consensus to make Pancasila the identity of the Indonesian nation. During the New Order era, a project to create people with Pancasila character was held through Upgrading the Appreciation and Practice of Pancasila or widely known by its acronym, P4. Until the New Order's rule ended and replaced the Reformation Order, homo Pancasilaensis never appeared in Indonesia. The two main drawbacks of the P4 project are the indoctrination delivery method and its short 1-2 weeks duration.[19]

In this research, Pancasila is not used as learning material that must be understood and internalized by students but to understand and interpret various historical phenomena that occurred in the past. The research question is how to use Pancasila as a perspective in writing history textbooks to become more effective in instilling a national identity?

2 Methodology

This study includes qualitative research that explores methodological exploration to find criteria for preparing historical narratives. Borrowing Apple's[20] view on official knowledge, it is necessary to determine the importance of national identity worthy of discourse in history textbooks. In this study, the ideological approach used to compose historical narratives is Pancasila. The election was based on the consideration that Pancasila is the ideology and basis of the Republic of Indonesia. In a speech at Badan Penyelidik Usaha Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia (BPUPKI/ the Investigative Agency for Preparatory Work for Independence) meeting on 1 June 1945, Soekarno explained his view of Pancasila as the *Weltanschauung* (world view) of an independent Indonesia. He stated that Pancasila must always be kept alive in the minds of national leaders so that the policies taken align with the values of humanity, consensus, social justice, and belief in God.[21] Soekarno's view is not much different from the academic study of Pancasila. Academic exploration of Pancasila that has developed to date leads to two dimensions of Pancasila. The first is a study that studies Pancasila as an object. From this point of view, Pancasila is an object of research or *genetivus-objectivus*, which is studied and tested scientifically or academically theoretically. The second is the development of studies that use Pancasila as the basis or *genetivus-subjectivus*, who speak and examine other philosophical schools or views.[22]

This study is directed to use Pancasila as a perspective or *genetivus-subjectivus* developed by Wibisono.[23] He explained that science was born and developed in a

social context so that it has a goal, namely, to realize social interests.[23] This view is known as teleology, which developed in the natural and social sciences.[24, 25] The main idea is that every event has a purpose or function, which is known as a theory of action in the social sciences.[26]

In Indonesia, it has been agreed by the founding fathers that Pancasila is the goal of the state. From this point of view, all state actions are directed at realizing the values embodied in Pancasila. One of the state actions that are the focus of this study is the policy in the development of science. The reason is that so that the state's goals can be realized immediately, the development of science must be directed to make Pancasila a postulate.[23]

The Pancasila approach as a postulate directs historical education to develop a narrative that various historical phenomena that occur are the actions of the Indonesian people to realize the ideal value system, namely Pancasila. The postulate is not interpreted so that the textbook's author deviates from scientific principles. A scientist's attitudes and professional responsibilities need not be placed in a dichotomist manner in conflict with political or social attitudes and responsibilities.[27] Scientific truth and intellectual honesty is the most valuable moral strength to support orientation toward the nation's interests and developing state.[23]

3 Literature Review of Pancasila as Perspective

Pancasila as *genetivus-subjectivus* is a conscious effort to use Pancasila as a basis for evaluating the development of science in general and developing science following the Indonesian nation. The reason is that Pancasila, the Indonesian people's national identity or worldview and way of life, should base their thoughts, attitudes, and behavior, including attitudes and thoughts toward science.[28]

Wibisono[23] explains that science can be manipulated for economic, political, and ideological purposes. Therefore, by committing to glorifying human dignity, scientists must have the courage to uncover the veil of manipulation while offering new paradigms to overcome the problems that arise. From this point of view, Pancasila is a philosophical commitment that can be used as a postulate for creating and pursuing knowledge with an Indonesian paradigm. It means that the implications for the business of science require the "entrepreneurs" to carry out deep contemplation and reflection so that fundamental problems in the development of science can touch the tendencies, aspirations, ideals, or hopes that grow and develop in society.

Philosophically, the principles of Pancasila are arranged in a pyramidal hierarchy in the order of content (quality) and area (quantity).[29] Each principle of Pancasila is different contents and areas from other principles but in a hierarchical order from the most abstract to the most concrete and from the one that covers the most designated realities to those that cover the little reality.

Content is all the elements contained in the meaning of a word. The principles of Pancasila are in the form of concepts, so their contents are abstract and universal. Abstract in this context means intangible because it is in the form of values. On the other hand, universal means that the concept stated represents objects with similar elements.[30]

Judging from its content, the principles of Pancasila will form a pyramidal hierarchy with God as the most abstract and universal, followed by humanity, unity, democracy, and justice with diminishing levels of abstraction and universality. As the most abstract and general, a belief in God encompasses and animates the other principles.[31] When described in the form of a pyramid, the composition of the contents of Pancasila will be as follows:



Fig. 1. Pyramid of of the contents of Pancasila

The extent of an understanding is the objects or reality indicated by the meaning or word. The relationship between content and area can be described as inversely proportional. The more general the meaning of a word is, the broader its scope and less content. On the other hand, if a word has a specific meaning, the scope will be narrower and have more content.[32] Judging from the breadth of the Pancasila principles, it can be arranged hierarchically in the form of an inverted pyramid. The belief in God has a total area because God is the prime cause of everything. Then followed by the principles of humanity, unity, democracy, and justice, hierarchically have an increasingly limited breadth. When described, the scope of the Pancasila principles pyramid is as follows:

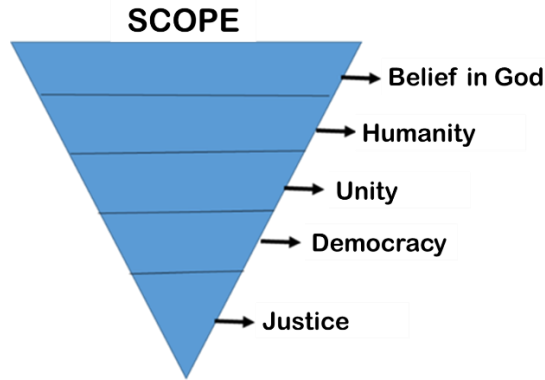


Fig. 2. The scope of the Pancasila principles pyramid

Based on the description of the pyramidal hierarchy of the Pancasila principles, it can be understood that from a content and scope viewpoint, The "belief in God" is a principle with the most abstract content and total area. The following principles have more factual content and narrower scope. The principle of "Justice" has the most factual content and the narrowest scope. As the most concrete and narrow concept, "Justice" is the principle closest and in direct contact with people's daily lives and is most likely to be realized in reality. Therefore, at the national level, the principle of "Justice" should get the most significant portion to be discussed and become the main priority to be realized in life together as a nation.

Many studies have been conducted on justice, both in content and breadth. Suryawasita[33] states that the principle of social justice demands that all production produced by society be divided equally among all citizens. It does not mean everyone should receive an equal share or the same amount. Inequalities in power, wealth, and status can only be justified to the extent that they are most advantageous to the most backward members of society. From the relationship among principals, the principles in Pancasila are complementary and qualifying units.[29] Therefore, the Indonesian people must fight for justice in democracy, unity, humanity, and belief in God.

From the concreteness of the content and the narrowness of scope, in hierarchical positions for two up to five occupied by the principles are democracy, unity, humanity, and belief in God. The hierarchy is an arrangement of the ideals of the Indonesian nation which can be achieved.

4 Textbook Narrative Criteria

In 2005 the government established the Board of National Education Standardization. [34] In the same year, the Department of National Education (DoNE) issued Regulation

of the Minister of National Education No. 11 of 2005 concerning Textbooks. Article 3, paragraph 1 of the Regulation stipulates that textbooks for each subject used in primary and secondary education units are selected from textbooks determined by the Minister based on a recommendation for a feasibility assessment from the BSNP.

As an institution formed to assess the feasibility of textbooks, BSNP sets four main criteria: material, presentation, language and legibility, and graphics. From the feasibility point of view, materials assessment includes the specificity of the material, accuracy and up-to-date, presentation of information that is not biased, appropriateness of vocabulary words, sentence structure, and paragraph length. A textbook writer has to pay attention to the level of attractiveness of the description, refers to the students' cognition, the inclusion of references used, suitability and accuracy of illustrations, maps, tables, and graphics with text. The content of a textbook has to match with the curriculum, and the balance of material distribution, both related to the development of meaning and understanding, problem-solving, process development, practice and practice, and skills and understanding tests. The assessment of the presentation aspect includes learning objectives, orderliness in the description, the interest and attention of students, ease of understanding, student activity, material relations, and exercises and questions. Assessment of language and readability aspects includes reading ease (related to the form of writing or typography, font size, and spacing) related to visual aspects; attractiveness (related to the reader's interest, the density of reading ideas, and assessment of the beauty of the writing style) related to aspects of material presentation; and suitability (related to words and sentences, length-short, frequency, sentence structure, and paragraph structure) related to language and readability. In the graphic section, aspects assessed relate to the physical book, including book size, paper type, print, font size, color, and illustrations.[17]

The criteria developed by BSNP are miles stone for developing indicators for developing quality history textbooks. However, the miles stone is abandoned nowadays, and the compilation of history textbooks is back using the method applied in 1975. The Ministry of Education and Culture appoints figures who are considered to have trusted credibility in writing history textbooks.[3, 35] The result is a history textbook for the 2013 Curriculum published in 2014 and a revised edition published in 2017.

Not only leaving textbook indicators, even the Ministry of Education and Culture, on 24 August 2021, disbanded BSNP. The disbandment was seen as a step backward for Indonesian education.[36] Therefore, to maintain the quality of history textbooks, the government should continue the selection system pioneered by the BSNP. However, the criteria set by the BSNP are still elementary for the preparation/assessment of textbooks. They have not been entered in-depth into the material, so they cannot measure and guarantee the effectiveness of textbooks in terms of historical education objectives. From this point of view, the Ministry of Education and Culture needs to develop a BSNP pilot by adding various criteria that can measure the effectiveness of textbooks in achieving historical education goals.

Historical education has two objectives: cultivating historical consciousness and developing historical thinking skills. Historical consciousness can be interpreted as intellectual and mental abilities in understanding, interpreting, using, and reflectively utilizing historical experience to respond critically to various phenomena faced in the present

and project them into the future.[37] One of the representations of historical awareness is having a national identity, namely self-awareness as a nation's citizen. On the other hand, historical thinking skills are the ability to think and act like a historian, which includes finding historical significance, using primary sources as evidence, identifying continuity and change, analyzing cause and effect, taking a historical perspective, and understanding the ethical dimensions of historical interpretation.[10]

Based on the position of justice as the most concrete and narrowest principle in national identity, history textbooks should be compiled by selecting various national events that adequately narrate justice discourse. By prioritizing historical events that narrate the discourse of justice in high school history textbooks, students will realize that realizing justice in democracy, unity, humanity, and belief in God is the primary historical responsibility of citizens of the Indonesian nation. In other words, the new generation will place efforts to realize justice as the highest priority as citizens of a populist, united, humane, and devout nation. Without narration about the justice that is adequate, the student will not be able to realize and be critical of the various discourses that implicitly or explicitly develop injustice in society. They do not understand that growth-oriented economic development will sacrifice justice. The most critical element of capitalism is high economic growth.[38] This growth can be achieved if the opportunity is given primarily to entrepreneurs, groups of entrepreneurs, or the bourgeoisie. The lower class, the marginalized group, will taste the development results through the *trickle-down effect*. [39] If the government uses development theory, awareness to help the poor will not occur. The state may assist them, but it is only charitable, not substantially solving their poverty problem. In addition to justice, the discourse that is also important to be narrated in history textbooks is about democracy. Soekarno's speech at the BPUPKI session on 1 June 1945 explained that an independent Indonesia should use the basis of consensus, representation, and deliberation. He further said that Indonesia is an "all for all," "one for all, all for one" country.[21]

Textbooks instill a national identity in the younger generation by adequately narrating popular discourse. The students realized that realizing a just, united, humane, and democracy was their historical destiny as citizens of the Indonesian nation. They become willing and able to criticize the reality that is taking place in their environment and take corrective action when deviations occur.

On the third priority, history textbooks must also narrate the discourse on unity. As well as democracy, there are many theories and views about unity. By quoting the opinion of Renan[40] and Bauer[41], Soekarno explained the importance of the desire to unite and the common destiny in building national unity or nationality, in addition to geographical factors. He explicitly contrasted nationalism with cosmopolitanism.[21] In a different sentence, Notonagoro explained the meaning of unity as an effort to unite the people and the region. Furthermore, it is explained that the intended unity is the result of the act of uniting.[42, 43]

Discourse on historical phenomena about unity is critical so historical subjects can fulfill their function to strengthen national integration. The young generation understands that inter-ethnic unity in Indonesia is vertical and horizontal integration.[44] Vertical integration is a political agreement between the elite and the masses of the people,[45] narrated in Indonesian history, among others, through the Youth Pledge of

1928 and the Proclamation of Independence in 1945. On the other hand, horizontal integration to become Indonesia today occurs through social and economic interactions and inter-ethnic culture in the archipelago's trade nets centuries ago. The young generation has the space to dialogue with their collective past to grow and develop into individuals who prioritize synergistic cooperation that benefits all parties.

The next priority is humanity. Soekarno's speech at BPUPKI on 1 June 1945 explained the importance of humanity to avoid chauvinism and develop world unity and brotherhood.[21] From this point of view, history textbooks should discuss various efforts to create brotherhood among nations, especially those carried out by the Indonesian people. This discourse is critical to growing awareness to care for and help various problems at the international level. In addition, students can think globally in daily actions in their environment.

The fifth priority is belief in God because the principle is the most abstract. Therefore, the principle becomes the source of the other principles. In other words, a small part of the general principle of the belief in God has been described and incorporated into the broad principles of humanity, unity, democracy, and justice. As the "digger" of Pancasila, Soekarno believed that Indonesia must be developed into a country that guarantees that every citizen can freely worship God according to their religion. All people should believe in God culturally, without "religious selfishness." [46]

The discourse on belief in God in the narrative of history textbooks is expected to create awareness in the young generation that God is the source of the universe and everything in it. Besides that, the narrative will understand that the community of Indonesia has many diverse beliefs and religions to gradually cultivate an attitude of tolerance of differences concerning the freedom of others to worship God. [47]

5 Conclusion

History Education needs to develop a paradigm that puts Pancasila as *genetivus subjectivus*. The development of this paradigm is carried out, among others, in the preparation of history textbooks, which are the primary learning sources for students. From the perspective of Pancasila as *genetivus subjectivus*, narratives about justice need to get the most significant percentage in textbooks because justice is a principle with the most factual content and is closest to people's daily lives. Hierarchically, the textbook narrative is then followed by the principles of democracy, unity, humanity, and Divinity.

By using Pancasila as the material selection criteria and analytical perspective in preparing textbooks, students will understand and be aware that fighting for justice is the highest priority as citizens of the nation. In addition, they will also be able to criticize various actual phenomena, such as the dominance of the discourse on economic growth, which will automatically ignore equity (justice).

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