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THE RELEVANCE OF CIVIL RELIGION, PANCASILA, AND CIVIL SOCIETY IN INDONESIA: ROBERT N. BELLAH'S SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract: This paper examines Robert N. Bellah's contribution from a sociological perspective to the notion of civil religion and its relevance to Pancasila and civil society in Indonesia. Its goal is to address the influence of civil religion on the development of Indonesian society and the contribution of civil religion, Pancasila, and civil society to the emergence of religious nationalism. A qualitative method is used to review existing literature on this subject, including documentation methodologies, and researchers compile data on the role of civil religion in the context of a nation-state such as Indonesia. The study's conclusion includes several noteworthy findings. *First*, civil religion plays a crucial role in the formation of civil society, through which nationalist values can be created and conflicts based on religion and race can be prevented. *Second*, the relationship between Pancasila, civil society, and civil religion forms the state ideology of Indonesia on the foundational ideas of civil religion.

Keywords: Civil Religion, Pancasila, Civil Society, Citizenship, Religious-Nationalism.

Introduction

Many countries have incorporated religion as a fundamental element of their governing ideology to accommodate their citizens' diverse religious practices. Nevertheless, several regimes adopt a secular framework as an integral aspect of their ideology, which dictates how

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their residents lead their lives. In nations where a single religion holds sway, the framework of the state is founded upon that particular faith. Some argue that in a country with diverse religions, it is important to have a distinct political ideology that is not based on any specific religion or completely devoid of religious influence, even if one religion is dominant.

In countries such as Turkey and France, which have a secular stance and are known for their hostility towards religion, religious beliefs do not have much importance in people's lives and often become a common adversary. Unlike America, which abstains from intervening in private religious expression.¹ Religion can thrive in a pluralistic society without conflict or excessive religious extremism. Despite their diverse theological backgrounds, people possess a profound devotion to their faith and a deep sense of patriotism towards their country. Civil religion aims to promote religious nationalism in a diverse society by adopting an authoritative stance towards dominant and rigid formal religions. Civic religion aims to cultivate religious nationalism in a pluralistic society.

Civil religion pertains to the scientific investigation of specific behaviours or teachings propagated by religions, aiming to establish a recognized or justified deity, sacred scripture, and prophet, similar to other religious traditions. The emergence of civic religion in America has marked a significant moment in advancing a cultured society that emphasizes human values and justice within a diverse and inclusive existence. Civil religion differs from formal religion in its evolution since it does not invalidate one's religious beliefs. Within the framework of civil religion, it is imperative that both the government and its citizens, who share a particular religious belief, collaborate to promote society's well-being. The European society of that century experienced a decline in its fundamental social connections due to the loss of religious values, due to the rapid process of individualization brought about by the Enlightenment.

The concept of civic religion is inherent in democratic governance, as it allows the populace to understand and put into practice. This is apparent in Indonesia, where decisions are predicated on variables that prioritize democracy as the fundamental premise of the state, particularly Pancasila. The adoption of Pancasila as a mindset might generate innovative ideas that have the potential to enhance the progress of this nation in the fields of science, technology, and civilization. This concept is called civil society, which is a crucial component in pursuing a welfare state and justice.

¹ Dawam Raharjo, *Reorientasi Pembaharuan Islam, Sekularisme, Liberalisme, Dan Pluralisme: Paradigma Baru Islam Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Paramadina, 2010).

Multiple studies have been conducted on the evolution of civil religion in Indonesia. Masdar Hilmy's research examines the political framework in which Indonesian civic religion and multicultural citizenship have been implemented and debated within society. Multicultural citizenship is intricately linked to civic religion since the latter serves to externalize and fortify the former.² To manage the diversity of race and religion and to foster unity, Singapore's constitutional experiment includes a concept known as a constitutional civil religion (CCR), which is the subject of this article. CCR is designed to ensure social harmony within the most religiously varied republic in the world while maintaining indivisible unity by fostering connections of citizen solidarity.³

Furthermore, certain research examines the correlation between politics and civil religion. This study illustrated that constitutions acknowledging civil religion and embracing inclusivity reflect a pluralistic and sophisticated society.⁴ Research also shows the relationship between (civil) religion and nationalism. The important authors who have thought about this link are briefly reviewed, and then their theories regarding civil religion and nationalism as modern religion are critiqued.⁵

This research will discuss the function of civic religion in fostering a sense of religious nationalism, which seeks to promote a shared aspiration for civil society in the face of dominant power structures. As a significant concept in a pluralistic society, civil religion is anticipated to foster a sense of religious-based nationalism, distancing itself from identity politics and religious conflicts among the Indonesian populace. This research aims to offer a fresh approach to promoting diversity by highlighting the role of religious nationalism in fostering a civilized and equitable society. Robert N. Bellah, a prominent sociologist, contributed substantially to developing the notion of civil religion.

This study uses qualitative methodologies to examine the correlation between civic religion, Pancasila, and civil society, as viewed through the lens of Robert N. Bellah. This study uses qualitative research methodologies, namely a literature review, to examine the ideas of Robert N. Bellah, a renowned figure in the field of sociological studies. Researchers

² Masdar Hilmy, "The Politics of Multicultural Citizenship: Problems, Challenges and Prospects of Civil Religion Institutionalization in Indonesia," *JICA* Vol. 5, No. 01 (2016): 1–3.

³ Li-ann Thio, "Irreducible Plurality, Indivisible Unity: Singapore Relational Constitutionalism and Cultivating Harmony Through Constructing a Constitutional Civil Religion," *German Law Journal*, 2019, 1007–34, <https://doi.org/10.1017/glj.2019.75>.

⁴ Leila Chamankhah, "From Political Islam to Civil Religion: The Possibilities of a Pluralistic Constitution and Its Impact on Human Rights in Post Revolutionary Iran," *Teosofi: Jurnal Tasawuf Dan Pemikiran Islam* 12, no. 1 (2022): 125–44, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0034670507000502>.

⁵ Jose Santiago, "From 'Civil Religion' to Nationalism as the Religion of Modern Times: Rethinking a Complex Relationship," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* Vol. 48, No. 2 (2009): 394–401.

employed documentation approaches to gather data on civic religion's function within Indonesia's nation-state. Researchers gather the most recent sources on the advancement and dispute of civic religion amid the dominance of organized religion.

This study employs Robert N. Bellah's perspectives to explore further the specific manifestation of civil religion practised in Indonesia, a country characterized by its diversity. Researchers employ a historical-sociological methodology to elucidate civil religion, examining its origins and evolution in Indonesia. This historical-sociological analysis uncovers the influence of civil religion in shaping civil society and the interconnectedness of civil religion, Pancasila, and civil society in a diverse society.

The Notion of Civil Religion

Civil Religion is sometimes known as "citizen religion". Civil religion is distinct from formal religions, as it is not institutionalized as an official religion in people's lives. Civil religion is not like formal religions, which have the concept of God, holy books, places of worship, prophets, and teachings of holiness. Civil religion can be defined more as "civil diversity," encompassing all religions. Examining civic religion is inherently linked to a contemporary American sociologist, specifically Robert N. Bellah. The text portrays Robert N. Bellah's performance during the "civil religion debate" in the 1970s as an example of how this mechanism could function. The concluding section examines the potential consequences for future research.⁶

Robert N. Bellah focuses his case study on observing America. In this observation, civic religion is evident, specifically in the form of a "religiosity attitude" that remains neutral towards conventional religion (a religion that has originated in America). According to Bellah, the evidence for this is that during official regal speeches, none of the American Presidents invoked God or any one traditional faith. However, they specifically used the name of God, who was not associated with any one religious affiliation in America.⁷

Contrary to popular belief, the individual who initially presented a speech on civil religion was Jean-Jacques Rousseau, not Robert N. Bellah. Rousseau's fourth book, "On the Social Contract," categorizes religion into three distinct classifications. There are three distinct categories of religion: human religion, which is based on natural divine law; public

⁶ Matteo Bortolini, "The Trap of Intellectual Success: Robert N. Bellah, the American Civil Religion Debate, and the Sociology of Knowledge," *Theory and Society* 41, no. 01 (2012): 187–210.

⁷ Robert N. Bellah, *The Broken Covenant; American Civil Religion in Time of Trial* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992).

religion, which follows positive divine law; and weird religion, which involves two books of law and two heads of state with conflicting responsibilities that prohibit citizens from holding simultaneous beliefs. Each of these three religions exhibits imperfections in the realm of politics. Consequently, the formation of the fourth religion, often known as civic religion, occurred. Rousseau yearns for a religion that inspires individuals to protect their country with the same fervour as their faith. However, the specific nature of this religion remains uncertain. Religion can bring people together by embracing societal variety without challenging the beliefs of every individual.

The purpose of this civil religion is not to supplant existing religions or previously held beliefs within a community but rather to serve as a reminder of the significance of cultivating a sense of devotion towards one's duties, both as citizens and as followers of religious faiths. A belief system that is not exclusive to official religions, whether terrestrial or celestial, is referred to as civil religion. Any religion that is formally acknowledged by the state as the official religion of the people is not considered a civil religion. One element of the emerging religious ideology that continuously places a high priority on preserving indigenous knowledge and promoting harmony between people of different religious backgrounds is civil religion.

Since it is only one aspect of society, civic religion, often known as "civil diversity," is not real. Furthermore, it dismantles the barriers that established customs present and inhabits a place between them rather than competing with them. One's perception of their identity and obligations to society did not originate from civil religion. The religious affiliation of everyone is determined in the source. Civil religion does not compete with other religions and is not a complete religious system.

However, a substantial element of civic religion originates from the religions practised and the principles and norms they establish to guarantee the preservation of society.⁸ Because the religion that precedes the current religious group owns or adheres to these principles, civil religion is an attitude devoid of God, the Bible, the Apostles, or anyone else considered sacred. This idea (civil religion) will not turn someone into a polytheist; stealing a phrase from Emile Durkheim will not sanctify the profane and vice versa.⁹

⁸ Agus Salim Nst, "The Role of Civil Religion Forming Civil Society Through Practicing Religious Comment," *Jurnal Ushuluddin* 23, no. 02 (2015): 201–8.

⁹ Idrus Ruslan, "Membangun Civil Religiom Pada Masyarakat Yang Plural: Dilema Pancasila Di Era Reformasi," *Al-Adyan* 4, no. 2 (2011): 1–28.

The Role of Civil Religion in the Interplay of Established Religions

The concept of civil religion, first developed in French political thinking, was later elaborated and emphasized by Robert N. Bellah in the United States. This concept serves a crucial purpose in ensuring a successful existence by integrating teachings from other religions into civic religion. Religion substantially impacts cultivating a feeling of national identity in society due to its founder's emphasis on social interaction. With religion, the development of tolerance among citizens would be improved.¹⁰

Civil religion is essential for a republican political community comprising citizens to have a clear goal and a set of moral standards. The republican tradition upholds freedom as a virtue that signifies the existence of reverence for populist politics and governance. Robert N. Bellah, a scholar who has examined the concept of civil religion, contends that disputes are bound to occur eventually. Therefore, it is crucial to prioritize republican ideas and qualities.¹¹

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the proponent of civil religion, explained this concept. He dubbed it “civil” because he wanted to liberate himself from the limitations imposed by the Church. The term “religion” is invoked by the speaker to seek liberation from the power structure and elucidate the existence of civic religion rather than advocating for the elimination of organized religion. Since it was considered improper to follow a traditional religious practice, the desire for liberty and material success served as the main motivators for the establishment of civic religion. This is a result of the lack of presence of God, the Holy Book, prophets, and other revered personalities in civic religion.

Philip Emond argues that civil religion, often known as a religious disposition, should be understood comprehensively. In other words, civic religion does not suggest that formal religion should be discarded; instead, formal religion is a crucial foundation of society. Hence, instead of creating a division between the two, every religious leader must ascertain the doctrines upheld by each to address the expansion of civic religion. Civil religion functions as a supplementary element to organized religion, articulating the ethical values present in both. Organized religion serves as the fundamental basis of civilization. This safeguard is put in place to prevent formal religions from attaching interests to their position of power and influence within the religious community.

¹⁰ Mochamad Parmudi, “Civil Religion Di Indonesia,” *JSW (Jurnal Sosiologi Walisongo)* 2, no. 1 (2018): 51–70, <https://doi.org/10.21580/jsw.2018.2.1.1995>.

¹¹ Ahmad Sahidah, “Agama Sipil Di Amerika Serikat: Telaah Terhadap Gagasan Dan Peran Robert N. Bellah,” *Simulacra: Jurnal Sosiologi* 2, no. 1 (2019): 5, <https://doi.org/10.21107/sml.v2i1.5517>.

To prevent any confusion regarding the presence of non-institutionalized religions, civil religion is often described as a religious disposition, as indicated by several research. Civil religion does not necessitate altering the community's established perception of organized religion. Nevertheless, it plays a crucial role in motivating and guiding individuals to develop a deep affection for their nation as citizens and in their religious capacity. In other words, adherents of organized faiths must possess a heightened awareness and affection for their country, alongside their devotion to the principles and doctrines of their faith.

However, the word civil is motivated by sociability, which allows citizens to be good citizens and tolerate other religious groups. In this manner, their attitude (the attitude of the nation that upholds this idea) is intended to be actualised in a way that leads to the development of universal morals that are internalised from religious symbols but can still be accepted in the public sphere through critical communication and a dialogue environment that is full of honesty and openness.¹² Every citizen should defend his nation from all sorts of injustice and the threat of dissolution by regional ethnic and religious disputes. To avoid being constrained by identity politics and the religious and ideological differences that characterise people's lives in the digital age, every religious believer at this juncture must also consider the nation's future while keeping a feeling of nationalism as a citizen.

The Significance of Civil Religion in Shaping Civil Society

Not every religious devotee in Indonesia experiences civil religion as a syndrome. Instead, it serves as a cohesive platform for all components of the nation, regardless of their religious affiliations, to cultivate greater awareness and adherence to human values, fairness, and harmony. It symbolizes the embodiment of virtue within the public domain. In a pluralistic society, civic religion can emerge quickly as it serves not only to evaluate and criticize formal faiths. Instead, civil religion serves as a means of promoting benevolence among individuals, irrespective of their religious affiliations.

When civic religion is brought into Indonesian society, there are questions concerning the possible topics and how to bring them to light. Nevertheless, individuals are compelled to assign significance to their actions, particularly when the action involves individuals from diverse religious affiliations. The book *"Varieties of Civil Religion"* by Robert N. Bellah and Phillip E. Hammond describes this topic. The conditions mentioned are as follows: 1) Religious pluralism, which ensures that no single religion dominates the

¹² Abd A'la, *Agama Tanpa Penganut: Memudarnya Nilai-Nilai Moralitas Dan Signifikansi Pengembangan Teologis Kritis* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2009).

community as a universal source of meaning; 2) However, individuals are still compelled to assign meaning to their actions; and 3) If an alternative system of meaning is discovered, those who benefit from it are likely to admire it.¹³

Moreover, the adoption of civic religion might facilitate the cultivation of a compassionate society that overlooks the religious affiliations of its citizens. Civil religion places significant emphasis on moral-spiritual qualities, such as compassion and love, as well as social morality, including tolerance, peace, democracy, and similar values. Civil religion has the potential to establish a society that is peaceful, calm, and in agreement with universal principles in both the political and religious domains. Comparable achievements can also be observed in the concept of civil society, which is a common objective among all individuals. According to the study, incorporating religious rites can impact the development of civic religion, leading to the elevation of civilization values within a nation.

Typically, the term “civil society” is used. Around 1988, Arief Budiman first made this claim, which Nurcholish Madjid later popularised. “civil society” refers to the nation’s lofty aspirations for a successful, democratic, and civilised life. Nurcholish Madjid made a breakthrough in developing nationalism to build a democratic and affluent country through the Paramadina movement. Unsurprisingly, the phrase refers to a society whose standards, rules, and values are upheld and supported by the knowledge of civilised technology, religion, and science.¹⁴ When translated, this idea refers to the civil society idea from Western intellectuals’ “*ijtihad*.”

Western scientists held diverse perspectives on the concept of civic society. Nevertheless, the researcher adopts the perspective of Adam Ferguson, a philosopher from the Scottish Enlightenment. Ferguson's position aligns more closely with the contemporary understanding of how civil society has evolved and its current significance. According to his perspective, society will progressively become more diverse regarding its activities and opinions. Diversity is widely recognized as a crucial element of history and should be accepted as a valuable contribution from God. It enables collaboration to improve society and promotes a sense of unity among individuals.¹⁵

Every citizen, regardless of their religious background, must always put brotherhood and unity first in the framework of national and state life if they are to uphold the beautiful

¹³ (Bellah & Hammond, 1980)

¹⁴ Mohammad Takdir, *Nasionalisme Dalam Bingkai Pluralitas Bangsa: Paradigma Pembangunan Dan Kemandirian Bangsa* (Yogyakarta: Ar-Ruzz Media, 2012).

¹⁵ Luthfi J. Kurniawan, *Negara, Civil Society Dan Demokratisasi: Pergerakan Membangun Solidaritas Sosial Dalam Merebut Perubahan* (Malang: in-TRANS Publishing, 2008).

goals of the country. To build a civilised society, the nation and state need to foster the development of civil society. Nucholish Majdid (1999) asserts that establishing civil society is crucial to attaining one of Indonesia's national values: social fairness for all.¹⁶ Every citizen must decide to actualise a modern nation-state that is democratic, autonomous, inclusive, and cosmopolitan by offering civic religion as a medium in the development of civil society.

In the Indonesian setting, civic religion does not threaten formal religions such as Islam and others. Instead, it catalyzes all people, irrespective of their religious beliefs, to support each other in promoting tolerance and national civilization. The advent of civil society enables the potential for significant advancement in the country's growth towards an ideal civilization. The sole objective of civil society in Indonesia is to establish a just, inclusive, and democratic society based on the principles of God. These wonderful societal principles, such as tolerance and pluralism, uphold the civilized norms of society. Pluralism is imperative for a community to uphold religious plurality and respect while rejecting the perception of division and dogmatism. Pluralism should not be solely perceived as a "negative good" that merely eliminates fanaticism and keeps it at bay. It also plays a role in curbing the self-centeredness of religious individuals.

To establish a civil society in Indonesia, it is necessary to cultivate a strong sense of nationalism among residents, untainted by multiple identities and political interests that may potentially fuel conflicts. Civil religion in a pluralistic society can be implemented through various means, rooted in the sense of nationalism, to foster the development of a civil society. Reviving and continuously developing plurality discourse is essential in the public sphere to establish a solid foundation for comprehending and promoting the ideals of nationalism. The diverse nature of Indonesian nationality, encompassing many ethnic, religious, and racial backgrounds, can be effectively preserved through inter-community interactions. The resurgence of nationalism is viewed as a heavenly gift in this setting.

Furthermore, instilling assurance in diversity and acknowledging its capacity to generate conflict can help cultivate a fresh ethos in establishing a more democratic and equitable civil society. Pluralism serves to enhance the meaningful interaction of many perspectives while maintaining civility. Indonesia, a country with a robust democratic government, aims to achieve a high level of civilization while maintaining religious devotion. In a country like Indonesia, which has the biggest Muslim population in the world,

¹⁶ Nucholish Majdid, *Cita-Cita Politik Islam Di Era Reformasi* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1999).

the presence and operation of civil society are crucial due to the heterogeneous nature of Indonesian society. A civil religion that can swiftly flourish is necessary to fulfil this demand. Civil society has evolved into a societal concept that can facilitate Indonesians in coexisting together despite their cultural heterogeneity. In Indonesia, civil society advocates for the simultaneous existence of democratic liberties and the utilization of the law to monitor and regulate society.¹⁷

Incorporating civil religion in the establishment of civil society is a proactive measure to regulate the inclination towards religious absolutism and emphasize the significance of social devotion as an integral aspect of religious teachings. This phenomenon leads contemporary society to seek individual aims and interests, disregarding the importance of communal unity and brotherhood in the public domain. Therefore, developing civil religion might serve as an essential first stage in cultivating a sense of nationalism among the citizens towards their own countries. Essentially, it is imperative to advocate for one's own religion in this highly diverse society and prioritize love for one's country, as it is an integral aspect of any religious adherent's belief system.¹⁸

The Integration of Civil Religion, Pancasila, and Civil Society In Indonesia

Civil religion is a concept that aims to shape civil society as the foundation for fostering nationalism inside a country. It promotes tolerance, openness, mutual respect, democracy, and collaboration. Civil religion is prevalent in countries that exhibit significant diversity across various aspects, such as Indonesia. Indonesia is widely recognized as a nation that boasts diverse national characteristics, encompassing many racial, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, and religious groupings. Given the diverse nature of this nation, the implemented political system prioritizes the prevention of conflicts among various ethnic and religious factions. This is because if the adopted system of administration shows a clear bias towards one particular group, there is a concern that it would lead to social resentment and envy among other groups.

Consequently, the esteemed authorities of this nation underwent extensive deliberation to establish the system of governance to be officially proclaimed. The phrase

¹⁷ Twin Yoshua R. Destyanto et al., "Civil Society and Civil Islam Implementation on Inter-Religious Tolerance in Indonesia: A Phenomenological Study," *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Social Science, Humanity and Public Health (ICOSHIP 2021)* 645, no. Icoship 2021 (2022): 11–15, <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.220207.002>.

¹⁸ Mohammad Takdir, "Contestation and the Roles of Islam in The Public Sphere: A Sociological Analysis of Religious Secularization in Indonesia and the West," *Afkaruna: Indonesian Interdisciplinary Journal of Islamic Studies* 20, no. 2 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.18196/aiijis.2020.0119.154-174>.

“founding father” refers to individuals who have significantly contributed to establishing the Indonesian state. They actively contribute to establishing the state based on a democratic system and guided by Pancasila, the nation’s ideology. The individuals who significantly contributed to the establishment of this nation were Soekarno, Mohammad Hatta, Mohammad Yamin, Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX, Sutan Syahrir, and Haji Agus Salim. They voiced their perspectives on establishing the state’s basis in this nation. Nevertheless, his viewpoints converge towards faith, humanism, justice, unity, and national cohesion.

The five principles that were developed from the state foundations that the inventors were able to achieve were given the moniker “Pancasila”.¹⁹ In Indonesia, the teachings of Pancasila serve as the state’s guiding principle in conducting domestic and international affairs. This is a real example of civic religion. To achieve success in the future, the Indonesian nation’s life philosophy and the Pancasila consist of five fundamental acknowledgements of the establishment of this country. The following are the five pillars of this nation’s concept of life:

First and foremost, the divine entity is known as God Almighty. This idea encompasses a nation’s recognition of the dignity of individuals who serve its creator, specifically God, who is present in every religion. This principle highlights an individual’s liberty to fulfil their entitlements and responsibilities. This principle also demonstrates the state’s ability to satisfy the diverse interests of religious devotees in Indonesia, encompassing a multitude of different religions.

Second, a society that is both fair and cultured. This principle instructs on the concept of universal human equality in the eyes of God. It is expected of a responsible citizen to demonstrate politeness and esteem for others. Put, our citizenship is founded upon the principles of nationalism and humanism, which are the honourable ideals of our nation. Everyone must possess a just and impartial mindset towards oneself and others and demonstrate civility when engaging with fellow human beings, irrespective of their religious affiliations.

Third, the Indonesian Union. This principle demonstrates that it is essential for every citizen to uphold unity within the framework of variety. This principle is universally applied to all citizens, without any exceptions, to prioritize collective interests over personal, group, and religious interests. The progress of a nation is contingent upon the degree to which each

¹⁹ Abu Tholib Khalik, “Negara Adil Makmur Dalam Perspektif Founding Fathers Negara Indonesia Dan Filosof Muslim,” *Jurnal THEOLOGIA* 27, no. 1 (2016): 147–72, <https://doi.org/10.21580/teo.2016.27.1.920>.

individual cultivates a stronger sense of camaraderie and unity. The strength of our nation's citizenship will be enhanced if every citizen embraces the principles of unity and integrity as the guiding force in their lives. Indonesia, being a Pancasila state, encounters significant obstacles in addressing conflicts and disputes arising from the diversity of its residents' ethnic and religious backgrounds. Therefore, every individual must eradicate ethnic egos, sectarianism, communalism, and identity politics, as these frequently hinder the establishment of unity among nations.

Fourth, democracy is guided by solemn wisdom during representative deliberations. This precept outlines the course of action that citizens will undertake once they are aware of this nation's objectives. This principle conveys to the citizens that establishing a government system that prioritizes the well-being of its people will result in a corruption-free and fair administration devoid of practices like collusion, corruption, and nepotism. Furthermore, this principle also emphasizes the significance of employing a deliberative or consensus-based approach in making all decisions for the welfare of every individual.

The fifth priority is to ensure social justice for all Indonesian citizens. This final principle expands upon the need to treat all citizens with fairness. Every human action should be grounded in the principle of kinship in order to foster a profound feeling of social fairness for all individuals. As a nation that adheres to the principles of Pancasila, every individual is entitled to equitable treatment in all aspects, including the right to access justice in diverse domains, the right to express their opinions and practice their religion freely, the right to fair legal proceedings, the right to pursue a prosperous life, and the right to receive a quality education.

Pancasila, the state's guiding philosophy, encompasses the ideals of devotion to God and harmonious relations among individuals. Furthermore, the presence of Pancasila serves as a tangible representation of the level of tolerance exhibited by this nation's leaders in mitigating tensions among diverse community factions, encompassing disparities in religious beliefs.²⁰ The study's findings demonstrated that Pancasila is a collection of the core beliefs of the Indonesian people, used as an example and intending to establish a civilised society that is religious, humanist, nationalist, democratic, and socially just. To put it another way, for the Indonesian people, a civilised society is a Pancasila society.²¹

²⁰ Karel Steenbrink, "Pancasila as an Ambiguous Instrument for Interreligious Harmony and Development in Indonesia, 1945-2015," *Nanzan University*, 2015, 15–36.

²¹ Yuyus Kardiman et al., "Pancasila and Civilized Society" 418, no. Acec 2019 (2020): 380–85, <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.200320.072>.

Indonesia, being a pluralistic nation, can restrain the egotism of national leaders and religious figures to prevent them from being dictatorial in shaping the country's philosophical outlook. Consider examining multiple other countries. Consequently, the majority of confrontations between citizens stem from religious disparities, as seen by the tensions between Pakistan and India. In Indonesia, religious disparities among community factions do not hinder the concept of unity in variety and continue to prioritize the notion of fraternity as fellow citizens.

Hence, a resolution is being sought to prevent religious conflicts by refraining from showing excessive favouritism or dominance towards any particular faith in establishing the foundation of this nation. This approach is substantiated by establishing the initial tenet of Pancasila, which is "Faith in One Supreme Deity". These principles were developed through a lengthy endeavour to prevent conflict by adopting a moderate approach that recognizes the presence of truth in each religion. This is demonstrated by acknowledging a "supreme deity"-the term used is broad and encompasses all religions in Indonesia rather than being specific to just one.

How could Pancasila be regarded as Indonesia's civil religion? It is widely recognized that civil religion can only be observed in a multicultural nation where individuals must appreciate and respect differences. Indonesia's diversity in customs, cultures, languages, and faiths gives it the potential to become a remarkable nation. The Pancasila ideology firmly upholds the premise that every individual should be granted the liberty to exercise their faith by their convictions, as Indonesia, being a multicultural society, does not recognize the concepts of majority or minority. Hence, Pancasila, the country's national ideology, embraces and includes all individuals, irrespective of their religious background, in their day-to-day endeavours and interactions.²²

Pancasila, as a concrete form of civil religion in Indonesia, emphasises that the mission of all religions is as a pluralist movement that contributes to protecting all citizens from intolerant actions and treatments in the name of religion.²³ As a state based on Pancasila ideology, religious missions are not allowed to intervene in government policies related to the political interests of one religion. Instead, religion should provide support to the government in overcoming violence and conflict in the name of religion. In addition, religion

²² Chafid Wahyudi, "Civil Religion Dalam Rajutan Keagamaan NU," *ISLAMICA* 5, no. 2 (2011): 294–309.

²³ Abdul Ghoni, "Titik Temu Konsep Pancasila and Civil Religion Perspektif Robert N Bellah," *Inovatif* 4, no. 1 (2018): 56–62.

and religious groups in Indonesia must be separated from the interests of identity politics, which causes chaos and conflict between community groups.

Simultaneously, it is expected that all religions should scrutinize the government's stance of not making it illegal for any individual to convert to a religious sect or denomination. As a government representative responsible for promoting religious communities, the Ministry of Religion cannot intervene or make misguided decisions regarding interpreting specific religious groups. The reason for criminalization is not the mere practice of religious rites based on personal convictions but rather the occurrence of violent acts in the name of religion that harm human values.

Generally, the concept employed in Pancasila delineates the fundamental ideas inherent in civil religion. Put, Pancasila, the national ideology, encompasses the practice of civic religion in Indonesia. The connection between civic religion and Pancasila as the basis of the state occurs for two primary reasons. Civil religion is not established by homogenous nations but by multiple or heterogeneous nations. Furthermore, Indonesia's citizenship and government are predominantly organized around religious principles.²⁴

According to this viewpoint, Pancasila might be utilised as an alternate approach in Indonesia to reconcile the interests of sacred religion and profane democracy.²⁵ Thus, notwithstanding the differences in beliefs among people, the presence of Pancasila as a crucial element of civil religion may be observed in a religious-oriented patriotic mentality. Indonesia, as a democratic nation-state, places significant importance on religious nationalism, which is the driving force behind the establishment of civil religion. The purpose of civil religion is to contribute to establishing a civil society that embraces the noble principles of our nation and is fair and cultured. This concept gave rise to an agreement between Pancasila, which is a civic religion, and civil society. *Pancasila* is a fundamental principle guiding a nation's religious and moral beliefs, while also indirectly promoting religious tolerance.²⁶

Conclusion

Based on the earlier discussion, a nation can favour politics and religion. This can take the form of civic religion, also known as Pancasila, which means that a person's religious

²⁴ Muhammad Aqil Irham, "Civil Religion Dan Masa Depan Umat Beragama Di Indonesia: Mempertemukan Ideologi Keagamaan Dan Ideologi Kebangsaan Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Intan Lampung Abstrak Keywords : Civil Religion , Religious Ideology , Ideology National," *Al-Adyan* 12, no. 2 (2017): 145–58.

²⁵ Ghoni, "Titik Temu Konsep Pancasila and Civil Religion Perspektif Robert N Bellah."

²⁶ (Herlindah et al., 2022)

convictions can be made real within the framework of a democratic government scheme. The effect of this feat's culmination on civic society's growth is significant. As a result, nationalism reappears in the context of maintaining and caring for moral, spiritual, and social values. Following the framework presented earlier, civil religion is the initial step in building a state philosophy that considers all citizens' interests, regardless of their religious affiliation. What civic religious ideas, specifically Pancasila, are articulated within the framework of Indonesia's political system makes this quite clear. Combining civil religion with Pancasila would establish a civil social order that focuses on moral and spiritual components, such as the virtues of kindness and piety as God's creatures.

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