

# Ideological Attitude between Pancasila and Liberalism among Students of Faculty of Law and Social Science Universitas Pendidikan Ganesha in the Years of 2020-2021

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**Abstract.** This study was aimed at explaining the choice of ideological attitudes of FHIS Undiksha students in 2020/2021 between Pancasila and Liberalism. To achieve this goal, this study was conducted by descriptively survey research method. The subjects of this research were all of FHIS Undiksha students in the academic years of 2020-2021. The population were  $\pm$  1023 students. The samples were selected using proportional random sampling techniques involving 261 students based on Isaac and Michael's table using alpha 5%. The data in this study were collected using questionnaires on students' ideological attitudes towards Pancasila and students' ideological attitudes towards Liberalism. The collected data were then analyzed using descriptively statistical techniques. The results of this study showed that: 1) the ideological attitude of FHIS Undiksha students for the academic years 2020-2021 towards Pancasila tended to be in good category, and 2) the ideological attitude of FHIS Undiksha students for the academic years 2020/2021 towards liberalism tended to be in low category. The implications of the results of this research need further and in-depth guidance on students' ideological attitudes so that their acceptance to Pancasila becomes optimal so that it was not easily infiltrated by the ideology of liberalism.

**Keywords:** Attitude, Ideological, Pancasila, Liberalism.

## 1 Introduction

Sukadi (2021: 44-51) in his writing with the topic "Undiksha Unggul Berbasis Tri Hita Karana di Asia Bukan Isapan Jempol" (Tri Hita Karana-Based Excellent Undiksha in Asia is Not a Figment"), among others, wrote that all humans in their social life always act on the basis of their ideology. His statement is supported by many psychological studies of McClelland (1987) that nations whose ideology gives their citizens achievement motivation, then the nation tends to modernize rapidly. This is because ideology guides men socially how they should think, behave, and act in life with them to fulfill common interests and achieve common goals that they agree upon or that are introduced and imposed on them either by political, economic, social, cultural power, even by military force.

It is undeniable, that way, that ideology has a very vital and strategic function and role in the common life of the people of the nation and state (Welianto, 2020). Sari (2019) explains that ideology can provide cognitive structure and basic orientation for humans. Ideology in building a shared cognitive structure for humans functions as a cognitive element that provides all knowledge and views that are the basis for understanding all events that occur around

society. This cognitive structure becomes a reference in understanding and responding to all problems faced by a group of people or nations when facing certain problems. Understanding ideology by a nation can influence existing policies in its country, be it political, social, economic, or cultural policies. Ideology can also provide a basic orientation for humans. Here ideology serves to open insights that provide meaning and show purpose in people's lives. Ideology in this case serves to determine a direction in carrying out the life of the nation and state.

According to Rahardjo (2016), ideology has four additional functions that are very vital, namely: a. as a norm, guideline and handle on life for someone to step and act in the life of society, nation, and state; b. as a provision and a way to find self-identity; c. as a force capable of encouraging and motivating to carry out joint activities; and d. as an educational values for understanding, internalizing, and behaving according to orientations and norms.

So important is the meaning of ideology, there is not a single group of people who do not have ideology. Similarly, there is not a single nation or nation-state that does not have the ideology of its nation. Indonesia as a nation-state has the ideology of Pancasila. Pancasila, for the Indonesian nation has two main functions, namely: as the basis of the state (a philosophical groundslag) and as the national ideology of the Indonesian nation. In addition, Pancasila as the national ideology of the Indonesian nation has three dimensions.

Unfortunately, in the reality of the practice of life in society, nation, and state of Indonesia, although Pancasila has been accepted as a noble agreement of the Indonesian nation since 1945 to become the foundation of the state and national ideology of the Indonesian nation, in reality there are still many mass movements that want to replace Pancasila with other ideologies. This does not only happen among the lower level of society, even many national leaders, community leaders, and clergy or religious leaders have not been able to accept it or may only accept half-heartedly (Ihsanuddin, 2018).

Even at the grassroots community level, especially elements of the younger generation, their acceptance of Pancasila as the basis of the state and national ideology is still very concerning. How many young students influenced by HTI want to turn a state based on Pancasila into an Islamic state and how many mass riots occur between tribes and religious groups in Indonesia from Aceh, Lampung, to Papua.

It is not the only one, the strong influence of globalization and modernization that causes ideological exchange can also be a trigger for the lack of acceptance of Pancasila as the state principle/basis of the state and national ideology (Madsuni, 2017: 29-36). The tendency of a free market economy that is more oriented towards liberal trade also encourages people to more easily accept liberalism and some of its associated ideologies such as: individualism, materialism, capitalism, marketism, consumerism, and hedonism as their ideology (Fakhrudin, 2015).

Of course, there are many factors that cause why many national leaders, community leaders, party leaders, religious leaders and society in general have not accepted Pancasila as both the principles of the state and national ideology. Political problems, legal justice, economic problems, erroneous religious understanding and practice, socioeconomic inequality, the influence of international cooperation, the influence of free trade, the influence of globalization, modernization, and the influence of information technology are thought to be strong factors influencing why Pancasila has not been fully accepted as the foundation of the state and national ideology (Budiarta, 2015).

This study believes that the symptoms that occur at the macro level above also occur at the micro level in the younger generation of students in various universities. In learning Pancasila and Civic Education courses at Undiksha, it is often and widely revealed that many

Indonesian higher education students and students of SMA/SMK have not accepted Pancasila as the basis of the Republic of Indonesia and the national ideology of the Indonesian nation.

This symptom is certainly very worrying, where many academics, especially students and lecturers in universities, follow the movement to replace Pancasila as the principle of the Republic of Indonesia and as a national ideology. Many students and lecturers in various universities in Indonesia who are exposed to the JI and HTI movements want to replace Pancasila as the basis of the Republic of Indonesia into a *kilafah*/Islamic state and they tend to be anti-democracy and diversity (*bhinneka tunggal ika*) (Mustaqin, 2019).

On the other hand, many other students who are not exposed to JI and HTI, but are exposed to the diseases/pathologies of globalization and modernization, tend to also be exposed to the ideological diseases of liberalism, individualism, materialism, atheism, capitalism, commoditism, consumerism, and hedonism. These symptoms are certainly as worrisome as they tend to abandon Pancasila as the basis of the state and national ideology.

The results of a survey conducted by KOMPAS released on June 1, 2008 showed that public knowledge about Pancasila dropped sharply, namely 48.4% of respondents aged 17 to 29 years were unable to mention the precepts of Pancasila correctly and completely. 42.7% mispronounced the precepts of Pancasila, even worse, 60% of respondents aged 46 years and over mispronounced the precepts of Pancasila. This phenomenon is very concerning because it shows that knowledge about Pancasila in society is not comparable to the spirit of public acceptance of Pancasila (Ali, 2009: 2).

Data on the lack knowledge and understanding of students on the nature of Pancasila above is considered to affect the low acceptance of Pancasila as the basis of the state and national ideology. This can be explained by the theory of the realm of education in learning theory, where the realm of knowledge (cognitive) can be correlated with the realm of attitudes (affective). Student acceptance of Pancasila as the basis of the state and national ideology can be considered as a form of positive student attitude towards Pancasila. Unfortunately, because of the low knowledge and understanding of students about the nature of Pancasila, it allows students to make unfair comparisons between the use of Pancasila ideology and other ideologies.

Another symptom shows that the intensification of social movements in society that want to instill other ideologies in Indonesia both religion-based ideologies (Islam, for example), liberalism and capitalism ideologies, and communism ideologies, then people's knowledge and understanding of other ideologies tends to increase. As a result, their acceptance of other ideologies has also intensified. (Madjid, 2019).

Of course, it is not possible in this study to be examined comprehensively and generally how the orientation and ideological attitudes of Indonesian society today considering the large number of population or citizens and the large characteristics of heterogeneity of society which today tend to be multicultural society. For this reason, in this study the study will only focus on the symptoms of the tendency of society, especially the younger generation of students who belong to the educated group, between accepting Pancasila or liberalism. With this more specific focus, studies are expected to be sharper, so that the internal validity of research results is more reliable. The choice of ideological orientation towards liberalism, in addition to the ideology of Pancasila, is considered more appropriate considering the great tendency of ideological currents in this era of globalization does appear that liberalism has a more massive influence on Indonesian society than the influence of religious ideology and communist ideology.

Based on the limitation of such problems, in this study the research team proposed a research proposal with the title: Ideological Attitudes of FHIS Undiksha Students in

2020/2021 between Pancasila and Liberalism. This research is considered very urgent to do. First, this study can map the ideological tendencies of FHIS Undiksha students in the life of society, nation, and state between the ideology of Pancasila and liberalism. Second, with this mapping, it is certainly easier to identify which FHIS Undiksha students need further guidance on their Pancasila ideological orientation. Third, this research can also provide recommendations to the leadership of FHIS Undiksha on ideological development policies on how to change the ideological orientation of students who tend to have liberalism ideology. Thus, it can be prevented early from the existence of movements that want to replace the ideology of Pancasila with other ideologies, including replacing the ideology of Pancasila with liberalism.

## 2 Method

This research is an Expost facto research with a descriptive survey method. There are two variables involved, namely: ideological attitudes towards Pancasila and ideological attitudes towards liberalism. The aim is to describe the tendency of the ideological orientation of FHIS Undiksha students towards the ideology of Pancasila and the tendency of the ideological orientation of students towards the ideology of Liberalism. The subjects involved in this study as a population are all FHIS Undiksha students for the 2020/2021 academic year, totaling 1023 students. While the sample was selected by proportional random sampling technique considering the number of students per department, semester level, and student gender. The sample involved was determined according to the table of Isaac and Michael (1981) using an alpha level of 5%, so that the sample amounted to 261 students. Data in this study was collected by questionnaires or questionnaires developed by the research team themselves. The data in this study were analyzed using descriptive statistics by determining the mean value, median, mode, standard deviation, variance, and data category.

## 3 Result and Discussion

### 3.1 Ideological Attitude towards Pancasila

The first problem raised in this study is how the tendency of the ideological attitude of FHIS Undiksha students towards Pancasila, both regarding attitudes towards its basic values and attitudes towards the implications of Pancasila in the fields of religious life relations, culture, social, government and democracy politics, and the economic field. On this issue, the results of this study show the following.

First, the ideological attitude of FHIS Undiksha students towards Pancasila, both regarding attitudes towards its basic values and attitudes towards the implications of Pancasila in the fields of religious, cultural, social, political, governmental and democratic life relations, and the economic field can be shown in the numerical data description as follows.

Tabel 4.1: Ideological Attitude of FHIS Undiksha Students in 2020/2021 towards Pancasila

Num	Statistic Description	Ideological Attitude towards Pancasila												Total
		A						B						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	
1.	Mean	79.23	80.4	79.5	77.4	78.0	79.1	78.0	78.4	78.1	76.2	77.5	77.	78,40
2.	Median	79.	80.2	80.4	77.5	78.6	80.0	78.1	783	78.3	76.2	77.5	77.	78,68

		45	8	0	8	0	4	8	4	2	4	9	89	
3.	Modus	79.43	80.29	80.39	77.58	78.60	80.04	78.18	7848	78.32	76.22	77.59	77.78	78.6988
4.	Standar Deviatio n	16.56	16.08	16.22	16.09	16.48	16.66	16.01	16.88	16.66	16.34	16.25	16.15	16.05
5.	Varian	274.23	258.57	263.09	258.89	271.59	277.57	256.32	284.93	277.56	266.99	264.06	260.8	257.572

Based on the data in table 4.1, it can be described that the average ideological attitude of students towards Pancasila is still in the good category with an overall average score of 78.40 on a scale of 1-100. These attitudes can be broken down into two, namely ideological attitudes towards the basic values of Pancasila are in the average score of 79.14 with good categories and ideological attitudes towards the application of Pancasila values in the life of religious, cultural, social, political relations of government and democracy, and in the economic field are in the average score of 77.66 with good categories. Although the two more specific ideological attitude scores do not appear to show significant differences, especially when compared to ideological attitude scores in general, the differences need to be explained. This may happen because students' ideological attitudes can be more acceptable to the basic values of Pancasila than the application of Pancasila values which are more detailed in everyday life in the field of relations of religious, cultural, social, political government and democratic life, as well as in the economic field.

Furthermore, if detailed in more detail, it shows that in terms of students' ideological attitudes towards the basic values of Pancasila, the basic values of Pancasila sila second are the most acceptable to students with an average score of 80.44 and are categorized as well received. While the lowest received are the basic values of the fourth precept with an average score of 77.45 and are still in the good category as well. Judging from the ideological attitude of students towards efforts to implement Pancasila values in five areas of daily life (relations between religious, cultural, social, political government and democratic life, as well as the economic field), attitudes towards the application of Pancasila in the cultural field based on the second precept of Pancasila are the most acceptable attitudes by students with an average score of 78.44 in the good category, while the lowest acceptance is the attitude towards application Pancasila in the field of government politics and democracy based on the fourth precept with an average score of 76.23 is still in the good category. The results of this study can also describe the categories of students' ideological attitudes towards Pancasila with numerical data that can be described as follows.

Tabel 4.2: Category of Ideological Attitudes of FHS Undiksha Students in 2020/2021 towards Pancasila

Num	Category	Ideological Attitude towards Pancasila		Total
		A	B	
1	Very Good (81-100)	12 (4.60%)	8 (3.07%)	9 (3,45%)
2	Good (61 – 80)	243 (93.10%)	239 (91,57%)	241 (93,10%)
3	Mediocre (41 – 60)	6 (2,30%)	14 (5.36%)	11 (4.21%)
4	Low (21 – 40)	0	0	0
5	Very Low (1 – 20)	0	0	0

Data in table 4.2 can be explained that students' ideological attitudes towards Pancasila in general are in the category of tend to be good (93.10%). In the domain of students' ideological attitudes towards the basic values of Pancasila, the tendency of student attitudes is

in the good category (93.10%), while in the domain of students' ideological attitudes towards the implementation of Pancasila values in everyday life in the fields of religious, cultural, social, political, government and democratic life relations as well as the economic field, student tendencies are also in the good category (91.57%).

### 3.2 Ideological Attitude towards Liberalism

The second problem posed in this study is how the tendency of the ideological attitude of FHIS Undiksha students towards Liberalism, both regarding attitudes towards its basic values and attitudes towards the implications of Liberalism in the fields of religious life relations, culture, social, political government and democracy, and the economic field. On this issue, the results of this study show the following.

First, the ideological attitude of FHIS Undiksha students towards Liberalism, both regarding attitudes towards its basic values and attitudes towards the implications of Liberalism in the fields of religious life relations, culture, social, government politics and democracy, and the economic field can be shown in the numerical data description as follows.

Tabel 4.3: Ideological Attitude of FHIS Undiksha Students in 2020/2021 towards Liberalism

Num	Statistic Description	Liberalism Ideological Attitude												Total
		A						B						
1.	Mean	20.7	19,5	20,4	22.5	21.9	20,8	21,9	21.5	21.8	23.7	22.4	22,3	21,60
		7	6	4	5	1	6	9	6	9	7	2	4	
2.	Median	20.5	19.7	19.6	22.4	21.4	19.9	21.8	21.6	21.6	23.7	22.4	22.1	21,32
		5	2	0	2	0	6	2	6	8	6	1	1	
3.	Modus	20.5	19.7	19.6	22.4	21.4	19.9	21.8	21.5	21.6	23.7	22.4	22.1	21.31
		7	1	1	2	0	6	2	2	8	8	1	2	
4.	Standar Deviation	15.5	15.0	15.2	15.0	15.4	15.6	16.0	15.8	15.6	15.3	15.2	15.1	15.05
		6	8	2	9	8	6	1	8	6	4	5	5	
5.	Varian	242.	227.	231.	227.	239.	245.	256.	252.	245.	235.	232.	229.	226.5
		11	41	65	71	63	23	32	17	24	32	56	52	0

Based on the data in table 4.3, it can be described that the average ideological attitude of students towards Liberalism is in the low category with an overall average score of 21.60 on a scale of 1-100. These attitudes can be broken down into two, namely ideological attitudes towards the basic values of Liberalism are at an average score of 20.86 with a low category and ideological attitudes towards the application of Liberalism values in the relationship of religious, cultural, social, political government and democratic life, and in the economic field are at an average score of 22.34 with a low category. Although the two more specific ideological attitude scores do not appear to show significant differences, especially when compared to ideological attitude scores in general, the differences need to be explained. This may happen because students' ideological attitudes can be more acceptable to the basic values of Liberalism than to the more detailed application of Liberalism values in everyday life in the field of relations of religious, cultural, social, political government and democratic life, as well as in the economic field.

Furthermore, if detailed in more detail, it shows that in terms of students' ideological attitudes towards the basic values of Liberalism, the basic values of liberalism in placing human values are the least acceptable to students with an average score of 19.56 with a very low acceptance category level. While the highest received are the basic values of liberalism

related to the basic values of democracy with an average score of 21.91 and still in the low category as well. Judging from the ideological attitude of students towards efforts to apply the values of liberalism in five areas of daily life (relations between religious, cultural, social, political government and democratic life, as well as the economic field), attitudes towards the application of liberalism in the cultural field based on human values are the least accepted attitudes by students with an average score of 21.56 in the low category, while the highest acceptance is the attitude towards application Liberalism in the field of government politics based on liberal democratic values with an average score of 23.77 is in the low category.

The results of this study can also describe the categories of students' ideological attitudes towards liberalism with numerical data that can be described as follows.

Tabel 4.4: Category of Ideological Attitudes of FHIS Undiksha Students in 2020/2021 towards Liberalism

Num	Category	Ideological Attitude towards Liberalisme		Total
		A	B	
1	Very Good (81-100)	0	0	0
2	Good (61 – 80)	0	0	0
3	Mediocre (41 – 60)	5 (1.92%)	15 (5.75%)	11 (4,21%)
4	Low (21 – 40)	242 (92.72%)	239 (91,57%)	241 (92,34%)
5	Very Low (1 – 20)	14 (5.36%)	7 (2.68%)	9 (3,45%)

Data in table 4.4 can be explained that students' ideological attitudes towards liberalism in general are in the low category (92.34%). In the domain of student ideological attitudes towards the basic values of liberalism, the tendency of student attitudes is in the low category (92.72%), while in the domain of student ideological attitudes towards the implementation of liberalism values in everyday life in the fields of religious life relations, culture, social, government politics and economics, student tendencies are also in the very low category (91.57%).

Firstly, this study found that the ideological attitude of FHIS Undiksha students in 2020/2021 towards Pancasila is still relatively good, both in terms of attitudes towards its basic values and attitudes towards the implementation of its values in the fields of religious, cultural, social, political government and democratic life, and in the economic field. This finding shows that students' ideological acceptance of Pancasila is still good although not optimal and this is in accordance with the findings of previous research. Firstly, research conducted by Kristiono (2017) on Strengthening Pancasila Ideology Among Semarang State University Students, for example, found that students already have an adequate understanding of the application of Pancasila values from the first precept to the fifth precept as an effect of Pancasila Education learning that has been received. Secondly, this finding if connected with learning theory that connects the domains of cognition and affection in the learning process (Gagne, 1989) can certainly be in line, because adequate knowledge and understanding among students about the values of Pancasila can certainly contribute in explaining their ideological attitude towards Pancasila both in relation to attitudes towards its basic values and towards the implementation of Pancasila values in religious relations, cultural, social, political government and democracy, as well as in the economic field.

The results of this study are also quite in line with the results of research by Maharani, et al. (2019) on the Pancasila Ideology Resilience Index in nine provinces in Indonesia. The Pancasila Ideology Resilience Index is developed from five aspects of Pancasila values and six field indicators: political, state-national, social, cultural, religious, and economic. The results

of this study showed that the nine regions studied showed that the Pancasila Ideology Resilience Index showed different numbers. Five regions of the entire region showed moderate ideological resilience, namely Maluku, Bali, South Sulawesi, West Kalimantan, and North Sumatra.

Secondly, the study also found that students' ideological attitudes towards the basic values of the second precept of Pancasila were the highest acceptance, while the lowest average was the ideological attitude towards the basic values of the fourth precept of Pancasila although perhaps this difference (between the average scores of 80.44 and 77.45) was not statistically significant. There is no support from previous studies that could explain these findings. This may be because the level of students' understanding of the meaning of the second precept value of Pancasila is also relatively higher when compared to their understanding of the meaning of the fourth precept value of Pancasila.

Thirdly, this study also found that the ideological attitude of FHIS Undiksha students in 2020/2021 towards liberalism was low, both in terms of attitudes towards its basic values and attitudes towards the implementation of its values in religious, cultural, social, political, governmental and economic life. This finding shows that students' ideological acceptance of liberalism does exist due to the influence of globalization and modernization as well as the influence of IT although its existence is quite low. These findings are still appropriate or relevant to the findings of previous research. First, a study conducted by Ma'arif (2006: 99-114) entitled "Dynamics of the Role of the State in the Process of Liberalization and Privatization", for example, shows that the ideology of Liberalism has been influential in the era of globalization on state public policy, especially in the implementation of the new world economic system with the idea of neoliberalism which although still implementing its *laissez-faire* principle, but still gives the state a greater role in planning the economic system, so as to be able to compete in the free market. This research clearly shows that in its implementation of developing the economic system, although Indonesia should be based on the economic principle of Pancasila, the public policy of the Indonesian government has also been influenced by the policy of influence of modern liberalism. The results of this study can be used to predict that the ideological attitude of Indonesian society in general in the economic aspect is indeed influenced by liberal economic ideas, but in fact the influence is not significant and is still relatively low.

The second research by Khoeroni (2017: 79-94) on: "The Ideology of Liberalism as the Basis of the Concept of Integrative Education" concluded that in the practice of Islamic education in Indonesia, some of its educational practices have been influenced by Liberalism thoughts on integrative education. The meaning of integrative education in Islamic education turns out to be colored by the application of the concept of integrative education according to Liberalism. With the results of this study, it can also be suspected that not only in the field of education, in the aspect of ideology as a whole, maybe some Indonesian people have been unwittingly influenced by the thoughts of Liberalism, but the influence ideologically is still partial and relatively low. So, it is very natural that in ideological competition in the era of globalization and the digital era, the influence of liberalism ideology in Indonesia has also entered, but in reality this influence is still relatively low and has not replaced the ideological orientation of the community towards Pancasila. However, this condition must certainly remain vigilant, so as not to let the influence get higher and more significant.



## 4 Conclusion

Based on the results of this research, the results of this study can be concluded as follows. Firstly, the tendency of the ideological orientation of FHIS Undiksha students towards the ideology of Pancasila, both regarding attitudes towards its basic values and attitudes towards the implications of Pancasila in the fields of relations between religious, cultural, social, political, governmental and democratic life, social, and economic fields is good.

Secondly, the tendency of the ideological orientation of FHIS Undiksha students towards the ideology of Liberalism, both regarding attitudes towards its basic values and attitudes towards the implications of Liberalism in the field of relations between religious, cultural, social, political government, and in the economic field, is relatively low.

Finally, the implication of the results of this study is that further and deeper development of students' ideological attitudes is needed so that their acceptance of Pancasila becomes optimal and very good so that it is not easily infiltrated by liberalism ideology. Therefore, it is recommended to all Pancasila lecturers to emphasize more on coaching students about Pancasila material in a philosophical perspective and in an ideological comparison between Pancasila and liberalism.

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