

The Role of Pancasila Education in Promoting Democratic Citizenship and Social Cohesion in Indonesia

Andhika Lungguh Perceka^{1*}, Tomi Apra Santosa^{2,4}, Tardi Kurniawan³, Ilwandri⁴

¹STIKES Karsa Husada Garut, Indonesia

^{2,4} Akademi Teknik Adikarya, Indonesia

³ Politeknik Negeri Ketapang, Indonesia

Abstract

This study aims to analyze the role of Pancasila Education in fostering democratic citizenship and strengthening social cohesion in Indonesia. The background to this research stems from increasing socio-political challenges, such as polarization, intolerance, low civic participation, and weakening national solidarity in a pluralistic society. This study uses a qualitative approach with a library study method, through a critical review of academic literature, educational policies, and key concepts regarding democracy, citizenship, and Pancasila values. Data search through Google Scholar, DOAJ, SINTA, and ScienceDirect databases. Data analysis used qualitative descriptive analysis. The results of the study indicate that Pancasila Education has a strategic function in instilling the values of divinity, humanity, unity, deliberation, and social justice as an ethical foundation for democratic life. Pancasila Education plays a role not only in the transfer of ideological knowledge, but also in the formation of critical, tolerant, participatory, and responsible attitudes as citizens. In addition, the internalization of Pancasila values can strengthen social cohesion through respect for diversity, deliberative conflict resolution, and the strengthening of an inclusive national identity. However, the effectiveness of Pancasila Education depends heavily on a contextual, dialogical, and participatory learning approach, not simply normative memorization. This study concludes that Pancasila Education is a crucial instrument in building substantive democracy and maintaining social integration in Indonesia. Therefore, strengthening the curriculum, educator competencies, and experiential civic learning practices are urgently needed in the development of Pancasila Education.

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CORRESPONDING AUTHOR

*Andhika Lungguh Perceka, STIKES Karsa Husada Garut, Indonesia . Email: andhikaperceka@gmail.com

Introduction

Indonesia is a democratic nation characterized by a multicultural society, characterized by a diversity of ethnicities, religions, languages, cultures, and social identities spread across various regions (Muzammil & Nasrullah, 2026; Hakim, 2025). This diversity constitutes crucial social capital in building national life, as it enriches democratic practices through the recognition of plurality and equality among citizens. Indonesian demographic data shows that ethnic and regional linguistic diversity is a key characteristic of Indonesian society, making managing this diversity a crucial aspect in maintaining national integration (Central Statistics Agency, 2024). In this context, Pancasila serves as the foundational values that bind this diversity together through the principles of divinity, humanity, unity, deliberation, and social justice (Walukow et al., 2025). These values serve not only as the ideological foundation of the state but also as ethical guidelines for building a democratic life that respects differences, prevents identity exclusivism, and strengthens social solidarity (Rahman et al., 2025).

However, the diversity of Indonesian society can also become a source of tension if not managed through democratic, inclusive civic education that is oriented toward social cohesion (Hidayat, 2026). Indonesian democracy is not solely supported by the existence of political institutions, electoral procedures, and constitutional rules; it also requires citizens with democratic awareness, social ethics, the ability to engage in dialogue, tolerance, and civic responsibility (Saputri et al., 2024). In a multicultural society, education plays a strategic role in shaping citizens' attitudes that enable them to live together despite differences and actively participate in the public sphere. Recent research shows that multicultural attitudes contribute to the formation of democratic engagement, particularly in developing citizens' orientation toward democracy and participation in public discourse (Setiawan et al., 2025). Therefore, Pancasila Education is relevant as a pedagogical instrument for instilling the values of democracy, tolerance, unity, and social justice in order to strengthen democratic citizenship and social cohesion in Indonesia (Dewanto et al., 2024; Suyatmo et al., 2023; Zulyusri et al., 2023).

Indonesian democracy still faces various substantive challenges, particularly in the form of increasing socio-political polarization, the strengthening of identity politics, and the weakening quality of citizen participation in the public sphere (Habibah et al., 2025). Although Indonesia has experienced democratic progress since the Reformation, the quality of democracy remains plagued by issues of systemic corruption, discrimination against minority groups, conflict in Papua, and the use of defamation and blasphemy laws that can restrict civil liberties (Freedom House, 2024). This situation demonstrates that Indonesian democracy cannot be understood solely as an electoral mechanism, such as elections, political party competition, and periodic changes in power. Democracy also requires quality citizenship characterized by the ability to think critically, respect differences, participate responsibly, and maintain ethical standards in expressing opinions. Without these qualities, democratic procedures have the potential to lead to social fragmentation, identity conflicts, and weakened trust among citizens (Kraince, 2008).

The problem of social cohesion in Indonesia is also evident in the persistence of intolerance, discrimination, a low culture of dialogue, and a weakening of solidarity in a pluralistic society. The SETARA Institute's report on the state of freedom of religion and belief in 2024 recorded 260 incidents and 402 acts of violation of freedom of religion and belief, with particular attention to increasing intolerance, discrimination, the use of blasphemy laws, and disruptions to the establishment and operation of houses of worship (SETARA Institute, 2025). These facts demonstrate that Indonesia's social diversity requires management that is not only based on state regulations, but also through values education that fosters tolerance, deliberation, social empathy, and civic responsibility. Therefore, education, particularly Pancasila Education, has a strategic role in strengthening democratic civic literacy and social cohesion (Arifin et al., 2025). Pancasila education needs to be directed not only at memorizing normative values, but also at developing citizens who are inclusive, participatory. Pancasila Education holds a strategic position as an instrument of civic education because it functions to instill the fundamental values of national life while simultaneously shaping the orientation of democratic, responsible, and civilized citizens. Within the framework of national education, Pancasila Education is not only directed at introducing Pancasila as the foundation of the state and the nation's ideology, but also at developing civic practices grounded in Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity), and the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The learning outcomes of

Pancasila Education in the Independent Curriculum emphasize that this subject aims to shape students who understand the meaning and values of Pancasila and are able to practice them in their social, national, and state lives (Educational Standards, Curriculum, and Assessment Agency [BSKAP], 2024). Thus, Pancasila Education can be understood as a pedagogical tool for developing constitutional awareness, public morality, respect for diversity, and social responsibility as part of the formation of democratic citizens (Rahman et al., 2025; Bachtiar et al., 2023).

Substantively, the values of Pancasila have direct relevance to strengthening democracy and social cohesion in Indonesia (Hidayat, 2026). The value of divinity can serve as the basis of public morality, guiding citizens to act ethically and respect the beliefs of others; the value of humanity emphasizes the importance of respect for human dignity; the value of unity serves as the foundation of social integration in a pluralistic society; the value of deliberation reflects the principles of deliberative democracy that prioritize dialogue, participation, and joint decision-making; while the value of social justice serves as an orientation for the creation of prosperity and equality in communal life. Therefore, Pancasila Education should not be positioned merely as a normative subject that emphasizes memorization, but rather as a reflective and participatory learning space that encourages students to internalize the values of democracy, tolerance, solidarity, and social justice. Through this approach, Pancasila Education can contribute to shaping citizens who are inclusive, critical, and participatory, and capable of maintaining social harmony in Indonesia's multicultural society. participatory, and dialogical, and able to live together peacefully in a multicultural society (Kraince, 2008).

Several previous studies have shown that Pancasila and Civics Education plays a crucial role in shaping students' civic character, particularly in instilling democratic values, social responsibility, tolerance, and respect for diversity. Research on the role of Pancasila Education in students' multicultural lives indicates that Pancasila Education helps students understand multicultural values, such as tolerance, democracy, justice, and equality within the school environment (Azwar & Berg, 2026). These findings confirm that Pancasila Education functions not only as a normative subject but also as a relevant value education instrument in shaping citizens capable of living in a pluralistic society (Sutrisno et al., 2024). Similarly, studies on civics education in building democratic awareness confirm that civics education encompasses cognitive, affective, and psychomotor dimensions that are integrated in developing students' Pancasila values, civic morals, and democratic attitudes (Julita et al., 2024). Thus, these studies demonstrate that Pancasila Education makes a significant contribution to strengthening democratic citizenship orientation through the internalization of values, the formation of attitudes, and social practices within the educational environment (Tryas et al., 2026).

Other research also confirms the relevance of Pancasila Education in strengthening social cohesion, solidarity, and harmony in Indonesia's multicultural society. A study on Pancasila Education as an instrument for fostering student solidarity shows that internalizing the values of mutual cooperation, unity, and social justice in the curriculum and student activities can strengthen solidarity, tolerance, and social responsibility. These findings demonstrate that Pancasila Education has the potential to become a vehicle for fostering social cohesion, especially when Pancasila values are integrated into formal learning and non-formal activities (Pratama et al., 2025). Furthermore, research on the integration of Pancasila values into technology-based civic education curricula indicates that traditional learning methods are often ineffective in deeply instilling Pancasila values,

necessitating a more contextual, participatory, and life-relevant approach to students (Kurniawan et al., 2025). Based on these studies, it can be concluded that studies on Pancasila Education need to be directed not only at ideological and character aspects, but also at its role in promoting democratic citizenship and social cohesion in an integrated manner in the context of contemporary Indonesia. Based on this, this study aims to analyze the role of Pancasila Education in encouraging the formation of democratic citizenship and strengthening social cohesion in Indonesia.

Method

This study employed a qualitative approach using an integrative literature review design. This design was selected because the study aimed to synthesize theoretical arguments, empirical findings, and policy perspectives concerning the role of Pancasila Education in promoting democratic citizenship and strengthening social cohesion in Indonesia. An integrative literature review allows the researcher to examine diverse types of sources, including journal articles, books, policy documents, institutional reports, and previous research findings, in order to construct a comprehensive conceptual understanding of the issue under investigation.

The data sources used in this study consisted of academic publications and official documents related to Pancasila Education, civic education, democratic citizenship, deliberative democracy, multicultural education, tolerance education, and social cohesion. The literature was obtained from several databases and source platforms, including Google Scholar, DOAJ, Garuda, Sinta, ERIC, Scopus-indexed journal sources when accessible, and official institutional websites. Policy and institutional documents were collected from official sources, including the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology of the Republic of Indonesia, the Educational Standards, Curriculum, and Assessment Agency, Statistics Indonesia, Freedom House, SETARA Institute, BRIN, OECD, UNECE, and other relevant institutional publications.

The literature search was conducted using several combinations of keywords in English and Indonesian. The main keywords included “Pancasila Education,” “Pendidikan Pancasila,” “democratic citizenship,” “civic education Indonesia,” “citizenship education,” “social cohesion,” “kohesi sosial,” “deliberative democracy,” “musyawarah,” “tolerance education,” “multicultural education,” “Pancasila values,” and “Indonesian democracy.” Boolean operators such as AND and OR were used to combine the keywords, for example: “Pancasila Education” AND “democratic citizenship,” “Pendidikan Pancasila” AND “kohesi sosial,” “civic education Indonesia” AND “social cohesion,” and “Pancasila values” AND “deliberative democracy.”

The inclusion criteria were as follows: first, the source had to discuss Pancasila Education, civic education, democratic citizenship, democracy, tolerance, multicultural education, or social cohesion; second, the source had to be published in the form of a journal article, academic book, book chapter, conference proceeding, policy document, or institutional report; third, the source had to provide conceptual, empirical, or policy-based relevance to the research focus; fourth, the source had to be published in Indonesian or English; and fifth, priority was given to recent publications from 2020 to 2026, while older foundational works were retained when they provided important theoretical grounding. The exclusion criteria included sources that were unrelated to Pancasila Education or citizenship education, sources without clear bibliographic information, opinion-based writings without academic or policy relevance, duplicate sources, and studies whose focus was not directly connected to democratic citizenship or social cohesion.

The literature selection process was carried out in four stages. The first stage was identification, in which sources were collected from selected databases and official websites using the predetermined keywords. The second stage was screening, in which titles, abstracts, and document descriptions were reviewed to determine their relevance to the research topic. The third stage was eligibility assessment, in which the full texts of potentially relevant sources were examined based on the inclusion and exclusion criteria. The fourth stage was final selection, in which sources that met the criteria were included in the corpus for analysis. To improve transparency, the selected sources were grouped into four categories: theoretical literature, empirical studies, curriculum and education policy documents, and institutional reports on democracy, tolerance, diversity, and social cohesion.

Data analysis was conducted using content analysis and conceptual analysis. Content analysis was used to identify recurring themes, key concepts, and major arguments within the selected literature. Conceptual analysis was used to examine the relationship among Pancasila values, democratic citizenship, and social cohesion. The analysis was conducted through several steps: reading and annotating the selected sources, identifying key concepts related to Pancasila Education and citizenship formation, coding relevant statements and arguments, grouping the codes into thematic categories, comparing findings across sources, and developing a conceptual synthesis. The main thematic categories used in the analysis included: Pancasila values as civic foundations, democratic citizenship competencies, deliberative civic practices, tolerance and multicultural coexistence, social trust, solidarity, and social cohesion.

To ensure analytical consistency, the coding process was guided by the central research focus: how Pancasila Education contributes to the formation of democratic citizens and how the internalization of Pancasila values supports social cohesion in Indonesia’s pluralistic society. The interpretation of the literature was conducted by comparing theoretical claims, empirical findings, and policy directions across the selected sources. Sources that presented similar arguments were used to identify convergent themes, while sources that revealed different perspectives were examined to strengthen critical interpretation. This process enabled the study to move beyond descriptive summary and develop a conceptual synthesis of the role of Pancasila Education in contemporary Indonesian democracy.

The trustworthiness of the analysis was maintained through source triangulation, thematic consistency checks, and repeated reading of the selected literature. Source triangulation was conducted by comparing academic literature, policy documents, and institutional reports. Thematic consistency checks were used to ensure that each theme was supported by relevant sources and aligned with the research objectives. Repeated reading was conducted to minimize interpretive bias and to ensure that the synthesis accurately reflected the content of the reviewed literature. Through these procedures, the study sought to produce a systematic, transparent, and conceptually grounded analysis of Pancasila Education as a pedagogical instrument for democratic citizenship and social cohesion.

Table 1. Summary of the Integrative Literature Review Methodology

Component	Description
Research design	Qualitative study using an integrative literature review
Main focus	Pancasila Education, democratic citizenship, and social cohesion
Databases and sources	Google Scholar, DOAJ, Garuda, Sinta, ERIC, Scopus-indexed sources, official policy and institutional websites

Keywords	“Pancasila Education,” “democratic citizenship,” “civic education Indonesia,” “social cohesion,” “tolerance education,” “multicultural education,” “deliberative democracy,” “Pancasila values”
Source types	Journal articles, books, book chapters, proceedings, policy documents, and institutional reports
Publication period	Priority on 2020–2026 publications, with older foundational works retained when theoretically relevant
Inclusion criteria	Relevant to Pancasila Education, citizenship, democracy, tolerance, multicultural education, or social cohesion
Exclusion criteria	Irrelevant topics, incomplete bibliographic information, duplicate sources, and non-academic opinion-based texts
Analysis technique	Content analysis and conceptual analysis
Main themes	Pancasila values, democratic citizenship, deliberation, tolerance, social trust, solidarity, and social cohesion
Trustworthiness strategy	Source triangulation, repeated reading, and thematic consistency checks

Result and Discussion

Results

The integrative literature review identified five major themes concerning the role of Pancasila Education in promoting democratic citizenship and strengthening social cohesion in Indonesia. These themes include: (1) Pancasila values as a civic-ethical foundation, (2) Pancasila Education as a means of developing democratic citizenship competencies, (3) deliberation as a mechanism of democratic learning, (4) Pancasila Education as a pathway for strengthening social cohesion, and (5) pedagogical conditions required for effective implementation. The findings indicate that Pancasila Education should not be understood merely as ideological transmission, but as a civic-pedagogical framework that connects national values, democratic competencies, and social integration.

Table 2. Thematic synthesis of Pancasila Education, democratic citizenship, and social cohesion

Theme	Key result	Supporting sources	Analytical meaning
Civic-ethical foundation	Pancasila values provide moral and civic principles for democratic life in a pluralistic society.	BSKAP (2024); Rahman et al. (2025); Walukow et al. (2025)	Pancasila functions as an ethical framework that guides citizens in balancing rights, responsibilities, diversity, and justice.
Democratic citizenship competence	Pancasila Education supports critical reasoning, tolerance, civic responsibility, constitutional awareness, and participation.	Fitria and Witanto (2024); Saputri et al. (2024); Jaya et al. (2024)	Democratic citizenship is formed through cognitive, affective, and participatory dimensions of civic learning.
Deliberative civic practice	The value of <i>musyawarah</i> encourages dialogue, negotiation, respect for difference, and peaceful conflict resolution.	Suartina and Lan (2023); Faizin et al. (2024); Rahman et al. (2025)	Deliberation links Pancasila values with democratic participation, ethical communication, and social trust.
Social cohesion development	Pancasila Education strengthens unity, solidarity, mutual	UNECE (2023); Maharani et al. (2024);	Social cohesion emerges when diversity is managed through shared

	cooperation, tolerance, and inclusive national identity.	Azwar and Berg (2026)	values, trust, justice, and collective responsibility.
Pedagogical condition	Pancasila Education is more effective when taught through contextual, dialogical, reflective, and participatory learning.	BSKAP (2024); Kurniawan et al. (2025); Noe and Abdullah (2026)	Memorization-based instruction is insufficient for developing democratic dispositions and social cohesion.

Pancasila values as a civic-ethical foundation

The first major finding shows that Pancasila Education provides a civic-ethical foundation for democratic life in Indonesia. The reviewed literature indicates that the five principles of Pancasila belief in God, humanity, unity, deliberation, and social justice serve as normative principles for shaping citizens' moral orientation in a pluralistic society. These values are not only ideological symbols, but also ethical guidelines for managing diversity, protecting human dignity, promoting social responsibility, and strengthening justice-oriented democratic life (BSKAP, 2024; Rahman et al., 2025; Walukow et al., 2025).

The value of divinity supports ethical awareness and respect for religious diversity. The value of humanity emphasizes equal dignity and respect for others' rights. The value of unity provides a basis for maintaining national integration without erasing ethnic, religious, linguistic, and cultural plurality. The value of deliberation supports collective decision-making through dialogue, while social justice directs democratic life toward fairness and public welfare. These findings indicate that Pancasila Education has the potential to connect national ideology with democratic ethics and civic responsibility.

However, the synthesis also shows that Pancasila values do not automatically produce democratic behavior. Their educational significance depends on how they are internalized through learning. If Pancasila Education is delivered only as formal doctrine or memorized content, its influence on democratic citizenship may remain limited. In contrast, when Pancasila values are connected to real social issues, classroom dialogue, and civic practice, they can become meaningful resources for developing democratic attitudes and social responsibility.

Pancasila Education and democratic citizenship competence

The second finding indicates that Pancasila Education contributes to democratic citizenship through three interconnected dimensions: cognitive, affective, and participatory competence. The cognitive dimension refers to students' understanding of Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, citizenship rights and obligations, democracy, diversity, and public ethics. The affective dimension includes tolerance, empathy, respect for differences, responsibility, and commitment to the common good. The participatory dimension includes students' ability to express opinions, engage in dialogue, cooperate with others, solve problems collectively, and participate in civic activities.

This finding is supported by studies showing that Pancasila and Civic Education contributes to democratic attitudes, civic morality, social responsibility, and respect for diversity (Fitria & Witanto, 2024; Saputri et al., 2024; Jaya et al., 2024). Therefore, democratic citizenship in Pancasila Education should not be reduced to legal citizenship or electoral participation. It involves the formation of citizens who are able to think critically, communicate ethically, respect difference, and participate responsibly in public life.

The review further indicates that Pancasila-based democratic citizenship has a distinctive local character. While democratic citizenship in global discourse often emphasizes individual rights, freedom, equality, and participation, Pancasila Education adds stronger emphasis on moral responsibility, harmony, deliberation, unity, and social justice. This local orientation is particularly relevant in Indonesia because democratic life takes place within a highly diverse social and cultural context. Thus, Pancasila Education offers a localized framework for democratic citizenship that integrates individual civic rights with collective responsibility.

Deliberation as a mechanism of democratic learning

The third finding identifies deliberation or *musyawarah* as a central mechanism linking Pancasila Education with democratic citizenship. The value of deliberation enables students to understand democracy not merely as voting or majority rule, but as a process of listening, reasoning, negotiating, respecting difference, and reaching collective decisions. This finding is important because democratic life in a pluralistic society requires citizens who can manage disagreement without hostility.

The reviewed sources show that deliberation can be developed in Pancasila Education through classroom discussion, guided debate, case-based learning, decision-making simulations, reflective dialogue, and civic projects. Such practices provide students with opportunities to experience democracy as an ethical and communicative process. Through deliberative learning, students are trained to formulate arguments, consider alternative perspectives, respect minority voices, and seek solutions based on shared interests (Suartina & Lan, 2023; Faizin et al., 2024; Rahman et al., 2025).

The synthesis also indicates that deliberation contributes to social cohesion by reducing prejudice, strengthening trust, and encouraging peaceful conflict resolution. In this sense, *musyawarah* is not only a cultural value but also a pedagogical strategy. It helps transform Pancasila values into democratic skills that can be practiced in school and community life. Therefore, deliberation represents one of the most important pathways through which Pancasila Education can promote democratic citizenship and social integration.

Pancasila Education and social cohesion

The fourth finding shows that Pancasila Education strengthens social cohesion through the internalization of unity, mutual cooperation, tolerance, solidarity, and social justice. Social cohesion refers to a society's ability to maintain trust, cooperation, belonging, inclusion, and stability amid diversity. This concept is closely related to Pancasila values, particularly unity, humanity, deliberation, mutual cooperation, and social justice (UNECE, 2023; Maharani et al., 2024; Azwar & Berg, 2026).

The value of unity encourages students to understand diversity as part of national life rather than as a threat. Mutual cooperation strengthens social responsibility and collective action. Humanity supports empathy and respect for others, while social justice emphasizes fairness and concern for vulnerable groups. Together, these values support the development of an inclusive national identity and strengthen the social bonds needed in a multicultural society.

The review also shows that social cohesion cannot be built only through cognitive understanding of Pancasila values. It requires experiential learning that enables students to practice cooperation, empathy, dialogue, and problem-solving in real contexts. Activities such as collaborative projects, community service, intercultural dialogue, social problem analysis, and reflection on public

issues provide students with concrete experiences of solidarity and civic responsibility. Therefore, Pancasila Education contributes to social cohesion most effectively when it is implemented as socially engaged learning rather than as normative instruction.

Conditions for effective implementation

The fifth finding concerns the conditions required for Pancasila Education to effectively promote democratic citizenship and social cohesion. The reviewed literature indicates that the impact of Pancasila Education depends on curriculum design, teacher competence, classroom climate, learning methods, assessment practices, and the connection between classroom learning and real social life. Pancasila Education is more likely to produce meaningful civic outcomes when it is taught through contextual, dialogical, reflective, and participatory approaches (BSKAP, 2024; Kurniawan et al., 2025; Noe & Abdullah, 2026).

A major issue identified in the literature is the persistence of normative and memorization-based instruction. When Pancasila Education is delivered mainly through lectures, textbook explanation, and factual recall, students may understand the formal principles of Pancasila but fail to develop democratic attitudes, social empathy, and civic responsibility. This weakens the transformative potential of Pancasila Education.

The findings therefore suggest that effective Pancasila Education requires a shift from ideological transmission to transformative civic pedagogy. This shift involves integrating real-life cases, ethical dilemmas, social conflict analysis, digital citizenship issues, collaborative projects, community engagement, and reflective assessment into learning. Through this approach, students can connect Pancasila values with contemporary democratic challenges such as polarization, intolerance, misinformation, social inequality, and declining civic participation.

Conceptual synthesis of the findings

Based on the thematic synthesis, the relationship between Pancasila Education, democratic citizenship, and social cohesion can be understood as a sequential and reciprocal process. Pancasila values provide the ethical foundation for civic learning. Civic learning transforms these values into democratic citizenship competencies. These competencies then support social cohesion by strengthening trust, tolerance, solidarity, inclusion, and peaceful coexistence. The conceptual relationship can be summarized as follows:

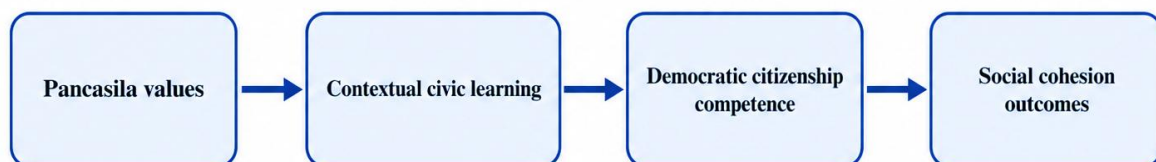


Figure 1. Conceptual Framework of Pancasila Education in Promoting Democratic Citizenship and Social Cohesion

This synthesis shows that Pancasila Education does not directly produce democratic citizenship or social cohesion simply because it exists in the curriculum. Its contribution depends on the quality of pedagogical mediation. Pancasila values must be translated into learning experiences that enable students to reason, deliberate, participate, cooperate, and reflect on social realities. Therefore, the main result of this review is that Pancasila Education has strong potential to promote

democratic citizenship and social cohesion, but this potential is conditional upon its transformation into contextual, dialogical, and participatory civic learning.

Discussion

The findings of this integrative literature review indicate that Pancasila Education contributes to democratic citizenship and social cohesion through four interrelated pathways: the internalization of civic-ethical values, the development of democratic citizenship competencies, the strengthening of deliberative practices, and the transformation of Pancasila learning from normative memorization into contextual and participatory civic pedagogy. These findings directly address the objective of the study, namely to analyze how Pancasila Education can promote democratic citizenship and reinforce social cohesion in Indonesia's pluralistic society. The most significant result is that Pancasila Education should not be understood merely as ideological transmission, but as a civic-pedagogical framework that connects values, competencies, and social practices. In this sense, Pancasila values operate as ethical foundations, while classroom dialogue, civic projects, reflection, and deliberative learning become the pedagogical mechanisms through which democratic dispositions and social solidarity are developed. This interpretation strengthens the manuscript's central argument that Pancasila Education can contribute to substantive democracy only when it is implemented through meaningful civic learning rather than textual indoctrination.

These findings are consistent with recent global research on civic education, democratic participation, and social cohesion. Persson et al. (2020), through a field experiment on deliberative education, demonstrated that civic education is often expected to improve political knowledge, democratic values, political interest, and discussion, although the measurable effects of deliberative instruction may be limited and uneven across outcomes. This partially supports the present study: deliberation is theoretically important, but its impact depends on instructional quality, duration, classroom climate, and the degree to which students are genuinely engaged in reflective dialogue. Similarly, Alscher et al. (2022) found that cognitive activation and open classroom climate were positively associated with students' willingness to participate in political and civic life, while discussion of current political events alone was insufficient. This aligns strongly with the present study's argument that Pancasila Education must go beyond ceremonial or declarative instruction and should instead cultivate critical reasoning, ethical argumentation, and participatory citizenship.

The findings also resonate with global studies on social cohesion. Moustakas (2023) conceptualized social cohesion as a multidimensional construct involving positive social relations, belonging, and orientation toward the common good. This definition is highly relevant to the present study because Pancasila Education promotes unity, mutual cooperation, deliberation, and social justice, all of which correspond to the relational and normative dimensions of social cohesion. However, the Indonesian case differs from many global models because social cohesion is not framed only through secular civic norms or liberal democratic participation, but also through culturally embedded values such as *musyawarah*, *gotong royong*, and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. Therefore, the contribution of Pancasila Education lies in its capacity to localize democratic citizenship within Indonesia's moral, cultural, and constitutional traditions.

In relation to digital citizenship and media literacy, Bowyer and Kahne (2020) showed that digital civic learning opportunities influence both online participatory politics and offline civic engagement. Their study is important for interpreting the present findings because contemporary democratic citizenship increasingly takes place not only in classrooms and community spaces, but

also in digital environments shaped by disinformation, polarization, cyberbullying, and identity-based hostility. This suggests that Pancasila Education should be expanded toward digital civic responsibility, including the ability to evaluate online information, communicate ethically, respect diversity in digital spaces, and resist hate speech. Thus, the relevance of Pancasila Education extends beyond conventional civic education and becomes increasingly important for strengthening students' media literacy, digital ethics, emotional self-regulation, and responsible online identity formation.

The present findings are also supported by Indonesian studies published between 2020 and 2026. Kusdarini et al. (2020) showed that fieldwork-based Pancasila Education enabled students to observe and identify Pancasila values in real community life, suggesting that experiential learning can make civic values more meaningful. This aligns with the present study's emphasis that Pancasila values should be learned through lived experiences, not merely memorized. Jayadiputra et al. (2023) also found that a 21st-century Pancasila and Civic Education curriculum model improved students' skills, including learning and innovation skills, life and career skills, and technology and media skills. These findings reinforce the argument that Pancasila Education needs to be redesigned to address contemporary citizenship challenges, including democratic participation, media literacy, and social responsibility.

Further Indonesian evidence confirms the importance of tolerance and participatory civic learning. Dwintari and Murdiono (2023) found that tolerance values in civics learning can be integrated through planning, implementation, and evaluation processes in inclusive schools, including teacher competence development for diverse classrooms. This supports the present study's conclusion that social cohesion requires pedagogical intentionality and teacher readiness. Trisiana et al. (2025) demonstrated that smart mobile civic media could support tolerance formation and civic disposition in line with the Pancasila Student Profile. Likewise, Suyato and Hidayah (2024) reported that an engagement-based Civic Education curriculum improved social care, mutual respect for diversity, social cohesion, sympathy, and volunteerism. These local studies strengthen the present finding that Pancasila Education can support social cohesion when it is implemented through inclusive, interactive, and socially engaged learning.

Theoretically, this study extends civic education theory by positioning Pancasila Education as a localized framework for democratic citizenship and social cohesion. While international theories of citizenship education often emphasize rights, participation, deliberation, and civic knowledge, the Pancasila-based framework adds moral responsibility, unity in diversity, social justice, and collective welfare as central components of democratic citizenship. The findings therefore refine the relationship between democratic citizenship and social cohesion: democratic citizenship represents the competencies and dispositions of individuals, while social cohesion represents the collective outcome of trust, solidarity, inclusion, and peaceful coexistence. Pancasila Education functions as the mediating pedagogical space that transforms civic values into democratic competencies and, subsequently, into cohesive social relations.

Pedagogically and politically, the findings imply that teachers, schools, and policymakers should redesign Pancasila Education as contextual, dialogical, reflective, and participatory learning. Teachers should apply deliberative discussions, case studies on social conflict, digital media literacy tasks, community engagement, civic projects, and reflective writing to help students connect Pancasila values with real social and digital problems. At the policy level, curriculum and assessment

should move beyond factual recall and measure students' ethical reasoning, tolerance, civic participation, media literacy, and capacity to manage disagreement. Because social media increasingly shapes students' political expression, identity formation, and emotional well-being, education policy should integrate Pancasila-based digital citizenship, anti-hate-speech education, cyber-ethics, and school-based mental health support. Such policies are needed to ensure that democratic citizenship is cultivated not only in formal classroom interactions but also in online spaces where polarization, misinformation, and social exclusion frequently emerge.

The novelty of this study lies in its integrative conceptual positioning of Pancasila Education as a bridge between democratic citizenship and social cohesion. Unlike previous studies that often examine Pancasila Education mainly as character education, moral education, or ideological instruction, this study synthesizes its role as a civic framework that links ethical values, deliberative pedagogy, democratic competencies, and social cohesion outcomes. Methodologically, the study contributes by using an integrative literature review to combine theoretical, empirical, and policy-based sources, enabling a broader conceptual synthesis of Pancasila Education in contemporary Indonesian democracy. This contribution is particularly important because Indonesia's democratic challenges cannot be addressed only through institutional reform; they also require citizens who are critical, tolerant, participatory, digitally responsible, and committed to the common good.

This study has several limitations. As an integrative literature review, the analysis relies on existing studies and policy documents rather than direct empirical observation of classrooms, teachers, or students. Consequently, the findings should be interpreted as conceptual and analytical rather than causal. The literature corpus may also be limited by database accessibility, language selection, and the uneven quality of available publications on Pancasila Education, democratic citizenship, and social cohesion. Future research should conduct classroom-based empirical studies, comparative studies across provinces or school levels, and mixed-method research to examine how Pancasila values are actually internalized by students. Further studies should also investigate the relationship between Pancasila-based digital citizenship, online behavior, civic identity formation, student well-being, and resistance to polarization in digital environments.

Conclusion

This study concludes that Pancasila Education plays a strategic and transformative role in promoting democratic citizenship and strengthening social cohesion in Indonesia's pluralistic society. Through an integrative literature review, the study demonstrates that Pancasila Education is not merely a medium for transmitting state ideology, but a civic-pedagogical framework that connects ethical values, democratic competencies, deliberative practices, and inclusive social relations. The findings answer the research focus by showing that the internalization of Pancasila values belief in God, humanity, unity, deliberation, and social justice can cultivate citizens who are critical, tolerant, participatory, responsible, and oriented toward the common good. These values provide an ethical foundation for respecting diversity, resolving differences through dialogue, strengthening civic responsibility, and sustaining social solidarity in a multicultural democracy. Theoretically, this study contributes to the discourse on civic education by positioning Pancasila Education as a localized model of democratic citizenship that integrates individual rights with collective responsibility, moral reasoning, deliberative culture, and social justice. Practically, the findings imply that teachers, schools, and policymakers need to redesign Pancasila Education through contextual, dialogical, reflective, and participatory learning approaches rather than relying on normative, textual, and

memorization-based instruction. Such pedagogical transformation is essential for enabling students to connect Pancasila values with contemporary challenges, including intolerance, polarization, discrimination, weakening civic literacy, and declining social trust. However, this study is limited by its reliance on secondary literature and policy documents, so its conclusions remain conceptual and analytical rather than empirically causal. The scope of the literature reviewed may also be shaped by database accessibility, language selection, and the quality of available studies. Future research should therefore conduct classroom-based empirical investigations, comparative studies across educational levels and regional contexts, and mixed-method designs to examine how Pancasila values are internalized in actual learning practices. Further inquiry should also explore Pancasila-based digital citizenship in relation to online behavior, civic identity formation, media literacy, student well-being, and resistance to socio-political polarization. Overall, this study affirms that a renewed, participatory, and context-sensitive Pancasila Education can become a vital foundation for nurturing democratic citizens and sustaining social cohesion in contemporary Indonesia.

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