

Are we teaching citizenship right? A critical review of Pancasila education textbooks

Isnariah * 

Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta, Indonesia

isnariah.2022@student.uny.ac.id

Feri Rizwan 

Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta, Indonesia

feririzwan.2022@student.uny.ac.id

Marzuki 

Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta, Indonesia

marzuki@uny.ac.id

*Corresponding Author

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Abstract

This study aims to analyse the content and frequency of civic competence components found in the main textbook (*Buku Teks Utama*/BTU) for Grade IX Pancasila Education, published in 2023 by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology of Indonesia. Civic competence, which encompasses knowledge, skills, values, attitudes, and character, is a critical domain in the formation of democratic and responsible citizens. This research adopts a mixed-methods content analysis that integrates both qualitative and quantitative approaches to examine how these components are presented and distributed throughout the textbook. Data collection involved a systematic process of reading, coding, and recording relevant content, allowing for an in-depth evaluation of textual material. The analysis reveals three major findings. *First*, the main textbook for Grade IX includes all core components of civic competence, with each aspect represented in various learning sections. *Second*, the knowledge component is the most dominant, accounting for 49.18% of the total civic competence content, indicating a strong emphasis on cognitive learning outcomes. *Third*, the main textbook presents these components through structured pedagogical features such as introductions to learning, instructional materials, learning activities, reflective tasks, and assessment instruments. These findings suggest that while the textbook supports the development of civic competence, there is a disproportionate focus on knowledge-based content compared to affective and behavioural dimensions. The study offers insights into the current orientation of Pancasila education and provides recommendations for balancing cognitive and character-based competencies to strengthen civic education in Indonesia's formal curriculum.

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Introduction

In light of the fact that the dynamics of citizenship education in Indonesia are inextricably linked to the interests of the regime that is currently in power, the competencies of citizenship



must be studied. Indonesia's citizenship education program is subject to dynamic forces that occur from time to time (Arfani & Nakaya, 2020), in addition to the fact that the country's government changes its leadership every so often (Dahliyana et al., 2021; Harmanto et al., 2018). Each regime that comes into power appears to meddle in citizenship education to serve its interests. Post-New Order Indonesia has seen the emergence of competing nationalisms within citizenship education, reflecting state-centred, citizen-centred, and ummah-centred narratives (Eddyono, 2020). These competing narratives signify tensions and the need for a more cohesive approach to citizenship education. Citizenship and citizenship education are central concepts in educational theory, research, policy, and practice. Citizenship education refers to how education can develop students' identities (Veugelers & de Groot, 2019).

To support democratic life, every citizen must possess a certain level of civic competence, also commonly referred to as citizen competence (Ferandi & Harmawati, 2018). Doğanay (2012) believes that the foundation of the curriculum is civic competence, which is the basis for concepts, principles, ideas, skills, and affective qualities in the curriculum. The curriculum for citizenship education should incorporate knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes, but not treat them as separate entities; instead, it should integrate them into the curriculum.

Textbooks can be used to incorporate citizenship competencies into educational units. Regarding learning in schools, several components are inseparable from one another. These components include students, teachers, teaching materials, learning processes, learning outcomes, learning facilities and infrastructure, and school management systems. Citizenship education subjects aim to incorporate citizenship competencies into textbooks (Langran & Birk, 2016).

Textbooks constitute a vital element of the educational framework, offering indispensable assistance to both educators and learners (Agrawal et al., 2012; Kaur, 2019). Their function in content delivery, instructional guidance, and student engagement highlights their significance in attaining educational objectives (Erkir & Alkhaldi, 2025; Fan et al., 2025; Gautschi, 2018). Continuous assessment and modification are essential to guarantee that textbooks align with the changing requirements of learners and educators (Crossley, 2024; Seifert, 2021). Consequently, in accordance with the introduction of the new curriculum, which is also referred to as the independent curriculum, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology (*Kemendikbudristek*), in collaboration with the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency (BPIP) of the Republic of Indonesia, has successfully compiled the main textbook (BTU) of Pancasila Education. In the current independent curriculum, the nomenclature of Pancasila and Citizenship Education (PPKn) has been changed to Pancasila Education.

The main textbook for Pancasila Education was created to help in the implementation of the independent curriculum. There are two categories of books: those intended for teachers and those intended for students. The objective of this subject is to provide students with the necessary skills to become upstanding citizens, even though both its material structure and nomenclature are subject to frequent change. In accordance with the guiding principles of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, this topic emphasises the creation of a self that is diverse in terms of religion, socio-cultural background, language, age, and ethnicity to develop Indonesian citizens who are intelligent, competent, and characterised (Sunarso, 2021).

The knowledge component is encountered more frequently than any other component. Consequently, examining civic competence, especially within students' educational resources is imperative. The independent curriculum for Pancasila Education subjects must be executed utilising these textbooks. The book "Pancasila Education at the Junior High School Level," authored by Yudha Dana Prahara, Khoiriyansih, and Anggi Afriansyah in 2023 and published by Main Textbook, examines the interplay between Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, and the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. It addresses the rights and obligations of citizens, freedom of expression in the context of open information, the preservation of traditions, local wisdom, and culture within a global society, and the safeguarding of the territorial integrity of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

The purpose of this research is to examine the contents of the different elements of civic competence that are included in the main textbook of Class IX Pancasila Education, to determine how frequently these elements of civic competence appear in the main textbook of class IX Pancasila Education, and to analyse the descriptions of the elements of civic competence that are contained in the main textbook of Class IX Pancasila Education. In this study, researchers utilised the main category approach to the democratic citizenship education curriculum outlined by Doğanay (2012). This approach includes the components of knowledge, skills, values, attitudes, and disposition/character (Haduong et al., 2024; Ключарев & Трофимова, 2016).

It is imperative to note that all components of citizenship competency outlined in the 2013 curriculum are incorporated. Research by Manalu & Gandamana (2023) indicates that the civic competence component of the 2013 curriculum consists of 25% knowledge, 25% skills, and 50% attitudes and character traits. The author seeks to conduct research due to its foundation in the diverse components of citizenship competency incorporated within each curriculum relevant to this subject matter.

On this basis, the background that researchers need to conduct this research in depth includes an analysis of the content of the components of civic competence that are included in the main textbook of Pancasila Education for Class IX, the frequency with which the content of the components of civic competence appears in the main textbook of Pancasila Education for Class IX, and an explanation of the content of the elements of citizenship competency that are presented in the main textbook of Pancasila Education for Class IX.

Method

This research seeks to comprehend, analyse, and summarise the elements of civic competence, their frequency of occurrence, and their descriptions in the Pancasila Education Main Textbook (BTU) for independent curriculum students published by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology of the Republic of Indonesia in 2023. This study employs content analysis utilising both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. The qualitative content analysis seeks to delineate the elements of civic competence within the Main Textbook (BTU) for Pancasila SMP/MTs Education, published by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology of the Republic of Indonesia in 2023.

Simultaneously, content analysis employing a quantitative methodology seeks to quantify the percentage or average occurrence of the civic competency components present in the Main Textbook (BTU) for Pancasila Education for SMP/MTs, yielding comprehensive findings from this study. Simultaneously, content analysis employing a quantitative methodology seeks to quantify the percentage or average occurrence of the civic competency components present in the Main Textbook (BTU) for Pancasila Education for SMP/MTs, yielding comprehensive findings from this study.

Results and Discussion

Pancasila education in Indonesia plays a very important role in shaping strong character and civic identity among the younger generation. As the state ideology, Pancasila is not only the foundation of social and state life, but also a guideline for the development of fair, democratic civic character based on the noble values of the nation. The main textbook for Pancasila Education for Grade IX, published by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology in collaboration with the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency (BPIP) in 2023, is one of the main instruments in civic education. This book aims to equip students with civic competencies that include the knowledge, skills, values, attitudes, and character that every Indonesian citizen should possess.

The components in this book, knowledge, skills, and disposition—not only teach students about civic theories but also shape attitudes and behaviours in line with Pancasila values. The knowledge provided covers various important aspects of national and state life, the skills needed to actively participate in social and political processes, and the dispositions that lead to

the formation of a character that is virtuous and responsible for the diversity and integrity of the state.

Through this in-depth analysis, we will use grand theories, meso theories, and applied theories to understand how these components are interrelated and contribute to the formation of active and responsive citizenship. Thus, we can evaluate the effectiveness of this book in developing citizenship competencies that are not only knowledge-based but also practical skills and dispositions appropriate to the challenges of the times.

Citizenship competencies

One of the characteristics that differentiates civic competence from other competencies, such as reading, writing, and mathematics, is the relevance of attitudes apart from knowledge and skills (Coopmans et al., 2023). According to Veugelers (2017), knowledge and skills are essential in citizenship education, but attitudes are the most relevant. In the literature on citizenship education, three types of citizenship can be distinguished, each with a different orientation: *first*, adaptive citizenship with a focus on discipline and social involvement; *second*, individual citizenship which emphasises autonomy and discipline; and thirdly, critical democratic citizenship which focuses on social engagement and independence (Veugelers, 2021).

Furthermore, Campbell (2019) also stated that a review of citizenship education has shown the impact of including citizenship education in the curriculum on student development. This is underlined in the emphasis in citizenship education literature on a democratic and participatory classroom climate. The open and democratic environment where discussion and dialogue occur effectively encourages various critical-democratic citizenship competencies (Campbell, 2019; Daas et al., 2023; Knowles et al., 2018).

According to Feriandi & Harmawati (2018), one of the efforts to improve civic competence is by teaching civic education to the public so that they have civic competence, which consists of civic knowledge, civic skills and civic disposition. It was further explained that citizenship knowledge is obtained by citizens from various activities, including at the school level through civic education subjects. Civic skills are skills developed from civic expertise to make the knowledge gained to make the knowledge gained meaningful. This knowledge can be used to deal with problems in social, national, and state life. Lastly, civic character is the third component of civic competence, which is born from the accumulation process of civic knowledge and skills.

According to Doğanay (2012), in the context of schooling, active democratic citizen education, which is needed in democracy, has become the primary goal of the education system. Active democratic citizenship education is expected to obtain these qualities of citizenship as stated above. Therefore, knowledge, skills, values and attitudes must be integrated with the curriculum and not separated.

Based on Doganay's (2012) perspective, the scope of knowledge of the democratic citizenship education curriculum is active. *First*, political knowledge includes political and legal systems, basic concepts, principles and institutions of democracy, the distribution of power and authority throughout history, the concept of democratic citizenship, the rights and obligations of citizens including human rights, political decision making at the local, national and international levels, current political issues, significant events, trends and agents of change in national and world history, media literacy and the role of media in personal and social life, and national and international security.

Second, social knowledge includes social relations, social rights, the function and work of voluntary groups and civil society, and social differences in welfare, social security, health, etc. *Third*, cultural knowledge includes history and cultural heritage, the dominance of specific dominant roles and values, various local, regional, national and global cultures, and environmental conservation. *Fourth*, economic knowledge includes economic rights, economic principles, the consequences of economic growth, major financial issues, related economic literacy, and sustainable development locally and internationally. Fifth, participatory forms of

knowledge include knowledge about forms of political, social, cultural and economic participation in life.

Civic knowledge in Pancasila education subjects is essential in developing students as complete human beings (Jamaludin et al., 2023). Pancasila education can make students complete human beings (Belladonna & Anggraena, 2019). Civic knowledge, especially in the present era, is needed to form critical powers, caring values, unity and oneness to adapt and adjust tounusual situations and conditions (Jamaludin et al., 2023). Civic skills are abilty to develop from civics knowledge, so the knowledge gained becomes meaningful because it can be used in dealingwith various social, national and state problems (Ferandi & Harmawati, 2018). For example, Murdiono (2010) said that the civic skills possessed by students, for example, can be seen from their ability to criticise public policy. According to Jamaludin et al. (2023), civic skills are the ability to develop from civic knowledge. This is intended to make the knowledge obtained meaningful, because it can be used to face problems in national and state life. This statement explains that civic skills can be used to solve national issues, and the process provides something meaningful.

Civic skills come from meaningful knowledge of citizens, so that they can be helpful in facing problems in national and state life. According to Doganay (2012), the skills covered in the active democratic citizenship education curriculum include general skills and participatory skills. *First*, general skills, namely critical thinking, critical examination of information, distinguishing between statements and opinions, achieving balanced judgments,decisions or points of view based on critical thinking, examining information and reasoning, and maintaining the position achieved, including problem-solving, decision making, creative thinking, skills inquiry, communication skills, and active use of media.

Second, participatory skills, namely monitoring and influencing policies and decisions including participating in peaceful protests, resolving conflicts by peaceful means, participating in civil organisations as members or contributing, building cooperation and coalitions, displaying democratic leadership, living in a multicultural environment, handling all types of differences including gender, social, cultural, racial, and religious, involvement in protecting the environment, as well as consumption of ethical products and boycotting unethical products.

The main aim of citizenship skills is to develop citizen character, both private character, such as moral responsibility, self-discipline, and respect for the human dignity of each individual, as well as public character, such as concern as a citizen, politeness, and heeding the rules of the game, critical thinking, and the willingness to listen, negotiate and compromise (Mulyono, 2017). Civic education has a mission to shape students into intelligent, skilled citizens with the character to guarantee the sustainability of the nation and state. At the curricular level, citizenshipeducation, both the substance, learning process and socio-cultural effects, is deliberately designed and programmed to realise democratic education programs that lead to the formation of the character of the Indonesian nation.

According to Doganay (2012) the scope of values, attitudes and character of active democratic citizenship in the education curriculum are as follows: *First*, values include acceptance of the rule of law, respect for human dignity, respect for human rights, belief in democracy, belief in peace, belief in social justice, equality and equal treatment of citizens, rejection of prejudice, racism and other types of discrimination,belief in solidarity, respect for tolerance and differences, respect for reason, belief in environmental preservation, belief in sustainable development, respect for freedom, and respect for justice.

Second, attitudes include a commitment to truth, an open mind, a commitment to peace and constructive solutions to problems, feeling confident to engage politically, believing in the democratic principles of institutions and procedures and the importance of civil action, feeling responsible for one's own decisions and actions, commitment towards the values of mutual understanding, cooperation, trust and solidarity, commitment to the principles of sustainable development, and a sense of belonging.

Third, disposition/character includes having the intention to participate in community politics, having the intention to be active in the community, and having the intention to

participate in civil society. Looking at the various journeys of the citizenship education curriculum from the old order, new order and reform eras, there is one central point that is the same, namely, placing Pancasila as a core value in citizenship education subjects to shape the character of an ideal citizen (Mulyono, 2017).

The content of citizenship competencies in the main textbook (BTU) for class IX Pancasila education

The main textbook for Pancasila Education for Class IX Students was prepared jointly by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology with the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency (BPIP) of the Republic of Indonesia in 2023. This book was written by Yudha Dana Prahara, Khoiryaningsih, and Anggi Afriansyah and published by the Book Centre of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology of the Republic of Indonesia in 2023.

The knowledge component includes political, social, cultural, economic, and participatory knowledge. The explanation of the content of the knowledge component in the class IX textbook is as follows: In chapter 1 regarding the relationship between Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, and the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia, the content of the knowledge component is explained by explaining the relationship between Pancasila and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, the relationship between Pancasila with the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, the relationship between Pancasila and the Republic of Indonesia, as well as the spirit of Pancasila in state life.

In chapter 2 concerning the rights and obligations of citizens, the content of the knowledge component is explained in terms of the rights and obligations of citizens, the implementation of citizens' rights and obligations in a balanced manner, the rights and obligations of citizens in the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, as well as the challenges of fulfilling the rights and obligations of citizens. In chapter 3 regarding freedom of opinion for citizens in the era of open information, the components of knowledge are explained through the meaning of freedom of opinion for citizens, guarantees of freedom of opinion for citizens, forms of expressing opinions, openness of public information, and the form of freedom of opinion for citizens in the era of open public information.

In chapter 4 regarding maintaining and preserving traditions, local wisdom and global community culture, the components of knowledge are explained through the meaning of tradition, local wisdom and culture; examples of traditions, local wisdom and culture in Indonesia; the role of tradition, local wisdom and culture in global society; as well as a commitment to maintaining and preserving traditions, local wisdom and Indonesian culture in the global community. In chapter 5 regarding maintaining the territorial integrity of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia, the knowledge component is explained with a commitment to maintaining the territorial integrity of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia, efforts to maintain the unity and unity of Indonesia, challenges in efforts to defend the territory of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia, raising awareness to maintain the integrity of the unitary state the Republic of Indonesia, and the active role of students in maintaining the territorial integrity of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia.

The skills component includes general skills and participative skills. The components of these skills in the class IX textbook are described as follows. In chapter 1 the development of skill components is contained in book features such as "come on, read", "come on, play", "come on, tell a story", "come on, observe", "come on, show", "come on, discuss", "come on, read", "competency test", "enrichment", and "reflection". In chapter 2, the development of skill components is contained in book features such as "come on, observe", "come on, discuss", "come on, show", "come on, practice", "come on, be creative", "competency test", "enrichment", and "reflection". Then, in chapter 2, citizenship projects are also included as participatory skills development.

In chapter 3, the development of skill components is contained in book features such as "come on, read", "come on, have an opinion", "come on, discuss", "come on, send a message", "come on, listen", "come on, practice", "come on, write", "competency test", "enrichment", and

"reflection". In chapter 4, the development of skill components is contained in book features such as "come on, look for information", "come on, observe", "come on, analyse", "come on, listen", "come on, read", "competency test", "enrichment", and "reflection". In chapter 5, the development of skill components is contained in book features such as "come on, observe", "come on, look for information", "come on, discuss", "come on, sing", "come on, listen", "come on, show", "come on, think", "come on, be creative", "come on, do it", "competency test", "enrichment", and "reflection".

The components of values, attitudes and character in the class IX textbook are described in each chapter. Chapter 1 explains the relationship between Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, and the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia. Chapter 2 covers implementing rights and obligations in a balanced manner in various areas of life. Chapter 3 includes expressing opinions, both orally and in writing. Chapter 4 covers preserving traditional practices, local wisdom and culture in a global society. Chapter 5 includes roles in maintaining the territorial integrity of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia.

Based on the results of the analysis of the main textbook for Class IX Middle School/MTs Pancasila Education published by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology of the Republic of Indonesia in 2023, several components of civic competence can be found in the students' textbooks. The components of civic competence in the textbook can be categorised into three components, as stated by Doganay (2012): knowledge, skills, values, attitudes, and character/disposition.

The three categories mentioned above were found to be components of civic competence based on their occurrence, which were identified based on the discussion chapter of the textbook. *First*, the knowledge component includes political, social, cultural, economic and participatory knowledge. *Second*, the skills component includes general skills and participative skills. *Third*, the disposition component includes values, attitudes, and character. The frequency of appearance can be seen in Table 1.

Based on Table 1, the component of civic competence that appears most frequently in the main textbook for Class IX Pancasila Education, namely the knowledge component, which includes political, social, cultural, economic and participatory knowledge, is the component of civic competence that appears most frequently at 30 or 49.18%. Meanwhile, the components of values, attitudes and character appeared 26 or 42.62%. The skills component, which includes general and participative skills, is the component of citizenship competency that appears the least, namely 5 or 8.19%.

Table 1.

Frequency of appearance of citizenship competency component categories

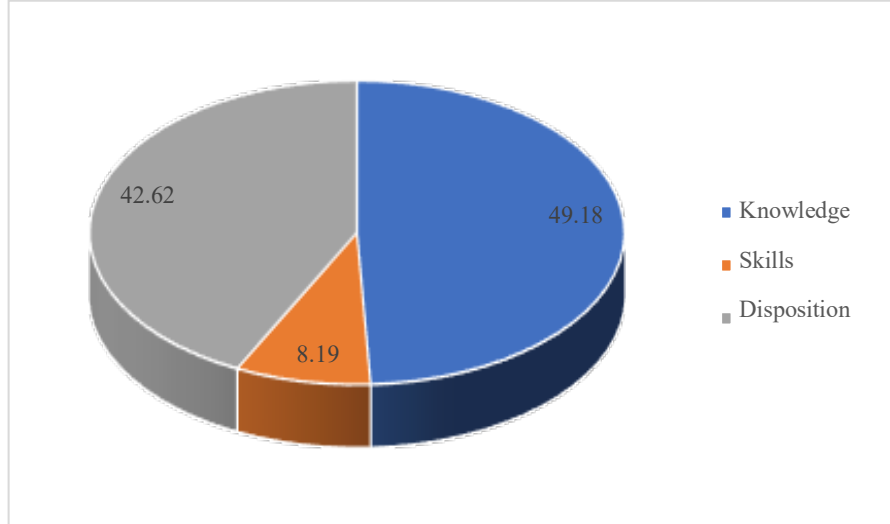
No	Component and category	The emergence of the citizenship competency component: Frequency (F) and Percentage (P)
1.	Knowledge <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Political Social Culture Economy Participative 	Political: 10 (F) 16,39% (P) Social: 3 (F) 4,91% (P) Culture: 6 (F) 9,83% (P) Economy: 2 (F) 3,27% (P) Participative: 9 (F) 14,75% (P)
2.	Skills <ul style="list-style-type: none"> General Participative 	General: 4 (F) 6,55% (P) Participative: 1 (F) 1,63% (P)
3.	Disposition <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Value Attitude Character 	Value: 12 (F) 19,67% (P) Attitude: 9 (F) 14,75% (P) Character: 5 (F) 8,19% (P)

Source: obtained from primary data

The frequency of appearance of the citizenship competency components in the Pancasila Education main textbook for class IX is 61, divided into knowledge, skills and disposition. *First*, the knowledge component includes political, social, cultural, economic, and participatory knowledge. *Second*, the skills component includes general skills and participative skills. *Third*, disposition includes values, attitudes, and character. The following can be seen in Figure 1.

Figure 1.

Frequency of appearance of citizenship competency components

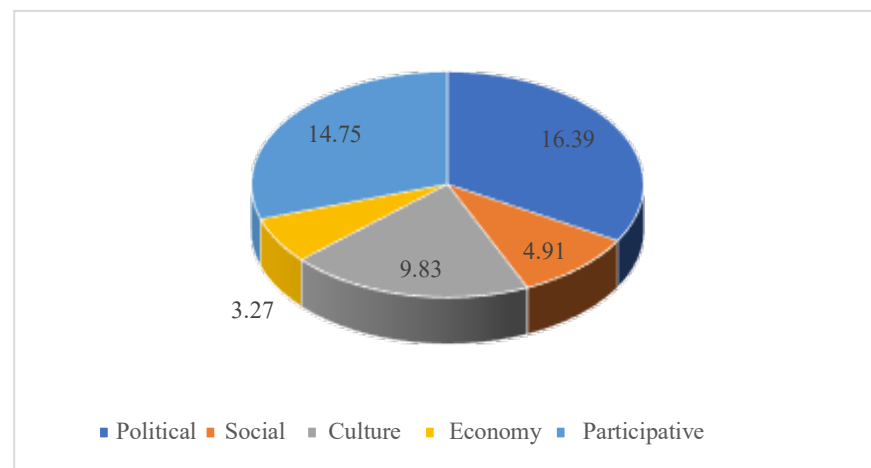


Source: Obtained from primary data, 2025.

The political category knowledge component appears the most frequently, with a percentage of the total frequency of knowledge of 16.39%, whereas the economic category knowledge appears the least frequently, with a percentage of 3.27%. This is the result of an analysis of the frequency of knowledge in the various categories in the class IX textbooks. Figure 2 demonstrates that social knowledge has a frequency of 30 and a percentage of 4.91, cultural knowledge has a percentage as high as 9.83, and participatory knowledge has a percentage as high as 14.75.

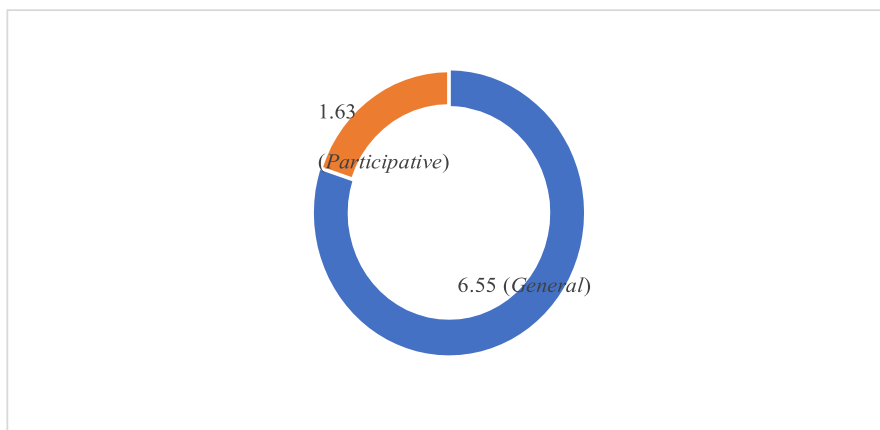
Figure 2.

Frequency of appearance of knowledge components

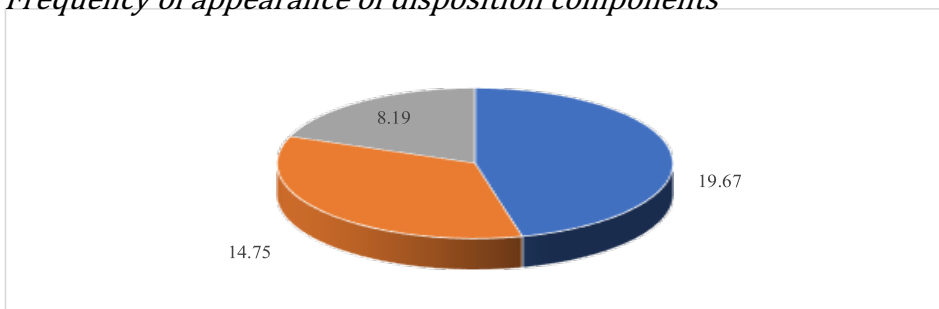


Source: Obtained from primary data, 2025.

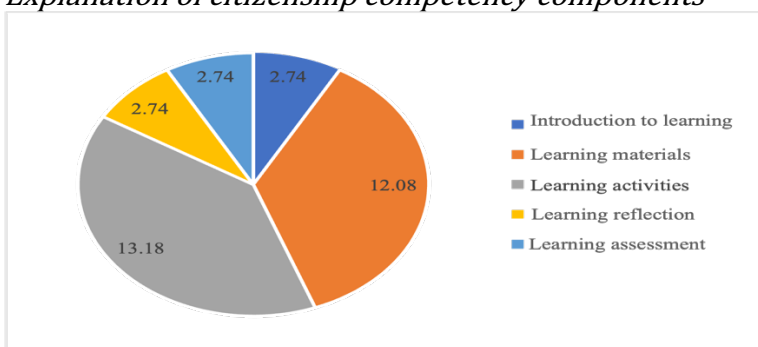
The appearance of skills components, which include general skills and participatory skills, in class IX textbooks is five times the frequency of occurrence. General skills account for 6.55%, while participative skills account for 1.63% of the total frequency of occurrence. In general, the skills components contained in the textbook class IX lessons are the least common component compared to the emergence of the knowledge component and the disposition component, which includes values, attitudes, and character, as shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3.*Skills component appearance frequency**Source: Obtained from primary data, 2025*

The appearance of the disposition component, which includes values, attitudes, and character, is 42.62% of the total frequency of occurrence of 26. The value category is 19.67%, attitude is 14.75%, and character is 8.19% of the total frequency of disposition components in class IX textbooks. The components of values, attitudes and character can be seen in Figure 4.

Figure 4.*Frequency of appearance of disposition components**Source: obtained from primary data, 2025.*

Explanation of citizenship competency components in the main textbook Pancasila education for SMP/MTs class IX can be described in Figure 5, with the percentage as follows. The number of civic competency components in introductory learning is 2.74%, learning material is 12.08%, learning activities are 13.18%, learning reflection is 2.74%, and learning assessment is 2.74%. The description of civic competence components that appear most frequently in class IX textbooks is learning activities, namely 13.18%. Meanwhile, the description of civic competence components with the lowest frequency of appearance is found in the introduction to learning, reflection on learning, and assessment of learning, each at 2.74%.

Figure 5.*Explanation of citizenship competency components**Source: obtained from primary data*

The main textbook on Pancasila Education for Grade IX, published by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology and the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency (BPIP) in 2023, develops citizenship competencies through knowledge, skills, and dispositions. This analysis draws on grand theory, meso theory, and applied theory to show how these components work together in citizenship education. Marshall & Bottomore (1950) divides citizenship into civil, political, and social rights. As the foundation of the Indonesian state, Pancasila helps develop a holistic civic identity, making this theory relevant to this book.

This book's political, social, cultural, and economic knowledge relates to Marshall's civil rights theory. Learning about citizens' rights and Pancasila's role in the 1945 Constitution strengthens students' civil rights in a constitutional state. This book emphasises political rights-related participatory skills like discussion and reflection. The skills taught, such as students' ability to express opinions, participate in discussions, and contribute to democratic processes, reflect Marshall's theory of political rights. This book links civic disposition to Marshall's social rights dimension, which includes access to social and cultural welfare. Students must learn their rights and internalise Pancasila values like responsibility, solidarity, and diversity. Students will develop positive attitudes towards state and social integrity from these values.

Lev Vygotsky's Constructivist Theory explains how students learn through social and cultural interactions (Vygotsky & Cole, 1978). Learning and cognitive development depend on social context and interaction, according to Vygotsky. This is important for how this book teaches civics. This book teaches students about Pancasila and national life through social discussion and critical analysis. Teachers teach students how to apply theory to everyday life by explaining citizen rights and freedom of expression. This book teaches constructivist skills like discussion, observation, and reflection, which encourage students to interact with information and construct their own understanding. Vygotsky stressed the importance of the zone of proximal development (ZPD), where teachers and peers help students learn new skills. The book's 'let's discuss', 'test your competence', and 'reflection' promote social skills and participation. This book teaches values and attitudes like appreciating diversity and national unity through social understanding and environmental interaction. Social learning in family, school, and community contexts fosters diversity acceptance and Indonesian culture preservation.

The Osler & Starkey of Theory Democratic Citizenship Education emphasises preparing students to be active and responsible citizens in a democracy (Osler & Starkey, 2003, 2018). This book promotes participatory democracy through citizenship learning, critical thinking, and opinion-sharing to promote social and political development. This book explains Indonesian democracy's rights, obligations, and freedoms. This knowledge helps students understand the Indonesian legal and political systems and their role in defending democracy. This book emphasises participatory skills, which are key to democratic citizenship education. Participatory democracy encourages students to participate in their social and political lives through discussions, presentations, and reflections. Osler & Starkey believe citizenship education should teach democracy, justice, and diversity. This book encourages students to internalise these values by learning about cultural diversity, human rights, and state and society positivity.

This book successfully provides a framework for interactive learning that is based on Constructivist Learning Theory (Vygotsky & Cole, 1978), but it needs to put more emphasis on the development of more profound social skills. The instruction of Pancasila and citizenship ought to extend beyond cognitive knowledge and include affective and practical learning in order to provide students with the tools they need to become active citizens.

While this book has effectively incorporated knowledge of citizenship, participatory skills, and civic values, there remain several areas for enhancement. Main textbook should incorporate a greater emphasis on global citizenship, encompassing an awareness of international issues and the ways in which students can contribute to the global community. Pancasila education must cultivate a more comprehensive understanding of global responsibility as an integral aspect of civic identity.

The cultivation of participatory skills in this book remains confined to predominantly academic activities, including discussion and reflection. There ought to be an increase in practical activities that engage students in authentic citizenship projects, motivating them to assume an active role in addressing pertinent social issues. Then, main text book must link citizenship values with social justice, social responsibility, and equality on both social and global scales. Fostering a sense of citizenship that encompasses both national and global dimensions will prepare students to confront increasingly intricate social challenges.

Another suggestion that can be made is to increase the room available for students to participate in project activities that are based on citizenship, which will require them to play an active role in the resolution of social, cultural, or political issues that are present in their communities. In addition to enhancing their ability to take part in discussions, this will also foster a stronger sense of dynamic citizenship values, which are pertinent to the global challenges that we face today.

Conclusion

The main textbook for Pancasila Education at SMP/MTs class IX level contains components of civic competence, including: (1) knowledge components, including political knowledge, social knowledge, cultural knowledge, economic knowledge and participatory knowledge; (2) skills component which includes general skills and participative skills; and (3) disposition components include values, attitudes, and character. The main textbook for class IX Pancasila Education contains all indicators of the competency components of active democratic citizenship. There are 61 main textbooks for Pancasila Education for class IX, with the highest frequency of appearance of the citizenship competency component being the knowledge component at 30 or 49.18%. Meanwhile, the citizenship competency component that has the lowest frequency of occurrence is the skills component at 5 or 8.19%. Explanation of the content of citizenship competency components in the three main textbooks for Class IX Pancasila education is explained through an introduction to learning, learning materials, learning activities, learning reflection, and learning assessment. The content of the civic competency components described through the learning introduction is 8.19%, learning materials are 36.06%, learning activities are 39.34%, learning reflection is 8.19%, and learning assessment is 8.19%.

Book of Pancasila Education for Grade IX Main Textbook develops citizenship competencies holistically. This book emphasises political and social knowledge and democratic citizenship skills and values, drawing from Marshall's Theory of Citizenship, Vygotsky's Theory of Constructivism, and Osler & Starkey's Theory of Democratic Citizenship Education. We teach theory and practical applications in national and state life. Discussion, reflection, and citizenship projects teach students to participate in social and political processes. Nationalism, solidarity, and diversity values shape students into responsible citizens who care about the nation's future

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