

# Model of Pancasila education with feminis perspective

C. W. Murdiati, B.W. Suliantoro & M.D. Susilawati

*Universitas Atma Jaya, Indonesia*

**ABSTRACT:** Pancasila education is a medium of determining the character of students, but unfortunately the teaching materials that have been used still contain gender bias. The value of womens struggle as well as national and international conventions that lead to gender equality awareness has not received reasonable attention. The learning process in the classroom is still less gender sensitive. This study aims to create new innovations in the form of teaching materials and teaching methods of Pancasila Education that is fairer and concerning more in gender equality, and further will be applied in Higher Education. The research model was conducted by combining literature research with field research, collected data was analyzed using elements of philosophical method in the form of: interpretation, internal coherence, holistic, historical continuity and heuristic. The result of the research showed that the limitations of information, the reversal of historical facts, the political struggle and the strength of the patriarchal culture are the root of the problems causing the substance of Pancasila education becomes gender biased.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

Law of the Republic of Indonesia number 12 of 2012 on Higher Education explicitly mentions the subject of Pancasila Education as a compulsory subjects must be held in every college given all courses. The government views the importance of students as the future leaders of the nation given the values of Pancasila so that attitudes, worldviews and behavior of society, nation and state become increasingly humanist. The government's seriousness is visible from the efforts undertaken, namely in 2012, the Working Unit of the Directorate of Learning and Student Affairs Directorate General of Higher Education (*Dikti*) offers a grant of writing teaching materials that succeeded in generating e-books in the subject of Pancasila that can be uploaded in *Dikti WEB*. Some institutions and educational experts are trying to support by publishing textbooks such as: Pancasila Studies Center of Parahyangan Catholic University "*Pancasila Kekuatan Pembebas*" (2012), Armada Riyanto et al, "*Kearifan Lokal Pancasila Butir-Butir Filsafat Keindonesiaan*" 2015, Pancasila Lecturer Team of Higher Education Association Catholic (APTIC) "*Modul Pendidikan Pancasila Untuk Perguruan Tinggi: Kearifan Lokal Menasional*" (2016).

The substance contained in some teaching materials is comprehensive enough, although unfortunately the way of presentation is still one-sided. The education of Pancasila is still gender biased, because the participation of women from the struggling era to post-independence did not receive a reasonable appreciation. The Indonesian historians have not yet clearly positioned women's position and active role in the nation's history. The contribution and struggle of Indonesian women in achieving independence and how their contributions to improve women's positions before and after the independence have never been the focus of historian's attention (Sadli 2010). National and international conventions that lead to gender equality and justice processes are not widely disclosed. The nation's policy making is sometimes not gender-responsive to the detriment of women (Kinnon 1987). Science that is included in the curriculum on campus is often still absent from the knowledge of women's lives (Amirudin 2008).

Among philosophers, scientists and academic experts have not yet discussed Pancasila systematically, comprehensively and deeply from a feminist perspective. This research tries to offer new vision, model and module of Pancasila education from feminist perspective. A study of a feminist perspective of Pancasila education is needed, considering that

students who take courses are not only men but also women. The application of a feminist perspective of Pancasila education model is expected to produce knowledge and learning process that is more gender equitable. Problems: 1). How far feminist perspective urgency is included in Pancasila education materials and methods of learning? 2). What are the constraints that inhibit women's role are not included in the learning substance of Pancasila education? 3). How is the learning strategy of Pancasila education to be more gender equitable?

## 2 METHOD

This research tries to combine the literature research model with field research. The material object of this research is in the form of learning method and the substance of teaching materials of Pancasila education. The formal object (point of view) views from the feminist side. Data analysis is using qualitative approach by describing the data in the form of sentences which are arranged systematically, logically, comprehensively and detailed in accordance with the subject to facilitate the interpretation and conclusion making. The scientific data collected is analyzed more deeply using the philosophical method elements such as: interpretation, internal coherence, holistic, historical continuity and heuristic (Bakker & Zubair 1990).

## 3 RESEARCH RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### 3.1 *The urgency of feminist perspective of Pancasila education*

In 2016, the United Nations sets the theme of women's day in the form of equal access in the education sector. Gender equality and women's empowerment are positioned as global basic mission to realize equality of rights, respect for dignity and welfare for all humanity. This ideal is a reaffirmation of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which one of the 2015 targets is to eliminate the gender gap at all levels of education (Sadli 2010). Education is expected to be the driving force to create a world order that is more just, prosperous and dignified.

Pancasila education is given in college with the aim to create a vehicle for students to study, analyze and solve the state development problems in the perspective of Pancasila basic values as ideology and basic state of the Republic of Indonesia academically (Directorate of Learning and Student Affairs DIKTI 2013). Education is a fundamental act because it touches the roots of human life that can change and determine the attitude of life direction

(Driyarkara 2006). The mistakes of the education process can lead to mindset patterns, attitude patterns, and destructive behavior that can harm nature, neighborhood and country.

Education has a cultural responsibility. In the education world, human faced two existential choices that is toward the process of barbarism or culturizm. Education can be a barbaric process if the learning substances and methods do not reflect a sense of justice for students. Education is part of the cultural process when directed at the process of humanizing young people so that the practice of humanization is realized (Driyarkara 2006). The philosophical basic of Pancasila education should be built on the values of justice and civilization. Therefore all forms of gender discrimination must be stopped.

Just and civilized humanity is the basic reference for character formation of students. The values of justice and the effort to uphold civilization should not be abandoned in Pancasila discussion. Shiva and Mies argues that justice towards neighborhood and nature will not be realized without justice between the sexes (Shiva & Mies 2005). Gender justice is the basis for realizing social justice and ecological justice.

### 3.2 *Some learning obstacles Pancasila education perspective feminist*

#### 3.2.1 *Material Limitations*

The books of Pancasila education found in the library mostly reveal the values of the struggle made by male characters, so that the knowledge product tends to be patriarchal. The authors of Pancasila education and history books are mostly men so that men's services in the course of history are more highlighted, while the struggle of women is getting less attention. Women's roles in the Pancasila education books are not deeply discussed only a bit. Women as royal leaders in Aceh and Majapahit kingdom are rarely discussed in depth (Astuti 2000). Pancasila material in the historical dimension is paying less attention to the value of women's struggle so that it can lead to female students to be less motivated to learn, because the highlight figures are men.

Campus environment, teaching techniques and reference books sometimes still represent the stereotype of female and male based on patriarchy (Nurdiyansah 2008). Efriadi who conducting research at STAIN Salatiga finds that feminist teaching in Higher Education gets many challenges in the form of prejudice and is considered something coming from outside Islam, so it is only positioned as knowledge but not to be trusted (Afriadi 2013). Gerung claimed that the academic college attitude toward "women's problems" has not yet become an

"academic paradigm". Even in a serious academic conversation, issue of feminism becomes a light-weight banter among the academic community itself. Women's perspective is considered negative because: 1). Women's perspectives are seen as "academic peculiarities" by those who are not strong enough to think in terms of a new epistemology; 2) feminist perspectives are considered "imported goods from the West" especially among those who are antipathy against global thought transmission; 3) feminist perspectives are convicted of heresy by those who think within the final religion framework (Gerung 2006).

### 3.2.2 Patriarchal Culture Is Still Strong

The term of patriarchy according to *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* is commonly grown with the word "patriarchal" or "patriarcha" which means the family order which emphasizes on father lineage. Fathers figure (male) is placed as a central position in family life. The scope of patriarchy governance is not only in the core family environment (private), but extends to various aspects of human life in society, nation and state. Patriarchy is a system of male authority that oppresses women through economic, political and social institutions (Humm 2007).

The existence of patriarchal tradition that is still strong in society becomes an obstacle during the learning process of Pancasila education in class. The Learning of Pancasila Education has difficulty when the values contained in it is not in accordance with the facts that occur in the community. The fifth practice, Social Justice for All Indonesians becomes difficult to explain to students when the practice of gender discrimination is rampant. Syamsudin's research found that empirical gender inequality still occurs in the education, economic, political and professional sectors (Syamsudin 2003). Women National Commission (*Komnas Perempuan*) which monitors the institutionalization of discrimination in the state of the Indonesian Nation in 16 districts/municipalities in 7 Provinces found 154 discriminatory local regulations. Of the 164 Local Regulations there are 63 directly discriminative against women through restrictions on the right to freedom of expression (21 policies regulating dress), the reduction of the right to protection and the legal committee for criminalizing women (37 policies on the eradication of prostitution), the elimination of the right to protection and legal certainty (1 policy on khalwat prohibition), and neglect of protection (4 policies on migrant workers). Moreover, 82 regional policies are clothed in the name of religion which is actually a central authority (*Komnas Perempuan* 2010).

### 3.2.3 Political Battle

The fall of the Old Order of Sukarno's leadership replaced by the New Order led by Soeharto influenced the political life in Indonesia. The New Order positioned the main enemy of the Pancasila Ideology as the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI). The destruction of the militancy of the women's movement by stigmatizing the Indonesian Women's Movement (GERWANI) falls into the category of the PKI. The process of women's domestication aimed at preventing women from being too active in practical political life so as to re-manage domestic life with the establishment of the PKK organization. The organizational structure is controlled and controlled centrally by the central government. According to Imma Idra Dewi and Subardi, there is little worried felt by some of the teachers when promoting the women's movement during the old order because being accused as a sympathizer of the PKI party.

### 3.3 learning strategy Pancasila education perspective feminist

The struggle to realize gender equality and justice between men and women in the field of education has been initiated since the time of R.A. Kartini, but until now cannot be fully realized. Changing academic traditions in the field of social science that have long lived in society cannot be as fast as in exact science. In exact science, one can quickly move away from the old theory to a new theory when new evidence or theory is introduced which is believed to be superior, more complete and more capable of solving the existing problems. In the social sciences, the struggle that requires a change in the values and norms that have long been rooted cannot take place quickly, because it does often not only involve rational considerations, but also involves bonding emotional knowledge that has been embedded in long time duration.

Education is an important component that can help to change mindset patterns, attitude patterns and human behavior. The learning reformation of education in order to be more gender equitable and justice can be done by improving the quality of books and should also be supported by appropriate targeted learning methodologies. Learning methodology is a way or technique of presenting materials that have been prepared in the process of interaction between lecturer and students. According to Paulo Freire's view, the learning process can be used as a means of liberation when it begins with self-awareness and awareness of his world. Society needs to be made aware that the essence of knowledge is a process of action and a reflection of human beings against his world (Freire 2000).

The students' critical attitude needs to be developed continuously through the following ways: 1). Growing awareness that the oppression against women is really exist and must be stopped because it is not in accordance with humanity and justice 2). Students are invited to disclose and understand the root causes of oppression 3). Students are invited together to think of solutions to stop the practice of oppression (Misiyah 2006), 4). Students are invited to commit to not practice gender discrimination.

The measure of the success of the feminist perspective of Pancasila education is complex. Therefore it is necessary to consider and pay attention to various aspects of the development of human life. Various strategies that utilize various sources of learning (multimedia and resources), interdisciplinary studies, involvement in social problem solving and portfolio-based learning evaluations need to be developed so that learning achievements can be realized (Winataputra 2004; Mangkoesapoetro 2004). Portfolio-based learning evaluation needs to be done because the skills to be produced are complex in relation to the development of cognitive, affective and psychomotor aspects. Students are expected to have a number of skills and life-skill insights in the form of "civic life, civic skill and civic participation" after studying a feminist perspective of Pancasila education.

#### 4 CONCLUSIONS

- a. Education is the process of humanizing humans, so that the substances and methods of learning Pancasila education should positioning students in a humane way. Discriminatory treatment towards women is a contrary act to the principle of humanity and justice that must be changed towards a more egalitarian principle.
- b. The factors causing Pancasila education in feminist perspective cannot be materialized yet are: 1). the limitations of historical literature that reveal women role, 2). a strong patriarchal culture, 3). politics in education is less gender responsive.
- c. Pancasila education in feminist perspective can be materialized if there is improvement of book quality and learning strategy. Learning strategies need to be designed, so that students are able to think critically and caringly with the result that they can be more sensitive to gender inequalities in the community, able to find root of problem and solve it wisely, and commit not to do gender discriminatory. The feminist perspective has a comprehensive and appreciative nature of thought, so that portfolio-based learning evalua-

tion is relevant to be used as a measurement for the outcomes of learning process.

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