**Liberalism and Philosophy Pancasila in the Education**

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Following the end of the Second World War and the unification of very many islands into one nation, Sukarno, who later became President of the new Indonesia, introduced the political philosophy of Pancasila as the foundation for the new State.  The word Pancasila is based on two Javanese words that together mean five principles, and these five principles were essentially a fusion of liberalism, socialism, nationalism and monotheism. The paper is to describe a study of Pancasila values and its implementation into the national education system in Indonesia. The result of a content analysis in this study shows that Pancasila values has been deducted as a mere formal juridical polity with a tendency of liberalism and capitalism. Faith, piety, and moral virtues have become a contradictory terms in the parliament and society that resulted in the deduction of religion education. This deducted form of Pancasila as philosophy and ideology of Indonesia as a nation-state will complicate the government in implementing the education policy due to the lack of elaboration of Pancasila values.

Keywords: *Pancasila, liberalism, philosophy, formal juridical*, *education*

**INTRODUCTION**

Pancasila is the basis of the state and the state ideology. The ideology of national education is Pancasila. This was stated in Article 2 of Law No. 20 Year 2003 on National Education System. It is stated that the national education based on Pancasila and UUD'45. Pancasila as an ideology of education defines in general. The ideology of national education which is based on the philosophy of Republic of Indonesia. Pancasila is described in political education. Whatever the politics of education, all countries recognize the sustainable development is determined primarily by the quality of its citizens. Therefore the quality of citizens as agents of sustainable development in das "Sollen" developed through education which is based on Pancasila as an ideology of education.

Primary education policy in Indonesia in reform era mostly refer to foreign-oriented ideology. Tilaar (2010) mentioned some example, namely: Trend Korporatisasi Pendidikan di Indonesia ( Corporatization trend of Education in Indonesia), sucah as: Badan Hukum Milik Negara (State Owned Legal Entity); Law No. 17 of 2007 on Long Term Development Plan 2005-2025; The International School (which has been repealed by the Constitutional Court); Word Class University; PP No. 22 of 2007 (via Agus Mulyadi, http://kompas.com/16/10/11). While Darmaningtyas (2013: 8) suspected the Indonesian National Education System which is contained in Law No. 20/2003 since the beginning of the preparation, has caused controversy, especially regarding the issue of ideology espoused.

The opinions above confirms that the sovereignty of Indonesia at this time are at a disadvantage as an independent nation. Directly or indirectly, the Indonesian people "dependent" on the strength of political, economic, and ideological foreign nations. This should not happen. Therefore, it is necessary to study a variety of education policy in Indonesia as stipulated in the national education system. Iff there is any foreign ideologies hidden in it? It is needed to do the philosophical reflection on the national education system. This reflection is done to find out he ideology of education contained in the national education system in reform era.

This study was aimed at finding out the consistency between the value system contained in the national education system with the value system that is used by the nation of Indonesia, Pancasila. The values of Pancasila which is the ideology of the nation should or as das "Sollen" become the value system in the philosophical foundations of education.

Study of the Pancasila as an ideology of the nation, especially as Education Ideology is rarely done in the reform era. Basic state and the state ideology is no longer a guide in the real life of a nation, state, and society in Indonesia. The solution is to restore the regulation of basic education in line with the Pancasila and The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (UUD'45) (Darmaningtyas, 2013: 12).

Therefore this study is urgent as the efforts to analyze the content of Education Law related to the values of Pancasila as the philosophical foundations of education. The focus of this research is the content of the School Education Law and Policy which is examined in the perspective of Pancasila as the philosophy and ideology of education. For this purpose, the focuses of research are to examine the process of discussion of the draft Law on National Education System, so the thoughts / ideas that appear in the policy process can be known whether contain the values of Pancasila. In other words, this study aims to describe the ideology of Pancasila as education ideology and a reference for policy makers in formulating the national education systems. Does Pancasila as an ideology of education truly become oriented in the process of formulating the national education system (Act No.20 of 2003)?

**METHOD**

The method used in this research is the analysis of the content. Statements or sentences contained in the text of the Law on National Education System draft was described and concluded. All of the text contained in four books are in 3084 pages. The description of the contents and conclusions obtained by identifying the particular characteristics of messages systematically and objectively. Samples were taken purposively with a quota sample. The analysis units used were the syntactic and semantic analysis. The data obtained were classified and coded. The data were analyzed using qualitative content analysis proposed by Mayring with 9 steps: 1) determination of the material; 2) analysis of the situation from the origin of the text; 3) characterize the materials; 4) determining the direction of the analysis; 5) the differentiation of the questions that must be answered in accordance with the existing theory; 6) the selection of analytical techniques (summary, explication, structuring); 7) analysis of the material (summary, explication; 8) analysis of the material; 9) Interpretation. It was done using semantic validity and stability reliability.

**FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS**

Deduction or elaboration Ideology of National Education (Pancasila) within the National Education System can be seen on the background of the Act No. 20 of 2003 on National Education System, particularly in the educational purposes and provisions contained in this Act. Sastrapratedja (2013b: 285) argues generally say that ideology is a set of ideas or thoughts, action-oriented and organized into an orderly system. This is in line with the opinion of Tompson (1984: 4) who argue about the concept of neutral ideology. Ideology in the broad sense is defined as ideals, basic values and beliefs would be upheld as normative guidelines. Ideology in this sense is called to open ideology. Ideology in the strict sense are ideas or values that are used as a guide for its absolute life.. Pratte (1977: 16) states:

*“...ideology is a form of thought with a special, intimate relationship to social, political, or economic action. Performing the function of providing individuals with the mean of organization for social experience – experience comprehensible only in the context of interrelated society, particularly during periods of rapid transition – the importance of ideology cannot be underestimated.*

Ideology is essentially a thought/ views are considered special by its adherents. Ideology is always related to the social, political, and economic. Ideology provides orientation for the life of the state, so the ideology education can not be underestimated.

National Education System Law No. 20 of 2003 was made in the reform period. In the introduction of National Education System Law draft stated that the National Education System was formed as a mandate of reform, the demands of globalization and the challenges of regional autonomy. The formulation of the National Education System No. 20 of 2003 is influenced by domestic political euphoria and the international political constellation such as MEA. Indonesia as part of the countries in the Asia Pacific region would not want to sign the Asia pacific Economic (APEC). Consequently, Indonesia became as Global Marketplace in 2020. Therefore, the responsibility of the government to prepare its citizens to deal with through education. Education should be able to provide citizens a quality that does not lose its cultural roots of the nation, which is a national personality, personality-self is strong. When the global marketplace in 2020 were characterized by a high level of economic competition and on an international scale is the case, it would require a strong national defense.

The process of creating the National Education System as the deduction or the interpretation of Pancasila values indicate that Pancasila ideology interpreted as open education. When compared with the laws of the New Order era, then almost all laws made in the New Order Era is a product of the government and include the Law on National Education System No. 2 in 1989. Parliament who is actually a legislative body was merely as " giver stamp " on the laws made by the government. 1945 Constitution amendments provided reinforcement authority in Parliament, so that the National Education System (Act N0.20 of 2003) began to be made by the parliament. Later in the meetings of the commission, the comparison between the government version and the House version was discussed in quite intense discussions by the Government of and Parliament in the Committee. Then be approved and ratified by the Parliament as a product Nasional without voting. In the trial of enactment of the Law No.20 of 2003 all members of the PDIP faction not to attend the plenary session of the PDIP faction Although not present and some members of Parliament who represent its contingents resist and delay the ratification of the National Education System draft. But nonetheless this draft be enacted into law with no acclamation of all members of the House. Act No.20 of 2003 is an education policy that is characterized by an atmosphere of reform. This phenomenon illustrates that democratization occurs in the manufacture of the law. In addition to the articles of the Law No.20 of 2003 contains provisions that deduce values of democracy (sila to 4), for example about compulsory, free of charge for basic education, community involvement in education.

The drafting process, it describes dissent from some members of the faction, the majority. Although the voting was not done, as has been customary in the making of democracy in general by half plus one formula. As described by Sastrapratedja (2013a: 18-20) which says about the fourth principle characterizes democratic education. Democracy presupposes that there is respect for human alike. Every citizen has the right to participate in determining the policies that determine their fate.

Pancasila textually or explicitly stated in the National Education System draft in the preamble. Pancasila is expressed as the foundation of philosophical and juridical, in Article 1 (1, 2), Article 2, Article 3, Article 12, Article 37. It is implicit values of Pancasila is contained in all the articles of the draft law (Education Law No.20 of 2003) , although the deductions of Pancasila values are hardly find the meaning direct linkage. Pancasila is discussed as a philosophical foundation at the beginning of the drafting process of the National Education System, which is the top proponent as Explanation Proposed Initiative on the Amendment Act No. 2 of 1989 on National Education System, presented by the Commission VI, led by the Sub-Commission on Education (Prof. Dr. Ir . Muhammadi S. and some of the responses factions. Unfortunately, the speeches and responses from the fraction explanation does not clearly describes the concept of flow or concept which is rooted in the philosophical foundation, Pancasila. The foundation of ontological, which consider humans as subjects and objects of education in the National education law is not clear. This is contrary to Sastrapratedja opinion (2013a: 4) which says that the foundation of ontology is an underlying philosophical anthropology of education.

The human nature is seen as a creature of God and citizens who are bound and abide by the rules made by the state. Formality dimension in human view indicates that the human being is a creature of God which have to obedient to the rules / prohibition of the Lord and observe his commandments. It is in line with the purpose of education which is to create human of faith and devoted to God Almighty. This theory which then become the foundation National Education System. On the other hand, healthy, knowledgeable, skilled, creative, independent, and become citizens of a democratic and accountable contains the meaning associated with the view of mankind as a physical and spiritual. Although in some chapters there is an attempt to formulate the learners are no longer as objects (chapters on curriculum, teaching methods). But the National Education Law does not clearly explain the nature of man.

Pancasila as a unity between the precepts, are not used as ontological foundation. The view of human beings as subjects and objects of education focused on the interpretation of the first principle. The perspective is the source of the pros and cons. This is resulted in the polarization of views between the factions in parliament and the public. It is devided into two poles. The pro Education Law is an Islamic group and the cons of the Education Law is a group of nonIslam. This polarization almost affected in the disintegration of society. The roots of polarization is a concern which is essentially the Pancasila state ideology (education)which is open might be change into the closed ideology. This is in line with Darmaningtyas (2013: 8) who said that since the beginning of the preparation, this Act has caused controversy. Especially regarding the issue of ideology espoused, many people thought that the ideology of liberal-capitalism in the bill. Karti Suharto (2013) says that in the O'Neil' s ideological perspective of education, the national education ideology includes in the ideology of semi liberal -conformistic

In the process of discussing the National Education Law No. 20, 2003 the rejection action based on disapproval to the ideology of liberal-capitalistic was covered with religious issues. It rose two extreme poles, namely those who support the legalization of National Education System as if the representation of Muslims, while rejecting ratification as if from the representation of non-Muslims. In fact, it was totally wrong. Among those who reject it are the youth from HMI (partially), PMII, islamic community groups. They refused it because of their tendency to liberalization of education policy, such as the establishment of education legal entity, the development of international schools, and the opening of higher education to enter Indonesia (Darmaningtyas, 2013: 8). Even Tilaar said there has been a trend of corporatization of education in Indonesia. The real Pancasila state ideology is integrative religious, humanist, nationalist, democratic and justice, partially understood. That is happening in a narrow interpretation of the first principle as the Religious of the Almighty. This is in line with the opinion of Michel Hammer (in Zamroni, 2007: 94) that schools today are laid out by using the closed tradisional organizational model.

A model with a core of "command and control". This means that individuals must assume and execute commands from the head commanded that once fully owns the rights to make decisions. Daoed Joesoef criticizes the implementation of Pancasila in the reform era that is increasingly widespread realization of the first principle of Pancasila message by reducing the "Godhead" to "Religious".

Astrid Susanto Sunario concudes that the discussion of t National Education System dominantly discussed about the religious education that is not only related to religious subjects but also inherent to worship. It is even more alarming, because the state of the nation is facing the disintegration tendencies both vertically and horizontally. To date, The consensus formula related to the format of Indonesian nation-state which is not a state religion nor a secular state. Indonesia would not be able to formulate the concept of nation-state through the process of discourse or dialectic between the religion state and secular state. The consensus of the communication process models proposed by Habermas (via Budi Hardiman, 1993: 6) would need to be discovered, so that the latent danger of the polarization can be avoided.

National Education System Law, 2003 less gives the translation to the second principle. If the essence of education is to humanize humans and independence of learners to have a human consciousness as an independent, which means free but responsible. There is no enough space to the subject of dialogue in the bill. Pancasila as an integrative ideology. Pancasila should be understood as a whole. The five principles of Pancasila is understood as an entity organized. Notonagoro (in Kaelan, 2013: 60) said that Pancasila is hierarchical pyramidal arrangement. The first principle represents and covers underneath precepts. Although the first principle represents andcovers underneath precepts but the interpretation, understanding and implementation can not only focus on the first principle. Education Law less provides the opportunities in interpreting the second and the fifth precepts' contents. It is only mentioned few in the educational objectives, except the concept of man who is faithful, devoted, and noble.

These statements are a source of prejudice from the cons group of the National Education Law. Due to the prejudice of this group, many of these words are listed in the National Education Act, the state intervenes the citizens' privacy. Education and religious are the private rights of learners and their families. In other words, the state inclined to the Religion state. But for pro-inclusion, they presume that the counter is a secular-minded groups, more concerned with the intellectual than spiritual intelligence (religious). Naturally, the state plays a role in religious education and catechism, because it is in accordance with the human rights. Human rights considerations even was rejected by the cons because of the human rights there refer to the religion right, not the right to receive religious education or religious instruction. This is in line with Kuntoro's view (2012: 6) who said that Indonesian education contains Pancasila ideology which is a religious and humanist. The formula of humanistic-religious education is unsuitable. It is needed to find out the right formula and concept accordance with the agreement of all Indonesian people are culturally diverse.

It is potentially harmful to discuss about the national principle whether Pancasila state which is not a secular nor religious state in Law design. It could be seen in the formulation of Pancasila on BPUPKI meetings to date and in the process of formulating the concept of national education. The national education goals was listed after independence (Law on Education and Teaching in 1954), the National Education Law No. 2 of 1989, and the National Education Law No. 20 of 2003. This is in line with the statement of the Minister of Education namely Abdul Malik Fajar in Government welcome upon approval of the National Education System Bill into the National Education Law (Law No. 20 of 2003) regarding to the process of the National Education Law of 1954. Although there are considerable differences tense even accompanied by threats, but BPKNIP can be overcome and accept consensus after the personal approach. Likewise, when the plenary session of the National Education System Bill 2003 replaces Education Law 1989 althrough the agreement quite tough and stressful and not round, the vote was not used.

Therefore, it becomes imperative to develop critique of multicultural education in Indonesia. A multicultural education opens to criticism and transformation. Civilized humanity principle as a policy-oriented education should be the guidance that leads national education toward a true liberation which is not contrary to religious values. In line with the statement, Mangunwijaya (2004: 8-9), which is essentially as emancipatory education states that education is freeing, liberating, and maturing. Mangunwijaya said emancipatory education is Non Multa Sed Multum education. Mastery is not born from the drilling system or memoryzing method. Knows the depth does not come from mere rote or drill system. This system only fosters the Multa (know a lot, but not deep), ready to use in a sense to be on call as a slave.

National Education System Bill discussion raises two denominational polarization groups which nearly led to the disintegration of the nation. But it seems all parts of Indonesia still has the maturity and awareness of the unity of the nation. The concept of nationalism is still a historical memory. National awareness is not chauvinism, but the national spirit imbued with the values of divinity and humanity. In this context it appears that Pancasila is still viewed as an ideology that unites all components are culturally diverse. None of the members of the faction and the faction who refused Pancasila as the philosophical foundation of the National Education System Bill when sessions of the discussion of the bill implemented. No one of them deny the Pancasila philosophy of the National Education System Bill. Although none of the factions that convey the concept of the nature, the national education explicitly stated as a maturing process, liberation, empowerment, liberation from various keterbelengguan and injustice. National education is a process of educating the nation as mandated in the Preamble of 1945 Constitution. In essence, education empowers the whole of life in all dimensions of national and state life.

Third principle as a national educational orientation that characterizes national vision based education. The concept of nationalism is an important element in the formation of cadres of a nation. Tilaar & Riant Nugroho (2012: 185) said that the national education goals within the framework of the nation is a process of human liberation. As an independent nation, Indonesia is not going to drift with the current global characterized by rapidly changing and the change is very paradoxical. National education is an education aimed at the entire nation and not just to some communities in Indonesia.

Democratization is contained in the National Education Act of 2003 as a concept or theory and discourse are in accordance with the context of the nation of Indonesia which are in transition to democracy. Until when democracy materialized true education is difficult to predict. But the National Education Law has shown minimal teapat direction for the realization of education more democratic life of the nation. Democratic education is not something that suddenly fell from the sky, to democratize education will take a long time not as turning the palm of the hand, need to struggle and sacrifice, even the possibility of failures. But progress and courage when the national education system (Education Law) has been providing guidance and direction on where to national education will be taken. Rosyada (2007: 21) says that a radical change in the educational development authority which was originally located in the power of the central government through the Ministry of National Education, has now been delegated to schools and facilitated by local governments. Although the implementation is still long and the struggle it took to make it happen.

Social justice values has been deduced to the Education Law No. 20 of 2003, explicitly appear in Article 4 paragraph (1). The principle of justice looks at the similarities of all citizens to education, including citizens with special needs (education for all), and life-long education. The principle of equality has become the underlying principles of the National Education Law, but the principle of equity yet. It is easier to implement the principle of equality in education over the principle of equity. Equality (equality) related to quantity, something that can be counted, visible, predictable. The example of equaliti in the context of education policy are educational equity, compulsory learning, sharing and distribution of finances and infrastructure of education, teacher placements. All this is easy to see whether there has been a justice in the perspective of equality. But equity-related quality issues. This is not only related to things that can be calculated with mathematics on paper, equity related to the sense of justice.

Pancasila as an ideology of the nation's education that will be open are translated or interpreted in the laws and regulations applicable in Indonesia. Pancasila as an ideology is still open public abstract universal, so it needs to be interpreted according to the context of the times. Education Law No. 20 of 2003 is one example of the interpretation or deduction Pancasila into legislation adapted to the context of the times. Karti Suharto (2010: iii) says that the foundation of education in Indonesia in the form of value and potential of the life of the nation can be developed. Likewise, in the perspective of education dikemukan O'Neil ideology, Pancasila as an ideology of education can be grouped in semi-liberalist ideology, Pancasila as an ideology despite the fact that education is open developed into a critical educational ideology with religious characteristics. However, this conceptualization to struggle of all components of the nation, especially the academics. Dwi Siswoyo (2012: 1) said that Indonesia must struggle continues in renovating, reconstructing, merejuvenasi and merekatualisasikan Pancasila. Itself build construct educational philosophy do: vertically, namely through the assessment of a reflective-dialogical viewed in terms of its depth of knowledge about education. The method used reflective-deductive-inductive and horizontally using the approach Panca-kon: continuity, convergence, concentric, contextual, and constructive, as well as vertical-horizontal approach: eclectic-incorporation harmonized conducted dialectically-dynamic-anticipatory -reflektif-rejuvenatif with dialogue "using critical reasoning" to find more meaning fusion horizon according to the concept ideal educational philosophy Pancasila. Sunarso (2012: 3) also says Political Education reform era, characterized by democracy, education aims to form citizens of a democratic and responsible.

Pancasila as an ideology of education that is open is not appropriate to "re-read" by the authoritarian approach that tends to use the paradigm of positivism / scientific realism. None of the groups in Indonesia (whether religious, tribal, political parties, civil society organizations) can provide a single interpretation imposed for all groups in society.

Pancasila as an ideology of national education that is open has three functions. First, Supervisor. That is, being a mentor (orientation) national and state life, especially in education. Educational praxis can not be held without any pragmatic teksnis-oriented values ​​of Pancasila; Second, Affirming, meaning that if an error occurs in the educational praxis, then align them to return to the values ​​of Pancasila. Pancasila values ​​become law if there was deception in the world of education; Third, integrate, meaning that the values ​​become a unifying event of differences of opinion in the nation's life bhineka. Pancasila is a principle that is culturally diverse. Keanekaragamaan recognized and respected its existence, but there is an awareness that there is life together as a nation. Driyarkara (2006) says in the working world, people should come together and jointly in the human world should work. There are two principles that should be present in the search for ideology in the sense of looking for a new meaning of Pancasila as an ideology of education that is open, namely: working world and co-existence. Pancasila deduce a necessity in the life of the nation in both the rule of law as well as in real life, and all of it was done with the whole nation without being none of the elements of this nation as the sole interpreter of the country even though doing so.

**CONCLUSION**

Pancasila deduction in Law No. 20. 2003 is formal juridical. Explicitly, Pancasila is deduced to in the preamble as a philosophical foundation without being given a more detailed explanation is intended as a philosophical foundation, as well as vision, mission, and objectives implicitly contains the values of Pancasila. While several articles of Law No. 20 of 2003 is not in the same breath with the values of Pancasila (ie. Article related to investment for foreign educational institutions, and the section regarding Higher Education). Articles of this would imply liberalization and capitalization which is an indication that the ideology contained in Law No. 20 2003 is the ideology of liberal education.

Faith, devotion and noble become the terminology of the pros and cons in the trial Parliament and the public. It is then deduced with a strong religious education in educational praxis show has been a panacea and a springboard epistemology of the solution taken by the Parliament and the Government. Religious education, education for moral values, character education is used for drugs that can solve all the diseases that exist in society today. Additionally epistemologically happened a missing link that is difficult to explain epistemology associated with pious knowledge with empirical knowledge-perception becomes the paradigm of science and technology.

It is a duty for all components of the nation to deduce Pancasila as an ideology of open education. Two principles must exist in deducing Pancasila as an ideology of national education within the context of the times, namely: working world and co-existence.

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