



Critical Discourse Analysis of Multicultural Learning at the Early Childhood Education through the *Proyek Penguatan Profil Pelajar Pancasila*

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Abstract

This paper explores multicultural learning at the Early Childhood Education (ECE) level implemented through the *Proyek Penguatan Profil Pelajar Pancasila* (P5) or Pancasila Student Profile Strengthening Project. The analysis is carried out on policy guidelines containing regional content and local wisdom and how the locality relates to Indonesia's national cultural context. This method develops the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach to understand the relationship between language, power, and ideology in social practices, including critiquing education policies. The results show that the government policy uses a digital teacher guidebook to disseminate the implementation procedures for multicultural content in P5. Content containing multicultural educational values is manifested in the themes "I Love Indonesia" (aku cinta Indonesia) and "We Are All Brothers" (kita semua bersaudara). The theme has values that aspire to local wisdom and train children to appreciate existing differences as a form of the peak of national culture. By examining the implementation of multicultural education in ECE, this paper helps teachers understand policy texts more critically and read more deeply about how a policy is implemented. Educational policy is not value-free, but there are always interests following the objectives of the government/politics being implemented.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, education policy, early childhood education, multicultural education, *proyek penguatan profil pelajar Pancasila* (P5)

Abstrak

Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk mengeksplorasi pembelajaran multikultural pada jenjang Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini (PAUD) yang dilaksanakan melalui *Proyek Penguatan Profil Pelajar Pancasila* (P5). Analisis dilakukan terhadap pedoman kebijakan yang memuat muatan lokal dan kearifan lokal serta bagaimana lokalitas tersebut berhubungan dengan konteks budaya nasional Indonesia. Metode yang digunakan adalah pendekatan Analisis Wacana Kritis (CDA) untuk memahami hubungan antara bahasa, kekuasaan, dan ideologi dalam praktik sosial, termasuk mengkritisi kebijakan pendidikan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa kebijakan pemerintah menyebarluaskan kebijakannya menggunakan buku panduan guru digital yang memiliki konten multikultural P5. Konten yang memuat nilai-nilai pendidikan multikultural diwujudkan dalam tema "Aku Cinta Indonesia" dan "Kita Semua Bersaudara". Tema tersebut memiliki nilai-nilai yang bercita-cita pada kearifan lokal dan melatih

anak-anak untuk menghargai perbedaan yang ada sebagai wujud puncak budaya bangsa. Dengan mengkaji pelaksanaan pendidikan multikultural di PAUD, tulisan ini membantu guru untuk memahami teks kebijakan secara lebih kritis dan membaca lebih dalam tentang bagaimana suatu kebijakan dilaksanakan. Kebijakan pendidikan tidaklah bebas nilai, tetapi selalu ada kepentingan yang mengikuti tujuan pemerintahan/ rezim yang berlangsung.

Kata Kunci: *analisis wacana kritis, kebijakan pendidikan, pendidikan anak usia dini, pendidikan multikultural, proyek penguatan profil pelajar Pancasila (P5).*

INTRODUCTION

The Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology (now the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education) launched the Merdeka Curriculum/ *Kurikulum Merdeka* to replace the 2013 Curriculum (Kurikulum 2013). The Merdeka Curriculum was to respond to the learning loss that impacted students when the pandemic occurred. Implementing flexible learning by teaching essential materials and the importance of literacy and numeracy competencies is the background to why the government launched the independent curriculum in the 21st-century era. In the social-emotional context, students are equipped with characters by the essence contained in the essence of Five Principles of the Indonesian State (Pancasila) values. (Pusat Kurikulum dan Pembelajaran, 2024, p5).

Research on the Merdeka Curriculum shows that teachers have diverse perceptions of Merdeka Curriculum. Teachers assume that Merdeka Curriculum prioritizes the needs and interests of

students, is dynamic and flexible, and adjusts to school needs so that Merdeka Curriculum becomes a reference for teachers to think more creatively (Anwar, 2022). This is supported by teachers knowledge of the Merdeka Curriculum, which is known through the Guidelines/Regulations for Implementing the Independent Curriculum, Learning Achievements (Capaian Pembelajaran), *Proyek Penguatan Profil Pelajar Pancasila (P5)* or Pancasila Student Profile Strengthening Project, and teaching modules (Jayawardana et al., 2022). Learning in Merdeka Curriculum also uses differentiated learning centered on students' needs and supported by parents, the community, and policymakers. (Lestarinigrum, 2022). Even though differentiated learning has been implemented, teachers must continue learning to create teaching modules with more varied activities appropriate to each child's abilities through collaboration with parents (Nafisa & Fitri, 2023).

At the Early Childhood Education (ECE) level, the Merdeka Curriculum seeks to improve the quality of the learning process through a more flexible and integrated learning framework through three stages of learning. The learning is in the form of intra-curricular activities that use the foundation phase (*fase fondasi*) and learning achievement rules as a reference for compiling learning to build values, knowledge, and foundation skills that are the initial stages of early childhood. Then, co-curricular learning can be carried out through a P5 that aims to strengthen the achievement of good character, as stated in the six dimensions of the Pancasila Student Profile (*profil pelajar Pancasila*). Furthermore, extracurricular activities as additional learning can be organized by ECE units to achieve values, knowledge, and skills that are of a selective or optional nature (Pusat Perbukuan, 2023).

One of the co-curricular learning in the Merdeka Curriculum is through the P5. The purpose of holding P5 is to give students learning competencies in the 21st century, which is complex, by prioritizing creativity, collaboration, democratic society, and local and globally oriented studies. (Badan Standar, Kurikulum, dan Asesmen Pendidikan, 2021, p32). This activity is implemented as a student project activity in the co-curricular aspect to

strengthen the character of student learners who reflect the profile of Pancasila students. Character and competency are made based on Graduate Competency Standards, which are outlined through the dimensions: 1) Faithful, devoted to God Almighty, and noble (*Beriman, bertakwa kepada Tuhan Yang Maha Esa, dan berakhlak mulia*), 2) Global Diversity (*Berkebhinekaan Global*), 3) Mutual Cooperation (*Bergotong-royong*), 4) Independent (*Mandiri*) 5) Critical thinking (*Bernalar kritis*) and 6) Creative (*Kreatif*).

Each dimension has a relationship that is adjusted to each phase, with the aim of strengthening and complementing each other so that it can create holistic character development in students. These dimensions are described in each element and sub-element, as well as more specific themes and topics. The themes contained in ECE include "I love the earth (*aku sayang bumi*), I love Indonesia (*aku cinta Indonesia*), we are all brothers (*kita semua bersaudara*), my imagination and creativity (*imajinasi dan kreativitasku*)". The themes related to multicultural education are "I love Indonesia" and "We are all brothers," which will be the topic of discussion in this study. Multicultural education has an essence that can equip students to have insight into their own culture and how to

appreciate the culture of friends/different environments

Multicultural Education at the ECE level has begun to be integrated through the 2013 curriculum but is still attached to intracurricular activities. Themes related to multiculturalism include, for example, themes about myself, my country, my culture, and the celebration of religious holidays (Dini, 2022). The arrangement of themes is based on the selection of thematic learning that is adjusted to the Basic Competencies (kompetensi dasar) and Core Competencies (kompetensi inti), as well as through weekly learning implementation planning (rencana pelaksanaan pembelajaran mingguan) and daily learning implementation plans (rencana pelaksanaan pembelajaran). The curriculum design is carried out by paying attention to the knowledge aspect, which is combined with the instillation and development of attitudes of integration values, differences in unity, and unity even though different (Sutarto, 2019).

Several studies show that some teachers agree that multicultural education for early childhood is important. Nevertheless, some teachers believe it is not yet time for multicultural education in early childhood (Nur et al., 2022). However, multicultural education taught from an early age can prevent early

extremism by implementing national commitment education, diversity tolerance education, humanity, and local wisdom education. So that children can uphold the values of diversity and respect each other between races and religions of friends in different classes (Mauharir et al., 2022). In curriculum development for multicultural learning, attention must be paid to, for example, an environmental-based curriculum that pays attention to aspects of local wisdom, integrative thematic learning, and Indonesian character-based learning, which is considered to be able to prioritize children's identity as the Indonesian nation (Wartini, 2015). Some factors hinder multicultural education from being implemented in ECE, such as the lack of educators' understanding of multicultural education and the absence of a standard concept from the government about multicultural education related to the curriculum and methods (Hasanah, 2018).

From these findings, this paper aims to analyze more deeply how multicultural education is manifested in P5 activities. The analysis was conducted using the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach. CDA helps analyze how an education policy is implemented and seeks the background of the relationship as to why the policy was created. In this case, the policy is related to the discourse of

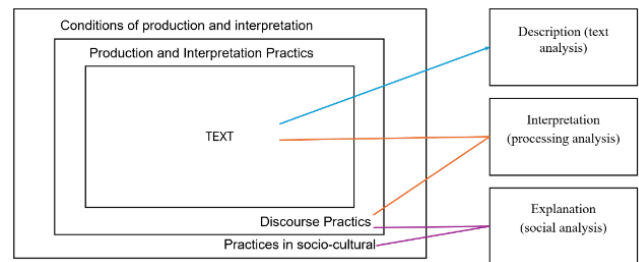
multicultural education, which cannot be separated from the political motives of the policymakers (in this case, the Ministry of Education) in defining P5 as part of multicultural education in ECE.

This paper will focus on the dimensions in P5 held in formal education, emphasizing the analysis of dimensions related to the multicultural education concept. This paper explores multicultural learning at the ECE level, implemented through P5. More focus is on the dimensions in P5 associated with government policy as the production of policy, namely the production of education policy from the government structure. The analysis is carried out on policy guidelines containing regional content and local wisdom and how the locality relates to Indonesia's national cultural context. Further analysis is carried out to see the content in the dimensions of the P5, which contains the spirit of multicultural education in Indonesia. The research was conducted using various literature studies, and policy scripts were analyzed using an educational discourse framework.

METHOD

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) develops a critical discourse analysis approach to understand the relationship between language, power, and ideology in social practice. According to Fairclough,

CDA sees text as a form of communication and a social product that reproduces or challenges power structures. Norman Fairclough formulated the CDA model using three main dimensions. (Fairclough, 1995, p98):



Picture 1. The Method of CDA

Text description analyzes linguistic aspects of the text, such as word choice, sentence structure, and style. Discourse Practice (Interpretation) analyzes how texts are produced, distributed, and consumed in a particular social context. Social Practice (Explanation), analyzes how discourse in texts contributes to broader social practices, including power structures and ideologies in educational policy.

Through this model, Fairclough emphasizes that language is a means of communication and a medium for maintaining or changing social and political relations. In multicultural education policy, this approach can help identify how certain ideologies are reproduced or challenged in education policy. The CDA is used to highlight marginalized groups and to document shifts in discourse in the process

of policy implementation (Taylor, 2004). While research for policy, often conducted by private consultants, may have a more immediate impact on government policy, research of policy, often conducted by critical academic researchers, has the potential to have a longer-term impact, influencing the assumptions of policymakers, but is often unacknowledged and tends to be ignored (Lingard, 2021).

In Indonesia's multicultural education policy context, CDA can be used to analyze education policy discourse that reflects or challenges the dominance of a particular ideology. Ideology can be written in textbooks that are analyzed to see how terminology such as multiculturalism, tolerance, and Pancasila are used in education policy. Implementation of CDA in Policy P5 containing multicultural themes at the ECE level, in this case including kindergartens, was preceded by data collection from collecting policy texts, teacher guidebooks published in 2021 (Book 1) and the revised edition in 2023 (Book 2) as teacher guidebooks in ECE units. Furthermore, text analysis was carried out to examine the choice of word structures and how multiculturalism concepts are represented in the teacher guidebook. Finally, analyze social practices to connect education policies with socio-political dynamics in Indonesia, such as

identity politics, ethnic diversity, and state ideology

RESULT

Policy Overview of the *Proyek Penguatan Profil Pelajar Pancasila (P5)* at the Early Childhood Education Level

Education plays a significant role in shaping the public morals of its citizens. Schools are one of the educational institutions that have formed a new arena for children to seek knowledge. Through schools, values, norms, and matters relating to teaching are socialized through the role of teachers according to their development phase. In the Graduate Competency Standards in Minister of Education Regulation (Permendikbud) Number 5 of 2022, which contains the achievements of early childhood development as stated in Chapter III Article 4, paragraph (2) contains Pancasila values, which are supported by other values such as cognitive, motoric, language, social-emotional including religious and moral values. These values are then developed in Article 4 point B, which contains competencies:

...identitas diri, mengetahui kebiasaan di keluarga, sekolah, dan masyarakat, mengetahui dirinya merupakan bagian dari warga Indonesia...

...self-identity, knowing the family, school, and community customs, knowing that one is part of Indonesian citizens... (Kemendikbudristek, 2022).

The regulation that is still general is derived into character education through formal education practices, which can be integrated through co-curricular, intra-curricular, and extra-curricular education. If described in project learning, it becomes the realm of co-curricular education as a reinforcement that becomes P5 in the Merdeka Curriculum.

The profile of Pancasila (profil pelajar Pancasila) students has six dimensions, namely faith, devotion to God Almighty and noble character, independence, cooperation, global diversity, critical thinking, and creativity. These dimensions are described into 8 themes for the foundation phase from the ECE level to the F-phase at the senior high school levels. The themes can be selected based on school needs and provisions; for example, for ECE 1-2 themes in one academic calendar year, elementary education 1-3, junior high education 3-4, and senior high education 2-3 different themes. The themes are: I love the earth, I love Indonesia, we are all brothers and sisters, my imagination and creativity (for the ECE level), build your soul and body,

sustainable lifestyle, engineering and technology, entrepreneurship, the voice of democracy, local wisdom, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (unity in diversity) and entrepreneurship (for elementary and secondary schools).

The purpose of implementing the P5 in the guidebook is to design a guide so that educators are not locked in to determine the activities of the P5. If implementing the P5 brings up different dimensions from the planning, educators can document these achievements as improvisation materials according to the needs of students (Pusat Perbukuan, 2023, p.24). The P5 theme at the ECE level is different from the revised edition of the guidebook, which removes the theme "Playing and Working Together" and replaces it with "We Are All Brothers and Sisters. The teacher guidebook for P5 has two versions, namely the "Teacher Guidebook for the P5 for ECE Units," published in 2021, and "Teacher Guide: Pancasila Student Profile Strengthening Project (Revised Edition)" in 2023. Both were written by the same author and published by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology Book Center (Pusat Perbukuan)

The theme of "Playing and Working Together" is expected to stimulate cooperation between children, not discriminating between friends, respecting

each other, being willing to work together, and being willing to share. The emphasis can be developed on the topic of “Exploring Traditional Games/ *Dolanan*,” which is adjusted to the traditional games of each region to preserve them amidst the flow of online games. Meanwhile, in the revised edition, the theme “We Are All Brothers” covers more themes, emphasizing respecting the diversity of culture, ethnicity, religion/belief, and different mental conditions. This is interpreted more broadly in harmony with the motto “Bhinneka Tunggal Ika,” which indirectly includes the theme of “Playing and Working Together” for the topic of “traditional games.”

The theme "I Love the Earth" is related to the residential environment, such as the issue of climate change and how children have an environmentally friendly lifestyle (becoming the theme of Sustainable Lifestyle at the elementary-high school level). The theme "I Love Indonesia" strengthens children's concern for their nation's culture. Hence, they are proud to be Indonesian citizens (Becoming the theme of Local Wisdom at the elementary-high school level). The theme "We Are All Brothers" discusses aspects of diversity and attitudes of mutual respect between fellow human beings. (Becoming the "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika" theme at the

elementary-high school level). The theme "My Imagination and Creativity" increases critical thinking that can be implemented in innovative works/ engineering (Becoming the theme of "Engineering and Technology" at the elementary-high school level) (Pusat Perbukuaan, 2023, p28). These themes are interconnected, where the themes in the foundation phase have continuity with the themes in Elementary School, which are adapted to a simple language style that is easy for children to understand.

Four themes were chosen because they relate to fundamental issues, including national and global issues that need to be applied in aspects of education from an early age. These themes are summarized around issues of humanity, the environment, and individuals as learners who are full of imagination and creativity. Meanwhile, commercialization-related issues such as entrepreneurship in the next phase have not been applied in the foundation phase. This is related to the fact that education in the foundation phase is not oriented toward the problem of profit and loss in economics.

In this case, the theme that will be raised and become the focus of this research is "I Love Indonesia, and We Are All Brothers". This theme was chosen because it relates to multicultural learning, which

has the character of cultural learning and respects the existing diversity. Examples of topics developed from this theme are "Making Traditional Food and Drinks" to introduce traditional drinks amidst the rise of instant drinks, "Preservation of Regional Traditions and Culture,"; "Batik Creation," and "Getting to Know Regional Craft Arts" to introduce regional identity characteristics based on regional clothing (Pusat Perbukuaan, 2023, p37).

Implementation of Multicultural Education in Early Childhood Education through the *Proyek Penguatan Profil Pelajar Pancasila* (P5)

The P5 theme in ECE, which contains multicultural education content, is in the main theme, "I Love Indonesia" and "We Are All Brothers". This theme is related to one of the dimensions of P5, namely Global Diversity. If we look at it, the theme of "I Love Indonesia" from Book 1 and Book 2 mentions a quote from Ki Hadjar Dewantara as the first former Ministry of Education about national culture, which is the peak of regional culture with a national spirit. The theme of "I Love Indonesia" aims to introduce children to the culture, identity, and locality where they grow up while providing insight into the differentiation of culture from locality in other communities. For example, the theme can be used as a topic for regional specialties, souvenirs, regional languages,

arts, traditional toys, local food, and others. It is stated that the solution to preserving local culture that is starting to be eroded by the flow of globalization is by introducing culture from an early age (Badan Standar, Kurikulum, dan Asesmen Pendidikan, 2021, p54-55).

An illustrated example from Book 1 is the topic of the *ogoh-ogoh* cultural parade in Bali as the theme "I Love Indonesia". In the example, the activity begins by compiling the purpose, duration, tools, and materials, then step by step from the beginning to the development of children's daily activities. This learning model is characterized by project learning that invites children to develop their learning style from the early stages of preparation accompanied by teachers. This is then exhibited in a work title by the child himself. Meanwhile, in Book 2, the content is presented in more general examples that do not refer to a specific region as presented in Book 1. However, there are examples from the Bali region about classic woven fabrics and more general examples such as "Getting to Know Batik Nusantara" and "Traditional Food," which are displayed in detail through barcodes.

Furthermore, the theme "We Are All Brothers," which emphasizes interaction between ethnic groups, respecting differences, and promoting a culture of

peace, is only found in Book 2. This theme replaces "Playing and Working Together" in Book 1. ECE is considered a role model for children, as it shows an attitude of mutual respect that can be started from the foundation phase. So, moral values are created early as provisions for the next phase. Topics developed from this theme, such as "Mutual Cooperation," "Diversity is Beautiful," and "The Joy of Being Able to Share," are considered manifestations of *Bhineka Tunggal Ika*. (Pusat Perbukuaan, 2023, p39)

Flexibility of Early Childhood Knowledge Construction on National Values

The understanding of knowledge children possess from an early age is partly determined by the school as an educational institution. Teachers have a role in shaping children's knowledge, where their world can be interpreted through learning at school. Knowledge about the diversity of Indonesian ethnic groups in general also begins to be formed when children sit in ECE chairs. New knowledge found at school helps children strengthen, improve, and erase the experience of knowledge gained outside of school about becoming a nationalist student. This nationalist construction is formed in schools with knowledge enrichment from teachers so children can position themselves through the understanding they have gained when

encountering experiences different from their original environment.

The flexibility of knowledge construction in Early Childhood Education can depend on the interaction between biological development, learning experiences, and stimulation from the child's environment. In the context of flexible knowledge construction (flexible pedagogy), social interactions with the surrounding environment guided by teachers play a role in helping children explore various perspectives, expand their understanding, and improve their critical thinking skills, including understanding personal identity against collective identity in a diverse society.

The learning process that provides a space for in-depth exploration, problem-solving-based games, and more intense social interactions can increase children's knowledge construction flexibility. Differences in views on knowledge in schools and what is considered learning and teaching between teachers and students can create different understandings of the content being studied. This condition can challenge teachers in mediating students' daily lives with formal knowledge in schools. So that teachers and students have a "moral imagination" project that is accommodated to facilitate the learning process. The learning process that provides

a space for in-depth exploration, problem-solving-based games, and more intense social interactions can increase children's knowledge construction flexibility. This condition can challenge teachers in mediating students' daily lives with formal knowledge in schools. So that teachers and students have a "moral imagination" project that is accommodated to facilitate the learning process (Vadeboncoeur & Padilla-Petry, 2017).

In Indonesia, the construction of knowledge in schools tends to adopt the Western education model, which sometimes causes a disconnection with the context of local cultural knowledge construction. For example, Western education's "cognitive phase development" is not always in line with how children grow and learn in Indonesian society (Tesar & Pangastuti, 2024). Knowledge construction also targets gender knowledge, which has often been biased in the learning process in ECE. The use of soft and gentle colors, for example, for girls, and the view that male teachers in ECE are less competent because they receive less attention and affection than female teachers (Adriany & Warin, 2014).

In the broader context of multicultural education, knowledge about nationalism and its cultural identity for early childhood has implications for how

children identify with their cultural environment. In its development, ethnic nationalism that colored national history by prioritizing local cultural identity began to shift into cultural nationalism, also called new nationalism, after the awareness of nation and state colored in the early 20th century. Changes in national awareness as a nation bound by the unity of the Indonesian state formed a new paradigm about national culture. This national culture also received challenges from socio-cultural changes that came from outside through the flow of globalization, which also shaped how the discourse of regional identity culminated in the interests of national culture with the penetration of global culture.

National identity is instilled in students through various displays that aim to shape students, such as the use of school uniforms, national morning exercises, and weekly flag ceremonies. The behavior of students who have been conditioned about how to become an ideal nation can be understood as performative, and this step is carried out as a repeating practice, which perpetuates meaning and constructs how to become an ideal citizen (Moser, 2016). Therefore, this understanding of cultural nationalism can be built based on an educational framework at the ECE level through P5 content, including an

understanding of national identity and cultural locality.

DISCUSSION

Pancasila has five principal points, meaning each point is the basis of the state's outlook on life/philosophy and the basis of the state. According to Yudi Latif, Pancasila is the state ideology. It can also be considered an "integralists" ideology intended to overcome the particularity of individual and group understandings. Pancasila is the content of private moral sources from ethnic, religious, and local wisdom communities that are used as public morals for citizenship (Latif, 2020). Based on the definition of Pancasila, it contains derivatives that can be implemented in a multicultural society. The definition of multiculturalism in Parsudi Suparlan's view is the recognition and appreciation of every cultural difference that places the equality of society horizontally. In a multicultural society, this equality is internalized as a way of life and externalized through daily actions. The conditions of a multicultural society are different from those of a pluralistic society, where the conditions in a pluralistic society see differences in cultural backgrounds forced to be united by the state system into a nation with the potential for horizontal conflict (Suparlan, 2004).

Multicultural education in the Indonesian context is not limited to cultural

issues but is inclusive and discusses religion as an important identity marker and source of life values. However, there is an inconsistency between multicultural education policies and practices due to the lack of clear policies and the incompetence of decision-makers and teacher competence. Although the Education System Law in 2003 provides a basis for education that pays attention to and appreciates diversity, existing practices are still very different. Many teachers in subjects that contain topics about or are related to cultural and religious diversity do not use education that promotes tolerance and diversity as part of their subject curriculum (Raihani, 2018).

The content of the P5 guidebook for teachers related to multicultural education can be analyzed by paying attention to the structure of word selection, the selection of examples of localities raised, and the presentation of content that shows multicultural texts. For instance, the structure of the use of the word "dolanan" in the guidebook, which is an absorption of the Javanese language, shows that the elements of Javanese culture displayed in the policy text cannot be separated from the two authors of the book who, when viewed in the author profiles come from Central Java Province and the Special Region of Yogyakarta, who have historical

knowledge about the structure of Javanese language usage. The choice of theme is related to one of the authors from Bali, who tries to include cognitive imagination in his knowledge of his own culture, which is a common presentation at one of the authors' places. An illustrated example from Book 1 is the topic of the *ogoh-ogoh* cultural parade in Bali as the theme "I Love Indonesia". The illustration is shown, such as a display introducing the diversity of tribes, religions, and cultures in Indonesia, by presenting an illustration of a curly-haired woman whom her friends often bully and an illustration of a little girl who uses a walking aid but dares to participate in a running competition (Pusat Perbukuan, 2023, p39). This creates a climate of knowledge for children because it is inclusive by educating them that hair/something carried since birth is a gift that must be accepted, not as something good or bad.

The illustration, in addition to promoting multicultural values about differences in cultural and religious backgrounds, also promotes an attitude of not discriminating against and bullying children with special needs. It can be seen whether multicultural education policies strengthen the hegemony of the majority group or provide space for cultural diversity, which has not been shown so far.

The goal is to identify how education policies can build inclusivity or strengthen specific social exclusions that favor certain cultures.

CONCLUSION

The results show that the government policy uses a digital teacher guidebook to disseminate the implementation procedures for multicultural content in P5. Content containing multicultural educational values is manifested in the themes "I Love Indonesia" and "We Are All Brothers". The theme has values that aspire to local wisdom and train children to appreciate existing differences as a form of the peak of national culture. Educational policy is not value-free, but there are always interests following the objectives of the government/politics being implemented.

This study shows that the analysis of educational policy has implications for knowing how the government regulates multicultural education through P5 learning. By examining the implementation of multicultural education in ECE, this paper helps teachers understand policy texts more critically and read more deeply about how a policy is implemented. However, it can be adjusted to the conditions of the learning environment so that teachers create a more inclusive environment.

Before teaching children about multiculturalism, teachers need to

understand what multicultural competencies have been understood and how to apply them to children. Moreover, if multiculturalism learning is carried out at the ECE education level, teachers must provide a more straightforward understanding and examples according to the environment and world of children. For example, the exchange of food supplies can be implemented in the theme I Love Indonesia, which aims to discover various traditional foods. For the theme We Are All Brothers, teachers can hold meetings with interfaith figures invited to the school, using the accompanying religious attributes so that children begin to be introduced to religious symbols different from the children's identities.

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