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Reflection of Pancasila Values in the Duta Kayu Agung Social Movement: Between Justice, Humanity, and Unity

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Abstract

Social movements often raise ethical questions regarding whether acts of resistance constitute social banditry or a legitimate struggle for justice. This study analyzes the Duta Kayuagung movement through the lenses of Eric Hobsbawm's theory of social banditry, John Rawls's theory of justice, and the theory of civil resistance. Drawing on a qualitative literature review of academic works, historical documents, and social records, the research examines the movement's moral and normative foundations. The findings indicate that the Duta Kayuagung movement cannot be adequately categorized as social banditry in Hobsbawm's classical sense. Rather than opportunistic rebellion, its actions demonstrate a clear moral orientation toward distributive justice and solidarity with marginalized communities. From Rawls's perspective, the movement reflects an effort to uphold fairness and equal opportunity, while within the framework of civil resistance, it represents ethical opposition to structural injustice. When viewed through the values of Pancasila, particularly just and civilized humanity, national unity, and social justice, the movement is more appropriately understood as a justice-oriented struggle rooted in Indonesia's philosophical foundation. This study reinforces the relevance of Pancasila as both a normative and analytical framework for evaluating social movements in contemporary Indonesia.

INTRODUCTION

Pancasila, the philosophical foundation of the Indonesian state, serves not only as a constitutional basis but also as a moral compass and a way of life. It embodies core values such as humanity, unity, deliberation, and social justice that guide national and social life. As Notonagoro emphasizes, Pancasila is a philosophical system that integrates ethical and cultural principles within the Indonesian worldview. When implemented consistently, these values aim to foster equality, prosperity, and a dignified social order. Therefore, Pancasila is not merely a formal doctrine but a normative framework for evaluating social realities, including resistance movements that emerge in response to injustice. In contemporary discourse, social movements often spark ethical debates: are they expressions of criminal deviance, or legitimate struggles for justice? To answer this question in the context of the Duta Kayuagung movement, this study employs three main theoretical perspectives. First, the concept of social banditry, proposed by Eric Hobsbawm, defines social bandits as outlaws perceived by marginalized communities as heroes who resist oppressive systems. Second, John Rawls's theory of justice emphasizes fairness, equal fundamental liberties, and the difference principle as standards for assessing the legitimacy of social arrangements. Third, civil resistance theory explains non-violent or morally grounded resistance as a legitimate response to structural injustice when institutional channels fail to protect citizens' rights.

By integrating these three frameworks, this research seeks to answer the following questions: (1) To what extent can the Duta Kayuagung movement be categorized as social banditry? (2) Does the movement reflect principles of distributive justice and fairness as articulated by Rawls? (3) Can it be understood as a form of ethical civil resistance? And (4) How do the values of Pancasila function as a normative benchmark in assessing the legitimacy of this movement? Through this analytical approach, Pancasila is positioned not only as the ideological foundation of the state but also as an evaluative framework for distinguishing between criminality and moral resistance. In particular, the principles of just and civilized humanity, national unity, and social justice provide ethical criteria for determining whether a social movement aligns with the nation's philosophical commitments. Thus, this study aims to clarify the moral status of the Duta Kayuagung movement while strengthening the relevance of Pancasila as a contextual yet universal normative framework for analyzing social resistance in Indonesia. (Ramadhani, 2023).

One interesting case to examine is the Kayuagung Ambassador movement. Kayuagung Ambassador represents a criminal culture that emerged as a response to the imbalance between the desire to achieve cultural goals and the limited means to achieve them (Supardi, 2014). This movement raises an ethical dilemma: whether their actions should be categorized as social banditry or as morally legitimate fighters for justice. This is crucial because it directly relates to how society understands the position of popular resistance within the historical and social landscape. Lidiawati (2024) points out that such ethical dilemmas cannot be explained solely in terms of positive law. Pancasila should be used as a reference in analyzing them, as its values provide a broader, more contextually reflective framework. This makes Pancasila not merely a foundation for the state but also a social epistemology for understanding reality. In classical literature, James C. Scott (2020) emphasized that authorities often view peasant resistance as criminal. In contrast, from the perspective of ordinary people, such actions are a mechanism of resistance against injustice. This perspective aligns with Hobsbawm's (2000) theory of social banditry, in which common bandits are often revered as social heroes despite being considered criminals by the state. (Lidiawati, 2025; Mazid, Widiyanto, et al., 2025) suggest that banditry

represents a protest against the exploitation of the ruling class, and although considered criminals by the elite, they are considered heroes by the exploited peasant class.

This type of analysis is relevant to understanding the ethical dilemma faced by Duta Kayuagung. Is the movement merely a disturbing criminal phenomenon or a symbol of justice defending the ordinary people? According to Deni (2023), criminalizing an act depends on society's collective values and views about what is good, right, and beneficial, and vice versa. To address this, an integration of Western theory with a local normative framework, namely Pancasila, is necessary. Pancasila provides Indonesia with a unique ethical framework. The second principle, on just and civilized humanity, emphasizes the importance of treating people with dignity. The third principle, on Indonesian unity, teaches the meaning of collective solidarity, while the fifth principle, on social justice, outlines the ideals of equality and prosperity. These three principles are relevant for interpreting social movements rooted in the people's struggle.

From Rawls' perspective, justice is understood as justice as fairness. This principle demands that every individual have equal opportunities to access resources and welfare. The values of Pancasila can serve as the basis for developing inclusive and equitable public policies. Policies based on Pancasila ensure that all citizens receive fair and equal treatment (Aulia, 2025). Within this framework, social movements demanding the rights of oppressed people can be viewed as legitimate forms of struggle to uphold distributive justice. Furthermore, the theory of civil resistance provides moral legitimacy to community actions that challenge structural injustice. In situations where formal law fails to deliver justice, popular resistance can serve as a corrective against the state and those in power. Therefore, social movements such as Duta Kayuagung need to be understood as ethical expressions, not merely violations of the law. Suryana and Rahayu (2022) emphasize that in the face of modernization and globalization, Pancasila remains relevant as a normative basis for assessing social phenomena. This refutes the notion that Pancasila values are outdated. On the contrary, Pancasila provides answers to ethical problems that Western theory cannot fully explain.

Wijaya and Pratama's (2023) study also highlights that Pancasila can be used as an analytical lens to address contemporary moral dilemmas, including those arising in social movements. Thus, reflection on Pancasila is not only normatively critical but also academically productive because it broadens the scope of scientific discourse. Social movements often arise from structural injustices experienced by society. This is demonstrated in various historical studies of popular resistance in Asia and Latin America. Duta Kayuagung, in the Indonesian context, serves as a local representation of the global phenomenon of popular resistance against elite and ruling domination. The primary challenge in understanding such social movements is avoiding simplification. The categories of criminal or fighter cannot be defined in a clear-cut manner without considering the surrounding social, political, and value context. This is where reflecting on Pancasila's values as an ethical basis for assessing these movements becomes crucial.

Using a qualitative literature study approach, this study examines various relevant documents, academic works, and social records. This approach allows for in-depth analysis and provides space to connect Western theory with Indonesian normative frameworks. This study aims to demonstrate that the Duta Kayuagung movement is more accurately understood as a fighter for justice rather than as a social bandit. This analysis is crucial for correcting the bias of a legalistic perspective that often stigmatizes popular movements. Furthermore, this study demonstrates how Pancasila values can be used as a contextual analytical framework for understanding social movements. This is a significant contribution because it opens up space for local theories to dialogue with global theories.

Thus, this study broadens the understanding of the relevance of Pancasila in social practice, not only in the formal political realm but also in the dynamics of community resistance. This aligns with the need to affirm Pancasila as the foundation of national life in the contemporary era. Academically, this research contributes to the literature on social movements in Indonesia. By integrating social bandit theory, Rawls's justice, civil resistance, and reflections on Pancasila, this research offers a more complex and comprehensive analytical framework. Furthermore, this research also has practical implications for the development of civic education. By understanding social movements through Pancasila, students can be trained to critically assess social phenomena in light of the nation's noble values.

Therefore, this research is not only relevant to enrich scientific studies but also crucial for developing national character. Through an analysis of the Kayuagung Ambassador movement, this study reaffirms that Pancasila is a living moral and philosophical framework capable of addressing ethical dilemmas in social movements, both historical and contemporary. Social Bandit Theory (Hobsbawm, 2000). This concept explains that community banditry is not merely criminal activity but a symbol of resistance against oppression. In the context of the Kayuagung Ambassador, actions considered banditry actually reflect the aspirations of the ordinary people. Rawls's Theory of Justice (Rawls, 1971/1999) emphasizes justice as fairness. The principle of distributive justice demands that social inequality is only justified if it benefits the most vulnerable group. The Kayuagung Ambassador's resistance can be interpreted as an attempt to redistribute justice. Civil Resistance Theory (Sharp, 2012) Gene Sharp explains that civil resistance is a popular strategy against oppressive power structures. Social movements are not only judged by their violence or non-violence, but also by their moral legitimacy. This theoretical framework will be used to interpret the reflection of Pancasila values in the Duta Kayuagung social movement.

METHODS

This research employed a qualitative approach using a library research method. The qualitative design was selected because the object of study emphasizes conceptual, reflective, and historical analysis of the Duta Kayuagung social movement, particularly in relation to the ethical dilemma between social banditry and the struggle for justice. As explained (Sugiyono, 2019), qualitative research seeks to understand social phenomena in depth through interpretative description and critical reflection. This approach is therefore appropriate for examining philosophical and normative issues that require analytical interpretation rather than statistical measurement. The data sources consisted of primary and secondary literature. Primary sources included major theoretical works such as Eric Hobsbawm's writings on social banditry, John Rawls's A Theory of Justice, and key texts on civil resistance theory.

Foundational works on Pancasila philosophy were also treated as primary references to construct the normative framework. Secondary sources included peer-reviewed journal articles, prior research reports, academic proceedings, and historical documents relevant to the Duta Kayuagung case. To ensure relevance and academic rigor, the selection of literature followed three criteria: (1) conceptual relevance to the themes of social banditry, justice, civil resistance, and Pancasila; (2) academic credibility, prioritizing peer-reviewed publications and authoritative books; and (3) contextual relevance to Indonesian socio-political conditions. Sources that lacked clear authorship, methodological transparency, or direct relevance to the research questions were excluded. Popular media opinions, lacking analytical depth, were also omitted to maintain scholarly consistency. The data analysis was conducted using qualitative content analysis and

interpretative comparison. First, key concepts from each theoretical framework were identified and categorized. Second, these concepts were systematically compared with documented narratives and interpretations of the Duta Kayuagung movement. Third, a reflective synthesis was conducted to assess the movement's moral and normative position through the lens of Pancasila values. To enhance validity, theoretical triangulation was applied by cross-examining findings across the three main perspectives: social banditry, Rawlsian justice, and civil resistance, thereby reducing interpretative bias and strengthening analytical coherence. Through this systematic selection and analytical process, the study ensures that the conclusions are grounded in relevant, credible, and contextually appropriate sources.

Data collection was conducted through searching academic documents using databases such as Google Scholar, Garuda, ResearchGate, and national and international journal repositories. The criteria for selecting literature include relevance to the themes of social movements, banditry, justice, civil resistance, and Pancasila; originating from reputable journals, academic books, or credible research; and having a direct connection to the Duta Kayuagung phenomenon and similar phenomena in the history of people's movements. The data obtained were then analyzed using a philosophical reflection approach. This approach was chosen because the research does not merely describe the phenomenon, but also interprets the philosophical meaning of the ethical dilemmas that arise. The analysis was carried out by linking the theory of social banditry (Hobsbawm, 2000), Rawls' theory of justice (1999), and the theory of civil resistance (Arendt, 1973) to the values of Pancasila. The reflection process was carried out through three main stages: data reduction, selection, and categorization of relevant literature; data presentation, namely organizing information within a conceptual framework; and drawing conclusions, namely a theoretical synthesis that connects Western theoretical frameworks with Pancasila values.)

Data validity was maintained through source triangulation and hermeneutic analysis techniques. Source triangulation was conducted by comparing various literature from different authors and disciplines to ensure data consistency. Meanwhile, hermeneutic analysis was used to interpret texts contextually, enabling the meaning of Western theories to be adapted to Indonesian social realities. In this way, the research results were not only descriptive but also argumentative and reflective. This method was chosen because it aligned with the research objective, namely, constructing a philosophical understanding of the Kayuagung Ambassador movement through a dialogue between Western theories and Pancasila values. Using a qualitative literature review and philosophical reflection, this research provided an in-depth, critical, and contextual analysis.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The findings of this study contribute to a broader understanding of social movements in Indonesia by challenging binary classifications that often label resistance either as criminal deviance or heroic nationalism. By examining the Duta Kayuagung movement through the perspectives of Eric Hobsbawm, John Rawls, and civil resistance theory, this research demonstrates that local resistance movements cannot be adequately understood without considering their moral, structural, and philosophical dimensions simultaneously. From Hobsbawm's perspective, social banditry refers to forms of peasant resistance that, although legally criminal, are socially legitimized by marginalized communities. In the Indonesian context, this framework helps explain why certain actors labeled as "bandits" may actually be perceived as defenders of communal justice.

However, the Duta Kayuagung case reveals a limitation in Hobsbawm's classical formulation: the movement exhibits not only reactive resistance but also a conscious moral orientation grounded in principles of fairness and collective dignity. Thus, while the movement shares specific characteristics of social banditry, such as siding with oppressed groups, it surpasses that category by articulating normative claims aligned with broader ideals of justice. This is where Rawls's theory becomes analytically significant. Rawls's principles of equal fundamental liberties and the difference principle provide a normative benchmark for evaluating whether social structures are just. When the Duta Kayuagung movement is examined through this lens, its actions can be interpreted as contesting structural inequalities that undermine fair equality of opportunity. In other words, rather than representing mere localized defiance, the movement embodies a claim to distributive justice. This reframes the struggle not as anti-state rebellion, but as a corrective response to institutional shortcomings.

Civil resistance theory further bridges these perspectives by emphasizing the ethical legitimacy of resistance when formal institutions fail to protect citizens' rights. Unlike spontaneous criminality, civil resistance is characterized by moral justification, collective consciousness, and an appeal to shared values. In this study, the Duta Kayuagung movement reflects these characteristics, especially in its moral narrative of defending marginalized communities. Therefore, the interaction between Hobsbawm and Rawls becomes clearer through the lens of civil resistance theory: what appears sociologically as "banditry" may, under normative scrutiny, constitute morally grounded resistance. The crucial contribution of this research lies in integrating these global theories with the philosophical framework of Pancasila.

The second principle (just and civilized humanity) provides ethical grounding for defending human dignity; the third principle (Indonesian unity) ensures that resistance remains oriented toward collective cohesion rather than fragmentation; and the fifth principle (social justice for all Indonesian people) offers a distributive ideal comparable to Rawls's conception of fairness. In this sense, Pancasila does not merely contextualize Western theories; it synthesizes them within Indonesia's moral worldview. This theoretical interaction has broader implications: social movements in Indonesia should not be evaluated solely through legal positivism or security-based perspectives. Instead, they must be assessed normatively in light of Pancasila, the state's philosophical foundation.

By positioning Pancasila as an analytical framework, this study expands the discourse on social resistance beyond imported theoretical binaries and situates it within Indonesia's own ethical tradition. Ultimately, this analysis contributes to a broader understanding of Indonesian social movements by demonstrating that local resistance can embody universal principles of justice while remaining rooted in national values. It affirms that Pancasila is not only a symbolic ideology but also a living normative compass capable of mediating tensions between state authority, social justice, and moral resistance in an era of rapid social transformation.

The Kayuagung Ambassadors' movement demonstrates that popular resistance is not merely an emotional expression, but rather an action rooted in humanitarian values. They reject structural conditions that degrade human dignity. According to Rawls (1999), the principle of distributive justice emphasizes that every individual has equal access to resources and opportunities. (Christian, 2025) Rawls's theory of injustice posits that injustice is a primary policy of social institutions. This theory emphasizes that a just social system must protect the fundamental rights of every individual, especially those who are most disadvantaged. Within this framework, the Kayuagung Ambassadors' struggle can be understood as a moral correction against social injustice that considers inequality normal. Thus, their actions align with the second

principle of Pancasila, namely just and civilized humanity, which emphasizes respect for human dignity (Nugraha, 2021). Although born from the local context of Kayuagung, this movement cannot be reduced to regional resistance. Their actions reflect the value of national integration, as the struggle for justice has broad implications for the nation as a whole. In this regard, the third principle of Pancasila, namely the unity of Indonesia, finds relevance. The resistance carried out by Duta Kayuagung demonstrates a collective awareness that injustice in one region threatens national unity. Therefore, this movement can be seen as an expression of national solidarity that strengthens social integration (Anshari, 2021). Rawls's (1999) theory of justice enhances the argument that Duta Kayuagung represents a distributive struggle that favors marginalized groups.

Rawls's principles of equal liberty and the difference principle emphasize that social policy must protect those most vulnerable within society. Within this framework, Duta Kayuagung can be viewed as a moral agent demanding the realization of the principle of social justice as stated in the fifth principle of Pancasila. This emphasis is significant because it positions the people's movement not merely as an emotional expression, but as a conscious movement with a clear ethical orientation. An ambassador is a person or group who travels to another country to seek a livelihood through illegal means. The methods employed by an ambassador are related to the world of crime, such as pickpocketing. Therefore, this research contributes to enriching academic discourse on social movements in Indonesia and strengthening the position of Pancasila as an epistemology in the social sciences. This aligns with Mardani's (2015) theory. Pancasila epistemology is an approach to understanding, developing, and applying knowledge grounded in Pancasila's values. Each principle of Pancasila provides a philosophical foundation for the development of expertise.

The results of this study also have practical implications, particularly in civic education. By reflecting on Pancasila, students can be trained to think critically about social phenomena while adhering to the nation's noble values. This is crucial for developing a generation that is not only sensitive to injustice but also able to assess social phenomena with a strong moral foundation. Overall, the findings of this study indicate that the Kayuagung Ambassador movement cannot be understood solely in terms of social banditry. In contrast, when analyzed through Rawls's theory of justice, Sharp's civil resistance, and reflections on Pancasila, the movement is more accurately positioned as a moral struggle. This reaffirms the relevance of Pancasila as a living and contextual ethical paradigm. Globally, Duta Kayuagung shares similarities with popular movements in other countries, such as the Zapatistas in Mexico. Both movements reject structural domination and advocate for marginalized groups. However, the difference lies in the normative framework employed.

The Zapatista movement is grounded in Marxist ideology, while Duta Kayuagung draws on Pancasila as the basis for its struggle. This difference highlights the uniqueness of the Indonesian context. While Western theory can be used as an analytical tool, moral legitimacy must still be determined by the nation's own values. Pancasila thus functions as a social epistemology that enables a more just and contextual analysis. The academic implication of this finding is the need to integrate global theory with local values. The theories of Hobsbawm, Rawls, and Sharp provide a strong universal framework, but reflection on Pancasila is key to ensuring contextual relevance. With this approach, research can enrich the discourse of social movements in Indonesia while strengthening Pancasila.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that the Duta Kayuagung movement cannot be adequately reduced to the category of social banditry in the classical sense proposed by Eric Hobsbawm. Although the movement shares specific sociological characteristics with social banditry, particularly its alignment with marginalized communities, it demonstrates a normative orientation that exceeds reactive resistance. Through the lens of John Rawls's theory of justice, the movement reflects a claim to fairness, equal opportunity, and distributive justice. When further interpreted within the framework of civil resistance, it represents ethically grounded opposition to structural injustice rather than mere deviance. The primary academic contribution of this research lies in its integrative framework.

First, it bridges sociological, political-philosophical, and resistance theories in analyzing local Indonesian movements. Second, it positions Pancasila not merely as an ideological symbol but as a living normative and analytical framework capable of mediating global theories of justice and local socio-historical realities. By demonstrating how the second principle (just and civilized humanity), the third principle (national unity), and the fifth principle (social justice) provide ethical criteria for evaluating resistance, this study strengthens the discourse that Pancasila can function as a critical tool in social movement analysis. Thus, it enriches academic discussions on Indonesian social movements by moving beyond legalistic or security-based interpretations toward a morally grounded evaluation. In practical terms, this research offers important implications for public policy and civic education.

For policymakers, it highlights the need to assess social unrest not solely through criminal law frameworks but also through the lens of social justice and structural inequality. A Pancasila-based evaluative approach encourages dialogue, restorative solutions, and institutional reform rather than repressive responses. For civic education, particularly in Pancasila and Citizenship Education (PPKn), the findings provide concrete case material to help students distinguish between criminal acts and morally justified resistance. Integrating such analysis into educational curricula can strengthen students' ethical reasoning, democratic awareness, and commitment to social justice within the Pancasila framework. Ultimately, this study reaffirms that Pancasila is not only the philosophical foundation of the Indonesian state but also a dynamic normative compass for interpreting contemporary social transformation. By situating local resistance within both universal justice theory and Indonesia's foundational values, this research contributes to a more balanced, contextual, and ethically nuanced understanding of social movements in Indonesia.

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