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**The Sustainability of *Pancasila* in Indonesian Education System:
A Critical Discourse Analysis of Legal Texts on Education**

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Abstract

Pancasila as the ideological foundation of Indonesia is inseparable from education. In the implementation level, education is directed to build the values of *Pancasila* through learning programs. However, Indonesian education is still at an alarming condition, because the competencies of the graduates are not equivalent to the graduates from the other countries. This phenomenon underlies the formation of 2013 Curricula that emphasizes on the development of *Pancasila* values as the core competencies. This research was aimed at analyzing text in order to reconstruct *Pancasila* ideology and discussing the steps to revitalize *Pancasila* in Indonesian education system. Critical Discourse Analysis was conducted in three stages, namely text description (linguistic analysis), discursive practice, and socio-cultural practice of legal texts on education. The texts analyzed are texts that are the juridical foundation of 2013 curriculum. The results obtained in linguistic analysis are elaborated with the results of interviews with teachers and education practitioners to give an overview of Indonesian education, the application of the 2013 curriculum as well as the steps that can be taken to revitalize *Pancasila* in Indonesian education system. The analysis revealed that the revitalization in Indonesian education system is absolutely needed, because the values of *Pancasila* as one of the core competencies that must be owned by the students have not been fundamentally and appropriately implemented in education and learning process.

Key words: *Indonesia, revitalization, ideological foundation, education system, juridical*

Introduction

The slogan *saya Indonesia, saya Pancasila* ‘I am Indonesia, I am *Pancasila*’ in mass media is an accurate portrayal of Indonesian citizens’ love of *Pancasila* as their national ideology (Tunjung, 2017; Kuwado, 2017; Rimadi, 2017). This slogan is the answer to the anxiety of Indonesian people over the issues of intolerance that are increasingly strengthening in every level of Indonesian society. Through the momentum of *Pancasila day*, President Joko Widodo (the seventh president

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of Indonesia) invites the whole society of Indonesia (as a diverse nation but still one) to return to *Pancasila* and its old Javanese phrase *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* 'unity in diversity'.

Pancasila is Indonesian national ideology. The term 'ideology' can be defined as the fundamental values and beliefs of groups and their members. Similarly, Wodak and Meyer (2008) define this term as a collection of beliefs and values in societies which are the basis for the members to behave and act within social institution. *Pancasila* is regarded as national ideology because the values of *Pancasila* are the foundations and directions for Indonesian citizen towards the vision and mission of the nation.

Strategically, *Pancasila* can be seen from two perspectives. *Pancasila* on one hand represents the wealth of Indonesia as a country that has various ethnicities, languages and identities but unites within the framework of *Persatuan Indonesia* 'Indonesian Unity' (the third values of *Pancasila*). On the other hand, this diversity can also be a latent issue that can endanger the unity and integrity of Indonesia.

These values of *Pancasila* are implemented in various fields and served as the foundation for making various policies. The building of *Pancasila* as Indonesian national ideology of Indonesia cannot be separated from the role of education. Since the era of Indonesian independence in 1945, education in Indonesia is always directed to build Indonesian society based on *Pancasila* and the Constitution of 1945 (Government of Republic of Indonesia, 2003). Indonesian students are taught about the history of nation's struggle to achieve independence, how to fill independence through community development, tolerance, and love of Indonesian through several civic education subjects, such as *Pendidikan Moral Pancasila* 'Pancasila Moral Education', *Pendidikan Sosial Perjuangan Bangsa* 'Social Education of Nation Struggle', and *Kewarganegaraan* 'citizenship' (Santoso *et al.*, 2013). Leek (2016) states that civic education is directed to build learners' knowledge on issues related to citizenship and government participation as well as to build learners' understanding of national ideology.

Education in Indonesia aims at building the potential of students to become human beings who have skills, faith, and noble characters, as stated in the Act of National Education System

Education means conscious and well-planned effort in creating a learning environment and learning process so that learners will be able to develop their full potential for acquiring spiritual and religious strengths, develop self-control, personality, intelligence, morals and noble character and skills that one needs for him/herself, for the community, for the nation, and for the State. (Government of Republic of Indonesia, 2003)

The objectives above visibly show that education is directed to develop not only the academic competencies of the students, but also their non-academic competencies, such as character and nationalism.

The Act of National Education System clearly shows that Indonesian education was oriented towards the system of neoliberalism (Silalahi *et al.*, 2016). From the perspective of implementation, education is directed at the fulfillment of particular competencies through competency-based curriculum (Silalahi *et al.*, 2016). These competencies are built to provide graduates with several competencies to fulfill the demand of market, industries, and stakeholders (Dusi, 2012).

In the end, neoliberalism of education can undermine the ideology of *Pancasila* that is oriented towards the development nationalism. Education should not only focus on the fulfillment of industry demands but also on building learners' character and spirit of nationalism. Therefore, the government of Indonesia should be able to accommodate these two goals through an education system which is in line with the values of *Pancasila* and oriented toward the development of learners' quality and competence.

The purpose of this study was to analyze Indonesian ideological foundation of education portrayed in the 2013 Curricula and their juridical foundation. The analysis is conducted by relying on Fairclough (2003) three dimensional model consisting text analysis, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. In addition, the analysis is also conducted in social and cultural context to find solutions to Indonesian educational problems and discuss the steps to revitalize *Pancasila* in Indonesian education system.

Pancasila as Indonesian Ideological Foundation

The word *Pancasila* was morphologically formed from two Sanskrit words, namely *pañca* meaning five and *śīla* meaning base. This term has been known since the age of Majapahit (an ancient kingdom in the fourteenth century) in the book *Kertagama* and *Sutasoma* written by Empu Prapanca and Empu Tantular (Asmawati & Hasanah, 2016). *Pancasila* as the foundation of Indonesia was firstly proposed by Soekarno, the first president of Indonesia. President Soekarno (1945) divided *Pancasila* into five values, namely the value of nationalism, humanity, consensus, social welfare, and God's supremacy. These five values were developed into five principles. The following are the principles and their implanted values translated and published by Gumilar (2016).

Table 1

Pancasila: The five guiding principles of Indonesia

No	Principle	Implanted values
1	<i>Ketuhanan yang maha Esa</i> 'Belief in the one and only God'	Belief in God's supremacy
2	<i>Kemanusiaan yang adil dan beradab</i> 'Just and civilized humanity'	Justice and humanity
3	<i>Persatuan Indonesia</i> 'The unity of Indonesia'	Nationalism and tolerance
4	<i>Kerakyatan yang dipimpin oleh hikmat kebijaksanaan dalam permusyawaratan perwakilan</i> 'Democracy guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out deliberations amongst representatives'	democracy (by relying on mutual agreement)
5	<i>Keadilan sosial bagi seluruh rakyat Indonesia</i> 'Social justice for all the people of Indonesia'	Social justice and equality

Critical Discourse Analysis in Legal Texts

This research is directed to analyze language used in legal text by using CDA in order to portray the ideology of Pancasila. CDA is an interdisciplinary approach in the study of discourse to analyze language and text as the representation of social phenomena (Wodak & Meyer, 2014). Language is a tool used to represent social phenomena. Therefore language analysis cannot be separated entirely from CDA. Gyuró (2015) states that linguistic analysis in CDA is aimed to know the relation of power through lexical and grammatical elements. This is based on the belief that language is the part of ideological practices that shape the identity of society. This study applies

CDA approach because it focuses on linguistic analysis of legal texts (which is the primary data of the study). Furthermore, the analysis is focused on discourse practice analysis (production, distribution, and consumption of the text) as well as socio-cultural practice

One of the dimensions of CDA that has always been associated with CDA is public policy analysis or also known as discursive legitimation. Discursive legitimation is one of the most important issues that are often discussed in political and social studies (Haunss & Schneider, 2013; Vaara, & Tienari 2008). The established policies have had a great impact on the community so that their formations take into account various aspects (Van Dijk, 2006)). Researches on discursive legitimation were more directed to the analysis of language and power behind the formation of texts. In contrast to the previous studies, this paper gave emphasis not only on the language and power but also on the sociocultural contexts to contribute to the development of appropriate public policies.

Fairclough (1989: 2003) states that CDA must be conducted by relying on three dimensional analyses (text description, discourse interpretation, and sociocultural explanation).

Text description: Analysis of Language Text

Text descriptions are aimed to illustrate the ideologies that are cognitively constructed through text (Fairclough, 1989: 2003), (Wodak, & Meyer, 2014). By using Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), ideology communicated through the text is analyzed by focusing on the morphological (word) and syntax (phrase, clause, and sentence) aspects (Aidinlou *et al.*, 2014). The repetition of words and lexical choices in a text indicates ideologies that the sender is trying to persuade. In the context of discursive legitimation, policymakers emphasize the ideology conveyed by repeating words that are semantically related.

In the sentence construction, the classification of verbs represents powers relation (Hampl, 2017). By using the term transitivity, Halliday (2014) represents language into processes, participants, and circumstances. The positions and types of word in the sentence show senders' perspectives toward particular ideas. For example, the word *Pancasila* as the subject of the sentence put different emphasis with the same word as the object. *Pancasila* as the subject has the role as the

perpetrator of action performed by the verbs, while the word *Pancasila* appeared as an object emphasizes the purpose of actions performed.

Discourse Practice (Interpretation)

Discourse interpretation (or discourse practice) put more emphasis on the context of communication (Fairclough, 1989: 2003). Contextual understanding provides an overview about why the communication process occurs. For example is the ideology of *Pancasila* portrayed through Indonesian National Constitution reflects the communication process between the House of Representatives and educational institutions. As the legislative body that forms the law, the House of Representatives persuades educational institutions to follow the constitution that has been made and agreed. In this case, power plays a role in social institutions.

Sociocultural Practice (Explanation)

Sociocultural explanation provides an overview about social and cultural context affecting communication (Fairclough, 1989: 2003). Social conditions, historical events, and political issues offer explanations about the background of ideologies. In this paper, social explanation aims to explain the social and cultural phenomena influencing the building of *Pancasila* Ideology.

Öztürk (2015) state that social and economic aspects have a very close influence on education. The established educational policies represent the social and economic conditions occurring at a time. In fact, education is regarded as one way to solve social and economic problems that occur in the community (Tarman & Acun, 2010; Tarman & Dev, 2018). Therefore, to be able to understand the education policy required a deep understanding of social and cultural aspects (Tarman, 2016; 2017).

Method

Research Design

This is a descriptive qualitative research by using Critical Discourse Analysis approach. Analysis is done on legal texts on education (as primary data). Findings in text analysis are elaborated with the conversations held with teachers and education practitioners (as secondary data). The research was aimed to analyze Indonesian ideological foundation of education portrayed in the 2013 Curricula and their juridical foundation.

Data Collection

The following are the texts of the juridical foundations of Curricula 2003

1. Act of the Republic of Indonesia No 20 of 2003 on National Education System (Government of Republic of Indonesia, 2003),
2. Government Regulation No 19 of 2005 on National Education Standards (Government of Republic of Indonesia, 2005),
3. Government Regulation No 32 of 2013 on Changes in National Education Standards (Government of Republic of Indonesia, 2013),
4. Regulation of The Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia No 54 of 2013 on Graduate Competency Standards (Minister of Education and Culture, 2013c),
5. Regulation of The Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia No 64 of 2013 on Content Standards (Minister of Education and Culture, 2013a),
6. Regulation of The Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia No 65 of 2013 on Process Standards (Minister of Education and Culture, 2013b),
7. Regulation of The Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia No 66 of 2013 on Assessment Standards (Minister of Education and Culture, 2013d),
8. Regulation of The Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia No 67 of 2013 on Basic Framework for Primary Competencies (Minister of Education and Culture, 2013e),
9. Regulation of The Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia No 68 of 2013 on Basic Framework for Elementary Competencies (Minister of Education and Culture, 2013f),
10. Regulation of The Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia No 69 of 2013 on Basic Framework for High School Competencies (Minister of Education and Culture, 2013g),
11. Regulation of The Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia No 70 of 2013 on Basic Framework for Vocational Competencies (Minister of Education and Culture, 2013h),
12. Regulation of The Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia No 71 of 2013 on Eligible Text Books (Minister of Education and Culture, 2013i),

Analysis is done on the entire text of law above. It only focuses on the linguistic constituents, such as words, phrases, clauses, and sentences that semantically reflect the five Pancasila values (belief in God's supremacy, justice and humanity, nationalism and tolerance, democracy, and Social justice and equality). These values are clearly reflected from the words found in the text. For example, the value of 'belief in God's supremacy' which is reflected in the word 'God', 'Almighty God', and so on.

Data Analysis

The research was conducted by following Fairclough (1989 & 2003) three dimensional models, including the analysis of text description (or language text), discourse interpretation, and sociocultural explanation. To help the process of analysis, *Antconc*³ software was used to detect the word usage and syntactic construction in the text analyzed. Focus Group Discussion (FGD) was conducted with 30 respondents consisting of teachers and educational practitioners from educational institutions and the Ministry of Education and Culture to discuss

- a. the application of 2013 Curriculum,
- b. 2013 curriculum weaknesses and strengths, and
- c. the efforts to revitalize *Pancasila* as the foundation of Indonesian education system.

The reason of using teachers and educational practitioners in this research because the success in the education system is related to the understanding and participation of teachers (Öztürk, 2015). Therefore, an in-depth analysis of the teacher's view of the educational system is essentially needed.

Findings

Text Description: Linguistic Analysis of 2013 Curricula

Morphologically, the word *Pancasila* was appeared several times in 2013 Curricula and their juridical texts. In 2013 Curricula, the study of *Pancasila* is one of the compulsory subjects. Understanding the values of *Pancasila* is the core competencies that the students must possess. Therefore, the Ministry of Education and Culture and Culture integrates the values of *Pancasila* on a number of subjects. For example in Buddhist education, the students are taught about the

³ Anconc is a software used to concordance text (Anthony, 2018)

values of *Pancasila* that are reflected in Buddhist teachings and philosophies. This is also marked by the emergence of the frase *Pancasila Budhist* ‘Buddhist Pancasila’ as one of the competencies in the subject of Buddhist education.

Antconc software showed that there are two things that get emphasis in 2013 Curricula and their juridical texts judging from the level of word appearances, namely *competence* and *Pancasila*. The word *competence* appeared in several syntactic constructions (phrase) such as

- a. *kompetensi lulusan* ‘graduate competencies’,
- b. *sertifikat kompetensi* ‘competency certificates’,
- c. *standar kompetensi* ‘competency standards’,
- d. *kompetensi dasar* ‘basic competencies’,
- e. *kualifikasi kompetensi* ‘competence qualifications’,
- f. *kompetensi minimum* ‘minimum competencies’, and others.

Meanwhile, the word *Pancasila* appeared in the several syntactic constructions (phrase), such as

- a. *pendidikan Pancasila* ‘Pancasila education’,
- b. *nilai Pancasila* ‘Pancasila values’,
- c. *latihan Pancasila* ‘Pancasila practice’,
- d. *moral Pancasila* ‘Pancasila moral’,
- e. *simbol Pancasila* ‘Pancasila symbols’,
- f. *perwujudan Pancasila* ‘the embodiment of *Pancasila*’, and others.

Aidinlou *et al* (2014) states that the repetition of words shows the ideology that is persuaded through text. Therefore, it is certain that the 2013 curriculum emphasizes educational ideology that focuses on the development of competencies and values of *Pancasila*.

The words *Pancasila* appeared as the modifier of the word *pendidikan* ‘education’. The role of *Pancasila* as a modifier emphasizes that *Pancasila* is the underlying value in Indonesian education. This is in line with the definition of education according to the Act of the Republic of Indonesia No 20 of 2003 on National Education System

National education is an **education based on *Pancasila*** and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which is rooted in the values of religion, national culture of Indonesia and responsive to the demands of times. (Minister of Education and Culture, 2013d)

The phrase ‘based on *Pancasila*’ above indicates that *Pancasila* is the foundation for Indonesian education. Therefore, the implementation of education must be in line with the values and principles of *Pancasila*.

The values of *Pancasila* are integrated in the core and basic competencies of 2103 Curricula. The table below is the summary of core and the basic competencies of 2013 Curricula (Minister of Education and Culture, 2013).

Table 2

Core and Basic Competencies of 2013 Curricula

No	Core competencies	Basic competencies
1	Appreciating and practicing the teachings of religion.	Understanding the values of religious life Appreciating the content and meaning of 1945 constitution of Republic of Indonesia
2	Maintaining and practicing honest, disciplined, responsible, caring, cooperative, tolerant, peaceful, responsive and proactive behaviors. Demonstrating the problem solving attitudes for various issues.	Appreciating the values of <i>Pancasila</i> in the society and nation. Implementing the values in 1945 Constitution of Republic of Indonesia Appreciating the values in 1945 Constitution of Republic of Indonesia in the various aspects such as ideological, political, economic, social, cultural, defense and security, and law. Adopting tolerance between religions Adopting the values of tolerance and harmony in diversity. Adopting the values of democracy by prioritizing the principles of consensus in everyday life.
3	Understanding, applying, and analyzing the factual, conceptual, procedural, and intellectual knowledge	Analyzing the cases of human rights violations. Protecting and promoting the values of humanism in accordance with <i>Pancasila</i> .

No	Core competencies	Basic competencies
	based on science, technology, art, culture, and humanity	Understanding the philosophy in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia
4	Processing, creating, and serving the real world and abstract domains in order to develop what they have learnt in school independently, effectively and creatively by using methods in accordance with the scientific principles	Presenting cases of human rights violations which are essentially contrary to the values of <i>Pancasila</i> .

The core and basic competencies in 2013 Curriculum are aimed at building the values of *Pancasila* through education oriented towards appreciating, practicing, maintaining, understanding, applying, analyzing, processing, creating, and serving (Minister of Education and Culture, 2013). The ninth orientations can be semantically simplified into understanding (reflected in the word *understanding*), appreciating (reflected in *appreciation*), applying (as reflected in the word *practicing and applying*), analyzing (as reflected by word *analyzing*) and practicing (as reflected from the word *practicing, processing, creating, and serving*). This classification is based on the semantic similarity of words.

These education orientations are directed to meet (implement) the five basic principles of *Pancasila*. Here are the five principles of *Pancasila* and the competencies built in accordance with table 2 above.

Table 3
The values of Pancasila and Their Competencies

No	Values of <i>Pancasila</i>	Orientation	Competencies
1	Belief in the one and only God	appreciating and applying	Appreciating and practicing religious teaching (core and basic competencies 1 in table 2)
2	Just and civilized humanity	understanding, applying, and analyzing	Understanding, applying, and analyzing the values of humanism and nationalism (core and basic competencies 3 in table 2)
3	The unity of Indonesia	appreciating and practicing	Appreciating and practicing caring, cooperative, tolerant, and peaceful behaviors. (basic and core competencies 2 in table 2)

No	Values of <i>Pancasila</i>	Orientation	Competencies
4	Democracy guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out deliberations amongst representatives	Appreciating and practicing	Appreciating and practicing the principles of democracy (basic competencies 2 in table 2)
5	Social justice for all the people of Indonesia	Understanding, applying, and analyzing	Understanding, applying, and analyzing human right violations and social injustice (basic competencies 3 and 4 in table 2)

The analysis above showed that Indonesian education ideology is aimed to fulfill of the competencies which are further integrated into several subjects. This is done through learning methods oriented toward understanding, appreciating, applying, analyzing, and practicing.

Discourse Interpretation: 2013 Curricula as the Forms of Communication

Discourse interpretation provides an overview of ideology in the context of communication. Text description showed that the formation and implementation of the 2013 Curricula is based on the ideology of *Pancasila*. From the context of communication (production and consumption), 2013 Curricula and their juridical text can be viewed as a form of communication involving government, Indonesian society, and educational institutions. 2013 Curricula can be seen as form of communication involving the ministry of education and culture as the sender and educational institutions as the receivers of communication. The contextual analysis showed that the ministry of education through 2013 Curricula provides a set of rules and goals that must be done by educational institutions. In line with the exposure in the text description, the rules and goals include the implementation of *Pancasila* value and the improvement of learners' competencies.

Meanwhile, juridical texts bind the recipient to implement things in accordance with the provisions given. Thoroughly, the juridical text is communicated by the government represented by a number of parties (such as house of representative, president of Indonesia, the ministry of education and culture) to the subordinate institution.

Table 4*Juridical Foundation from the Context of Communication*

No	Juridical Texts	Sender (Representatives)	Receiver
1	Act of the Republic of Indonesia No 20 of 2003 on National Education System	House of Representative and The President of Indonesia	The Minister of Education and Culture, Education Institution, Indonesian citizen
2	Government Regulation No 19 of 2005 on National Education Standards	The President of Indonesia	The Minister of Education and Culture, Education Institution, Indonesian citizen
3	Government Regulation No 32 of 2013 on Changes in National Education Standards	The President of Indonesia	The Minister of Education and Culture, Education Institution, Indonesian citizen
4	Regulation of The Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia No 54 of 2013 on Graduate Competency Standards	The Ministry of Education and Culture	Education Institution
5	Regulation of The Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia No 64 of 2013 on Content Standards	The Ministry of Education and Culture	Education Institution
6	Regulation of The Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia No 65 of 2013 on Process Standards	The Ministry of Education and Culture	Education Institution
7	Regulation of The Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia No 66 of 2013 on Assessment Standards	The Ministry of Education and Culture	Education Institution
8	Regulation of The Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia No 67 of 2013 on Basic Framework for Primary Competencies	The Ministry of Education and Culture	Education Institution
9	Regulation of The Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia No 68 of 2013 on Basic Framework for Elementary Competencies	The Ministry of Education and Culture	Education Institution
10	Regulation of The Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia No 69 of 2013 on Basic Framework for High School Competencies	The Ministry of Education and Culture	Education Institution
11	Regulation of The Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia No 70	The Ministry of Education and Culture	Education Institution

No	Juridical Texts	Sender (Representatives)	Receiver
	of 2013 on Basic Framework for Vocational Competencies		
12	Regulation of The Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia No 71 of 2013 on Eligible Text Books	The Ministry of Education and Culture	Education Institution

Table 4 reveals that *Pancasila* as the foundation of Indonesian education system is communicated with the aim to be accepted and implemented by the subordinate educational institutions. Regulations of the Minister of Education and culture (number 54, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, and 71 of 2013) provide an overview about the basic framework of competencies at each level of education and the competency standards for students and educational institutions. The analysis shows that each level of education has different competency targets.

Sociocultural Explanation: The Background of 2013 Curricula

The Deputy Minister of Education and Culture in Indonesia, stated that the formation of 2013 curriculum is motivated by the issues of globalization, economics, and advances in information technology at global scale (Minister of Education and Culture, 2013e). On the global scale, Indonesian education is categorized as one of the worst in the world because it is considered not to have high competitiveness. Referring to Political and Economic Risk Consultant (PERC) 2003, Indonesian education system is considered as one of the worst in Asia and among other developing countries (Minister of Education and Culture, 2013f). Graduate's competencies in Indonesia do not reach the standards of competence at global level. Therefore, competence standardization is needed to improve student competitiveness in global scale.

Teachers' and Educational Practitioners' Perception toward 2013 Curricula

Focus Group Discussion with teachers and education practitioners showed that competence on the one hand builds an active, efficient, and creative classroom atmosphere. However, on the other hand, the regulation seems instantly made because there are still many teachers who are not ready to implement these Curricula. Preparation of teaching, assessment systems, and teaching methods based on the students' achievement of certain competencies are a number of obstacles that hinder the implementation of 2013 curriculum.

In addition, many Indonesian teachers are still adopting conventional learning methods, especially in learning strategies and assessments. In addition, the established policies are not evenly disseminated to all teachers. Basically, Indonesian government conducted a socialization of 2013 curriculum but only a few of the teachers invited to the event. Indonesia's vast territory and limited facilities and infrastructure become one of the reasons that resulted in the dissemination process cannot be done evenly throughout the territory of Indonesia.

Competency-based assessment is conducted in all areas, such as attitudes, skill, and knowledge. However, most teachers focus more on competencies related to academic skills and less emphasis on the other skills. *Pancasila* which is integrated in core competence cannot be assessed with appropriate parameters. So in the end, teachers emphasize on the understanding and knowledge of *Pancasila* and less on students' ability to appreciate, apply, and practice the values of Pancasila. The lecturers argue that *Pancasila* cannot be fully integrated in all lessons. For example, mathematics and physics lessons that focus on understanding and implementing algorithms cannot be used as a medium for developing tolerance and religious values as embodied in Pancasila

The practice and appreciation of *Pancasila* cannot be measured by using certain competence standards. Referring to the exposure above, *Pancasila's* sustainability in Indonesian national education should be supported by a direct and applicable education system that also considers the aspects of understanding and application. The education system should consider its implementation in the level of teaching and the ability of educational institutions to implement educational designs. Therefore, the formation of education system should involve government, educational institutions, education practitioners and the community.

Educational practitioners suggested that the 2013 curriculum needs to be studied more deeply. Indonesia is not ready to fundamentally change its education system. Facility, infrastructure and teaching competencies need to be improved and before making any significant changes in the education system. Moreover, teachers need to be involved in the curriculum development process that is appropriate and in accordance with the competencies of teachers. As a conclusion, educational institutions in Indonesia do not have readiness to apply the 2013 Curriculum.

Discussion, Conclusion and Implications

This research was conducted by using CDA approach with legal text on education as the primary data. Analysis is done on linguistic elements such as words, phrases, and sentences. Further, analysis is focused on discourse practices (production, distribution, and consumption of the text), as well as sociocultural practices.

The ideology of *Pancasila* is applied in the education system in Indonesia. Therefore, the goal of national education should be oriented towards the development of *Pancasila* ideology. However, Indonesian education is in an alarming condition marked by the poor Indonesian graduates' competence standards even when compared to other countries in Asia. The deterioration of Indonesian education in terms of graduate competence has become the foundation for the formation of the 2013 curriculum that is oriented towards the achievement of certain competencies.

Linguistic analysis of texts (legal texts) showed that Indonesian education is aimed to fulfill the competencies and *Pancasila* itself is one of the competencies that students must possess. The values of *Pancasila* in 2013 curriculum are further integrated into several subjects through learning methods that are oriented toward understanding, appreciating, applying, analyzing, and practicing.

Discourse interpretations revealed that the 2013 curriculum and its juridical foundation (legal texts) is a form of communication between the government and the subordinate institutions. This communication process binds educational institutions to accept and implement the values of *Pancasila* in each level of education.

Sociocultural explanations showed that the formation of the 2013 Curricula is the reaction to Indonesia's poor educational conditions. Indonesian education is also considered unable to meet the competency standards at the global level. FGDs with teachers and education practitioners show that the 2013 curriculum has not been able to implement the values of *Pancasila* through the subjects. In addition, Indonesian teachers are considered not to have sufficient capability in the application of *Pancasila*.

The integration of *Pancasila* in the 2013 Curriculum was actually weakening the values of *Pancasila* itself. The Government should consider the implementation of 2013 Curriculum and the impacts that can be generated through the alteration of the education system significantly. In

addition, the formation of education policy should involve the government, educational institutions and practitioners as well as teachers to bridge all parties involved in education.

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