The Narrative of Pancasila as Indonesia's Moral Identity in Global Politics

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ABSTRACT

In a global political landscape increasingly defined by the battle of values, narrative power, and moral legitimacy, this study departs from the provocative philosophical premise that Pancasila is not merely an ideological legacy frozen in national rituals, but rather a moral identity that is only meaningful to the extent that it can intervene in injustice, reject dehumanisation, and guide Indonesia to produce a credible ethical position amid the global crises of technology, climate, and identity populism. This study uses a qualitative approach with an interpretive-critical case study design combined with discourse analysis and narrative analysis, as its main objective is to interpret the construction of meaning and moral legitimacy that works through language, symbols, and practices of Indonesian representation in global politics, so that it is not relevant to reduce it to quantitative measurements or linear cause-and-effect testing. The results indicate that the Pancasila narrative can be positioned as Indonesia's moral identity, serving a dual function: strengthening Indonesia's normative legitimacy in global politics while shaping citizens' ethical orientation in responding to value-laden cross-border issues. Pancasila is a deliberate narrative that can be operationalised through public messaging, curriculum, cultural diplomacy, and strategic communication, so that Pancasila is no longer understood as rhetorical legitimacy, but as a tool capable of changing the way citizens interpret patriotism, promoting technological ethics, and mobilising collective action for justice in global issues.

A. Introduction

Since its formulation at the historic moment leading up to independence, Pancasila has been understood not only as the constitutional basis of the state and a binding political ideology, but also as an ethical horizon that shapes the moral orientation of the Indonesian people (Sebastian & Othman Alkaff, 2024). It contains a set of values that affirm that the existence of the state is not an end in itself, but rather an instrument for realising human dignity, unity in diversity, deliberative democracy, and social justice. In contemporary developments, especially amid a crisis of multilateralism, increased rivalry between major powers, the strengthening of exclusive nationalism, and the spread of identity-based conflicts, the need for moral reference in inter-state relations has become increasingly urgent.

Global politics today is not only driven by the logic of material interests and power calculations, but is also influenced by the battle of discourse over values, legitimacy, and identity (Miró, 2022). States are not merely rational actors pursuing their interests, but also narrators who present their self-image, offer meaning, and build legitimacy through certain moral narratives. In this context, Pancasila can be seen as a moral narrative for Indonesia with the potential to strengthen Indonesia's position globally, while distinguishing it from many other countries that rely on hegemonic ideology, identity homogeneity, or economic domination as a basis for influence.

The relevance of studies on the Pancasila narrative in global politics is increasingly prominent as transnational issues that demand collective moral responsibility emerge, such as climate change, global economic inequality, pandemics, refugee crises, armed conflicts, transnational extremism, and human rights violations (Nurizka et al., 2025; Rembulan et al., 2025). In addressing these issues, the international community needs principles that can serve as a normative foundation for building cooperation, preventing dehumanisation, and ensuring the distribution of justice across borders.

Academic studies on Pancasila generally focus on the domestic dimension. Various recent studies highlight Pancasila as the basis for civic education, public ethics, and an instrument for strengthening national character (Prakoso et al., 2024; Rusmulyani, 2024; Wahyuni, 2024). These studies show that Pancasila plays a significant role as a normative framework for maintaining social cohesion and preserving Indonesia's plurality. In addition, studies emphasise the urgency of revitalising Pancasila in the face of radicalism, intolerance, and political disinformation, especially in the digital era, which accelerates the spread of transnational ideologies (Al Hamid et al., 2025; Nurhayati et al., 2025; Walid, 2022; Yunas, 2024). Some studies examine how state institutions use the Pancasila narrative to build national integration and counter the threat of extremism (Budiyono, 2025; Nolte, 2023; Shah et al., 2022).

In studies of international relations and Indonesian foreign policy, several highlight Indonesia's free and active character, its role in ASEAN, its peace diplomacy, and its commitment to global issues such as democracy, sustainable development, and conflict management (Caballero-Anthony & Emmers, 2022; Dannhauer, 2024; Setiawati, 2024). Studies on Indonesian diplomacy often emphasise that Indonesia seeks to play the role of bridge-builder or honest broker, especially between developed and developing countries, and between the Western and Islamic worlds (Choiruzzad, 2024; Karim, 2023). Related studies also show that Indonesia utilises its identity as a large democratic country with the largest Muslim population to build legitimacy in issues of moderation and tolerance (Hayatullah et al., 2025; Jubba et al., 2022). On the other hand, literature on Indonesia's soft power focuses more on cultural elements, such as tourism, art, cuisine, *batik,* and the strengthening of the image of moderate Islam.

In the broader international discourse, studies on moral identity, normative power, and ideational politics are rapidly developing. The literature on normative power, for example, discusses how the European Union builds influence by promoting human rights,

democracy, and the rule of law. Studies on moral entrepreneurship analyse countries or actors that seek to promote new norms in the international system, for example, on issues of humanity, gender, or the environment (Buntinx & Colli, 2022). The constructivist approach in international relations asserts that identity and norms shape interests, and that narratives play a central role in legitimising state actions. Discursive and narrative studies show that states construct stories about who they are, what their mission is, and how the world should be governed. However, Indonesia is rarely treated as the main object in this literature, and Pancasila is seldom studied in depth as a moral narrative in global contestation.

Based on a reading of the existing literature, several research gaps can be identified that underscore the importance of this study. First, there is a lack of conceptual integration between the study of Pancasila and moral identity theory in international relations. Pancasila is more often treated as a domestic ideology, while moral identity in global politics is discussed in a framework dominated by cases of Western countries or certain global actors. As a result, the potential of Pancasila as a normative resource in international politics has not received adequate theoretical elaboration.

Second, studies on Indonesian foreign policy tend to emphasise policy aspects and institutional roles but lack research on how Pancasila values are translated into a coherent diplomatic narrative, articulated in multilateral forums, and used to justify Indonesia's position on specific global issues. Third, there is still limited research that explicitly examines external perceptions or international resonance of the Pancasila narrative, so it is unclear to what extent Pancasila is understood, accepted, or even debated by global audiences.

Fourth, there is a methodological gap: many previous studies have relied on policy analysis or normative approaches but have not sufficiently utilised discourse and narrative analysis methods to reveal the process of meaning construction, rhetorical strategies, and the dynamics of moral legitimacy in diplomatic communication. These gaps indicate that knowledge of Pancasila as Indonesia's moral identity in global politics remains partial and incomplete, and requires research that combines interdisciplinary perspectives.

Responding to this research gap, this study offers novelty on several levels. At the theoretical level, this study attempts to develop an analytical framework that integrates Pancasila with the concepts of moral identity, normative power, and discourse politics in international relations. With this framework, Pancasila is positioned not only as an internal ideology but also as a source of normative legitimacy that can shape Indonesia's interests and behaviour on the global stage. At the conceptual level, this study proposes an understanding of the Pancasila narrative as a moral identity that works through the mechanisms of storytelling, symbolisation, and articulation of values, thereby enabling a more incisive analysis of how Indonesia constructs its moral image and offers an ethical vision of the global order.

This study departs from the assumption that a country's moral identity is not a static entity but a discursive construction continuously shaped by interactions among political elites, state institutions, civil society, and the international community. Therefore, the focus of this study is to analyse how Pancasila is constructed as a moral narrative in global politics, rather than simply whether Pancasila is good or right in normative terms. This focus includes how the values of Pancasila are translated into the language of diplomacy, how it is used to frame Indonesia's stance on global issues, and how it functions as a source of moral legitimacy in building influence. The objectives of this study are to identify patterns of Pancasila narrative construction in Indonesian diplomatic discourse, analyse the consistency and coherence of its articulation in various global political arenas, and assess its implications for Indonesia's position and influence in international normative contestation.

B. Method

This study uses a qualitative approach with an interpretive-critical case study design combined with discourse analysis and narrative analysis, as its main objective is to interpret the construction of meaning and moral legitimacy that works through language, symbols, and practices of Indonesian representation in global politics, so that it is not relevant to reduce it to quantitative measurements or linear cause-and-effect testing. The focus of the study is on the narrative of Pancasila, which is operationally defined as a pattern of articulation of Pancasila values (humanity, pluralism, unity, deliberative democracy, and social justice) manifested in normative claims, issue framing, metaphors, evaluative diction, and moral justification in diplomatic texts. Meanwhile, moral identity is understood as the construction of a state's self-image that grounds specific values in legitimising its position, orientation, and actions in international relations (Permana & Prasetyo, 2025).

Data collection was carried out in stages by determining the space-time boundaries and diplomatic arena that became the locus, searching for documents from official government and international organisation repositories, selecting a corpus based on inclusion criteria (containing explicit or implicit references to Pancasila values or their normative equivalents), and tagging the context metadata of the text production to maintain the accuracy of interpretation. The validity of the data was ensured through triangulation of document-based sources (official documents, policy reports, and related scientific publications) and triangulation of theories. Data analysis was carried out iteratively by combining critical discourse analysis to map framing strategies, power relations, and claims of moral legitimacy, as well as thematic narrative analysis to unravel the narrative structure of Indonesia as an ethical actor, patterns of value repetition, points of tension, and contradictions between the ideals of Pancasila and global political reality. which were then synthesised into a conceptual explanation of the level of narrative coherence, its resonance, and its limitations as a source of normative soft power.

C. Results and Discussion

1. Pancasila as Indonesia's Ethical Compass in Global Digital Governance

Pancasila can be seen as a relevant ethical compass for navigating the complexities of global digital governance, as it offers a moral orientation that places humanity, justice, deliberation, and respect for diversity at the core of decision-making. Conversely, if digital transformation is allowed to move solely according to market logic and geopolitical competition, technology that is often presented as neutral can turn into a mechanism of power that deepens social inequality, erodes privacy, reinforces polarisation, and shifts political sovereignty through the dominance of transnational corporations and countries with higher technological capacity.

Global digital governance is essentially an arena for contesting values. Debates about artificial intelligence, cybersecurity, data sovereignty, and platform architecture are not only about efficiency, innovation, or technological superiority, but also about who has the right to determine the rules, who benefits, and who bears the risks (Calderaro & Blumfelde, 2022). At this point, the principle of Just and Civilised Humanity presents an ethical framework that rejects reducing humans to mere data points, objects of prediction, or commodities of behaviour. Just and civilised humanity demands that digital systems recognise human dignity as a principle of design and evaluation, so that the questions that arise are not only whether the system is accurate, but whether it is fair, whether it harms certain groups, and whether it reinforces unequal power relations (Chandra & Wongmahesak, 2025).

In the realm of social justice, the principle of Social Justice for All Indonesians requires that digital transformation be seen as a project of equity, not merely an acceleration of digital economic growth. The digital economy is often promoted as a solution that opens up opportunities for all, but in reality, it can create a complex digital divide (Rosário & Dias, 2023).

Social justice demands that Indonesia's digital policies avoid models that only benefit economic centres and leave the periphery behind. It also requires the redistribution of the benefits of data and technological innovation, for example, le through policies that ensure MSMEs do not become mere suppliers subject to platform commissions, that gig workers receive social protection, and that the wider community does not bear the external costs of data exploitation, information manipulation and security vulnerabilities.

The principle of Democracy, guided by the Wisdom of Deliberation/Representation, is also deeply relevant in digital governance, especially since technology decisions are often made technocratically without meaningful public participation. Deliberation contains the idea of deliberation, which is a process of rational, inclusive, and goodness-oriented exchange of reasons, not merely an aggregation of votes or the domination of interest groups. In AI governance, data policy, and platform regulation, deliberation requires a deliberative space that includes various stakeholders. This is important because technology has social consequences that the technical elite often fails to understand. Deliberation can be translated into a policy-making process based on substantial public consultation, impact assessment, and open ethical evaluation.

Respect for diversity, which embodies the spirit of Indonesian unity and the moral implications of the principles of Belief in God and Humanity, is an essential principle in the design and regulation of platform architecture. Global digital platforms are often built on the assumption of homogeneity, but Indonesia's diversity requires a more sensitive approach. Platform architecture that does not take local context into account can exacerbate identity conflicts, accelerate the spread of hate speech, or reinforce stereotypes against certain groups. Pancasila demands that the digital space maintain unity in diversity, not deepen fragmentation (Bazzi, 2025). This has policy implications for content moderation regulations, the protection of minority groups, content recommendation designs that do not encourage polarisation, and digital literacy education that respects pluralism.

The discussion of artificial intelligence is an essential test for Pancasila as an ethical compass. AI is not merely a tool but a system that integrates data, statistical models, and automated decision-making to shape social reality (Sutisna et al., 2025). Algorithmic bias often arises not because of malicious intent, but because historical data contains structural injustices or because the system design prioritises efficiency over fairness. Pancasila emphasises that AI should be evaluated based on its impact on humanity and social justice. AI practices that exacerbate inequality, exclude certain groups from access to services, or result in automatic discrimination are contrary to the spirit of fair and civilised humanity.

At the policy level, the Pancasila approach would emphasise the need for algorithmic audits, publicly understandable explanations, and the right to reject automated decisions in certain situations. At the public culture level, the Pancasila narrative could shape awareness that AI is not neutral, encouraging citizens to critically examine what data is used, who benefits, who is harmed, and who is responsible when mistakes occur. This is where Pancasila plays a role not only as a state ideology but also as moral literacy that guides citizens' understanding of technology.

Data sovereignty is also a strategic issue that can be framed in terms of Pancasila. Data is currently a resource that determines economic and political power. However, unlike natural resources, data is intangible, can cross borders easily, and can be consolidated on a large scale by actors with computing infrastructure. Social justice also demands that the economic value generated from data does not simply flow out of the country but benefits Indonesian society through local innovation, consumer protection, and capacity building (Bernot et al., 2024). On the other hand, Pancasila also prevents Indonesia from falling into extreme data nationalism that closes off international cooperation. Deliberation and unity encourage balanced solutions: strong protection of citizen data, secure and fair cross-border data transfer mechanisms, and active participation in shaping global data governance. standards

Cross-border digital economies also place Indonesia in a dilemma between opening up opportunities for innovation and protecting national interests and the welfare of its citizens. Global platforms enable cross-border trade, capital flows, and market expansion, but they can also deepen dependence and inequality. Pancasila demands that the digital economy not treat humans as tools, but as ends in themselves. Social justice encourages policies that protect digital workers, prevent exploitation, and ensure that economic value is not siphoned off without fair contribution to the countries where data and consumption are generated (Karimullah et al., 2025). In international forums, Indonesia can promote fairer discussions on digital economy taxation, cross-border consumer protection, and digital trade standards that do not disadvantage developing countries. Deliberation and unity also mean that digital economy policies must be designed with the involvement of affected parties, including MSME actors, gig workers, and creator communities, not just large companies.

In relation to sovereignty, Pancasila can also help Indonesia formulate a concept of digital sovereignty that focuses not solely on state control over infrastructure or data, but also on human protection and social justice. Digital sovereignty that is only control-oriented can lead to restrictions on freedom and hinder innovation. Digital sovereignty that is only market-oriented can lead to data colonialism. Pancasila demands a balance between the state, ensuring that the digital space does not become an arena for the exploitation of citizens, but also does not become an arena for repression (Margiansyah, 2025). Thus, policies related to data localisation, cross-border data flows, and cybersecurity must be weighed within a moral framework, not just an economic or security one. When Indonesia negotiates digital trade agreements or international standards, Pancasila can be used as an argumentative basis that the protection of citizens' data is part of the protection of human dignity, and that global rules must provide space for developing countries to build technological capacity without being forced to submit to the interests of international corporations.

The practical implications of Pancasila as an ethical compass also touch on the role of education and digital literacy. If the research aims to examine the extent to which the narrative of Pancasila shapes public attitudes and behavioural change, then it is essential to understand that the narrative does not work through doctrine but through internalisation linked to citizens' concrete experiences. Pancasila education can be expanded into digital ethics education: how to understand algorithms, recognise information manipulation, maintain privacy, and interact civilly in digital spaces. Thus, Pancasila becomes a moral language that helps citizens assess technological practices. When citizens understand that spreading hoaxes is contrary to humanity and unity, or that exploiting other people's data without permission is contrary to human dignity, Pancasila functions as a compass that shapes habits. The formation of this culture can also be strengthened through local platform policies, regulations that enforce transparency and consumer protection, and literacy campaigns grounded in values rather than just technical skills.

2. **The Narrative of Pancasila for Climate Justice and Global Southern Solidarity**

Fair and civilised human values provide an ethical foundation for viewing climate impacts as a form of slow-acting but devastating structural violence. Climate change is not merely an unintended natural disaster. Still, it is the cumulative result of global patterns of production and consumption, shaped in many ways by the industrial economies of developed countries and by extractive capitalist networks that target resource-rich regions in the global South. From a humanitarian perspective, the climate crisis must be assessed based on the damage it causes to human life. Humanity in Pancasila rejects the logic of sacrifice shared in extractive development models, in which nature and local communities are sacrificed for economic growth. The narrative of Pancasila can encourage Indonesia to link the climate agenda with the protection of indigenous communities, small farmers, fishermen, and coastal communities, who are often the most affected but have the least voice in policy.

Social justice in Pancasila broadens the scope of analysis from the human dimension to the distribution of benefits and burdens. Energy transition, for example, is often discussed as an ecological necessity. Still, if implemented without the principle of justice, it can create new inequalities, such as increased energy costs for people with low incomes, job losses in the fossil fuel sector without protection, or land grabbing in the name of renewable energy projects. Social justice demands that climate transition and environmental policies are not implemented as an elite agenda, but as a social transformation project that prioritises vulnerable groups.

In the Indonesian context, social justice requires the state to ensure access to affordable clean energy, strengthen social safety nets for workers affected by the transition, and prevent green economy schemes from becoming a new form of extraction through green grabbing. At the global level, social justice provides Indonesia with the argument that developed countries cannot demand strict environmental standards while maintaining a global economic architecture that positions developing countries as suppliers of raw materials and bearers of the ecological burden. If international trade continues to perpetuate value-added inequalities and shift dirty industries to the global South, then climate justice becomes a slogan without structural transformation.

Indonesian unity as a political-moral value offers an essential dimension of solidarity on climate issues. Unity does not only mean internal cohesion, but also the ability to build external solidarity. In a fragmented international system, developing countries are often weakened by negotiating separately, while developed countries have the institutional and technological capacity to impose their agenda. Global South solidarity is both a political strategy and a moral necessity because the climate crisis is transboundary, but its impacts are uneven.

The Pancasila narrative can serve as a basis for Indonesia to strengthen the collective position of developing countries in climate forums, for example, by supporting the adaptation funding agenda, recognising loss and damage, and advancing the right to sustainable development (Schäfer et al., 2025). Unity also means that Indonesia needs to maintain domestic cohesion in the face of climate policies that often provoke resistance, especially if they are perceived as threatening jobs or increasing the cost of living.

The strength of Pancasila as a moral narrative lies in its ability to serve as an alternative ethic that avoids the binary dichotomy between Western universalism and cultural relativism. Pancasila contains universal values such as humanity and justice, but is rooted in Indonesia's historical experience as a diverse postcolonial country (Chia, 2022). In the global climate debate, there is often tension between universal demands to reduce emissions and developing countries' claims to development sovereignty. Pancasila can offer a synthesis by recognising that the climate crisis is a universal threat that demands collective action (Amancik et al., 2024). Still, that action must be fair and take into account each country's historical conditions and capabilities. This narrative can form the basis of Indonesia's moral diplomacy to pressure rich countries to increase their climate funding ambitions, open up access to technology, and stop economic practices that shift the ecological burden to developing countries, while encouraging Indonesia to strengthen its domestic commitments through energy reform, forest management, and the governance of extractive industries.

In the context of resource exploitation, Pancasila can be used to criticise the logic of extractivism, which is at the root of the ecological crisis. Extractivism does not only mean mining or deforestation, but a pattern of economic-political relations that views nature as an object to be exploited without limits for the sake of capital accumulation. In this pattern, local communities often lose their living space, while profits flow to the national elite and transnational corporations. Humanity in Pancasila rejects the dehumanisation of affected communities, social justice rejects the unequal distribution of benefits, and unity rejects social conflicts triggered by land and resource disputes.

In environmental behaviour studies, behavioural change is often influenced by a combination of awareness, social norms, structural incentives, and moral identity. Pancasila, as a collective moral identity, has the potential to shape social norms that make low-carbon lifestyles a form of practising values rather than just individual choices. For example, awareness of reducing energy waste can be understood as part of social justice because the energy saved can reduce the environmental burden borne by vulnerable groups. More sustainable consumption choices can be understood as a form of humanity because they reduce the ecological footprint that impacts the health and lives of other humans.

Solidarity and unity can encourage collective action, such as community movements for renewable energy, waste management, or local-level climate policy advocacy. However, behavioural transformation will not be effective without structural change. This is where Pancasila can play a role as both a framework for criticism and a guideline for policy. Changes in individual lifestyles are often unfairly imposed on society, while large companies and economic structures continue to produce significant emissions. Social justice demands that the burden of transition not be placed on individuals without providing access and infrastructure that enable change.

Indonesia's position on the global stage can also be strengthened if the Pancasila narrative serves as a framework for consistent climate diplomacy (Grzywacz, 2020). Climate diplomacy is not only about negotiating targets, but about building coalitions, creating norms, and influencing the direction of global policy. Countries that can offer a coherent moral narrative can gain normative leadership, especially amid a crisis of confidence in the commitments of developed countries. Indonesia can use Pancasila as a basis for voicing that the climate transition must be fair, must not create energy poverty, and must respect the rights of local communities.

In global Southern solidarity, Indonesia can position itself as a bridge between development needs and ecological urgency, while also pushing for climate finance reforms that are often inadequate (Sembiring, 2025). This narrative can also pressure rich countries to stop greenwashing, which is claiming climate commitments while continuing to fund the fossil fuel industry or shifting emissions through global supply chains. Pancasila, with its emphasis on justice and humanity, can serve as a basis for demanding moral integrity in international climate policy. However, the Pancasila narrative for climate justice will lose its power if it is not accompanied by domestic consistency. This is a crucial reflective dimension because Pancasila demands harmony between moral claims and practice.

Indonesia must demonstrate that it is serious about reducing deforestation, improving forest governance, controlling land fires, and developing an energy transition that is not merely rhetoric (Boer, 2020). In many cases, conflicts between economic development and environmental protection arise because a handful of parties reap unfair policies and short-term profits (Kase, 2024). At the same time, the wider community bears ecological losses. Social justice in Pancasila demands economic structural reforms that enable low-carbon development without deepening inequality. Humanity demands the protection of affected communities. Unity requires the fair resolution of land conflicts to prevent disruption of social cohesion.

The integration of Pancasila with environmental issues and global Southern solidarity has excellent potential, but it has so far been minimally explored in academia and policy. Environmental problems are often placed in the realm of science and technocracy, while Pancasila is placed in the realm of ideology and character education. This separation means that climate policy usually lacks a strong moral basis, while the discourse of Pancasila loses its practical relevance in the most pressing global issues. In fact, integrating the two can produce a double effect, strengthening Indonesia's diplomatic strategy in demanding climate justice and transforming public behaviour through the internalisation of values.

In the context of global Southern solidarity, the Pancasila narrative can enrich the postcolonial global justice. Global Southern solidarity is not merely a political bloc but a moral project that demands recognition of the historical experiences of developing countries and fights for a more just international order. Pancasila offers a moral language that emphasises humanity and justice without erasing plurality. Thus, Indonesia can propose solidarity that is not homogeneous, but inclusive.

On climate issues, this solidarity can demand access to climate finance for developing countries, access to technologies hindered by global patent systems, and international mechanisms that recognise loss and damage. However, solidarity also demands internal responsibility, as developing countries must ensure that their development does not repeat destructive patterns of extractivism and build adaptation and mitigation capacities. Pancasila enables Indonesia to take a complex moral position that demands the historical responsibility of rich countries, while still recognising domestic obligations to protect the environment and society.

3. **Pancasila as a Moral Identity that Challenges Narrow Nationalism in the Era of Geopolitical Identity**

Moral identity in modern political studies cannot be equated with static cultural identity. Moral identity is a normative construct that guides the collective manner in which a political community distinguishes right from wrong, determines the limits of tolerance, and establishes who is worthy of protection by the social order (Arifin et al., 2025). From the perspective of social constructivism and identity theory, states and nations construct self-narratives to bind their citizens within a collective imagination and to position themselves within the international system (Guerrero-Velázquez, 2025; Kianpour et al., 2025). These narratives operate through symbols, curricula, public rituals, and political communication. When moral identity is reduced to slogans or rhetorical legitimisation, it loses its transformative power and is easily seized by populist forces. Therefore, treating Pancasila as a moral identity means viewing it as a narrative deliberately constructed to correct tendencies toward religious exclusivism, ethnocentrism, and identity populism, rather than merely as a normative document to be memorised. As a narrative, Pancasila not only states the values it embraces, but also explains why these values are essential and how they should be realised in social relations, public policy, and the nation's orientation towards the world.

Narrow nationalism in the era of identity geopolitics can be understood as a reaction to global uncertainty, economic crisis, migration, technological change, and erosion of trust in institutions (Charpin, 2022). Identity populism exploits this anxiety by constructing binary oppositions between the people and the elite, the native and the foreign, the majority and the minority, or us and them. Such narratives produce a false sense of cohesion that is easy to mobilise, but is built on fear and hatred. In the domestic context, it manifests itself in the form of the politicisation of religion and the stigmatisation of minority groups (Sakinah et al., 2025). It demands the standardisation of national identity that excludes diversity. In the global context, narrow nationalism manifests itself in the form of border politics, xenophobia, racial supremacy, and foreign policies that prioritise narrow interests over human solidarity. Indonesia is not immune to this trend, especially when the digital public sphere allows for the penetration of transnational narratives that instrumentalise religious and ethnic identities for political agendas.

Within the framework of Pancasila, the principle of Just and Civilised Humanity serves as an ethical foundation for rejecting dehumanisation, which is at the core of hate politics. Hate politics works by reducing the dignity of other groups to threats, burdens, or objects that can be legitimately eliminated. Just and civilised humanity demands the recognition that every citizen has equal dignity and is entitled to state protection. In the era of identity geopolitics, this demand is increasingly essential because transnational rhetoric often produces stigma

against minority groups, whether religious, ethnic, or other vulnerable groups, and reinforces the logic of social purification. The narrative of Pancasila can be reframed as a grand story of a civilised Indonesia. This nation chooses to protect the dignity of all its citizens as a primary condition for unity.

The principle of Social Justice for All Indonesian People provides a crucial structural dimension in confronting identity populism. Identity populism often flourishes when social inequality and economic injustice remain unresolved (Manunta et al., 2022). When the distribution of welfare is uneven, certain groups are more susceptible to narratives that blame minorities or foreign parties for financial hardship. In this case, Pancasila is not enough to be articulated as a mere call for tolerance; it must be articulated as a project of justice that reduces inequality, strengthens access to education, health, and economic opportunities, and ensures that vulnerable groups are not marginalised.

Indonesian unity, as the third principle, is often misunderstood as a demand for homogeneity (Hadiwasito, 2024). In fact, in the context of Pancasila, unity is built on the recognition that Indonesia is pluralistic and cannot be united by imposing a single identity. Pancasila unity is a just unity that recognises diversity as both a social fact and a moral asset. In an era of geopolitical identity, this concept of unity is relevant because it can reject two extremes at once. The extreme of abstract cosmopolitanism that ignores the national context, and the extreme of narrow nationalism that negates differences. Pancasila allows for patriotism that recognises national pride but rejects the supremacy of any particular identity (Nguitragool, 2020). In a global context, pluralistic unity can also serve as the basis of Indonesia's diplomacy in offering a model of nationalism that is neither aggressive nor expansionist, but instead rooted in internal solidarity and an external moral commitment to peace.

The principle of Democracy, guided by the Wisdom of Deliberation/Representation, provides a deliberative dimension to counter identity populism. Identity populism often works by simplifying complex issues into emotional slogans and treating opposition as the enemy. It reduces Democracy to mere mass mobilisation rather than deliberation. Deliberation in Pancasila emphasises the importance of a public space that allows differences of opinion to be resolved through civilised exchange of reasons, not through majority pressure or intimidation (Kardiman et al., 2025). Therefore, Pancasila, as a moral identity, demands strengthening deliberative democratic institutions, political literacy education, and public communication ethics that reject hoaxes and hate speech.

Pancasila, as a moral identity that challenges narrow nationalism, requires reframing as a grand narrative about the willingness to live together fairly (Sugito et al., 2021). In political narrative studies, grand narratives serve to bind historical experiences, collective symbols, and future orientations. Many populist movements have been successful because they offer a simple story. There is an enemy, there are victims, and there is a saviour. The Pancasila narrative must counter this mobilising power with a story that is equally emotionally powerful but more civilised and reflective (Kim, 2024). The story is not about enemies, but about the collective struggle to live together in justice, not about the purification of identity, but about solidarity across identities, not about hatred, but about the moral courage to protect the weak.

Equal protection for minority groups is a concrete indicator of Pancasila as a moral identity. In many cases, minorities become a 'moral test' for a country because the treatment of minorities shows whether the country truly adheres to the principles of humanity and justice or follows the pressure of the majority (Hill & Capella, 2014). In the Indonesian context, the protection of minorities is not only a matter of legal policy but also of social culture and public narrative. Pancasila can serve as a basis for the legitimacy of anti-discrimination policies, the protection of religious freedom, and the strengthening of law enforcement mechanisms to combat identity-based violence (Latif et al., 2025; Prianto et al., 2024). However,

the protection of minorities will not be adequate if the public narrative still considers minorities as guests or deviants.

The rejection of hate politics is another highly relevant dimension because hate politics is currently often produced and disseminated through transnational actors (Jukari et al., 2023). Digital networks enable extremist ideologies to spread, mobilise, and build pseudo-solidarity across countries. In studies of human security and radicalism, it is evident that narratives of hatred often exploit local grievances but are given a global framework, thereby connecting domestic conflicts with transnational agendas (Ayu et al., 2025). Pancasila, as a moral identity, can serve as an ethical filter, rejecting the infiltration of divisive ideologies by emphasising that loyalty to humanity and unity is higher than loyalty to identity movements that condone violence (Karimullah, 2022).

In a global context, Pancasila can also be used as a basis for cultural diplomacy to promote the narrative of Indonesia as a pluralistic country that rejects extremism (Badrun et al., 2023), while building cross-national solidarity in combating hate speech and dehumanisation. However, in Pancasila, it's not merely a matter of rhetorical legitimacy; research emphasises the importance of public message design, curriculum, cultural diplomacy campaigns, and strategic communication practices. Public message design means that Pancasila must be communicated in a language relevant to the digital generation, not merely as memorised principles, but as narratives that explain how Pancasila values are present in real life, including in the digital space and in global relations.

In strategic communication studies, effective messages not only convey information but also shape collective identity and emotions. Pancasila needs to be presented as a proud identity because it protects everyone, not because it excludes some. Public messages must connect Pancasila with citizens' daily experiences: how tolerance protects social life, how social justice prevents jealousy, how deliberation avoids conflict, and how unity strengthens Indonesia's position in the world. If Pancasila messages only appear in crises or as a response to conflict, they will be seen as reactive and lose their persuasive power. Therefore, message design must be consistent, adaptive, and based on research on audience behaviour.

The curriculum is a strategic instrument because moral identity is shaped over the long term. Pancasila education is often criticised as indoctrination if it merely conveys dogma, with no room for critical thinking (Mukaromah et al., 2022). In fact, in the era of identity geopolitics, what is needed is the reflective ability to recognise identity manipulation, distinguish patriotism from chauvinism, and reject the politics of hatred. The Pancasila curriculum must be integrated with global citizenship education, media literacy, and the ethics of pluralism.

Cultural diplomacy campaigns are essential because identity geopolitics also plays out in the battle for image and moral legitimacy between countries. Many countries build soft power through narratives about their values, such as Democracy, freedom, or modernity (Chitty, 2016). Indonesia can use Pancasila as the basis for cultural diplomacy to offer an alternative model rooted in pluralism, post-colonial experiences, tolerant religiosity, and non-aggressive nationalism (Ghaffari et al., 2025). This campaign should not be a cosmetic promotion but must demonstrate real practices: interfaith dialogue, deliberative traditions, inclusive policies, and Indonesia's role in conflict mediation. In soft power studies, appeal is built not only on rhetoric but also on credibility and consistency. Therefore, a Pancasila-based cultural diplomacy campaign must be supported by domestic policies that demonstrate a commitment to pluralism and the protection of minorities. Otherwise, Pancasila will be seen as propaganda rather than a legitimate moral identity.

Strategic communication practices also need to include the use of digital media and the management of public spaces. Many populist narratives of identity spread through platform algorithms that reinforce emotional and conflictual content (Junman, 2025). Pancasila as a moral narrative must coexist with strategies that are no less sophisticated, such as creative content, storytelling, community collaboration and tthe strengthening of credible influencer

networks (Karimullah, 2023). However, Pancasila-based strategic communication must be careful not to produce counter-populism that also manipulates emotions. Pancasila demands civilised communication: building empathy, strengthening solidarity, and encouraging dialogue.

The reframing of Pancasila must also place patriotism in the context of identity-based global politics. Patriotism is often misinterpreted as uncritical loyalty or as pride that requires an enemy. Pancasila offers a more reflective model of patriotism, with love for the homeland manifested through the protection of all citizens, the rejection of hatred, and a commitment to justice. In a global context, Pancasila patriotism also means that Indonesia can love itself without belittling other nations, and can fight for national interests without sacrificing universal humanity. This concept is vital because identity geopolitics often encourages countries to build legitimacy through antagonism. Pancasila rejects this model and offers that a nation's moral strength lies in its ability to manage diversity and show solidarity.

D. Conclusion

The narrative of Pancasila can be understood as Indonesia's moral identity, which does not stop at symbolic functions but works as a normative and discursive tool that shapes Indonesia's position in global politics while directing the transformation of public behaviour. Through the integration of the values of humanity, social justice, deliberation, unity, and respect for diversity, Pancasila has proven to be a moral compass in global digital governance, climate justice and global Southern solidarity, as well as a corrective to narrow nationalism and transnational identity populism. Thus, this study implicitly refines the tendency in previous studies to treat Pancasila primarily as a domestic ideology by developing a conceptual framework that connects Pancasila, moral identity, and normative power in international relations through a narrative-discourse approach. The novelty of this study lies in its assertion that Pancasila operates as an intentional narrative that can produce moral legitimacy, expand soft power, and mobilise measurable social change, thereby opening up a more complex space for analysis of the relationship between values, strategic communication, and cross-level domestic-global policy practices.

Theoretically, the implications of this study reinforce the argument that contemporary global politics cannot be understood solely through material interests, but also through the contestation of values and moral credibility. Practically and in terms of policy, these findings point to the urgent need to formulate a coherent Pancasila-based diplomacy, strengthen reflective public messaging and curriculum design, and integrate Pancasila values into digital regulation, just energy transition, and minority protection so that moral narratives have performative power. However, this study has limitations because it relies on document and discourse analysis, and thus does not fully capture the empirical resonance in public behaviour at large, nor does it test the dynamics of the acceptance of the Pancasila narrative in the international arena using cross-actor perception data. In addition, the tension between moral claims and domestic practical contradictions can affect the narrative's performative validity. Therefore, further studies need to expand the design with quantitative triangulation and digital ethnography to test changes in public attitudes, map the ecology of actors that shape the Pancasila narrative (state, civil society, platforms, and global communities), and develop operational indicators for the normative power of Pancasila in diplomacy and public policy.

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