



## The Concept of Civil Religion in Textbooks Pancasila and Civic Education at High School Level

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### Abstract

Civil religion is a concept that originally emerged in the 17th century and was coined by a French scientist named Jean Jaques Rousseau in his book entitled the social contract. This is what inspired Robert N. Bellah to write the concept of civil religion, and then the concepts put forward by Bellah became the main reference for sociologists of religion to describe the concept of civil religion in their respective countries. In Indonesia itself, Pancasila is considered a civil religion in Indonesia. This comes from the writings of Yudi Latif who declared Pancasila to be a civil religion. So that Pancasila becomes an umbrella for the diversity of religions that exist in Indonesia. Before implementing the values of Pancasila as a civil religion, it is very important that the contents of this civil religion be taught to students at the formal school level, especially at the high school level. This article will look for the contents of the concept of civil religion in the Pancasila and citizenship education textbooks at the high school level. The method used in this research is content analysis by borrowing a concept from Robert N Bellah. The results of this research are that the concept of civil religion is most often found in class 11 students' textbooks, out of 7 chapters, there is only 1 chapter where the concept of civil religion is not found.

**Keywords:** *Civil Religion; Pancasila; Civic Education*

### Introduction

Talking about civil religion, Robert N. Bellah, a modern American sociologist, is of course closely related to this concept. Bellah makes the United States a pluralist and democratic country in his study. According to him, civil religion is a religion that does not side with traditional religions (that is, religions that already exist and are developing in America) whatever Americans adhere to. In his writing, Belah quoted a speech from the President of the United States, John F. Kennedy, on January 20, 1967, which stated "today we observe not a party victory but a celebration of freedom, an end to a beginning, signifying renewal and change. Because I have sworn an oath before you and Almighty God with an oath that our ancestors swore almost one and three-quarters of a century ago." (Bellah, 2005) Kennedy's explicit use of the word "God" became very controversial because Kennedy was a Catholic. But long before Bellah published his writings, the concept of civil religion had existed since the 17th century. The

social contract is Rousseau's work containing the concept of civil religion, which was then published several times by publishers. Rousseau concluded that God governs every political society so it can be concluded that there are as many Gods as there are societies (Rousseau, 2024).

Civil religion is literally civil (people's) religion. However, when looked at in person, it seems like it is an independent religion. Therefore, civil religion is more accurately defined as "civil religion", because it does not have God, holy books, apostles, priests, monks, or other elements mentioned above. (Irham, 2017). A belief system that is not based directly on a particular religion, but is rather a collective belief adopted by society as part of their national identity. These include symbols, rituals, and myths that give meaning to a country's identity and existence. (Bellah, 2005). However, in practice there is a very complicated relationship between religion and the state, this was explained by j. Philip Wogemen (dalam Irham, 2017) which states that there are three patterns of relationship between state and religion; First, the pattern of theocracy where religion dominates the state; second, erastianism, where the state co-opts religion; and third, an equal relationship between religion and the state in the separation of good and bad. So, according to Wogemen, absolute separation between religion and the state is impossible because religious life always has dimensions that will be in direct contact with legal aspects that are the authority of citizens.

According to Geovanie (dalam Nasution, 2020) describing God in the concept of civil religion is not only unitary, but also strict about government, law, and rights compared to love and salvation, which are the main values of religions such as Christianity. In a further interpretation, civil religion is not a religious source for individuals to gain an understanding of social responsibility, which means that civil religion will not possibly be a substitute for existing religions. (Geovanie, 2013). Geovani's beliefs about civil religion clearly do not match those of several experts such as Bellah, Coleman, and Rousseau. Geovani described civil religion as very rigid and according to him it should focus more on love like Christianity. He also came to the conclusion that civil religion was not some kind of "super-religion" and therefore would not be a rival to nearly established religions.

The conclusion of the concept coined by Geovanie is very inappropriate if seen from civil religion figures such as those expressed by Bellah who are more inclined towards citizen obedience to the government, but this obedience seems to deify the government. But another thing was stated by Rousseau who stated that civil religion is more of a dynamic religion even though it is only like idol worship. Meanwhile, the aim of civil religion according to Rousseau is to foster a sense of love for public duties among citizens, meaning that citizens carry out their rights and obligations based on love and the call of conscience, and by carrying out their duties as citizens with full love it is hoped that they can expand ties between citizens. state to help maintain stability, order, security and prosperity for the state (Nasution, 2020)(Swanie, 2016).

Meanwhile, Coleman (dalam Nasution, 2020) prefers the view of Robert Bellah, who says that civil religion is a collection of actions and symbolic forms that connect mala with the ultimate condition of its existence. By helping them deal with questions about the ultimate meaning or frustration of their lives, especially about death and suffering, religion strengthens an individual's general identity. By suggesting "qimit images" of behavior, self-conceptions, and roles, religion helps strengthen personal identity. Religious symbol systems do not always have to be linked to the role of the nation or be considered explicitly as citizens.

From the start, Indonesia was known as a "religious country" which did not separate state and religion. Indonesia has a diversity of religions and 6 of them are officially recognized by the state (Hariyanti, 2020). In Indonesia itself, Pancasila is called a civil religion because Pancasila contains a set of beliefs, symbols and core values that unite all diversity in Indonesia in a public community whose values become guidelines for social life. (Latif, 2020). According to Nurcholish Madjid (dalam Latif, 2020) stated that Pancasila needs to be interpreted into a moral and ethical dimension that is alive, real,

and influences the behavior of citizens and the government so that something called "civil religion" will grow. Indonesia is an archipelagic country with a diversity of cultures, religions and customs. This diversity means that different cultural backgrounds, religions and customs often become a source of conflict. This diversity is added to by a diverse, multicultural and pluralist country. (Yusuf, 2023).

Pancasila is the desire to reach common ground (or "agreement") to achieve mutual benefit and happiness in a heterogeneous national society. Some of the values of Pancasila come from universal values from various religions, and some come from "secular" ideas, such as humanism, nationalism, democracy and socialism, which do not conflict and can be reconciled with the universal values of various religions (Firdaus, 2021). Pancasila consists of five precepts, and each precept has points that we can use in everyday life. Pancasila has many teachings that are related to each other. To truly practice Pancasila, starting from family life, the surrounding environment and school. When everything goes well, state life will be in accordance with pluralism (Yusuf, 2023).

It doesn't stop there, Yudi Latif (2020) outlines six frameworks of Pancasila's core public moral values as follows: Divine precepts reflect "sanctity". This means that every moral community must have the value of purity as a foundation in social life. Godhead in Pancasila has been represented in an inclusive public religion (civil religion). Humanistic principles reflect the values of "care" (caring about dangers/things that threaten the safety of the nation) and liberty (freedom from oppression and restraint). In the moral realm of Pancasila, the legitimacy of basic rights is universal, covering the political, civil, social, economic and cultural fields. The principle of unity (nationality) reflects the value of loyalty (loyalty to the homeland) that all communities must have the awareness to care for the common home. The fourth principle reflects the value of "authority". That every moral community requires an attitude of respect for authority which is the center of sovereignty and order in national and state life. The fifth principle reflects "fairness" that the moral community desires the restoration of the values of justice, equality and decency. Social cohesion requires a shared conception of justice which provides hope for shared prosperity (social welfare). Then at the advanced level, the morals of divinity (sanctity), humanity (care and liberty), national unity (loyalty), democracy (authority), and social justice (fairness) can be tied horizontally by one sacred value too, called the value of mutual cooperation. . In other words, vertically, our sacred value is called Godhead, while horizontally it is called mutual cooperation.

Several previous studies have carried out various analyzes of citizenship education textbooks at both junior high school (SMP) and senior high school (SMA) levels, namely analyzing the concept of human rights in grade 11 high school civics textbooks (Nuryadi; Aim Abdulkarim & prayoga bestarai, 2016), analyzing the character values of the Pancasila Student Profile in the Pancasila and Citizenship Education textbook for Class IX Middle School (SMP) (Ravyansah & Abdillah, 2021), analyzing multicultural content in high school level citizenship education textbooks (Renny Widia Sari & Iqbal Arpanudin, 2023), The content of character values in the Pancasila education textbook for class 8 middle school (Khairunisa & Sundawa, 2023) as well as analyzing divine values in Pancasila and citizenship education textbooks in high school (Angraini Rita; & Rini Vovriyenti, 2021).

Based on the explanation above, it is very important that Pancasila values are applied in social life. Before these values are implemented, it is very necessary that the Pancasila values be taught in schools. Unfortunately, there are several obstacles experienced in the education sector, namely the low quality of education. There are several factors that become chapters; Firstly, the low quality of physical facilities. Second, the low quality of teachers, and finally the lack of equal distribution of educational opportunities (Putri et al., 2020). So from this problem, of course we also have to look at whether the Pancasila and citizenship education textbooks, especially at the high school level, teach the concepts of civil religion.

## Method

This research is content analysis research, in the sense that the data source comes from written and digital materials related to the topic discussed, whether found in books, articles or other data in other libraries. The data collection technique used in this research is the documentation method, namely searching for data about a thing or variable in the form of notes, transcripts, books, as well as research and research results. The documents required in this research are documents in the form of data relating to Pancasila as a civil religion in Pancasila and citizenship education textbooks at high school level from class 10 to class 12 textbooks with guidance from the theory put forward by Robert N Bellah. The textbooks that will be analyzed are books from the revised edition of the 2013 curriculum. Data analysis was carried out using the descriptive-analysis method, namely trying to explain the research topic and then analyzing it as carefully as possible to draw conclusions.

## Results and Discussion

The Pancasila and Citizenship Education textbook is a basic reference in the teaching process of Pancasila and Citizenship Education at the high school level. The books used are books published directly by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology. The search for analysis of the concept of civil religion in Pancasila and citizenship education textbooks at the high school level borrows the concept of civil religion put forward by Robert N Bellah who stated that civil religion is a belief system that is not directly related to a particular religion, but is rather a collective belief that adopted by the people as part of their national identity. It includes symbols, rituals and myths that give value to a country's identity and existence (Bellah, 2005). The findings of the concept of civil religion in general in the Pancasila and citizenship education textbooks at the high school education level in the revised edition of the 2013 curriculum can be seen in table 1.

Tabel 1 presentation of the concept of civil religion in each chapter of the student textbook

Class 10	Class 11	Class 12
Chapter 1	Chapter 1	Chapter 1
Chapter 2	Chapter 2	Chapter 2
Chapter 3	Chapter 3	Chapter 4
Chapter 5	Chapter 4	
Chapter 7	Chapter 6	

Based on the table above as a whole, it can be concluded that in the study of civil religion in the Pancasila and citizenship education textbooks, almost all chapters in the civics education textbook found the concept of civil religion. The class 10 textbook in chapters 4 and 6 does not find the concept of civil religion. In the class 11 textbook, only chapter 5 does not contain the concept of civil religion. Then in class 12 in chapter 3 there is no concept of civil religion. To map the findings of the concept of civil religion at each class level, namely classes 10, 11, and 12. More specific details are needed to describe the findings of the concept of religion which can be seen in table 2.

Tabel 2 matrix of civil religion concepts in Pancasila and citizenship education textbooks at high school level

Scope	Class 10	Class 11	Class 12
<b>Symbols</b>	Chapter 1 parts c page 22-27 Chapter 2 parts c page 55-60 Chapter 5 part a pages 145-150 Chapter 7 parts a and b pages 202-209	Chapter 1 parts b 8-15 Chapter 2 parts b point 1 page 45-49 Chapter 2 parts c 66-68 chapter 6 parts b point 1	Chapter 1 material b page 5-16 Chapter 2 tabel 2.1 Sanctions and Norms in Society pages 56

	Chapter 7 parts d pages 222-224	dan 2 page. 183-190 chapter 6 parts c point 1 page 191-194	
<b>Rituals</b>	Chapter 3 parts d pages 89-93 Chapter 5 parts e point 1 page 160-161 Chapter 5 parts e point 4 pages 166-167	Chapter 2 parts c page 69 Chapter 6 parts d page. 197-199	
<b>Heroism and History/myth</b>	Chapter 2 parts d point 2 pages 66-68	Chapter 2 parts b poin 2 page 51-65 Chapter 3 parts a poin 4 page 87-89 Chapter 4 material a point 2 dan 3 page 122-128 Chapter 4 parts b page 131-137	Chapter 4 material a point 2 pages 96-100 Chapter 4 material b pages 100-115

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Overall, the table above can be explained in more depth and in more detail that the study of civil religion in class 10 is very dominant in national symbols such as implementing Pancasila values in government administration, regulating religious freedom. The textbook for citizenship education in class 10 also explains the concept of defending the country within the framework of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika which is implemented simply through flag ceremonies at school (Nuryadi & Tolib, 2017) which is symbolized by the split in the form of state ritual (Bellah, 2005). Class 10 also discussed awareness of defending the country by being shown photos of the past of the Indonesian people's struggle for independence when they were still colonized. Citizen participation in the Indonesian political system is very important in this concept because the textbook material states that citizen participation in the political system must be based on the values of Pancasila. (Nuryadi & Tolib, 2017).

In the Pancasila and citizenship education textbooks in class 11, the concept of civil religion is more often found than in class 10 and class 12 in the class of symbols of civil religion proposed by Bellah, namely a comprehensive explanation of the concept of rights and obligations in the basic values of Pancasila in the form of divine values which are guarantee the right of citizens to embrace their respective religions that have been recognized by the state. The next section explains the dynamics of implementing the democratic principles of Pancasila. It also explains what factors encourage and inhibit national unity and integrity as well as behavior that shows an attitude of maintaining the integrity of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia. (Lubis & Sodeli, 2017)

In the class 11 book, the concept of ritual explains behavior that reflects democratic values in daily life, then in another section it also explains behavior that shows attitudes to maintain the integrity of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia by practicing the values of Pancasila. (Lubis & Sodeli, 2017). In this class 11 textbook, there is only a little material that explains the concept of ritual in civil religion as discovered by Bellah.

Other findings in the Pancasila and citizenship education textbooks in class 11 also included materials explaining historical/mythical heroism. This textbook explains Indonesia's participation in

international politics and the importance of international relations for the sustainability of the Indonesian nation. Then it also explains Indonesia's active roles in maintaining political stability in the international world, both on a global and regional scale. It also explains the periodization of the development of Pancasila democracy from time to time, from President Soekarno's government to the current government. finally explains the positive legal system in Indonesia which is based on the 1945 Constitution. (Lubis & Sodeli, 2017)

The class 12 Pancasila and citizenship education textbook does not find much of the concept of civil religion in it, there are only a few findings in the form of symbols and history, while rituals are not found in the class 12 Pancasila and citizenship education textbook. The civil religion symbols in this book explain rights. and the obligations of citizens in the basic values of Pancasila, these basic rights are in the form of citizenship rights, equality before the law, freedom to embrace and choose religion and rights in the areas of access to education, economy and welfare, as well as in other materials the concept of symbols is found in the form of table of sanctions and norms in society. While the concept of history and heroism in this textbook explains the processes and dynamics of the BPUPKI session, as well as the unity of the Indonesian nation from time to time, it is also explained in this point that there were rebellions carried out during the early days of independence and the challenges experienced by the Indonesian people to maintain national unity and integrity (Lubis Yusnawan & Sodeli Mohamad, 2018)

There is an interesting title in the Pancasila and citizenship education textbook in class 12 tucked away in a small text entitled citizenship info in chapter 1 which states that in relation to upholding the rights and obligations of citizens, Pancasila teaches: 1. Indeed, Almighty God is creator of the universe. 2. Humans are creatures of God Almighty who receive His gifts in the form of life, freedom and property. 3. As creatures with noble dignity, humans carry out their obligations in life, namely: a. be grateful, devoted and devoted to Him; b. love fellow human beings; c. maintain and respect the right to life, the right to freedom and the right to own something; and d. aware of the implementation of applicable laws. (Lubis Yusnawan & Sodeli Mohamad, 2018)

Dominantly in the results of the analysis of Pancasila and citizenship education books at high school level, the concept of civil religion is often found in students' Pancasila and citizenship education books at grade 11 level, while the least is at grade 12 level. In grade 10 teaching books, the concept of civil religion is dominated by symbols. whereas in class 11 the coverage of civil religion material is more evenly distributed so that in class 11 students can feel and understand the concept of Pancasila as a civil religion in Indonesia.

It is very important to teach the concept of civil religion to students so that later it is hoped that the discovery of these civil religion concepts can foster a sense of tolerance in Indonesian society. Civil religion can be used as a basic starting point for tolerance in Indonesia because in the concept of civil religion it becomes an umbrella for existing religions, because civil religion only gives birth to social and moral responsibility. (Geovanie, 2013)(Nasution, 2020)(Latif, 2020).

Borrowing a concept from Robert Bellah, the scope of Pancasila as a civil religion is that Pancasila is expected to be a forum for the diversity of society in Indonesia, especially religious diversity. (Latif, 2020). This means that Pancasila is used as a collective umbrella as a permanent consensus in navigating and organizing the religious life of Indonesian citizens. Acceptance and implementation of Pancasila values as a whole and *kafah* can create harmony at every layer of the nation's elements because the Pancasila values of all groups have their interests accommodated. This is exactly what happened in the BPUPKI trial process, namely the deletion of seven words in the first principle of Pancasila, which is proof that there are no groups. the majority of all voices and interests were accommodated by the founding fathers of the nation. (Anshari, 1976).

## Conclusion

There are a lot of concepts of civil religion in Pancasila and citizenship education textbooks at high school level, teaching about symbols, especially about practicing Pancasila values in the implementation of rights and obligations, running good government in accordance with Pancasila values. Not only are symbols in the Pancasila and citizenship education textbook at high school level, it also explains national rituals and national values such as the implementation of flag ceremonies as a form of nationalism and the values of mutual cooperation. Then also tell about the history of the nation such as the journey of democracy in Indonesia.

It is important that the concept of civil religion be developed further because it can be useful in fostering a sense of tolerance among people in Indonesia. It is hoped that by analyzing the content in this civic education textbook, Pancasila can become a real umbrella for existing religions so that they can coexist with each other. The instilling of tolerance values must be instilled at the formal education level so that it is hoped that there will be future research that concentrates on studying the concept of civil religion.

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