

Reimagining the Future of Global Citizenship Education through Pancasila

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Abstract: Global Citizenship Education (GCED) confronts conflicts between particular national responsibilities and obligations toward people beyond national borders. This study examines how an integrated interpretation of Pancasila can justify these obligations and inform educational practice. The conceptual reconstruction combines analysis of Indonesian constitutional, educational, and historical sources and UNESCO guidance with an interpretive synthesis of philosophical and critical GCED scholarship. The analysis develops five dimensions: ethical responsibility, relational humanity, rooted plural solidarity, deliberative participation, and justice-oriented collective action. Their contribution concerns how conviction, political attachment, representation, and justice constrain the justification of civic decisions. Particular responsibilities toward fellow citizens remain morally significant, while national advantage alone cannot justify serious, avoidable harm to others. A hypothetical conflict involving domestic employment and transboundary pollution examines competing basic interests, uncertain evidence, and differentiated remedial responsibilities. The framework identifies reasons that decisions must address without determining a single policy independently of contextual evidence. Educational implications concern inquiry into contested claims, assessment of reasoned disagreement, and civic projects that distinguish learners' contributions from institutional obligations. The reconstruction offers a situated account of civic judgment within GCED; its interpretive premises remain contestable, and its educational applications require empirical examination.

Keywords: Global Citizenship Education; Pancasila; Global South; Civic Education; Social Justice.

1. Introduction

Global Citizenship Education (GCED) places obligations beyond national borders within educational systems organized around particular political communities. UNESCO (2015) connects cognitive, socio-emotional, and behavioral learning with human rights, cultural diversity, social justice, peace, and sustainability. These commitments become contentious when domestic welfare depends on arrangements that disadvantage people elsewhere. Mobility, intercultural competence, humanitarian engagement, and democratic participation express different civic priorities (Akkari & Maleq, 2020; Duarte, 2023). Oxley and Morris (2013) distinguish conceptions spanning political, moral, economic, cultural, and advocacy concerns. Participation within these arrangements does not settle whether their distribution of opportunities and burdens is defensible.

Economic advancement sharpens this difficulty. Roman (2003) identifies tensions between economic orientations and transformative educational purposes, while Le and Duong (2023) locate Vietnamese GCED within educational markets, national development, and postcolonial aspirations. Competitiveness may respond to exclusion while reproducing inequalities among those pursuing it. Goren and Yemini's (2017) review situates empirical research within disagreements over GCED's definition and realization; Rajendran et al. (2015) identify gaps between institutional commitments and curricula. Institutions can therefore endorse global responsibility while rewarding advancement

whose consequences for others remain unexamined. Educational priorities determine whether learners can question those consequences or merely acquire capabilities for succeeding within existing arrangements.

Responsibility also exceeds the conduct most visible in classrooms. Dyrness (2021) traces civic formation through transnational youths' experiences of migration, racialization, unequal mobility, and family relationships. Wheeler (2023) shows how sustainability resources emphasize children's personal and household practices while limiting attention to institutional conditions. Armstrong (2006) examines global civil society, and UNESCO (2015) includes collective engagement. Yet collective participation does not establish how obligations should be distributed. Learners, communities, firms, and public authorities differ in their involvement in harm, capacity to respond, and authority to change its conditions. Assigning similar responsibilities to unequal actors can obscure these differences rather than address them.

National attachments complicate this allocation. Miller (1995) defends special obligations toward fellow nationals; K.-C. Tan (2004) accommodates patriotic commitments within constraints of cosmopolitan justice. Dobson (2006) grounds global obligations in material connections between people. Membership and cross-border relationships thus offer distinct reasons for responsibility, but their coexistence leaves conflicts unresolved. Workers' dependence on a national industry, for example, cannot by itself settle claims from communities harmed by its operations. Conversely, recognizing external harm does not determine who should bear the costs of adjustment. Civic judgment requires grounds for evaluating both competing claims and differentiated remedial duties.

The authority to supply those grounds is itself unequal. Abdi (2015), Dhuru and Thapliyal (2021), and Swanson and Gamal (2021) examine colonial histories, knowledge hierarchies, and contradictions within GCED. Pashby et al. (2020) show how diverse typologies remain bounded by the modern-colonial imaginary. Traditions positioned primarily as contexts for applying established concepts have limited authority to reshape them. C. Tan's (2020) neo-Confucian reconstruction demonstrates another possibility. However, national authority offers no exemption from criticism: a tradition invoked against domination can also authorize exclusion. Its educational legitimacy depends on whether interpretations and practices remain open to reasoned challenge.

Pancasila places this tension within Indonesian educational foundations. The constitutional Preamble connects national protection, welfare, and education with a world order founded on freedom, lasting peace, and social justice. Law No. 20 of 2003 establishes Pancasila and the Constitution as educational foundations and identifies democratic, responsible citizenship as an educational purpose (Republic of Indonesia, 1945, 2003). UNESCO's (2023) Recommendation connects global citizenship with peace, rights, cooperation, and sustainability. These sources differ in authority; constitutional standing establishes Pancasila's institutional relevance but does not independently justify its interpretation or extend nationally formulated duties beyond citizenship.

The principles themselves create demands that cannot be reduced to national preference. Humanity concerns persons, whereas Indonesian unity and social justice for all Indonesians recognize a particular political community. Religious commitment raises questions of accountability within plurality, while deliberation and representation concern collective authority (Latif, 2015; Munawar-Rachman, 2020). Their interaction raises a substantive problem: why should membership sustain special responsibilities without exhausting the standing of others affected by national decisions? Resolving it requires distinguishing textual commitments, philosophical interpretations, and normative extensions.

Existing Pancasila scholarship addresses global identity (Putri & Meinarno, 2018), curricular integration (Usmi & Samsuri, 2022), and moral foundations for global citizenship (Irayanti & Komalasari, 2023). These approaches leave the priority of conflicting obligations unresolved. Associations between identities cannot establish what people owe one another, while curricular inclusion cannot determine which judgments are defensible. An integrated interpretation must explain how accountability, humanity, solidarity, participation, and justice constrain national partiality. Particular obligations retain moral significance, but national advantage alone cannot justify serious, avoidable harm beyond borders.

Two research questions guide the analysis: (1) How can an integrated interpretation of Pancasila ground and justify a GCED framework that recognizes particular national responsibilities and obligations beyond national borders? (2) How can the reconstructed framework inform curriculum, pedagogy, and civic enactment when these responsibilities conflict? Conceptual reconstruction connects these questions with GCED enactment and assessment (Duarte, 2023; Thomas & Banki, 2021). The focus is formal education and its connections with community participation; educational effectiveness remains open to empirical investigation.

2. Method

This study used conceptual reconstruction, supported by document analysis and interpretive synthesis, to examine the normative foundations and educational implications of Pancasila-based Global Citizenship Education (GCED). Document analysis identified source commitments, interpretive synthesis examined scholarly agreements and disputes, and reconstruction assessed their connections with civic responsibility (Jaakkola, 2020).

Sources were selected purposively for relevance to Indonesian educational foundations, Pancasila philosophy, national and transnational obligations, and civic learning. The corpus comprised constitutional and statutory provisions, historical records, UNESCO documents, and scholarship. Selection considered each source’s role in establishing, interpreting, or evaluating normative claims, without claiming comprehensive coverage of GCED literature. Foundational works supplied philosophical arguments, while subsequent scholarship informed their examination in contemporary educational contexts. Table 1 maps the sources and analytical domains.

Table 1. Thematic Mapping of Sources and Analytical Focus

Analytical domain	Principal sources	Analytical focus
Educational foundations and civic commitments	Republic of Indonesia (1945, 2003); UNESCO (2015, 2023)	Educational purposes, forms of normative authority, and commitments concerning national welfare, human rights, peace, democratic responsibility, and social justice
Historical and philosophical interpretation of Pancasila	Badan Pembinaan Ideologi Pancasila and Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia (2024); Latif (2015); Munawar-Rachman (2020); Samekto and Purwanti (2021); Irayanti and Komalasari (2023)	Historical relationships between nationalism and internationalism; equality among nations; interpretations of religious commitment, humanity, unity, deliberation and representation, and social justice

National belonging and global responsibility	Miller (1995); K.-C. Tan (2004); Dobson (2006); Putri and Meinarno (2018); Usmi and Samsuri (2022); Irayanti and Komalasari (2023); Shue (2020); Schlosberg (2004)	Special obligations, material connections across borders, limits of national preference, protection of basic interests, and relationships among distribution, recognition, and participation
Educational purposes and civic agency	Roman (2003); Westheimer and Kahne (2004); Armstrong (2006); Oxley and Morris (2013); Rajendran et al. (2015); Goren and Yemini (2017); Le and Duong (2023); Dyrness (2021); Wheeler (2023); Young (2011)	Competing conceptions of citizenship, economic and civic orientations, situated experience, institutional power, structural injustice, and differentiated responsibilities for collective responses
Epistemic authority and philosophical plurality	Andreotti (2006); Abdi (2015); Dhuru and Thapliyal (2021); Swanson and Gamal (2021); C. Tan (2020); Pashby et al. (2020)	Knowledge hierarchies, assumptions underlying GCED typologies, critical literacy, situated philosophical contributions, and the contestability of interpretations
Curriculum, pedagogy, and civic enactment	UNESCO (2015); Biesta (2009); Sant (2019); Thomas and Banki (2021); Leite (2022); Tricahyono (2022); Duarte (2023); Irayanti (2024); Irayanti et al. (2026)	Connections among normative commitments, educational purposes, reflective inquiry, learning tasks, assessment, unequal participation, and institutional conditions for civic engagement

Source: Authors' thematic mapping of the selected documents and literature.

Document analysis examined the constitutional Preamble, Articles 2-4 of Law No. 20 of 2003, and UNESCO's educational formulations in their textual and institutional contexts. Constitutional and statutory authority was distinguished from international guidance. The study examined Sukarno's 1 June 1945 address, reproduced in BPIP-ANRI (2024), separately from the final constitutional formulation. Authoritative commitments were not treated as evidence of implementation or as sufficient grounds for resolving conflicting obligations.

Thematic coding combined deductive and inductive procedures adapted from Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006). Table 1 guided initial coding; additional codes addressed membership, affected interests, authority, representation, and responsibility. Analytical units comprised provisions, historical formulations, educational commitments, philosophical arguments, and reported findings. Source locations and interpretive notes preserved context. Comparisons within and across sources examined consistency, scope, and competing explanations, retaining divergent arguments when assessing interpretations (Maxwell, 2012).

Analysis distinguished explicit textual commitments, philosophical interpretations of their relationships, and normative extensions to GCED. Particular attention focused on the premises required to extend nationally formulated commitments beyond citizenship.

Empirical findings informed interpretation but did not independently establish the validity or priority of obligations.

Each proposed dimension connected a source-grounded commitment with an interpretation of its relationship to other *sila* and consequences for civic judgment. Four study-specific criteria guided assessment: source traceability; coherence across principles; implications for the meaning, scope, or justification of responsibility; and defensibility against competing readings. These criteria drew on Ravitch and Riggan (2017). The five-dimensional organization allowed overlapping relationships and alternative formulations.

Argumentative scrutiny compared nationally restrictive readings with interpretations that inadequately recognize particular political relationships. Miller (1995), K.-C. Tan (2004), and Dobson (2006) informed comparisons of special obligations, global justice, and material connections. Interpretations were assessed through preserved commitments, excluded claims, and the premises supporting exclusions. A hypothetical conflict between domestic employment and transboundary pollution examined competing basic interests, uncertain evidence, and differentiated remedial duties. Shue (2020) informed scrutiny of basic interests, Schlosberg (2004) connected distribution with recognition and participation, and Young (2011) distinguished shared involvement from blame and remedial responsibility. The case examined argumentative consistency and limits under specified conditions rather than empirical effectiveness.

The pedagogical synthesis connected dimensions to curriculum, learning processes, assessment, and civic participation through educational rationales that linked tasks to normative commitments. It considered reflection, deliberation, participation conditions, and evidence of judgment. Conceptual and empirical sources were interpreted within their respective scopes. Proposed learning opportunities and assessment indicators still require empirical examination.

3. Analysis and Discussion: Reconstructing Global Citizenship Education through Pancasila

National membership sustains particular responsibilities, while material relationships across borders generate claims that national decisions must also address (Dobson, 2006; Miller, 1995). Pancasila's philosophical commitments and their interpretation within plural coexistence provide resources for examining how these responsibilities interact (Latif, 2015; Munawar-Rachman, 2020). Their relevance to GCED depends on the reasons connecting each principle with obligations, limits on authority, and the standing of affected people. Developing Pancasila's ethical significance for global citizenship therefore requires examining how interpretations of its principles authorize or constrain civic claims (Irayanti & Komalasari, 2023). Educationally, these relationships shape the claims learners investigate, the reasons they offer for collective decisions, and the institutional responsibilities they identify through civic participation (Thomas & Banki, 2021).

3.1. Normative Foundations of Pancasila-Based Global Citizenship Education

Indonesia's constitutional Preamble rejects colonialism through the right of all nations to independence, humanity, and justice, extending its justification beyond Indonesian sovereignty (Republic of Indonesia, 1945). Denying these reasons to other peoples would require explaining why comparable domination warrants different judgments. The commitment to a world order founded on freedom, lasting peace, and social justice further places national welfare and international responsibility within the same political community. These commitments neither establish identical obligations across borders nor

require redressing every injustice. They do challenge the assumption that domestic benefit can justify decisions independently of their external consequences.

Sukarno's 1 June 1945 address presented nationalism and internationalism as mutually sustaining, distinguishing internationalism from a cosmopolitanism understood as dissolving national belonging (Badan Pembinaan Ideologi Pancasila [BPIP] & Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia [ANRI], 2024). The speech preceded the final constitutional formulation, and its use of cosmopolitanism cannot be equated with every contemporary cosmopolitan theory. Its association of national freedom with other peoples' independence nevertheless resists treating sovereignty as moral isolation. Sukarno's anticolonial worldmaking further situates his political thought within a broader effort to reshape international order beyond inherited colonial structures (Quah, 2026). Samekto and Purwanti (2021) connect *taman sari dunia* with equality among nations and food sovereignty under unequal international conditions. Formal independence can coexist with dependencies that restrict welfare; national responsibility therefore includes scrutiny of the international arrangements sustaining those constraints.

Latif's (2015) philosophical account supports examining Pancasila's principles together. Madung and Mere's (2021) argument that Pancasila should be interpreted through dialogue between communitarian and liberal political traditions, particularly to strengthen its role in human rights discourse. An interpretation of unity that permits degrading treatment conflicts with just and civilized humanity; deliberation that disregards unequal burdens leaves social justice unanswered. Interdependence requires each principle's interpretation to accommodate the claims the other brings into view. Their scopes nonetheless differ. Indonesian unity identifies a particular political association, and social justice for all Indonesians specifies a domestic constituency. Humanity concerns persons beyond that membership. This distinction reflects a tension between the collective identity embodied in the nation and the broader moral claims associated with human rights (Madung & Mere, 2021). Treating these commitments as interchangeable would obscure both the institutional basis of particular duties and the standing of outsiders affected by national decisions.

Miller's (1995) defence of special national obligations explains the moral significance of particularity, while K.-C. Tan (2004) locates national commitments within constraints of global justice. Protecting citizens' security and welfare justifies national priority, but priority does not permit disregarding injuries imposed on non-citizens. National partiality is defensible only within limits that protect fundamental rights and prevent the worsening of deprivation among non-members (Beaton et al., 2021). Conversely, identical duties toward everyone would inadequately explain Pancasila's explicit domestic commitments. Dobson's (2006) account of material connections clarifies why obligations can arise beyond membership: national decisions may help produce conditions that burden others. This relational account is reinforced by Heilinger's (2021) analysis of global structural injustice, which emphasizes how institutional arrangements and interconnected social practices can generate responsibilities beyond national borders. Such connections require examination of attributable external harm. Strumia (2024) argues that states have responsibilities to consider the interests of non-citizens when their decisions are likely to generate cross-border externalities. Wider duties of assistance, redistribution, or institutional reform require additional justification concerning responsibility, capacity, and the relationships involved.

Religious commitment raises a related problem of authority. Munawar-Rachman (2020) situates Pancasila within interreligious relations where theological understandings remain diverse. Belief in the One and Only God retains meanings beyond civic accountability, but sincerity alone cannot legitimize coercion or exclusion. Humanity and

social justice require attention to those bearing a decision's consequences; deliberation and representation require their objections to remain open to examination. Intan's (2023) account of principled pluralism, which examines how religious commitments can participate in public life while respecting religious freedom and addressing intolerance in Indonesia. Religious reasons can inform collective life without justifying authority over others. Rofii and Hosen (2023) argue that constitutional references to religious values can create interpretive tensions when invoked to justify limitations on religious freedom, highlighting the need to scrutinize how religious principles are translated into public authority. Otherwise, conviction would become sufficient to exclude precisely those whose treatment requires justification. Giri Wardana et al. (2025) identify tensions between *Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa* and constitutional guarantees of religious freedom, while Bimasakti (2025) documents legal and administrative barriers experienced by adherents of religions and beliefs outside the state's traditionally recognized categories. A related perspective emphasizes Pancasila's philosophical resources for strengthening religious moderation in a plural society (Tantra et al., 2024).

Articles 2-4 of Law No. 20 of 2003 link educational foundations to democratic, responsible citizenship and to democratic, equitable, non-discriminatory provision that respects human rights and religious and cultural plurality (Republic of Indonesia, 2003). Invoking Pancasila while denying reasoned disagreement creates an inconsistency between foundation and enactment. These provisions support conditions for examining obligations without independently establishing global duties. UNESCO's (2015, 2023) orientations connect understanding, relationships, and action with peace, rights, and sustainability, but their authority differs from constitutional law. Shared values provide grounds for engagement; they do not resolve whose claims receive standing, how responsibilities are distributed, or what happens when commitments conflict.

Different forms of evidence also warrant different conclusions. Putri and Meinarno's (2018) findings on Pancasila values and global identity do not, by themselves, establish a normative obligation. Usmi and Samsuri (2022) examine the curricular dimensions of Pancasila education, while Irayanti and Komalasari (2023) develop ethical foundations. Compatible identities may make conflict less inevitable, but duties require justification when acknowledging others' claims comes at a cost. Curricular inclusion creates opportunities to examine those costs without determining how to allocate them defensibly. Ethical grounding must connect commitments with reasons for accepting obligations, including circumstances in which national advantage and affected outsiders' interests diverge.

Dyrness's (2021) account of transnational youth exposes relationships obscured by bounded national categories: family ties, unequal mobility, racialization, and state power connect communities whose formal memberships differ. Affected people may identify burdens that institutional beneficiaries overlook. Abdi (2015) and Dhuru and Thapliyal (2021) make unequal epistemic authority consequential here. Including experiences as examples while excluding their bearers from interpreting causes and remedies preserves that inequality. Official endorsement of Pancasila cannot establish the adequacy of interpretations that disregard such knowledge. C. Tan's (2020) situated philosophical reconstruction provides a comparison: tradition supplies resources for reasoning, while its interpretations remain answerable to objections.

Particular political responsibilities therefore coexist with demands concerning the treatment, representation, and burdens of affected others. Neither national membership nor moral conviction settles a decision's permissibility. Unity requires explanations for exclusion, deliberation requires attention to whose claims can influence judgment, and

justice requires scrutiny of who bears the consequences. These constraints preserve political belonging while denying that loyalty or collective agreement can alone justify harm.

3.2. Educational, Epistemic, and Civic Tensions in Global Citizenship Education

Similar GCED activities can serve conflicting educational purposes. Oxley and Morris's (2013) typology distinguishes competing civic orientations, while Duarte (2023) documents variation in how they are interpreted and implemented. Teachers' ideological orientations and institutional contexts shape whether global citizenship education promotes meaningful student participation or reproduces teacher-led practices (Barry et al., 2025). International exchanges may cultivate intercultural understanding while privileging mobile, well-resourced learners. Community projects may encourage participation without allowing participants to define the problem. Kim and Kwon (2023) argue for critical approaches that foreground reciprocal learning, transnational inequalities, and justice-oriented action rather than intercultural awareness alone. The activity's designation as global or civic therefore settles little about its educational value. Institutional decisions about access, achievement, and influence shape whether learners can examine the relationships organizing their participation or are rewarded for performing an approved form of engagement.

Roman's (2003) distinction between global citizenship from above and below exposes interests embedded in curricular internationalization. Employability and adaptability can offer substantial benefits while leaving the distribution of opportunities unquestioned. Le and Duong's (2023) analysis of Vietnam complicates any dismissal of competitive advancement: postcolonial aspirations respond to histories of exclusion from resources and recognition. Yet benefits claimed as national may accrue unevenly among regions, institutions, and groups. National development and global responsibility consequently cannot be reduced to two internally unified interests. Claims made for either require examining whose welfare legitimizes advancement and who actually benefits.

Rajendran et al. (2015) identify discrepancies between institutional commitments and curricular realization. Such discrepancies can concern the boundaries of permissible inquiry as much as incomplete implementation. A program may reward service hours while preventing scrutiny of partner selection, resource allocation, or community priorities. Learners then demonstrate compliance without being able to question the institution defining civic achievement. The difficulty intensifies when successful performance becomes evidence that institutional priorities are justified. Civic inquiry requires opportunities to examine those priorities, including the arrangements through which educational institutions authorize some forms of participation and exclude others.

Epistemic inclusion presents a comparable tension. Abdi (2015) questions relationships in which some perspectives supply explanatory categories while others become experiences to be explained. Community testimony can illustrate hardship while institutional accounts retain authority over its causes and remedies. Pashby et al. (2020) show that diverse GCED typologies, including critical orientations, may remain bounded by the modern-colonial imaginary. Dhuru and Thapliyal (2021) and Swanson and Gamal (2021) similarly situate educational possibilities within contested histories and unequal relationships. Expanding curricular representation does not necessarily redistribute interpretive authority. People can become more visible while remaining unable to challenge the categories through which they are understood.

Nationally authoritative philosophies face the same difficulty. Pancasila can widen the philosophical resources available to GCED, but compulsory agreement with an authorized interpretation would restrict their examination. C. Tan's (2020) neo-Confucian account

connects situated concepts with philosophical reasons. Conceptual overlap with established values does not invalidate such reasoning, but resemblance alone cannot establish its substance. Interpretations acquire normative force through what their reasons justify, prohibit, or leave unresolved. Andreotti's (2006) distinction between soft and critical GCED extends this scrutiny to humanitarian engagement. Assistance may alleviate hardship while preserving learners' authority to define others' needs. Critical literacy requires examining that authority and how engagement might unsettle the assumptions supporting it.

The distribution of responsibility creates a further conflict between accessible action and effective agency. Wheeler (2023) shows how sustainability resources position children as consumers while obscuring political and economic conditions. Personal behavior can become highly visible despite limited influence over the arrangements producing harm. Conversely, exclusive attention to structural power can obscure meaningful individual and community contributions. Causal involvement, authority to change conditions, and capacity to assist require separate consideration. Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) distinctions among personally responsible, participatory, and justice-oriented citizenship expose the stakes: organizational competence may develop without inquiry into injustice. Collective action requires scrutiny of its purposes and institutional consequences.

UNESCO (2015) includes collective engagement, while Armstrong (2006) examines civic agency through global civil society. Yet organization and agreement can reproduce unequal influence. Dyrness's (2021) work shows how transnational youth can hold knowledge about cross-border relationships while lacking recognized authority within institutions governing their lives. Participation becomes substantively unequal when affected people can speak but cannot shape how a problem is defined or how it is addressed. The relevant distinction concerns influence over collective judgment, including whether objections change proposals and whether excluded groups' claims receive consideration.

Pancasila-based education faces these tensions within its own commitments to solidarity, deliberation, and justice. Solidarity can conceal unequal burdens when national interests are presumed rather than contested. Deliberation can authorize exclusion when agreement among participants substitutes for consideration of those absent. Responsibility can become an instrument of compliance when learners are expected to act while institutional obligations escape scrutiny. These commitments intersect, requiring educational priorities, interpretive authority, and remedial duties to remain open to challenge, even when their justification invokes Pancasila itself.

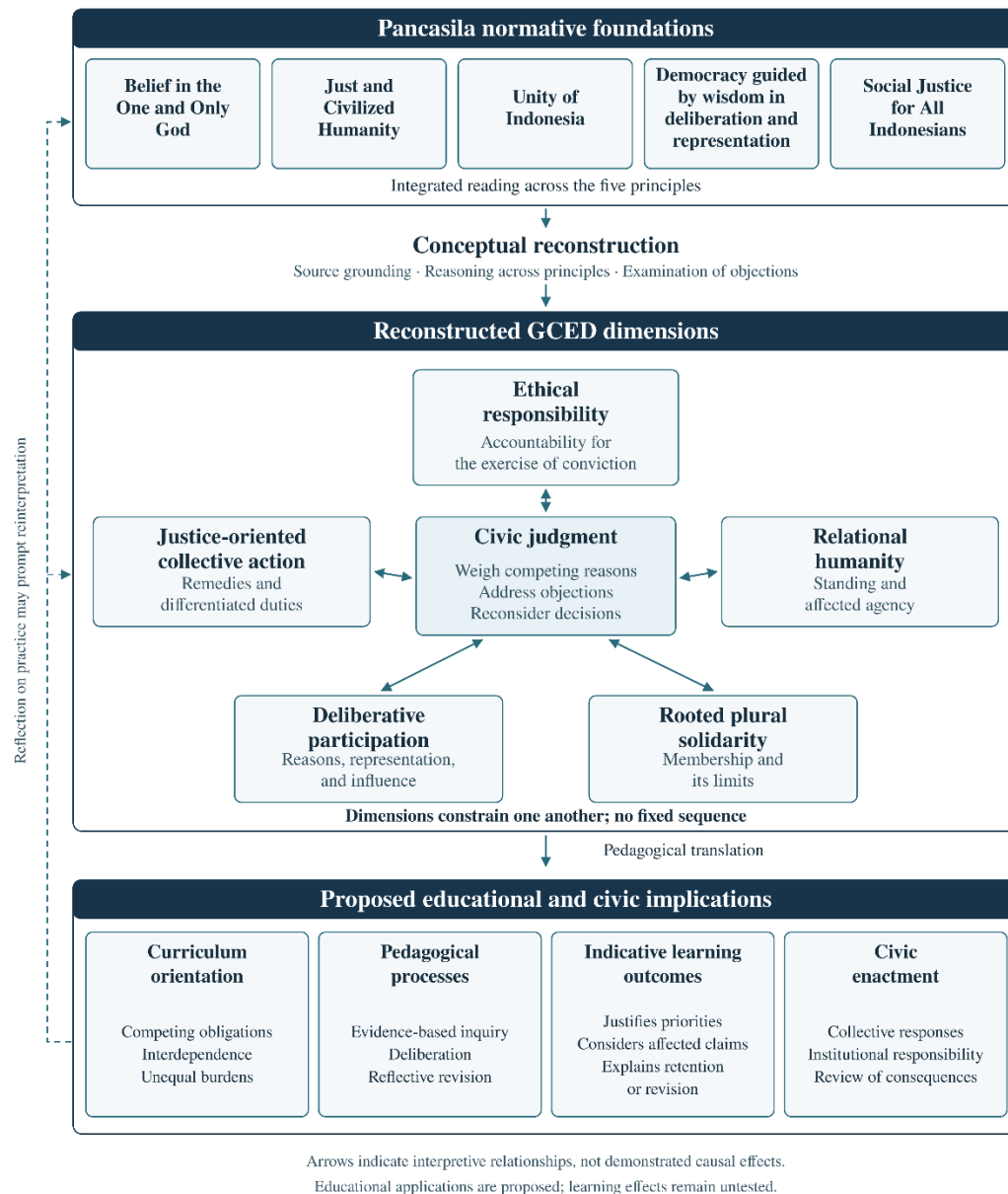
3.3. The Pancasila-GCED Framework

Public support, sincere conviction, and national benefit can coexist with unjustifiable burdens on others. The Pancasila-GCED Framework connects these justification problems through ethical responsibility, relational humanity, rooted plural solidarity, deliberative participation, and justice-oriented collective action. Their grounding rests on relationships among Pancasila's commitments within plural coexistence (Latif, 2015; Munawar-Rachman, 2020). A decision within one dimension remains open to objections arising from another: solidarity cannot settle questions of harm, and agreement cannot settle questions of justice.

Each dimension retains a particular *sila* as its primary grounding without exhausting that principle's meanings or isolating it from the others. These relationships limit moral authority, human standing, political attachment, collective judgment, and remedial responsibility. Civic judgment involves weighing their claims and reconsidering decisions. The connections in Figure 1 express normative reasoning whose educational enactment

depends on curricular and institutional conditions; educational effects require empirical examination (Duarte, 2023; Rajendran et al., 2015; Thomas & Banki, 2021).

Figure 1. The Pancasila-GCED Framework



Source: Authors' conceptualization drawing on Latif (2015), Roman (2003), Abdi (2015), C. Tan (2020), Dyrness (2021), Thomas and Banki (2021), Leite (2022), and Duarte (2023).

Ethical responsibility arises when the public exercises religious conviction amid plurality. Belief in the One and Only God grounds religious commitment in Pancasila, but agreement on that principle does not resolve disagreements over particular civic decisions. Munawar-Rachman's (2020) account of interreligious relations makes these differences consequential. An obligation deeply meaningful to its proponents may remain contested by those bearing its consequences.

Humanity requires consideration of those subject to authority; deliberation and representation require engagement with their objections; social justice requires scrutiny of

resulting burdens. Together, these commitments support accountability for decisions informed by conviction, including reconsideration when applications cannot answer objections concerning injury or exclusion. Religious belief retains meanings exceeding this civic obligation. C. Tan's (2020) account of moral cultivation and Le and Duong's (2023) analysis of competitive educational pressures expose different aspects of the relationship between ethical formation and its conditions of enactment. Valued commitments do not, on their own, justify actions undertaken in their name.

Relational humanity connects dignity with the relationships through which harm is experienced and interpreted. The second *sila* joins humanity with justice and civilized conduct. Social justice directs attention to arrangements producing insecurity, while deliberation and representation require opportunities for affected people to challenge accounts of their circumstances. Schlosberg's (2004) connection among distribution, recognition, and participation clarifies why assessing harm involves more than measuring its allocation.

Abdi (2015) and Dyrness (2021) expose the epistemic difficulty: people may receive concern while institutional explanations displace their accounts of the problem. Assistance can then preserve dependence on those defining acceptable needs and remedies. Relational humanity requires affected people's knowledge to influence interpretations of harm and proposed responses. Experience does not make every claim conclusive, but it offers reasons not to exclude testimony because professional or institutional actors presume to understand others' interests. Recognition therefore entails agency within inquiry alongside scrutiny of evidence.

Rooted plural solidarity concerns the responsibilities sustained by political membership and the limits of action undertaken for a national community. Indonesian unity supports institutions that make protection, cooperation, and welfare possible. Miller's (1995) account of special obligations explains the moral weight of these attachments. Yet workers, firms, public authorities, and marginalized groups can occupy unequal positions within projects described as national.

Rooted preserves particular institutional relationships; *plural* recognizes differences in belief, experience, and judgment; *solidarity* concerns the cooperation sustaining shared membership. Humanity and social justice constrain exclusions and unequal burdens, while deliberation permits challenges to definitions of common interests. Putri and Meinarno's (2018) association between Pancasila values and global identity does not determine which duties prevail when interests conflict. K.-C. Tan (2004) places national commitments within global justice, and Dyrness (2021) shows how lived attachments cross formal boundaries. Loyalty consequently requires distinguishing the protection of particular responsibilities from the protection of arrangements against justified criticism. Dissent need not signify withdrawal from solidarity.

Deliberative participation connects collective authority with reasons, representation, and the quality of judgment. The fourth *sila* joins popular government with wisdom in deliberation and representation. Participation concerns influence over decisions; representation extends responsibility beyond those physically present; wisdom requires more than recording agreement. An inclusive procedure can still authorize exclusion when participants ignore those who bear its consequences.

Armstrong (2006) examines collective organization through global civil society, while Duarte (2023) documents variation in how citizenship's taught. Humanity and justice constrain the authority claimed through such participation. Speech without consequential consideration of objections provides weak grounds for shared authorship. Agreement among beneficiaries likewise cannot legitimize burdens imposed elsewhere. Affected

outsiders' claims require credible examination, including scrutiny of proxy representation. This requirement does not automatically confer identical political rights on everyone affected; it prevents institutional absence from erasing relevant claims.

Justice-oriented collective action connects recognition of injustice with differentiated obligations to change its conditions. Social justice for all Indonesians establishes a substantive commitment without independently determining who must act or which remedy is appropriate. Collective responses become necessary where deprivation exceeds isolated individuals' capacities. Deliberation and representation support coordination, while humanity constrains how those affected by legislation, organizational reform, public claims, or community cooperation are treated.

Young's (2011) social connection model distinguishes responsibility for structural injustice from identifying a single blameworthy actor. Shared involvement does not entail equal remedial duties: authority, resources, and relationships sustaining injustice matter. Wheeler (2023) exposes the limits of assigning environmental responsibility through personal conduct while institutional conditions remain obscure. Roman (2003) and Westheimer and Kahne (2004) connect civic purposes with scrutiny of structural arrangements. A collaborative project can relieve hardship while allowing responsible institutions to withdraw. Justice therefore requires examination of both assistance and the allocation of obligations.

Table 2. Questions and Grounds for Objection within the Pancasila-GCED Framework

Reconstructed dimension	Primary grounding	Question for civic judgment	Grounds for challenging a proposed decision
Ethical responsibility	Belief in the One and Only God	Can the exercise of conviction answer objections about its public consequences?	Moral authority is asserted while objections concerning injury or exclusion remain unanswered
Relational humanity	Just and Civilized Humanity	Can affected people influence how their circumstances and claims are understood?	Concern for their welfare coexists with the exclusion of their knowledge or agency
Rooted plural solidarity	Unity of Indonesia	Which responsibilities does an appeal to national belonging protect?	A common interest is asserted despite unexamined internal inequalities or external burdens
Deliberative participation	Democracy guided by wisdom in deliberation and representation	How are reasons, representation, and influence connected to collective authority?	Expression or agreement conceals consequential exclusions from decision-making
Justice-oriented collective action	Social Justice for All Indonesians	Who has the responsibility and capacity to change the conditions producing injustice?	Shared action obscures differentiated obligations or transfers them to less powerful participants

Source: Authors' conceptual reconstruction.

In a hypothetical conflict, an economic activity sustains domestic employment while polluting a river flowing into a neighboring country. Credible evidence links its operation to threats to drinking water and downstream livelihoods. Dobson's (2006) material connections ground the external claim in relationships the activity produces. Rooted plural solidarity gives workers' interests weight, while relational humanity extends consideration to downstream communities. Ethical responsibility requires justification of public consequences; deliberative participation examines evidence and representation; justice-oriented collective action concerns obligations to prevent harm and protect livelihoods.

Shue's (2020) account of basic rights distinguishes threats to subsistence and security from losses of additional advantage. Reduced returns cannot automatically outweigh access to safe water. Avoidability nevertheless requires evidence about alternatives' feasibility, effectiveness, and costs. Where pollution control protects downstream communities while preserving employment, rejecting it solely to maintain higher returns leaves the injury unjustified.

If protective measures threaten workers' subsistence, both groups possess claims concerning basic conditions of life. Neither nationality nor exposure to harm automatically settles their priority. Before accepting an unavoidable choice between livelihoods and environmental protection, examine production changes, transitional support, phased restrictions, and financing by beneficiaries. Workers' vulnerability challenges remedies that make them bear adjustment alone without authorizing continued injury elsewhere. Young (2011) supports distinguishing workers' involvement from the obligations of owners, regulators, and other actors able to change the arrangement.

Uncertainty about the source or severity of injury shifts attention to independent investigation, access to evidence, and affected communities' ability to contest findings. Neither national preference nor an allegation of harm settles disputed facts. Possible serious or irreversible injury provides reasons to examine timely protection, but the five dimensions alone do not establish a probability threshold. Contextual evidence remains necessary, and defensible disagreement may persist over priorities and remedies.

3.4. Curriculum, Pedagogy, and Civic Enactment

A learner may reach a defensible conclusion that differs from the teacher's preferred position. Rewarding agreement would make civic inquiry an exercise in reproducing an authorized answer. Rajendran et al. (2015) identify discrepancies between global citizenship commitments and curricula, while Duarte (2023) documents variation in implementation. These difficulties concern everyday instructional decisions: which problems receive attention, whose accounts enter the classroom, and how teachers assess reasons when conclusions differ.

Curriculum can organize inquiry around decisions about water use, resource extraction, migration, or public services. Leite (2022) connects global citizenship learning with the Sustainable Development Goals, while Irayanti (2024) links Pancasila-based civic moral formation with curriculum planning, instruction, and evaluation. Competing responsibilities give these activities a common focus. Learners need a problem narrow enough to investigate while retaining the relationships through which benefits and burdens extend across communities. Adequate contextual knowledge matters more than attempting to resolve every aspect of a global issue.

Learning materials can place institutional documents alongside accounts from affected groups. Official reports alone may leave some injuries unrecognized; personal testimony alone may leave institutional conditions unexplained. Dyrness's (2021) work with transnational youth supports attention to experiences obscured by nationally organized

accounts. Students can examine discrepancies through questions about provenance, omissions, and uncertainty. Their experiences can inform discussion without requiring any individual to speak for an entire religious, national, or cultural community.

Participation requires attention to how contributions affect the inquiry. Irayanti et al. (2026) identify uneven classroom dialogue shaped by confidence, recognition, and social positioning. Written preparation, small-group exchanges, and anonymous questions may help learners formulate objections they would hesitate to express publicly. Teachers can then ask students to record whether an objection changes the evidence considered, the problem's definition, or the proposed response. Unresolved disagreements remain part of the record. Counting contributions would miss these differences in influence.

Role-based activities also require evidence. Students imagining an affected community's position may reproduce their own assumptions about its needs. Available testimony allows them to compare those assumptions with expressed claims. Where accounts are missing, students should identify the gap and explain whether consultation or further investigation is needed. A persuasive performance cannot substitute for an adequately supported interpretation.

Assessment can follow an initial claim through investigation, objections, and a final proposal explaining any revisions. Biesta (2009) connects assessment with educational purpose, while Thomas and Banki (2021) examine what assessments recognize as global citizenship. Relevant evidence includes source accuracy, consistency across competing interests, consideration of representation, and allocation of institutional responsibilities. Different conclusions may meet these requirements. Unsupported claims, selective standards, and unanswered objections still warrant criticism. The outcomes in Table 3 identify possible evidence of such judgment.

Table 3. Proposed Educational Applications of the Pancasila-GCED Framework

GCED dimension	Curriculum orientation	Pedagogical process	Indicative learning outcome	Civic enactment
Ethical responsibility	Conviction and competing obligations	Compare justifications and respond to objections	Explains why a judgment is retained or revised	Gives reasons for a proposed decision
Relational humanity	Harm, dignity, and institutional conditions	Compare affected accounts with institutional explanations	Identifies how evidence changes the interpretation of a problem	Develops a response that acknowledges affected agency
Rooted plural solidarity	Particular attachments and wider consequences	Examine contrasting claims within and across communities	Distinguishes a defensible priority from an unsupported exclusion	Proposes cooperation responsive to competing needs
Deliberative participation	Authority, representation, and unequal influence	Trace objections and their effects on a shared proposal	Evaluates whose contributions influenced the decision	Identifies and addresses barriers to participation
Justice-oriented collective action	Remedies, resources, and institutional obligations	Map responsibilities and compare feasible responses	Allocates tasks with reasons concerning authority and capacity	Undertakes or proposes action with reviewable responsibilities

Source: Authors' conceptualization. The outcomes indicate possible evidence of learning; they are not validated performance standards.

Reflective learning connects experiences of diversity and social justice with examining judgment (Tricahyono, 2022). In the transboundary pollution case, changes in pollution-control costs or livelihood support can alter the reasons for a proposal. Learners explain which changes warrant revision and why. If comparable vulnerabilities receive different weight for workers and downstream communities, they must justify that difference. Retaining a judgment also requires reasons when new evidence challenges its premises.

Civic enactment can take the form of institutional proposals, investigations of educational practices, or community collaboration. Its scope depends on learners' knowledge, resources, and access to decisions. Wheeler (2023) exposes the limitations of assigning personal environmental responsibility while overlooking institutional conditions. Project planning should therefore identify what learners can undertake and which duties belong to educational institutions, public authorities, firms, or other actors. Learner participation cannot discharge obligations requiring authority or resources they do not possess.

Institutional acceptance and educational quality require separate assessment. Financing, administrative mandates, or political priorities may prevent adoption of a carefully justified proposal. Acceptance may likewise reflect convenience rather than sound reasoning. Assessment can examine the proposal's evidence, its response to objections, its negotiation of responsibilities, and its attention to community priorities. Institutional responses reveal additional constraints, including those learners could not resolve through the project.

Sant's (2019) review connects competing conceptions of democratic education with institutional practice. Time for investigation, access to information, and procedures for considering objections shape opportunities for civic learning. Assessment consequently depends partly on the conditions available for enactment (Thomas & Banki, 2021). Encouraging scrutiny of public decisions while excluding educational practices from comparable examination creates an inconsistency. Institutions' explanations for accepting or rejecting proposals allow learners to examine those limits.

Activities also need to match the educational level and available resources. Younger learners can compare concrete accounts with guided support; more advanced inquiry can address institutional mandates, disputed evidence, and remedial duties. Unequal access to materials and public engagement affects whose reasoning becomes visible. Classroom observation, successive learning artifacts, and institutional responses can support empirical examination of whether learners apply comparable standards across groups, whether objections influence proposals, and how projects allocate responsibility.

4. Conclusion

Pancasila grounds obligations beyond national borders while sustaining particular responsibilities toward fellow citizens. Humanity, deliberation, representation, and justice limit the pursuit of national interests. National benefit alone cannot justify serious, avoidable harm to others. When basic interests conflict, decisions require evidence about threatened harms, feasible alternatives, and the obligations of actors with the authority and resources to change harmful conditions.

Ethical responsibility, relational humanity, rooted plural solidarity, deliberative participation, and justice-oriented collective action connect moral conviction with accountability for collective decisions. Religious conviction carries obligations toward those

affected by its public consequences. National solidarity requires attention to internal inequalities and external burdens. Collective agreement remains answerable to excluded groups, while responses to injustice require differentiated responsibilities rather than equal demands on actors with unequal capacities. Pancasila's interconnected commitments thus provide grounds for questioning exclusion and harm, including practices justified through appeals to national unity or moral authority.

In education, civic judgment involves investigating contested claims, evaluating competing interests, responding to objections, and reconsidering decisions. Assessment requires attention to the quality of reasoning, including when learners reach different conclusions. Meaningful participation depends on whether objections can influence collective proposals. Civic projects require explicit distinctions between learners' contributions and institutional obligations.

These conclusions depend on selected sources and contestable interpretations of Pancasila. The hypothetical conflict cannot establish their adequacy across disputes, and educational effectiveness remains untested. Empirical investigation is needed to assess consistency across competing groups, the influence of objections on decisions, and the distribution of responsibilities in civic projects.

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