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The Duality of Structure and Agency in the Mainstreaming Pancasila through the Media of Game

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ABSTRACT : In the context of the political situation of post-regional elections of DKI Jakarta and the 2019 Presidential Election, it arises new concerns, namely the strengthening of identity politics and social fragmentation which is inversely proportional to the diminishing understanding of Pancasila. It needs joint effort to strengthen Pancasila as an ideology to unite the nation. This study was conducted to answer the questions of how the process of the duality of structure and agency in the mainstreaming of Pancasila through the media of games is carried out in various regions in Indonesia. This study used socio-cultural tradition with the structuration methods of Anthony Giddens. This study is participatory research. This study used case study through observations, interviews, and interpretations. The research subject were elementary school students, junior high school students, senior high school students, college/university students, and participants in the Pancasila Snakes and Ladders simulation and teachers/social activists. The study found that two agencies have a role in the mainstreaming of Pancasila, namely the teacher as a direct agency (present) and students as a latent agency that has the potential to mainstream Pancasila in the future (future). The result of the study is a structuration model of the mainstreaming of Pancasila as a series of continuous activities to create better change in Indonesia.

KEYWORDS: Duality of Structure and Agency, Pancasila, Media of Game.

I. PREFACE

The proclamation of Indonesian Independence in 1945 was the culmination of the struggle against colonialism from the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century. In the process towards the proclamation of Indonesian independence on August 17, 1945, the pioneers of independence established the national principle of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia through debates until finally it was agreed that Pancasila the state foundation and ideology. According to Yudi Latif (Head of the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency, 2018), Soekarno's basic thoughts on Pancasila can be explained as follows, that the values of the way of life extracted from various ethnic, religious, and human values are seen as *Weltanschauung* (way of life) for the Indonesian state that is independent and sovereign, and so that the various ethnic groups and inter-group relations in this country united, *Weltanschauung* needs to contain unity and coherence as a common principle and direction. Pancasila as an ideology can be said to be an "integralistic" ideology that overcomes the particularity of individual and group understandings. (Latif, 2015, 36 - 37).

Soekarno's speech on June 1, 1954, was accepted absolutely at the Investigating Committee for Preparatory Work for Independence (BPUPKI) session, then a small committee of eight people was formed which was then changed to nine people by Soekarno who has subsequently formed the manuscript of the Jakarta Charter. The manuscript of the Jakarta Charter contains the draft of the preamble to the Constitution of Indonesia which contains the principles of Pancasila. Seven words added to the principle of the belief in the One and Only God which read, "With the obligation to abide by Islamic law for adherents of Islam." Several parties believed that Soekarno eliminating these seven words. However, in fact, the idea of the removal of the seven words was an initiative of Mohammad Hatta for the sake of national unity. Azyumardi Azra said, "From the process of accepting Pancasila, it was clear that the Muslim leaders at that time were more concerned with national harmony and integration than the interests of Islam or mere Muslims." (Basarah, 2017, 13-14).

After the proclamation of independence, the Republic of Indonesia still experiences various physical and non-physical upheavals, one of which was aimed to replace the Pancasila as the national ideology and foundation.

Even the efforts to replace the Pancasila still appear in current political life and in recent years the condition has become increasingly alarming, namely the strengthening of identity politics, especially concerning practical political interests during the 2017 DKI Jakarta Regional Elections and the 2019 Presidential Elections. The Presidential Work Unit for the Establishment of the Pancasila Ideology (UKP-PIP, 2017 was later renamed the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency, BPIP) said that in the past 19 years, the values of Pancasila have continued to fade. According to Yudi Latif (The Head of the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency, BPIP), five major issues cause the problems. The first issue is an understanding of Pancasila because misunderstandings can lead to other problems. The causes can vary, ranging from a lack of tolerance among people, the government's lack of firmness towards mass organizations that tend to be radical, the fanaticism towards one religion or another. The main cause of these problems is the diminishing of people's understanding of the value of Pancasila (Nadha, 2017).

The Chairman of the Indonesian Parliament (Bambang Soesatyo) is concerned about the current understanding of Pancasila among young people. This was conveyed by him when giving a public lecture "The Role of Students and Youth in Developing Pancasila Understanding to Maintain the Integrity of the Republic of Indonesia" during the National Gathering of the Nusantara Student Executive Board (BEM) at the University of Mataram, Lombok. He thought that the understanding of Pancasila among the people, including students is decreasing. Based on a survey by the National Counter-Terrorism Agency (BNPT), around 39% of students at large campuses in 15 provinces have an interest in radicalism. The Wahid Institute's survey shows something similar. As many as 11 million Indonesians stated that they were willing to take radical actions, 0.4% of the Indonesian population had committed radical actions, and 7.7% were willing to act radically if possible. According to him, "The education of strengthening the Pancasila must be carried out creatively and innovatively according to the progress of the community. The implementation of Pancasila education must not be rigid, but must be flexible, and can be applied in all dimensions of community life." (Editor, Kastara, 2018). Based on the results of the LSI survey in 2018, that the percentage of the public who are pro-Pancasila continues to decline. According to ArdianSopa (LSI researcher) "Within 13 years, the public who are pro-Pancasila decreased by 10 percent (Setiawan, 2018)." The survey results show that the public who are pro-Pancasila has decreased by 10% since 2005. LSI conducted a similar survey in 2005, with the result that 85.2% of the people still support Pancasila as a national ideology. "While in 2018 the figure is 75.3%." On the other hand, the public who are pro towards the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia with Shariah (NKRI Bersyariah) continues to experience an increase of 4.6% in 2005 and 7.3% in 2010. "In 2015 the public who are pro towards the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia with Shariah (NKRI Bersyariah) is 9.8% and in 2018 it is 13.2% (Fakhri, 2018)."

Member of Commission I the Indonesian House of Representatives, Dave AkbarshahFikarnoLaksono, M.E., explained the challenges faced today, namely the number of alternative ideologies through easily accessible media and information. This makes the community experience a decrease in the intensity of learning Pancasila and it can also be caused by the lack of effectiveness and lack of interest in learning Pancasila. The next challenge is social inclusivism related to the rapidly growing flows of globalization which lead to the strengthening tendency of identity politics, a symptom of polarization and social fragmentation based on ethnicity, religion, race, and inter-group relations (SARA). The demographic bonus will also become a challenge to instill the values of Pancasila in the young generation amid globalization. He gave recommendations for the implementation of the values of Pancasila in the era of globalization to use technological advances that attract the young generation and the community, and ground or popularize the values of Pancasila through sustainable education and/or learning in all lines and regions (the National Resilience Institute of the Republic of Indonesia/Lemhannas, 2020).

The government seeks to strengthen social cohesion and nationalism through the establishment of the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency (BPIP). Based on a study conducted by Pancasila Ideology Development Agency (BPIP), the problem of the diminishing understanding of Pancasila is caused by the way of learning Pancasila that are less attractive to students at schools. This is crucial considering that Pancasila needs to be introduced from an early age to students as the nation's next generation. Therefore, it needs efforts to make creative learning media to help students understand Pancasila with an attractive method. This then became the reason for researchers to conduct a study on the mainstreaming of Pancasila, especially for children and adolescents in 2019 and 2020.

The initiative to make Pancasila Snakes and Ladders simulation is an answer to the problems raised by Yudi Latif (Head of Pancasila Ideology Development Agency, 2017-2018) concerning less creative learning methods at schools which result in the students' lack of interest to learn. To realize the inspiration obtained from the API Pancasila workshop, the researchers collaborated with the final project student of the Visual Communication Design Study Program, Randy Hutama to make a prototype of the Pancasila Snakes and Ladders board game in 2018. Researchers as the supervisor of the student provide material and direction to be realized in the final project assignment entitled "The Design of the Pancasila Snakes and Ladders Board Game." In 2019, the development of the Pancasila Snakes and Ladders board game was followed up to be used as a learning medium

at schools with changes in the media design and size. The Pancasila Snakes and Ladders game prototype was simulated six times in three cities, Jakarta, Bali, and Yogyakarta with the participants consisting of elementary school students, junior high school students, high school students, and college/university students.

II. DISCUSSION

Pancasila as a state ideology that is decreasing requires support and active public participation. It is necessary to create agents of change that move to the ground and/or popularize Pancasila. This problem can be seen from the perspective of the structuration theory of Anthony Giddens. There is a duality between the actors (agency) of change and the structure (ideology) of Pancasila, which is currently decreasing, threatened by the ideology that has led to increasingly strong radicalism in Indonesia. The Indonesian nation has determined Pancasila as the state ideology and foundation. It is the nation's personality. Therefore, education in Indonesia must be based on Pancasila. Education has a strategic role in shaping the culture and character of the nation. Pancasila needs to be transferred to become the basis for real action. Thus, it is necessary to strengthen teachers and education activists so that they can become agents of change that determine the future of the nation through their students. (Suryohadioprojo, 2014). Mainstreaming Pancasila through the Snakes and Ladders game is made to urge teachers/education activists to act as agents of change through interactive learning media for children and adolescents in various regions in Indonesia. **From a structuration perspective, this is a synthesis and a challenge to the duality of structure and agency in establishing Pancasila as the mainstream in Indonesia.**

The research formulation to be carried out is **how is the process of the duality of structure and agency in the social practice of mainstreaming Pancasila through media of game?** The actors are teachers/education activists who are involved and participate in influencing the structures in which they work, such as schools or communities in their respective areas. This study is expected to be a comprehensive study of the process of instilling the values of Pancasila through the media of game. The research problem is what is the role of teachers/education activists in mainstreaming Pancasila through the media of game?

This research is a study of the socio-cultural tradition of communication science by examining the duality of structure-agency based on structuration methodology. This research is expected to be a breakthrough and scientific development as well as bring change to society; assisting the process of instilling the values of Pancasila, giving a positive impact on society and in time it will help create a better generation in the future. This research will provide a new perspective in promoting or disseminating Pancasila. The research results are in the form of a comprehensive study of the duality of structure and agency (agents of change) in organizations/communities by using the media of game to disseminate the values of Pancasila. Researchers select the subjects which consist of teachers/education activists by considering them as agents of change who will initiate and continue this program in the future.

The aims and objectives of this study are to (1) find out **how the mainstreaming of Pancasila is carried out using the Pancasila Snakes and Ladders game based on the analysis of the duality of structure and agency from Anthony Giddens**, (2) create a model/ scheme for the mainstreaming of Pancasila so that this activity can be used as a reference and implemented continuously.

The researchers have checked on the Garuda portal on January 30, 2021; the keyword structuration and resulted in 37 articles, the keyword snakes and ladders resulted in 332 articles, the keyword Pancasila resulted in 1777 articles. Meanwhile, when typing the keyword structuration - snakes and ladders - Pancasila, no articles were found. The equivalent of the words Snakes and Ladders and Pancasila resulted in 1 finding, namely an article entitled "The Development of Snakes and Ladders Media on the Birth of Pancasila for Fifth-Grade Social Studies of Elementary School Students." The research was conducted by Ade Ineu Raina Oktapiani, Sumardi, and Rosarina Giyartini in 2020. The research team developed a snakes and ladders game (board game) telling stories about the history of the birth of Pancasila in the fifth-grade social studies lesson of elementary school. Although the research theme is similar to the one currently being researched, there are still differences, namely the snakes and ladders game media is different because the previous research made and used small snakes and ladders board game with the theme of the history of the birth of Pancasila. The previous research also used theory and methods that focus on the field of education (fifth-grade elementary school students at school A in city B). While the researchers used the theme of the values of Pancasila and a variety of participants, including involving teachers/education activists from various regions in Indonesia.

State of the art (novelty) research "The Duality of Structure and Agency in the Mainstreaming Pancasila through the Media of Game" is a new thing that has never been done. Some of the things that support this are; (1) the snakes and ladders game media has a large size, in the form of a 6 x7 m banner to be played in a hall/field for 30-40 people which is different from the previous research in the form of a small board game to be played at a table with a small group of people, (2) the target audience has a broader stratum, namely children and adolescents (elementary school students, junior high school students, high school students, and college/university students) and teachers/education activists which are different from the previous research that only consist of one stratum, (3) the research site in 3 cities which are different from the previous research that conducted only in one school/location, (4) the research time is longer from 2019 - 2020 (2 years). While the

previous research so far is conducted only for a few months, (5) transdisciplinary science involves communication science, education, and design. This has never been done because it usually only combines one or two fields of science.

III. RESEARCH METHODS

This study uses the socio-cultural tradition with the structuration theory of Anthony Giddens. The socio-cultural approach shows how to understand meanings, norms, roles, and regulations that are carried out interactively in communication. In this case, the object of study is the Pancasila ideology. The socio-cultural tradition focuses on the forms of interaction between humans, in this case, between teachers/education activists and participants in the Pancasila Snakes and Ladders game. Interaction is a process and place of meaning, role, rules, and cultural values that are carried out, namely at the school/community. In a socio-cultural approach, knowledge can be interpreted and shaped.

Research using a case study method is a model that focuses on the exploration of "bounded systems", a system that does not stand alone. It has a relationship with other cases. (Creswell, 2015). Research participants were selected using a purposive technique. Through a purposive technique, the researcher selects research participants and research sites intending to study or understand the main problems to be studied. Data collection methods using interviews, observation, and documents. A case study is a series of scientific activities about a program, event, and activity, whether at the level of an individual, a group of people, institutions, or organizations to obtain in-depth knowledge of the event. The selected events referred to as cases are real-life events. In a case study, the most widely used questions are "how" and "why". The selected case study category is Prospective Case Study to find trends and direction of the development of a case because the mainstreaming of Pancasila will continue to be sustainable.

This study carefully investigates the mainstreaming Pancasila activities (social praxis) in the form of simulations and workshops (training of trainers) attended by participants from various regions. The study is in the form of the process of the duality of structure and agency. Cases are limited by time and space, namely: Jakarta, Bali, Yogyakarta from 2019 - 2020. Researchers collect information and stages according to the research guidelines for case study data collection:

(1) The documentation technique uses literature studies obtained from literature in the form of books, articles, the internet, and other written materials to complement the research data. During the design process, simulations, workshops (training of trainers), exhibitions, and discussions have been recorded in the form of photos and videos, (2) Interview techniques to get in-depth feedback and information from key informants who act as participants are selected using a random method for elementary school students, junior high school students, high school students as user representation and purposive sampling, namely subjects selected based on certain criteria. Key informants are teachers/activists who have participated in simulations or have participated in workshops (training of trainers), (3) Observation techniques in the form of observations of processes that have been undertaken either directly, or with photo and video recording devices, (4) Interpretation techniques based on observation, experience, and the researcher's knowledge related to the situation and conditions in the field (context).

Analysis of Elements in Structuration: (1) **Actors** (agents), (2) **Structure** (scheme), (3) **Social practices** on mainstreaming Pancasila through the media of game. The analysis of the three dimensions of the internal agent (agent/agency) is (1) unconscious **motivation**, (2) discursive consciousness, (3) practical consciousness.

There were three Pancasila Ladder Snakes Workshops (training of trainers) in 2020 which were attended by 94 participants from 41 regions in Indonesia. The results of the workshop are the plan of action to be implemented in 2021 with a total of 73 activities in 38 regions. Interviews were conducted involving 6 teachers/education activists, namely people who have participated in simulations and/or people who have participated in the Pancasila Snakes and Ladders Workshop. Participants were selected from several regions in Indonesia: Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Medan, and Kalimantan with professions as teachers (elementary school to high school teachers), community organizations, and expert staff at House of Regional Representative (DPD) RI. **Structuration elements: The actors** (agents) are the teachers/educational activists (+ students) who participate in the Pancasila Snakes and Ladders Simulation/workshop. **The structure** (scheme) is Pancasila, teacher-student relations, ideology. **Social practice** is a "simulation" of the mainstreaming of Pancasila through the media of game.

Table 1. Structure Analysis of SDL Mainstreaming Pancasila

Significance- D - L	Symbol system/discourse (Pancasila)	Language institutions/discourse
Domination (authorization/person) - D - L	Political system (teacher/facilitator)	Political institutions

Domination (allocation / goods / things) - D - L	Economic system (media of game)	Economic institutions
Legitimacy - D - S	Legal system (Pancasila as state ideology and foundation)	Legal institutions

Table 2. Structure, System, and Structuration Analysis of the Mainstreaming Pancasila

Structure	System	Structuration(Social practice)
Duality of Structure – Agency (S – D – L)	School/Community, Create a Mainstreaming Pancasila program (institution - program)	Mainstreaming Pancasila is carried out repeatedly in various places and times. (Reproduction)

The actor is considered an **agency** if what the agent did was deliberately based on the description. Giddens defines “intentional” as an act which the actor knows or believes will have a certain quality or result and when such knowledge is being taken advantage of by the actor. The questions posed to participants can be presented as follows: (1) Why do they want to get involved? (2) What motivates them? (3) What are their daily routine and daily habits concerning the issue of Pancasila? (4) What have they been doing (in the context of space and time)? (5) What are their future plans?

Table 3 Table of Participants in the Pancasila Snakes and Ladders Simulation/Workshop

No	Name (initial)	Profession	Region
1	A	Primary School Principal	Yogyakarta
2	TD	Expert Staff at House of Regional Representative (DPD) RI.	West Kalimantan
3	JS	Community Social Organization	Medan
4	DA	High school teacher	Yogyakarta
5	S	Elementary School teacher	Jakarta
6	MP	Elementary School teacher	Tarakan

The reasons why teachers/education activists want to involve themselves in the Pancasila Snakes and Ladders activities are very diverse, some of which are very closely related to their profession as teachers and also in the social context there are calls and concerns about the situation that is happening around them due to the values of Pancasila that is slowly fading. The motivation of teachers/education activists in relation to their involvement to take part in the Pancasila Snakes and Ladders simulation or workshop comes from the belief in Pancasila as an ideology to unite the nation that needs to be taught to students to care for and love for Indonesia. There is a concern to do something for the children as the next generation to have a way of life as the Indonesian nation.

Based on the interviews that have been conducted, the actors (agents) fall into the category of **discursive consciousness**, which refers to the capacity of teachers/education as subjects **reflect and give detailed and explicit explanations** of their **actions**. Teachers/education activists (the actors) understand why they want to get involved in the Pancasila Snakes and Ladders program. Actors can explain and provide rationalizations about their choices to be involved in the program of Mainstreaming Pancasila through the media of game. Through a structuration study, it will be explained how structure and agency become the strength or power to make a change, as a synthesis to create a better situation in the future. The process of mainstreaming Pancasila can be analyzed not only from the perspective of instrumental rationality (Weber) but can also fall into the rationality of values in relation to the values of Pancasila as the ideology and lifeworld of the Indonesian nation.

A structure can be explained based on the dimensions of the duality of the structure of Giddens. At the level of significance (S), there are symbolic schemes, meaning, discourse. The structure referred to is the term/knowledge of Pancasila which has been instilled from an early age. At the level of domination (D), the structure is a scheme of control over people and goods, teacher-student relations (politics) through learning Pancasila in class (economics). Students are required to take several subjects (Civic Education or others) at every level of education. At the level of legitimacy (L), the structure is a scheme of rules/norms. Pancasila is “the state foundation and ideology” which has legal power. Every organization in Indonesia must be based on Pancasila. The interaction referred to at the communication level is the activity of actors and students. At the level of domination is the authority possessed by the actors (teacher/education activist). At the level of sanctions, it can be understood as an obligation to participate in learning Pancasila because there are consequences (penalties) for not taking part in it. Social practice is a Pancasila Snakes and Ladders activity

(game simulation). The structuration process happens when the structure (duality of structure and agency; S - D - L) that occurs in social practice in a place, for example, schools conducted mainstreaming Pancasila activities (there are institutions and programs which later develop into "systems"), which are repeated in various and certain place and time (there is a "reproduction" of social practice).

The relationship between actors (teachers/education activists) and structures (S-D-L) is duality, which occurs in social practices that are repeated and patterned across time and space. In this case in the form of social practice (through simulation experiences or workshops) across different spaces and times during the mainstreaming activities since the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth simulation, workshops I, II, III, and competitions, exhibitions, and discussion on Mainstreaming Pancasila in the Millennial era for 2 years from 2019 to 2020.

The structure in Giddens' theory is enabling social practice. In this case, it is in line with the results of interviews with the actors because all of them have a positive response and motivation to mainstream Pancasila in various activities and forms. Teachers/education activists and students can be categorized as an agency because according to Giddens' theory they have an awareness of behavior that refers to intentions/goals, in this case, there is an aspect of 'deliberation.' The actors have implemented it in their daily lives and are in line with the values of Pancasila that they understand, in this case, it exists and occurs in their daily life (duree of day to day life), which acts as deliberate action. In this case, the Pancasila Snakes and Ladders media can be a means for them to develop various methods in relation to mainstreaming Pancasila in the future, where some of them explicitly say they are interested in implementing it.

The actors (agency) have a rationalization of actions because they have theoretical understanding and also in daily behavior. In line with the internal dimension of the actors, according to Giddens, it can be categorized that the actors can discursively explain the actions taken. Except for students considering the age factor and limited experience. They also have a practical awareness that has presupposed knowledge, knows and understands without question. Therefore, it is hoped that the actors will become agents of change to mainstream Pancasila in the future. In this case, two generations can run parallel, namely teachers/education activists who work in the present and students who become latent agencies to later work in the future.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

The structuration (duality - structure) of Anthony Giddens in mainstreaming Pancasila can be understood as follows: Actors, teachers/education activists act as an agency with the addition of students as a latent agency. The actors in their daily lives have implemented and carried out the values of Pancasila and they have awareness (deliberate actions) that occurs in their lives. The actors are **agencies** that capable of understanding and explaining their involvement in the mainstreaming of Pancasila. They have **discursive awareness and practical awareness** because they can explain what their motivation or action is, and they have a strong motivation to be involved. The relatively new research finding is the **concept of latent agency** as an agent of future change. Students have a concern to maintain and apply the values of Pancasila in their lives at present and in the future. They are urged (invitation to wonder) to be involved in the mainstreaming of Pancasila so that they can actively participate in learning the values of Pancasila in life (Pancasila as lifeworld). The structuration process, the duality of structure (S-D-L) of agency produces the reproduction of social practices through mainstreaming activities carried out **across time and space**. As an agency and at the same time being part of the structure, actors take a role in mainstreaming the Pancasila ideology, influencing, and making changes in their environment. **The Pancasila Snakes and Ladders game media is a means** for activities and networking among education activists to reproduce the Pancasila ideology as a continuous social practice to further strengthen understanding of Pancasila. There is a synthesis between structure and agency to support change.



Figure 1. Structuration Scheme of Mainstreaming Pancasila
Kurnia Setiawan, 2021

The further findings of the study are **the scheme (model) of structuration of mainstreaming Pancasila** as an activity/sustainable movement. It begins with the initiatives (Community; networking—initiatives for ideas/concepts mainstreaming Pancasila, for example through **creative learning media**), followed by a **teacher/facilitator training** process (training—to create agents of change/agency), then the training participants make **empowerment activities** (empowerment, social practices in their respective places/areas). These activities are recorded/written/published (dissemination of ideas through religious media) to a wider public so that it is hoped that it can inspire others to be involved in making similar (reproduction). When this happens repeatedly, new initiatives and collaborative networks emerge so that it becomes more massive and widespread (structuration occurs) as a joint movement that will have an impact on changes in society.

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