



From Values to Process: Strategies for Practising Constitutional Democracy in Schools in Pancasila and Citizenship Education

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Abstract

Democratic Civic Education demands a balance between democratic values such as justice, freedom and respect for human rights and democratic processes that emphasise participation and deliberation. However, in learning practices, particularly in the context of school student council elections, there is often a tension between the two. When the outcome of the democratic process contradicts substantive democratic values, then civic education must be able to become a reflective space that is critical of these dynamics. This qualitative research aims to examine how the practice of learning Civics based on the Merdeka Curriculum in schools fosters students' understanding of constitutional democracy, while directing the student council election process as a medium for ethical and civilised political education. Through tracing teachers' practices and reflections as well as student participation, this article highlights the importance of building democratic resilience from an early age through a learning model that is not only oriented towards procedures, but also instils basic democratic values. The concept of *wehrhafte Demokratie* (fortified democracy) becomes an inspiration in developing value assertiveness amid the dynamics of majoritarianism. The results of this research are expected to contribute to the development of a more critical and transformative Civics practice in schools.

1. Introduction

Civic Education (Civics Education) has a strategic role in shaping democratic, critical and characterised citizens. In the context of a legal state that adheres to the principles of constitutional democracy such as Indonesia, Civics learning not only aims to instil legal awareness and political participation, but must also balance between democratic values and democratic procedures. However, in its implementation in schools, there is often a tension between the two when the democratic processes carried out by students, such as in student council elections, are not in line with the substantive values of democracy such as justice, diversity and protection of minority rights.

This condition shows a gap between the ideal of democracy taught normatively in the curriculum and the reality of democratic practices in the field. When student council elections are only understood as a formal routine, without a deep framing of democratic values, civic education becomes merely procedural and loses its transformational dimension (Ichsan, 2022). It is feared that this could give birth to a young generation that understands democracy as majoritarianism, not as a value system that upholds human rights and constitutionality.

This issue becomes increasingly relevant in the context of implementing the Merdeka Curriculum, which encourages project-based learning and strengthening the Pancasila Student Profile. This curriculum provides innovative space for teachers to develop contextual learning, including organising student council elections as a laboratory of democracy. However, there are not many studies that specifically discuss how this tension between values and democratic processes can be bridged in Civics learning.

Departing from this reality, this article raises the problem formulation, namely how the practice of Civics learning based on the Merdeka Curriculum in student council elections can overcome the tension between democratic values and processes, and strengthen constitutional democracy in the

school environment. The purpose of this writing is to analyse the real practice of Civics learning in student council elections in schools to identify pedagogical strategies that support the cultivation of constitutional democracy in a balanced and sustainable manner.

This research introduces a new value in the form of a critical-reflective approach in civic education that not only emphasises aspects of participation, but also awareness of the importance of protecting basic democratic values. This approach is inspired by the concept of *wehrhafte Demokratie* (fortified democracy) implemented in Germany, as a form of anticipation of majority domination that can threaten the principles of democracy itself (Müller, 2016; Hildebrandt, 2020). Therefore, the results of this study are expected to make theoretical and practical contributions in strengthening students' democratic character through a more contextual, critical, and value-based Civics.

2. Method

Civic Research methods are scientific approaches used to systematically and objectively collect data with the aim of understanding, explaining, and solving a specific problem (Ramdhan, 2021). The term 'scientific' in the Indonesian Language Dictionary (KBBI) is defined as something that is scientific in nature, or meets the criteria of scientific knowledge that can be logically and empirically verified.

This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach, which aims to explore and describe the implementation of constitutional democratic values in Pancasila and Citizenship Education (PPKn) learning. This approach was chosen because it allows researchers to understand civic education practices contextually and in depth, without conducting direct observations in the field (Moleong, 2017).

The data sources were obtained through literature studies and digital documentation based on online media. Data collection techniques were carried out by tracing educational narratives found on official school social media, teacher blogs, educational news articles, educational videos on YouTube, and the Ministry of Education portal. According to (Sari, 2020), literature studies are a series of activities related to library data collection methods, reading, note-taking, and systematic processing of research materials.

The type of data used is qualitative-textual, consisting of direct quotations, reflective narratives, and descriptions of activities from educational figures such as teachers, school principals, students, and education observers. The researcher selected data purposively, considering the relevance, authenticity, and significance of the content to the topic of constitutional democracy. The data collected focused on practical activities such as OSIS election debates, simulation meetings, digital campaigns, and discussions on constitutional values in the classroom.

To maintain academic validity and honesty, each quotation or finding was quoted directly from the original source and documented systematically to avoid plagiarism (Puspaningsih, 2024). This approach is in line with the view that literature studies not only seek supporting theories but also explore the conceptual foundations and social representations of the phenomena being studied.

Data analysis techniques use the interactive analysis model developed by Miles and Huberman (2014), which consists of three main steps: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing or verification. Data reduction is carried out by grouping information into themes such as student participation, teacher reflection, and responses to the Merdeka Curriculum. Data presentation is done in the form of tables or narrative matrices, and conclusions are drawn through triangulation between sources to identify patterns, gaps, and dynamics in the practice of constitutional democratic education in schools.

3. Results and Discussion

This study emphasises how constitutional democracy forms the basis of Civic Education (PPKn) learning, which integrates the values of law, participation, and respect for diversity. There is a tension between democratic values and their implementation in schools, which often remain procedural without reflecting on their underlying values. The election of the Student Council emerges as a

miniature democracy that educates students about freedom of speech and the dynamics of politics in a tangible way. The implementation of the Merdeka Curriculum promotes a project-based approach, enabling students to practise democracy in a contextual manner and become more aware and responsible citizens.

3.1. The Concept of Constitutional Democracy in the Context of Civic Education

The concept of constitutional democracy has become an important part of the discourse on Pancasila and Civic Education (PPKn) in various educational institutions. This finding was obtained from digital documentation based on online media, which shows participatory learning practices, such as student council election simulations, discussions about the rights and obligations of citizens, and projects based on constitutional values. For example, in a post (Kompasiana, 2025), 'Strengthening Democracy with the Golden Generation: MAN 2 Bantul and the Bantul Election Commission Hold Democracy Education as Part of the MATSAMA Series'

"Democracy is not just about electing leaders, but also about how we, as citizens, actively contribute to the development of the nation. Your voices are very important. Never feel that your participation is insignificant" (Kompasiana, 2025)

This statement emphasises that the principles of constitutional democracy are introduced directly in the learning process as part of the internalisation of citizenship values.

The implementation of the Merdeka Curriculum opens up more space for contextual and reflective exploration of democratic values. This curriculum allows teachers to design dialogue-based learning that is oriented towards student experience and relevant to current socio-political issues. One approach that is widely used is case studies related to constitutional violations or social conflicts. The Head of the Research, Development, and Book Agency, Anindito Aditomo, believes that education to introduce, study, and practise democratic principles and values is one of the most important and essential functions of the ideal of independence to become a democratic nation. Therefore, democratic education is encouraged to be implemented in schools.

"The fourth principle of Pancasila clearly expresses the democratic character of our country, a democracy that seeks to be realised through deliberation to achieve consensus. While formal institutions and procedures are necessary, the success of democracy depends heavily on our capacity as citizens to participate in negotiation, argumentation, and discussion" (BPMPNTT, 2021)

A democratic atmosphere in schools is one that is open and encourages students to dare to have opinions, think for themselves, and voice them. Ideally, this should occur in all subjects, but especially in Pancasila and Civics (PPKn) classes, which should be the primary source of democracy education in schools. Digital documentation shows the existence of a Pancasila student profile project that highlights the themes of anti-discrimination and equality of rights. In a YouTube video uploaded by Rafa Kamila, students from class XII MIPA A at SMAN 1 Probolinggo present a short drama related to 'Violations of Rights and Denial of Citizens' Obligations' titled Education:

"All citizens have equal rights under the law, as stated in Article 28D of the 1945 Constitution." (Kamila, 2019)

This reflects how students are actively beginning to understand and articulate the values of constitutional democracy in their own language and context. Findings also indicate that the integration of democratic values in Civic Education is not yet uniform. Learning remains focused on cognitive and procedural aspects in some schools, such as memorising articles and definitions of democracy without practical implementation. Data from a study in Indonesia shows that 75% of students feel less interested in learning that relies solely on lectures compared to more interactive methods such as discussions or group activities (Prasetyo, 2024). Lectures that are too long can cause students to lose interest and motivation to learn. As a result, the learning process, which is expected to be active and productive, becomes the opposite. Teachers should combine various learning

methods such as discussions, group work, and projects to increase student participation and make the material easier to understand.

This indicates the need for teacher training in developing more contextual, participatory, and values-based learning models. Strengthening constitutional democracy learning strategies, particularly in Citizenship Education, is crucial in supporting the successful implementation of the Merdeka Curriculum. Effective citizenship education should encourage students to think critically, be open-minded, and act responsibly as citizens (Sunaryati, 2025). These efforts include improving teacher capacity, providing contextual modules, and developing learning media that can connect citizenship theory with the social realities that students face in their daily lives.

3.2. The Tensions between Democratic Values and Democratic Processes in School Practice

Tensions between democratic values and democratic processes often arise in educational practices at schools, especially when democracy is narrowly understood as merely formal or procedural activities. Democracy tends to be practised symbolically through the election of student council presidents, simulated deliberations, or routine class debates. Democracy is not merely a procedure but a culture built on patterns of thought and upbringing that instil values of participation, justice, and respect for diversity (Simorangkir, 2025). In educational practices at schools, activities claimed to be forms of democracy, such as class president elections, student council elections, or deliberative forums, are often carried out merely to fulfil formal curriculum requirements. As a result, these activities lose their substantive meaning as tools for fostering the character of democratic and reflective citizens (Rahman, 2024). This phenomenon indicates that although students are involved in various democratic-themed activities at school, such as class president elections or deliberative forums, they often lack a deep understanding of the underlying values. Schools and Early Democracy Education, according to the opinion of Zaenal Mutiin, a member of the Election Commission of Serang District (2022):

To apply the democratic values that have been taught, schools provide students with organisations. These organisations aim to teach students to be more democratic, responsible, and respectful, so that they can be useful as students who will later participate in social, national, and state life. (Mutiin, 2022)

Student participation tends to be limited to formal aspects, such as attending meetings or voting in school elections, without being accompanied by a reflective process that encourages them to understand the meaning of justice, diversity, and responsibility. As a result, the democratic process in schools is often perceived as mere administrative routine, not as a means of internalising values. Students are more interested in the final outcome, such as who is elected, than in appreciating the deliberative process, which ideally emphasises the principles of compromise, equality of voice, and listening to minority opinions (Alhadi, 2020). This reflects that symbolic or ritualistic student participation, without meaningful understanding, can obscure the meaning of democracy itself.

Democratic life in Indonesia has shown signs of weakening in recent years. The 2022 Indonesia Democracy Index (IDI) recorded a decline from 73.66 to 72.91. This indicates a decline in civil liberties and freedom of expression. Increasing political polarisation, hate speech on social media, and repressive actions against freedom of expression exacerbate this phenomenon. There are many cases where activists or members of the public who criticise the government are intimidated. This certainly raises concerns about the future of democracy in Indonesia. In light of these developments, experts emphasise the importance of better democracy education. This is to ensure that the younger generation understands and preserves democratic values. Prof. Azyumardi Azra, a political expert, states that

“A lack of democracy education can lead to apathy towards politics. This situation, in turn, makes democracy vulnerable to authoritarianism.” (Rabani, 2024)

In addition, political philosopher Larry Diamond highlights that declining public participation and the rise of identity politics can lead to social fragmentation. If this trend continues, Indonesia could experience a setback in the democratisation process that has been built since the reform era.

This tension between form and meaning has an impact on the weak internalisation of democratic values in students, which should be the core of the learning objectives of Pancasila and Citizenship Education (PPKn). As emphasised by (Oktavia, 2023), democratic values must be presented in the form of concrete experiences to avoid them becoming empty theories or mere memorisation. If democracy is not brought to life through school activities relevant to students' experiences, consequences such as apathy, excessive individualism, and a lack of concern for the common good may arise.

Students may excel in academic aspects but remain weak in social skills such as critical thinking, working together across differences, and expressing opinions ethically and constructively. Therefore, democratic education must be developed as a holistic experience cognitive, affective, and practical that actively involves students in building a democratic culture in the school environment.

3.3. Student Council Elections as a Miniature of Democratic Practice in Schools

The election of the Student Council at school is a concrete form of implementing constitutional democratic values in the educational environment. This activity serves as an important platform for instilling students' understanding of the importance of political participation, freedom of expression, and respect for election results (Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology, 2022). Stages such as campaigning, vision-mission debates, and voting reflect the practice of direct democracy on a micro scale. For example, the YouTube account of SMA Negeri 23 Kabupaten Tangerang features a video simulation of an OSIS election based on e-voting titled 'E-Voting for the 2019 OSIS Chairperson Election, Term of Office 2020 (Paperless Voting),' encouraging students to actively exercise their voting rights (SMANegeri23Kabupaten, 2020). This practice demonstrates that democratic principles are not only taught but also experienced directly by students as a living learning experience.

The OSIS election is a concrete form of applying constitutional democratic values within the educational ecosystem. This practice not only teaches formal election procedures such as campaigning, presenting visions and missions, and voting, but also serves as an educational platform that shapes students' characters as active and responsible citizens. At MTsN 15 Jakarta, the OSIS election for the 2025/2026 academic year was conducted with a systematic and participatory approach, reflecting efforts to internalise democratic values from an early age. This activity began with the candidate registration process, socialisation, determination of candidate pairs, and culminated in an open debate in front of all seventh and eighth grade students. The candidate debate was one of the most important moments in this stage. As stated by the Principal of MTsN 15 Jakarta, Siti Maryam:

"This debate also allows students to test their verbal and non-verbal communication skills, as well as their critical thinking abilities and the ability to formulate strong arguments" (Maryam, 2025)

This demonstrates that the debate activity is not merely a formality but a dynamic political learning process that fosters essential 21st-century competencies.

The purpose of the debate between OSIS candidates is not only to convey their vision and mission but also to provide accurate information to voters so they can make choices based on rational considerations. Siti Maryam also explained this in an interview published on the official website of the Jakarta Utara Ministry of Religious Affairs.

"In order to elect a chairperson and vice-chairperson who are reliable and effective in achieving the goals of the madrasah organisation," (Maryam, 2025)

This is where the important role of the OSIS election in developing a culture of democracy that is integrity-based, transparent, and oriented towards institutional goals becomes apparent.

This activity also demonstrates that democratic values are not only taught in PPKn classrooms but are brought to life in students' daily lives. By participating in the debate and election process,

students learn firsthand how to make decisions, express opinions, and respect diverse viewpoints. As reiterated by the Madrasah Principal,

"We hope that through this debate activity, a democratic culture will be established at MTsN 15 Jakarta." (Maryam, 2025)

This statement reinforces the assumption that schools serve as miniatures of democracy, providing space for the development of students' participatory skills and political ethics.

The OSIS election experience at MTsN 15 Jakarta also aligns with the spirit of the Merdeka Curriculum, which emphasises the importance of experiential learning and real-world projects. As part of the madrasah's annual programme, the OSIS election successfully instilled constitutional democratic values in an applied and contextual manner. This reinforces the role of schools as institutions that shape character and life skills rooted in the principles of substantive democracy, such as honesty, responsibility, openness, and mutual cooperation.

3.4. Strategies for Strengthening Constitutional Democracy in Civics Learning

Strategies for strengthening constitutional democracy in Civic Education learning need to be oriented towards contextualising values and actively involving students. Integrating reflective and problem-based approaches can help students understand constitutional principles more critically. Case-based discussions, such as human rights violations or social conflict resolution, are effective media for instilling substantive democratic values. Teachers also need to involve students in evaluating school policies so that they become accustomed to thinking and acting as active citizens. As stated by Fauzi (2025) in his book titled *Multicultural Education: Theory, Practice, and Social Transformation*, reflection on social reality is the main bridge in raising students' awareness of the role of the constitution in maintaining justice and equality. This strategy is the foundation for fostering constitutional intelligence in depth.

The use of digital learning resources such as educational videos, interactive constitutional documents, and social media platforms is also increasingly being adopted in Civic Education learning. For example, the YouTube channel *Jurnalistik Skenava* features simulation-based learning content on democratic decision-making in schools, which has been positively received by students. A video titled *The Importance of School Rules* states that when students are given the opportunity to choose class rules together, they learn about compromise and responsibility (Skenava, 2025). This shows that digital media can be an effective tool in building contextual democratic literacy, while also reaching the learning styles of the digital generation.

Project-Based Learning (PBL) is one of the effective approaches to strengthen constitutional democratic values. At SMK Yadika 6 Jatiwaringin, students conducted a project titled "Mafhum" that addressed current issues such as discrimination and freedom of speech, and produced a student manifesto on digital ethics (SMKYadika6Jatiwaringin, 2021). Teachers facilitated this process to encourage active participation and awareness among students regarding democratic dynamics. This project not only increases students' awareness of the law and human rights, but also trains them in debating skills and constructing logical arguments based on the constitution.

3.5. Conclusion

Constitutional democracy in the context of civic education has an important meaning as a basis for the formation of the character of an active, critical, and responsible citizen. PPKn learning practices, especially in the selection of Student Council and the implementation of project-based independent curriculum, are able to become a miniature laboratory of democracy that integrates the values of constitutional democracy in real activities. However, there are still tensions between the ideal democratic values and the formal democratic process, resulting in the internalization of democratic values is not yet fully substantial. Democratic activities in schools are often procedural and symbolic, not yet fully a learning experience that shapes students' critical understanding and reflective attitudes.

Prospects for the development of the results of this study is to strengthen PPKn learning based on direct experience (experiential learning) and constitutional values that are contextual to student life. The practice of discussion, role simulation, and relevant case studies must be put forward so that the value of democracy is truly internalized. In addition, the results of this study open up opportunities for the development of more interactive, collaborative, and project-based learning strategies that emphasize dialogue, compromise, and respect for diversity. The prospect of its application is to create a school ecosystem that supports the birth of citizens who have democratic consciousness, social responsibility, and are able to become agents of positive change in society.

PPKn teachers are expected to take advantage of The Independent curriculum to create more contextual, reflective, and participatory learning, so that students are not only involved in the formal process, but also understand the meaning of constitutional democratic values in their daily lives. Schools need to provide a wider space for students to discuss, criticize and evaluate democratic practices in the school environment, for example through debate forums, value discussions and relevant social projects. Further research is suggested to explore more deeply how the integration of constitutional democratic values can be optimized through digital learning media innovation or cross-disciplinary collaboration, so that citizenship education is increasingly relevant and effective in shaping a generation of democratic and character citizens.

Author Contributions

- Diana Rista: Conceptualization, Methodology, Writing - original draft.
- Agustina Rafika Duri Rahma: Data curation, Formal analysis, Validation.
- Adila Putri Alfaidah: Investigation, Resources, Visualization.
- Frans Aditia Wiguna: Software, Project administration, Funding acquisition.
- Irawan Hadi Wiranata: Supervision, Writing - review & editing.

All authors have equal contributions to the paper. All the authors have read and approved the final manuscript.

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