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## Article Title

### **The Right to Equitable Access to Higher Education: An Analysis Based on the Philosophy of Pancasila**

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## ABSTRACT

*This research aims to comprehensively analyze citizens' right to equitable access to higher education in Indonesia based on Pancasila's philosophy. Employing a normative legal research methodology, this study examines the issue through statute and conceptual approaches. Data were analyzed using qualitative content analysis techniques to describe and address the research problem in depth. The findings indicate that equitable access to higher education is a constitutional right of every Indonesian citizen guaranteed by Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. As an embodiment of the welfare state principle, the state is obliged to create a just, equitable, quality, and affordable higher education system for all levels of society. It requires affirmative regulations, innovative and equitable financing schemes, and a reliable quality assurance system. Higher education must be seen as a strategic instrument to break the cycle of structural poverty, enhance social mobility, and realize distributive justice by prioritizing the principle of social solidarity. Therefore, the projection towards free higher education, especially in state universities, is a strategic step that needs to be realized gradually and sustainably, supported by progressive tax system reform, increased allocation of education budgets, and optimization of alternative funding sources, as a form of progressive interpretation of Article 31 section (1) of the 1945 Constitution.*

**Keywords:** *Equitable; Higher Education; Philosophy of Pancasila; Rights of Citizens; Welfare State.*

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## INTRODUCTION

Education is a fundamental human right and is universally recognized as crucial to a nation's development (Lira, 2023). The significance of education lies not only in individual development but also in its capacity as a catalyst for collective progress. Nations that have successfully prioritized education within their developmental agendas have proven capable of creating ecosystems conducive to the growth of superior and competitive human resources. Comparative and competitive advantages in this increasingly complex era of globalization are primarily determined by the quality of human resources produced by an adaptive, innovative, and forward-looking educational system. Therefore, investment in education represents a long-term strategic investment that will determine a nation's trajectory of progress on the international stage economically, socially, and politically (Fadlan et al., 2023).

As a state based on the rule of law, Indonesia demonstrates a strong commitment to the intellectual development of the nation's life, as mandated in the fourth paragraph of the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution. This constitutional mandate reflects the awareness of the nation's founders of the importance of education in building an advanced and dignified national civilization (Akbar et al., 2024). Furthermore, Article 31 of the 1945 Constitution explicitly articulates the right of every citizen to education and the obligation of the government to finance basic education. This robust juridical foundation affirms that education is not merely a commodity but a fundamental right the state must guarantee. Consequently, the state has an imperative responsibility to establish a high-quality national education system that is inclusive and accessible to all citizens without discrimination (Afnanda & Nizma, 2023).

In order to realize the nation's noble ideals, a national education system is required that not only focuses on quality improvement but also ensures equitable access and substantive justice for all members of society (Susanti & Sari, 2021). To achieve this goal, the national education system must be built upon a solid foundation, namely the philosophy of Pancasila, which is imbued with the noble values of humanity and social justice. The principles of justice are embodied in the second principle, "A Just and Civilized Humanity," and the fifth principle, "Social Justice for All the People of Indonesia," which mandate fair, equal, and dignified treatment for every individual. In the context of higher education, the implementation of these Pancasila values necessitates the provision of equitable access for all citizens without exception, irrespective of discriminatory factors such as ethnic, religious, racial, group, or socioeconomic background. Thus, higher education can fulfill its function as a vehicle for adequate vertical social mobility and contribute to creating a just, prosperous, and equitable society.

Based on the foregoing, this research must comprehensively analyze citizens' right to equitable access to higher education in Indonesia. The philosophy of Pancasila, as the Leitstar (guiding principle) and the nation's worldview, will serve as the epistemological basis and primary framework for examining the implementation of the principles of justice in the provision of higher education. Through this research, it is hoped that various disparities and obstacles hindering equitable accessibility in higher education can be identified. Furthermore, this study will produce constructive and applicable policy recommendations that stakeholders can consider in reforming and refining the national higher education system. Therefore, this research is expected to significantly contribute to the collective effort to realize a more just, inclusive, and high-quality higher education system as a strategic and fundamental step in realizing the ideals of a Golden Indonesia 2045.

## **METHOD**

This research employs a normative legal methodology with a statute and conceptual approach (Qamar & Rezah, 2020). This methodological framework is relevant to the research objective, which is to comprehensively analyze citizens' right to equitable access to higher education in Indonesia based on the philosophy of Pancasila. The statute approach will focus on Article 31 of the 1945 Constitution. Meanwhile, the conceptual approach is used as the epistemological basis and primary framework for examining the implementation of the principles of justice in the provision of higher education. In addition to primary legal sources in statutory regulations, this research utilizes secondary legal materials, including legal doctrines, scientific journals, and other relevant literature obtained through library research. Data analysis employs qualitative content analysis to systematically examine and interpret non-numerical data, such as legal texts. This technique enables identifying,

classifying, and interpreting key themes, patterns, and arguments contained within the data. Through this rigorous methodological approach, this research endeavors to produce a comprehensive and systematic analysis to describe the problem and answer the research objectives (Sampara & Husen, 2016).

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **A. The Realization of Social Justice through Accessibility to Higher Education: A Welfare State Perspective**

The concept of the welfare state represents an ideal model that places special emphasis on the active role of the state in guaranteeing the social, economic, and general well-being of all its citizens. This theory, which rapidly developed in Western Europe and Scandinavia after World War II, is built on the belief that the state has a fundamental responsibility to manage the macroeconomy and provide a comprehensive and universal social safety net (Abrahamson, 2023). The main objective of the welfare state is to reduce socio-economic disparities and ensure the fulfillment of citizens' fundamental rights (Morais & Oliveira, 2024), including access to quality and equitable education.

This conception of the welfare state has significant relevance to the Indonesian context, especially when examined within the philosophical framework of Pancasila, which mandates the intellectual development of the nation's life as one of the national goals (Muhtamar & Bachmid, 2022). Therefore, this chapter will analyze in depth how the welfare state principles can be implemented to ensure equitable access to higher education for all Indonesian citizens. This analysis concerns theories of justice and human rights, strengthening the foundation of its arguments and providing a comprehensive perspective.

#### **1. Constitutional Mandate and State Responsibility in Realizing Equitable Access to Higher Education**

One of the main pillars supporting the welfare state's structure is the state's active intervention in various sectors of life (Honcharenko & Sirenko, 2024), including education. From this perspective, the state is positioned not only as a passive regulator, merely making and enforcing rules, but also as a facilitator and catalyst. The state plays an active role in ensuring the availability of quality, equitable, and affordable educational services for all levels of society. This state intervention is manifested through a series of comprehensive public policies, including pro-people regulations, adequate budgeting, and effective supervision, all of which are oriented toward fulfilling human rights in education (Lemak, 2024).

Specifically in the context of higher education, the state has an imperative responsibility, which cannot be compromised, to create conducive regulations and mechanisms. These mechanisms must ensure that every citizen, without discrimination, can access higher education without being hindered by financial, geographical, or socio-cultural factors (Kargi, 2024). Rawls (2001), in his theory of Justice as Fairness, asserts that the basic institutions of society, including the education system, must be arranged in such a way as to produce a just distribution of primary goods, and education is one of the most fundamental primary goods.

The state's commitment is crucial to ensure the realization of social justice in access to higher education, as mandated by the Indonesian constitution, the 1945 Constitution, and various international human rights legal instruments that have been ratified by Indonesia. As a concrete example, the government can issue regulations requiring state universities to allocate specific quotas for students from poor families and remote areas and provide adequate scholarships and living cost assistance schemes.

## **2. Universality of Access to Higher Education as a Manifestation of Human Rights**

Another fundamental principle that constitutes the spirit of the welfare state is the guarantee of universal social security (Öktem, 2020). This social security ensures that every citizen, without exception, has the right to access basic services essential for a decent life, including education. The right to education, as affirmed in Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Article 13 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, is an inherent, universal, and inalienable right of every individual. Therefore, the state is obliged to guarantee the fulfillment of this right for all its citizens.

Although Indonesia has implemented a 12-year compulsory education program that provides free access to education up to the secondary level, the universality of access to higher education still faces several significant challenges. Many children from poor families and remote areas cannot continue their education to the tertiary level due to limited financial resources and access. Several developed countries that have adopted the principles of the welfare state more comprehensively, such as Finland, Sweden, and Germany, have successfully implemented policies of free or very affordable higher education for their citizens (Marchildon, 2021). For example, in Finland, all higher education costs, including living expenses, are borne by the state so that every citizen has the same opportunity to pursue higher education without being constrained by economic factors (Clarke, 2014).

Therefore, to realize the ideals of the welfare state and fulfill its commitments to human rights legal instruments, Indonesia needs to gradually and systematically move towards expanding the scope of social security. This expansion includes wider, more equitable, and affordable access to higher education, especially for marginalized, vulnerable, and underprivileged groups. The government can start by increasing the budget allocation for scholarships, expanding the scope of the Bidikmisi program, and developing student loan schemes with low or no interest.

### **3. Redistribution of Higher Education Budget: Implementation of the Theory of Distributive Justice and the Capability Approach**

The principle of wealth redistribution is vital in realizing the concept of the welfare state and achieving social justice. This principle aligns with the theory of distributive justice, where [Aristotle \(1999\)](#) emphasizes the importance of proportional, fair, and equitable distribution of resources among all members of society. In the context of higher education financing, this redistribution can be implemented through progressive and equitable fiscal policies. These policies require high-income groups and large corporations to contribute more to financing higher education through a fair, transparent, and accountable tax system ([Syahril & Hasan, 2024](#)).

The funds collected from these taxes are then strategically and appropriately allocated to finance programs that support access to higher education for underprivileged and marginalized groups. These programs can take the form of need-based scholarships prioritized for students from poor families, tuition subsidies to ease the burden of tuition fees, and living cost assistance to meet students' daily needs while pursuing their education. In his concept of the capability approach, [Sen \(2011\)](#) emphasizes the importance of providing equal opportunities for each individual to develop their capabilities, namely the ability to be and do something of value. Higher education is one of the fundamental capabilities that must be guaranteed by the state.

This equitable redistribution mechanism can significantly minimize disparities in access to higher education caused by economic inequality and social disparities ([Picciotto, 2022](#)). Thus, a more substantial equalization of opportunity is created, in line with the principle of social justice mandated by Pancasila and the [1945 Constitution](#). As a concrete example, the government can implement a more progressive tax scheme for large companies and ultra-rich individuals and allocate a portion of the tax revenue to fund complete scholarship programs for outstanding students from poor families throughout Indonesia.

#### **4. Higher Education as a Vehicle for Social Mobility and Structural Poverty Alleviation: A Human Capital Theory Perspective**

The welfare state places poverty alleviation as a top priority in its development agenda, and higher education is recognized as a strategic instrument to achieve this noble goal. In this perspective, the state is designed to protect vulnerable and marginalized groups, including the poor, the unemployed, and people with disabilities, by providing an adequate, comprehensive, and equitable social safety net. In this context, programs such as conditional cash transfers linked to school attendance requirements and education subsidies targeted to poor and vulnerable families become crucial (Simangunsong & Sihotang, 2023). These programs must be carefully designed and implemented to ensure that poverty is no longer a substantial barrier to access to higher education (Alyona, 2019).

Human capital theory, popularized by Becker (1964), asserts that investment in education, including higher education, will increase an individual's knowledge, skills, and productivity. This increase, in turn, will increase the individual's income and standard of living in the future. Thus, higher education can effectively break the cycle of intergenerational structural poverty, increase upward social mobility, and ultimately realize a more just, prosperous, and equitable society. For example, the Kartu Indonesia Pintar Kuliah (KIP-Kuliah) program, which provides educational and living cost assistance to students from poor families, is a positive step that must be strengthened and expanded to reach more needy students.

#### **5. Harmonizing Market Mechanisms and Principles of Justice in the Provision of Higher Education: An Equality of Resources Perspective**

Although the welfare state recognizes the existence and important role of market mechanisms in the allocation of resources, including in the education sector, state intervention is still needed to correct distortions and market failures that have the potential to create inequality, social exclusion, and injustice (Ali, 2023). In the higher education sector, the state has a constitutional and moral responsibility to play an active role in regulating, supervising, and evaluating educational institutions, both public and private. The goal is to ensure that competitive market mechanisms do not compromise the principles of justice, equality of access, and the quality of higher education that should be enjoyed by all citizens (Solovyova, 2023).

Strict regulation and effective, transparent, and accountable supervision in the management of higher education institutions are the keys to ensuring quality and affordability. Thus, all levels of society, without exception, can

obtain quality higher education without being constrained by exclusive, discriminatory, and solely profit-oriented market mechanisms. It is in line with the concept of equality of resources, where [Dworkin \(2000\)](#) emphasizes the importance of state intervention to correct injustices arising from factors beyond individual control, including access to quality educational resources. As an example, the government can set minimum quality standards that must be met by all higher education institutions, both public and private, and conduct regular accreditation to ensure these standards are met. In addition, the government can also regulate the upper limit of education costs in private universities so that they remain affordable to the broader community.

## **6. Social Solidarity as a Philosophical Foundation for Sustainable and Equitable Higher Education Financing: A Perspective of John Dewey's Democratic Education**

The fundamental principle of social solidarity is a solid and fundamental philosophical foundation for the structure of the welfare state. In higher education financing, this principle emphasizes the importance of cooperation, shared responsibility, and social concern between the more economically able citizens and those less fortunate who need support ([Ratzmann et al., 2024](#)). Through a progressive and equitable tax system and inclusive and targeted social programs, the more economically prosperous groups are required to support equitable, quality, and just higher education financing.

The cross-subsidy mechanism, where the rich help the poor, and scholarship schemes funded collectively through educational endowment funds are concrete manifestations of this social solidarity. Thus, the welfare state seeks to create a sustainable, just, and humane system where access to higher education does not depend solely on individual financial ability. Access to higher education is also based on a collective commitment and shared awareness to advance common prosperity and the nation's civilization through strategic investment in higher education.

This concept aligns with [Dewey's \(1997\)](#) thinking on education as an instrument for building a democratic and participatory society. Through education, significantly higher education, it is hoped that citizens who are not only intellectually intelligent but also have social sensitivity, empathy, and a strong commitment to building a more just, prosperous, and dignified nation and state will emerge. As a concrete example, the government can develop an "educational endowment fund" scheme collected from various sources, such as taxes, donations, and investment proceeds, which are then used to finance scholarship programs and educational cost assistance for students from underprivileged families on an ongoing basis. Thus, access to higher education



is no longer a privilege for a few but a right that can be enjoyed by all citizens, regardless of their economic and social background.

## **B. Accessibility to Equitable Higher Education: The Perspective of Pancasila and Article 31 of the 1945 Constitution**

After analyzing the right to equitable access to higher education through the lens of the welfare state, this chapter will examine the same issue from a more fundamental perspective, namely the philosophy of Pancasila and Article 31 of the [1945 Constitution](#). Through an in-depth analysis of the principles of Pancasila, especially the second and fifth principles, and a comprehensive elaboration of each section within Article 31 of the [1945 Constitution](#), this chapter will elaborate on the meaning of justice in the context of citizens' rights to access higher education.

### **1. Higher Education as a Manifestation of a Just and Civilized Humanity**

The second principle of Pancasila, "*A Just and Civilized Humanity*," contains a profound meaning regarding the recognition and respect for human dignity. A just and civilized humanity implies that everyone must be treated fairly and equally, without discrimination, and their rights as dignified human beings must be recognized. In the context of higher education, this principle necessitates that every citizen, regardless of social, economic, cultural, or geographical background, has the right to equal opportunities to develop their potential through quality higher education ([Jirzanah & Budisutrisna, 2023](#)).

From this perspective, higher education is seen as a means to improve skills and knowledge and as an instrument for humanizing humanity. Through higher education, individuals are directed to become civilized human beings who uphold human values, ethics, and morals. Thus, equitable access to higher education is a concrete manifestation of the second principle of Pancasila, which mandates just and civilized treatment for all citizens to achieve a just and humane society.

### **2. Higher Education as an Instrument of Social Justice: The Perspective of the Fifth Principle of Pancasila**

The fifth principle of Pancasila, "*Social Justice for All the People of Indonesia*," affirms the commitment of the Indonesian nation to realize social justice in all aspects of life, including in the field of education. Social justice in this context means equality of rights, opportunity, and access to resources, including access to quality higher education. This fifth principle mandates the state to actively distribute resources fairly and equitably so that there are no significant disparities between individuals and groups ([Simbolon, 2023](#)).

Higher education, as one of the important instruments to improve the quality of human resources, must be accessible to all levels of society, especially the poor and marginalized. Thus, higher education can function as a bridge for vertical social mobility, contributing to poverty alleviation and reducing social inequality. Therefore, policies oriented towards expanding access to and improving the quality of higher education are a tangible manifestation of the Indonesian nation's commitment to realizing social justice as mandated by the fifth principle of Pancasila.

### **3. The Constitutional Right to Education: Interpretation of Article 31 Section (1) of the 1945 Constitution**

Article 31 section (1) of the [1945 Constitution](#) explicitly states that *"every citizen has the right to education."* This provision is the fundamental constitutional basis for realizing Indonesia's just, equitable, and quality education system ([Masurip, 2022](#)). The phrase *"every citizen"* implies that the right to education is universal, non-discriminatory, and inherent in every individual citizen of Indonesia, without exception. This section does not differentiate between primary, secondary, and higher education, so it can be interpreted that the right to education includes all levels of education, including higher education.

Furthermore, the phrase *"has the right"* indicates that the state has a constitutional obligation to guarantee the fulfillment of this right for all its citizens. The state not only acts as a regulator but also as a facilitator and provider of quality education that is accessible to all the people of Indonesia. Thus, Article 31 section (1) of the [1945 Constitution](#) becomes a firm legal basis for every citizen to demand their right to education, including the right to access quality higher education.

### **4. State Obligations in Financing Basic Education: Implications of Article 31 Section (2) of the 1945 Constitution**

Article 31 section (2) of the [1945 Constitution](#) states, *"every citizen shall undertake basic education, and the government shall provide such funding."* This section affirms two important things: first, the obligation of citizens to attend basic education, and second, the obligation of the government to finance basic education. Although this section explicitly regulates basic education, the spirit therein can be interpreted more broadly. The government's obligation to finance basic education is a concrete form of the state's responsibility to guarantee the right to education for all its citizens ([Dewi et al., 2024](#)).

The principle of state financing of education can be a precedent and philosophical basis for financing education at higher levels, including higher education. Although not mandatory, higher education is a fundamental and strategic right for the nation's development. Therefore, the state needs to consider expanding the scope of education financing to higher education, especially for the poor and marginalized, as an embodiment of the principles of social justice and equal opportunity.

#### **5. Realizing a Just National Education System: The Mandate of Article 31 Section (3) of the 1945 Constitution**

Article 31 section (3) of the [1945 Constitution](#) mandates:

*"The government administers and organizes a national education system to enhance spiritual belief and devoutness as well as noble character in educating the life of the nation, which is regulated by law."*

This section provides clear direction regarding the objectives and characteristics of the national education system that must be built in Indonesia. The national education system aims to increase intellectual intelligence and form Indonesian people who have faith, piety, and noble character ([Rahmani, 2022](#)).

In the context of equitable access to higher education, this section mandates the government to create an integrated and just national education system that opens the broadest possible access for all citizens to continue their education to a higher level. The government must ensure that the education system built is non-discriminatory and provides equal opportunities for all citizens to develop their potential. It can be realized through various policies, such as standardizing the quality of education throughout Indonesia, developing an inclusive curriculum, and providing adequate educational infrastructure.

#### **6. Priority of the Education Budget: Constitutional Commitment in Article 31 Section (4) of the 1945 Constitution**

Article 31 section (4) of the [1945 Constitution](#) explicitly states that:

*"The state prioritizes the budget for education to a minimum of twenty percent of the state budget and of the regional budgets to fulfill the needs of performing national education."*

This provision shows the state's commitment to advancing education in Indonesia by allocating a significant budget. The priority of the education budget is a strategic step to improve the quality and equitable access to education throughout Indonesia ([Iswanto et al., 2024](#)).

In higher education, adequate budget allocation is crucial to finance various programs that support expanding access and quality improvement. The budget can finance the construction and development of higher education infrastructure, improve the quality of lecturers and education personnel, develop research and innovation, and provide scholarships and educational cost assistance for students from underprivileged families. Thus, the constitutional commitment in Article 31 section (4) of the [1945 Constitution](#) becomes a strong foundation for realizing a just and quality higher education system.

## **7. Higher Education, Science, and National Civilization: The Vision of Article 31 Section (5) of the 1945 Constitution**

Article 31 section (5) of the [1945 Constitution](#) states that:

*“The government advances science and technology by upholding religious values and national unity for the advancement of civilization and prosperity of humankind.”*

This section affirms the strategic role of science and technology, developed through higher education, in advancing the nation’s civilization and improving the welfare of mankind. Higher education, in this context, is not only seen as a means to obtain knowledge and skills but also as a center for developing science and technology based on religious values and national unity ([Wicaksono, 2021](#)).

To realize this vision, the government must strongly support developing research and innovation in higher education. The government must also ensure that the science and technology developed in higher education are oriented towards economic progress and, improving the community’s quality of life, and preserving the environment. Thus, higher education can contribute significantly to building an advanced, just, and sustainable national civilization, and enhance the dignity and prestige of the Indonesian nation in the eyes of the world.

## **C. Realizing Free Higher Education Based on Pancasila: A Comprehensive Strategy within the Framework of the Rule of Law**

Realizing just, equitable, and quality higher education is a constitutional imperative in line with the spirit of Pancasila, especially the second and fifth principles. To realize this noble ideal, a series of systematic and sustainable strategic steps are needed, formulated based on the values of Pancasila and implemented within the corridor of the rule of law ([Andriani et al., 2023](#)). One

progressive step that needs to be seriously considered is the projection towards free higher education, especially in state universities, as an embodiment of the principles of a just and civilized humanity and social justice for all the people of Indonesia.

Within the framework of realizing the mandate of the second principle of Pancasila in the context of higher education, a comprehensive and sustainable strategy projection is needed within the framework of the rule of law. *First*, the state must formulate and implement regulations that explicitly guarantee equitable access to higher education for all citizens, with special attention to the poor, vulnerable, and marginalized groups. *Second*, the government must develop innovative and equitable higher education financing schemes, such as complete scholarship programs based on need and merit, proportional tuition subsidies, and student loan schemes with low or no interest.

*Third*, it is necessary to strengthen the higher education quality assurance system to ensure that all higher education institutions, both public and private, provide quality education relevant to national development needs. *Fourth*, as a long-term projection, Indonesia must seriously examine the possibility of implementing a free higher education policy, starting with state universities, as a concrete manifestation of the principle of a just and civilized humanity. Strict and consistent law enforcement must accompany these strategic steps to prevent discriminatory and corrupt practices in providing higher education.

From the perspective of the fifth principle, Indonesia must begin to gradually and systematically move towards a free and quality higher education system, at least in state universities. The *first* crucial step is to reform the national tax system to be more progressive and just, where high-income groups and large corporations must pay more significant and proportional taxes. *Second*, the government must significantly increase the allocation of the higher education budget by optimizing alternative funding sources, such as educational endowment funds, zakat, waqf, and corporate social responsibility (CSR), which are managed transparently and accountable.

*Third*, it is necessary to develop a fair and proportional cost-sharing scheme, where the government bears most of the higher education costs while students and their families contribute according to their economic capacity. *Fourth*, the government must strengthen the monitoring and evaluation system for higher education institutions to ensure efficiency, effectiveness, and accountability in using budgets and to prevent corrupt practices and abuse of authority. Through these strategic and sustainable steps, the idea of just and quality free higher education, as a concrete manifestation of the fifth principle of Pancasila, can be

realized gradually and systematically within the framework of the Indonesian rule of law.

Thus, these strategic steps, inspired by the spirit of Pancasila and implemented within the framework of the rule of law, are expected to become a comprehensive and sustainable roadmap toward realizing just, equitable, quality, and affordable higher education for all the people of Indonesia. Ultimately, this serves as a solid foundation for developing superior and competitive human resources in the future.

## **CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS**

Based on the findings and discussion, it can be concluded that equitable access to higher education is a constitutional right of every Indonesian citizen guaranteed by Pancasila and the [1945 Constitution](#). In this case, the state is obligated to realize a just, equitable, quality, and affordable higher education system for all levels of society without exception. The principles of the welfare state, the second and fifth principles of Pancasila, and Article 31 of the [1945 Constitution](#) serve as the philosophical, ideological, and juridical foundations that mandate the realization of accessibility to higher education without discrimination.

Furthermore, the concrete manifestation of the principles of a just and civilized humanity and social justice, as enshrined in Pancasila, necessitates accessibility to higher education for all citizens without exception. It can be achieved through affirmative regulations, innovative and equitable financing schemes, and a reliable and accountable quality assurance system. Priority for underprivileged groups is a concrete step to realizing distributive justice and the capability approach in the context of higher education.

Higher education, as a strategic investment in the development of human resources, must be seen as an instrument to break the cycle of structural poverty and increase social mobility. Therefore, harmonizing market mechanisms and the principles of justice in providing higher education is necessary, emphasizing transparency, accountability, and partiality to the broader community. Social solidarity is also a fundamental philosophical foundation in financing higher education, which emphasizes the importance of mutual cooperation and shared responsibility.

Finally, the projection toward free higher education, especially in state universities, is a strategic step that needs to be realized gradually, systematically, and sustainably. A progressive interpretation of Article 31 section (1) of the [1945 Constitution](#), which mandates the right of every citizen to education, becomes a firm constitutional basis for moving towards free higher education. Progressive tax system reform, increased allocation of education budgets, optimization of alternative funding

sources, and development of a fair cost-sharing scheme are crucial steps toward realizing this goal.

Based on the conclusions above, it is recommended that the government, as the holder of constitutional obligations, immediately formulate and establish regulations that explicitly guarantee just, equitable, and non-discriminatory access to higher education. Affirmative regulations that favor vulnerable and marginalized groups must be a top priority. The government must also commit to significantly and sustainably increasing the allocation of the higher education budget and developing innovative and equitable financing schemes, such as establishing an educational endowment fund, optimizing zakat, productive waqf, and targeted and effective corporate social responsibility.

Higher education institutions, both public and private, are encouraged to continue to strengthen and improve internal and external quality assurance systems and increase transparency and accountability in managing budgets and resources. In addition, higher education institutions need to actively establish strategic partnerships with various stakeholders to support the realization of quality and equitable higher education.

All elements of society, especially those economically advantaged groups, are encouraged to actively support higher education funding through social solidarity mechanisms, such as foster parent programs, donations, and waqf. Collective awareness and cooperation among all elements of the nation are the primary keys to realizing the ideals of just, quality, and affordable higher education as a constitutional right of every citizen to realize a just, prosperous, and dignified Indonesia in the future.

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