Pancasila's Moral Grammar, Critical Digital Nationalism and the Two-Level Game in Indonesia's Foreign Policy.

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Abstract: This study investigates the intersection of bottom-up democratization and Indonesia's foreign policy during the August 2025 protests and President Prabowo's visit to China. The research employs descriptive statistics within a mixed-methods framework, specifically utilizing Quantitative Content Analysis (QCA) for social media data and frequency distribution analysis for questionnaire data. Utilizing Kertzer and Zeitzoff's framework, the research analyzes 7,139 Instagram comments and 837 survey responses. The findings reveal the rise of "Critical Digital Nationalists" who invoke Pancasila to demand ethical diplomacy. However, digital activism remains structurally limited by symbolic expression and echo chambers. This allows the state to exploit nationalist sentiment for geopolitical pragmatism while ignoring substantive critique. Ultimately, Pancasila serves as a vibrant bottom-up "moral grammar," yet its policy impact is constrained by the state's dominance in the two-level game. Thus, the revitalization of Pancasila is needed, but it must move beyond state rhetoric and genuinely integrate these bottom-up ethical aspirations into the practical conduct of Indonesia's international affairs.

Keywords: Indonesia Foreign Policy, Pancasila, Bottom-Up Democratization, Digital Activism, Critical Digital Nationalism.

1. Introduction

Public activism that surged in August 2025 marked an important escalation in Indonesia's democratic landscape, particularly due to the simultaneous rise of mass street demonstrations and digitally coordinated activism. These protests reflected citizens' reactions to domestic issues while illustrating how digital networks expand public capacity for political participation (Robles, De Marco, & Antino, 2012; Suwana, 2019). Social media played a central role as a space for expressing criticism, mobilizing solidarity, and coordinating collective action, reinvigorating debates on citizens' roles in the digital public sphere (Robles, De Marco, & Antino, 2012;

Koc-Michalska & Lilleker, 2016). This suggests that democratization in Indonesia continues to unfold through bottom-up trajectories, as society produces alternative political narratives beyond state control (Suwana, 2019).

Amid this rising tension, President Prabowo's decision to proceed with an official visit to China to attend the 80th Anniversary of the Victory of the Chinese People's War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression introduced an additional layer of friction between domestic legitimacy pressures and Indonesia's strategic foreign policy interests (Arbar, 2025). The visit occurred during an intensified phase of U.S.-China rivalry, prompting heightened public scrutiny over Indonesia's adherence to its *"Bebas Aktif"* doctrine. Public sensitivity was exacerbated by existing China-related issues, including the Jakarta-Bandung high-speed rail project, China's investment in the new capital (IKN), concerns over labor practices, financial dependencies, and anxieties about technology infrastructure, data security, and the political implications of deeper economic engagement with Beijing. As a result, many questioned the government's foreign-policy priorities and perceived a lack of attentiveness to escalating domestic unrest.

These simultaneous developments led to a growing perception that Prabowo's choice to draw closer to China (i.e., a non-democratic state) and his numbers of previous policy decisions during a moment of domestic turbulence signaled a drift away from democratic norms. This amplified public skepticism toward Prabowo given his military background and longstanding associations with allegations of human-rights abuses. The disconnect between domestic turbulence and international diplomatic activity reveals that Indonesia's foreign policy making is deeply intertwined with internal political dynamics. It highlights the ongoing negotiation between maintaining domestic stability, performing diplomatic obligations, and navigating geopolitical pressures, especially within the increasingly strategic Indonesia-China relationship.

This complexity becomes even more pronounced when placed within the normative framework of Pancasila, which formally serves as both a guiding principle and moral constraint for Indonesia's foreign policy. Pancasila prescribes diplomacy grounded in humanitarian values, justice, deliberation, and popular sovereignty (Anwar, 2019). The protests and digital activism in August 2025 indicate that parts of the public perceived a misalignment between these values and government decision-making. This reveals an epistemic tension: the state employs a top-down interpretation of Pancasila to justify foreign-policy choices, while citizens invoke Pancasila bottom-up to critique those same choices (Bourchier, 2019). This

interpretive divide offers a critical entry point for understanding how Indonesia's national ideology interacts with contemporary diplomatic practice.

From this tension emerges the central research question: "in what ways does the interaction between democratic expressions and the normative construct of Pancasila shape the reciprocal domestic–international (two-level) dynamics of Indonesia's foreign-policy making, especially when the state navigates simultaneous domestic crises and geopolitical pressures?" This study maps public discourse, government responses, and the interaction between them to assess their influence on foreign-policy orientation.

The significance of this research lies in evaluating whether Pancasila remains a meaningful framework during moments of democratic contestation and foreign-policy strain. It examines whether Pancasila genuinely informs public discourse and decision-making or functions merely as symbolic rhetoric. The findings aim to contribute to scholarship on Indonesian democratization and foreign policy by clarifying how bottom-up expressions and top-down ideological narratives converge or diverge in shaping policy behavior. Practically, the study offers insights for policymakers and Pancasila norm-entrepreneurs on the contemporary resonance of Indonesia's foundational ideology and its relevance for democratic governance and international engagement in the digital era.

2. Method

This research employs a mixed-methods approach, combining two distinct primary datasets analyzed within the theoretical framework of bottom-up public opinion formation in foreign policy. This integrated approach is crucial for addressing the study's central problem: understanding how the normative framework of Pancasila mediates the relationship between digital democratic expressions and strategic foreign policy decisions. Drawing from Kertzer and Zeitzoff's approach (2017), the methodology is structured to capture micro-level value internalization (survey), meso-level social interaction (Instagram QCA), and macro-level state-society linkages (both datasets).

Two main datasets were generated for this study. First, to empirically capture these dynamics, the research utilizes systematic data scraping of user comments from two viral Instagram posts that became focal points of online discussion during the height of the protests ("Digital Primary Dataset"). Each post was posted on September 3, 2025, the date when President Prabowo visited China. A total of 7,139 comments (2,501 + 5,068 from each post) were collected in this phase during the writing of this

report. This dataset serves to map the spontaneous, affective, and volume-driven discourse, capturing the immediate digital pressure felt by the state.

Focusing on two viral posts that generated intense engagement allows the research to observe a concentrated discursive environment in which citizens articulate values, critique government actions, and negotiate political meaning in real time. Although narrower than platform-wide scraping, this design provides a high-resolution view of bottom-up opinion formation consistent with theories emphasizing microfoundations (value orientations) and mesofoundations (social influence within interactional settings) (Kertzer & Zeitzoff, 2017).

Data collection involved scraping all public comments, replies, and interaction patterns within the two posts. Analyzing comments (rather than post content alone) captures how users construct, contest, and reproduce value-based arguments within an open micro-public. Through this, the study documents expressions of Pancasila-based moral claims, critiques of government decision-making, calls for accountability, and references to international issues such as humanitarian concerns, geopolitical conflicts, or Indonesia's diplomatic stance.

A second dataset was obtained through a structured survey of 837 respondents, primarily Gen Z and young professionals aged 17-35. The survey captures levels of Pancasila value internalization, political skepticism, and perceptions of governmental responsiveness, thereby contextualizing and validating the often-symbolic expressions found in Instagram comments. Both datasets were analyzed exclusively using Descriptive Statistics to map opinion patterns without extending to inferential modeling.

Quantitative Content Analysis (QCA) was applied to Instagram comments using a detailed codebook derived from the theoretical framework. Keywords and linguistic patterns were mapped onto core Pancasila values and interactional dynamics, producing Absolute Frequencies and Relative Percentages that reveal thematic and affective dominance within the digital discourse. In parallel, Frequency Distribution Analysis of the survey data aggregated Likert-scale responses to identify levels of normative commitment, critical support, and uncertainty toward state policy. Integrating digital affective expression with measured normative conviction provides a strong empirical basis for analyzing Critical Digital Nationalism and the emerging "epistemic gap" in Indonesia's foreign policy-making process.

3. Literature Review

Studies connecting Pancasila with bottom-up democratization and its influence on domestic-international interactions remain exceptionally limited. Most works addressing Pancasila and activism in bottom-up democratization do not integrate foreign policy, while studies linking Pancasila and foreign policy seldom treat activism as a significant analytical variable. This review therefore employs thematic clustering to identify conceptual patterns and synthesize their implications.

Regarding Pancasila and bottom-up democratization through activism, Lucca (2022) argues that post-Reformasi 1998, Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution provided the legal foundation for freedom of association and expression, establishing an ideal-normative framework in which Pancasila Democracy should guarantee civic participation and public criticism. Activism through mass organizations such as FPI and HTI emerged from political opportunity structures, including public dissatisfaction, elite conflict, and weak state oversight, and mobilized religious and moral narratives to generate support, representing a form of bottom-up democratization driven by social movements (Lucca, 2022). Reformasi introduced decentralization (Law 32/2004) and direct elections, opening greater space for local participation. A bottom-up approach became visible in infrastructure development and local policymaking that incorporated community aspirations. Civil society expanded rapidly. NGOs, a free press, and social movements emerged as key actors in monitoring and holding the government accountable (Yazid & Pakpahan, 2019).

Setiawan and Tomsa (2023) emphasize that grassroots mobilization is essential for resisting democratic backsliding. Although they highlight the resilience of activism amid shrinking democratic space, many movements are co-opted by entrenched elites or redirected toward conservative populism (Setiawan & Tomsa, 2023; Hadiz, 2008). Haripin (2019) further shows that liberal groups pushing for bottom-up reform frequently clash with the military, while conservative groups and militias develop mutualistic ties with military actors through shared nationalist or religious ideologies, thereby slowing democratic consolidation (Haripin, 2019). This dynamic mirrors Hadiz's earlier conclusion that activism expected to drive structural transformation often reinforces oligarchic configurations within Indonesia's formal democracy (Hadiz, 2008). This kind of clientelism logic also applies in NGO and media practices (Yazid & Pakpahan, 2019). Recent analyses reaffirm these patterns. Jokowi's promise of "developing from the periphery," expected to empower bottom-up democratization through decentralization, ultimately strengthened local oligarchies and nepotism due to unequal capacities for participatory governance, leading bottom-up

democratization to fail as a mechanism of democratic deepening (Bourchier, 2019; Petlach & Říčanová, 2025).

These dynamics create a form of democratic hypocrisy (Lucca, 2022), in which the state curtails critical spaces through repression. Challenges recurrently faced by bottom-up activism include fragmentation, criminalization (Setiawan & Tomsa, 2023), religious conservatism (Lucca, 2022; Setiawan & Tomsa, 2023), and state repression (Haripin, 2019; Lucca, 2022; Setiawan & Tomsa, 2023). Activists face stigmatization and threats from military actors, while conservative activist groups such as FPI and Pemuda Pancasila often receive support or tolerance due to ideological affinities (Haripin, 2019).

Pancasila frequently serves as state justification for maintaining political stability, yet its deployment in repressive measures generates a paradox of democracy (Lucca, 2022). According to Setiawan and Tomsa, Pancasila functions primarily as an instrument of state legitimation for suppressing opposition. Haripin adds that conservative groups politicize Pancasila to delegitimize adversaries, such as by labeling human rights NGOs "radical" or "anti-Pancasila." Environmental activists, for instance, are criminalized under accusations of insulting Pancasila or promoting banned ideologies (Setiawan & Tomsa, 2023). The state thus mobilizes Pancasila as an ideological narrative to justify the restriction of civil society rather than to facilitate inclusive democracy (Setiawan & Tomsa, 2023). Pancasila becomes not only a state ideology but also a political instrument to constrain groups perceived as destabilizing, functioning to consolidate political power rather than protect pluralism (Petlach & Říčanová, 2025).

The linkage between Pancasila, bottom-up democratization, activism, and Indonesian foreign policy can be understood historically through postcolonial state formation. Pancasila originally served as a compromise ideology to mediate tensions among secular nationalism, political Islam, and communism during early independence (Hadiz, 2008; Choiruzzad, 2020). This compromise shaped domestic governance as well as foreign policy, particularly the adoption of the "independent and active" doctrine aimed at navigating Cold War ideological blocs. Indonesian democratization historically unfolded from the bottom up, with mass political participation and social movement mobilization producing plural and competing aspirations that demanded foreign policy responsiveness to domestic dynamics (Choiruzzad, 2020). In this configuration, activism plays a strategic role via informal diplomacy, transnational networks, and cultural mobilization in asserting sovereignty and national identity within a globally hierarchical system. The convergence of Pancasila, participatory democratization, and activism therefore forms a normative and practical

basis for Indonesian foreign policy, which acts simultaneously as an external political instrument and a mechanism for internal stabilization and state legitimacy (Choiruzzad, 2020). This relationship demonstrates the interdependence between domestic structures and international strategies in Indonesia's nation-building process.

Historically, Pancasila has legitimized forms of democracy distinct from Western liberalism, exemplified by Sukarno's Guided Democracy and Suharto's Pancasila Democracy. Both models tended toward authoritarianism because they privileged top-down consensus over participatory engagement (Sarkar, 2023). After the New Order's collapse, democratization was driven by bottom-up mobilization led by students, NGOs, and civil society (Haripin, 2019; Lucca, 2022; Setiawan & Tomsa, 2023). While activism served as the engine of reform, its space subsequently narrowed due to restrictive regulations and state co-optation (Haripin, 2019; Lucca, 2022; Setiawan & Tomsa, 2023).. As a result, Indonesia's democracy plateaued at a procedural level, centered on competitive elections without strengthening substantive components such as accountability and public deliberation (Sarkar, 2023).

In foreign policy, Indonesia has capitalized on its democratic image to enhance international legitimacy, especially through active participation in ASEAN and the G20 (Sarkar, 2023). Pancasila is often promoted as Indonesia's distinctive democratic model rooted in pluralism and deliberation, despite domestic trends of shrinking civic freedoms (Anwar, 2019). Thus, Pancasila operates as ideological legitimation; bottom-up democratization represents the initial driver of reform; activism functions as a guardian of democracy but is increasingly marginalized (Haripin, 2019; Lucca, 2022; Setiawan & Tomsa, 2023; Sarkar, 2023); and foreign policy serves as a vehicle for projecting a democratic image internationally (Sarkar, 2023).

Simultaneously, post-Reformasi foreign policy has been shaped by neo-Third Worldist rhetoric opposing global hegemony and advancing nationalist populism, although without the progressive vision characteristic of Sukarno's era. This rhetoric allows elites to consolidate domestic authority while continuing to integrate into global markets (Hadiz, 2008). Consequently, Pancasila provides ideological justification; activism becomes an arena of tension between idealism and co-optation; and foreign policy functions as a symbolic expression of resistance to globalization that paradoxically reinforces forms of hidden authoritarianism domestically.

The existing scholarship demonstrates that Pancasila is largely treated as a contested state instrument for disciplining dissent (Lucca, 2022;

Setiawan & Tomsa, 2023), that bottom-up democratization in Indonesia is driven by fragmented and frequently repressed activism (Haripin, 2019; Hadiz, 2008; Petlach & Říčanová, 2025), and that foreign policy continues to invoke Pancasila and the "bebas-aktif" doctrine to maintain international legitimacy amid democratic erosion (Sarkar, 2023; Choiruzzad, 2020). Yet these literatures remain disconnected. Studies of Pancasila and democratization rarely engage foreign policy; analyses of Pancasila and foreign policy generally ignore activism; and research on activism has not examined how digital mobilization, particularly on visually oriented platforms like Instagram, shapes state behavior across domestic-international boundaries. No integrated framework currently links Pancasila, bottom-up activism, and foreign policymaking, nor has any study tested whether Pancasila values actually materialize within public discourse during moments of domestic contestation intersecting with high-stakes diplomacy. This study fills that gap by analyzing Instagram activism during the August 2025 protests through a two-level interaction lens, offering empirical evidence from digital discourse and a theoretical bridge connecting ideology, democratic expression, and foreign-policy performance.

3.1. Theoretical Framework

This study draws on Kertzer and Zeitzoff's (2017) bottom-up theory of public opinion formation in foreign policy but adapts it to the empirical realities of digital activism and Indonesia's ideological context. While the original framework was developed through survey-based experiments and statistical measurement, its core conceptual logic, i.e., that public attitudes toward foreign policy emerge from individual-level predispositions and socially embedded interactions remain highly applicable to qualitative analyses of online political expression.

In the bottom-up perspective, public opinion is not a mere derivative of elite signaling, as assumed by traditional top-down or elite cue-taking models. Instead, individuals actively construct political meaning based on their underlying values, normative commitments, and interpretive lenses. In the Indonesian context, these value orientations are deeply shaped by widely shared ideological foundations, particularly the principles of Pancasila. As a result, public reactions to foreign policy issues cannot be understood simply as passive responses to state messaging; they are mediated by how citizens interpret international affairs

through the ethical grammar of Pancasila, e.g., humanitarianism, social justice, sovereignty, and collective deliberation.

Digital activism on Instagram provides a fertile arena for observing this bottom-up meaning-making process. The visual and interactive affordances of the platform encourage individuals to articulate political stances, negotiate interpretations with peers, and collectively amplify certain narratives over others. This aligns with Kertzer and Zeitzoff's emphasis on meso-level social influence (peer cues); attitudes toward foreign policy are shaped not only by personal predispositions but also by the immediate social environments in which individuals communicate and interpret events. On Instagram, peer cues manifest through comments, shared posts, visual framing, and hashtag clusters that create micro-publics where normative judgments about foreign policy become visible and contested.

This digital environment also reveals microfoundations of foreign policy opinion, i.e., the individual-level values, identities, and moral commitments that guide political interpretation. In the Indonesian setting, these microfoundations often align with Pancasila's normative vocabulary: expressions of solidarity with oppressed groups map onto humanitarian principles; critiques of state behavior often invoke justice and accountability; and calls for diplomatic restraint or assertiveness reflect assumptions about Indonesia's identity as an independent and morally grounded actor. Thus, Instagram activism makes explicit the interplay between individual value orientations and nationally affirmed ideological frameworks.

Importantly, the interaction between bottom-up expressions and Pancasila's normative framework produces a distinct mode of public opinion formation. Rather than simply reflecting private preferences, public discourse becomes a process of collective moral reasoning through which citizens assess both domestic political tensions and Indonesia's position in global affairs. This dynamic enables us to see foreign policy not merely as elite-driven but as co-constructed through a recursive domestic–international interface: societal expressions draw on Pancasila to evaluate foreign policy, while the state employs Pancasila rhetorically to justify or recalibrate its external actions.

4. Analysis
4.1. Analysis of Instagram Comments
4.1.1 Coding Scheme

This study analyzes the comment sections of two selected Instagram posts using a coding scheme designed to capture how users articulate values, express political positions, and interpret foreign-policy issues. The framework focuses on three core dimensions: value-oriented expressions referencing Pancasila, evaluative orientations toward government action, and references to international affairs relevant to Indonesia's foreign policy. These categories help identify how micro-level value orientations and meso-level social interactions generate bottom-up pressures that may shape foreign-policy legitimacy.

The first category, *microfoundations*, examines how individuals express Pancasila-based moral claims, national-identity concerns, or policy-specific preferences, allowing the study to detect ethical and political motivations behind public reactions. The second, *mesofoundations*, captures social dynamics within comment threads (agreement clusters, debates, and collective emotions) that function as digital peer cues and illustrate how meaning is co-constructed within online communities. The third category maps how commenters link international events to domestic concerns and invoke Pancasila to evaluate Indonesia's external actions, revealing how digital publics interpret foreign policy through domestic value frameworks. Finally, meta-codes on sentiment and tone contextualize the emotional quality of comments. Taken together, the coding scheme provides a systematic, theory-driven method for analyzing Instagram-based democratic expressions and their influence on foreign-policy narratives.

Table 1. Coding Scheme for Instagram Comment Analysis on Pancasila, Bottom-Up Activism, and Foreign Policy

Category	Code	Description
1. Microfoundations (Individual Value Orientations)		
A. Pancasila-Based Value Expression	A1. Humanity & Moral Empathy	References to justice, humanity, compassion, moral outrage.
	A2. Social Justice	Demands for fairness, equality, protection of vulnerable groups.
	A3. Unity & National Identity	Expressions of nationalism, unity, national pride.

Category	Code	Description
	A4. Deliberation & Public Ethics	Calls for dialogue, reflection, ethical considerations.
	A5. Religious-Moral Appeals	Moral reasoning rooted in religious values tied to national ethics.
B. Foreign Policy Orientation	B1. Support for Government Policy	Explicit support for Indonesia's stance or foreign policy actions.
	B2. Critique of Foreign Policy	Complaints, dissatisfaction, or criticism of state inaction.
	B3. Calls for Stronger Action	Requests for tougher international response.
	B4. Isolationist / Anti-Interventionist	Comments discouraging involvement in international affairs.
	B5. Geopolitical Framing	Comments situating issues in broader power politics.
2. Mesofoundations (Social Interaction in Threads)		
C. Community Dynamics & Peer Influence	C1. Agreement Clusters	Series of comments reinforcing each other.
	C2. Contestation Clusters	Visible debates, disagreements, rebuttals.
	C3. Norm Policing	Users correcting others using Pancasila or ethics.
	C4. Identity Grouping	Collective identity framing.
	C5. Collective Emotional Resonance	Shared anger, pride, grief, enthusiasm.
D. Discursive Practices	D1. Symbolic/Meme Expression	Emojis, slogans, stylized phrases.
	D2. Narrative Framing	Storytelling, historical references.
	D3. Moral Amplification	Echoing and intensifying moral arguments.
	D4. Delegitimizing Language	Discrediting state/actors/groups.
	D5. Meta-discourse	Comments about how the debate is unfolding.
3. Linkages to Domestic–International Dynamics		
E. Domestic Reflections	E1. Int'l → Domestic Critique	Using international events to criticize government.

Category	Code	Description
Triggered by International Issues	E2. Linking FP to Domestic Crises	Connecting foreign policy to internal problems.
	E3. National Image Concerns	Worries about Indonesia's reputation.
F. International Projection of Domestic Values	F1. Pancasila as Guiding Principle	Using Pancasila to instruct international stance.
	F2. Pancasila to Legitimize Support	Using Pancasila to justify siding with a foreign actor.
	F3. Pancasila to Criticize Injustice	Using Pancasila to condemn global injustice.
4. Meta-Codes (Sentiment & Tone)		
G. Sentiment	G1. Positive	Supportive, praising.
	G2. Negative	Angry, disappointed.
	G3. Neutral/ Analytical	Balanced or descriptive comments.
	G4. Ambivalent	Mixed or unclear stance.
H. Tone	H1. Rational-Deliberative	Reasoned, analytical tone.
	H2. Emotional-Moralistic	Strong emotional or moral tone.
	H3. Sarcastic/Ironic	Mocking or ironic.
	H4. Hostile/Aggressive	Harsh or confrontational.

This analysis employs a QCA approach combined with Rule-Based Keyword Mapping to systematically categorize and interpret thousands of public comments. The primary objective is to deconstruct the large volume of Instagram comments into measurable theoretical categories that reflect individual value orientations (microfoundations), patterns of social interaction (mesofoundations), and dominant sentiments. Methodologically, the procedure involves scanning each unit of analysis, every individual comment, to detect specific linguistic patterns, including words, phrases, and symbolic expressions such as emojis, that correspond to predefined sociopolitical concepts outlined in the study's codebook. This enables the transformation of raw digital traces into analytically useful indicators that reveal how citizens articulate normative claims, engage with each other, and evaluate Indonesia's foreign policy within a bottom-up, digitally mediated public sphere.

To ensure the validity of the quantification process, this study employs the following descriptive statistical formulas:

A. Category Detection (C). Each individual comment (t) is evaluated against specific regex patterns (R) corresponding to a category (k). A binary value is assigned as follows:

$$C_k(t) = \begin{cases} 1 & if\ match\ (R_k, t)\ is\ true \\ 0 & if\ match\ (R_k, t)\ is\ false \end{cases}$$

B. Absolute Frequency (F). The total occurrence for each category (k) is calculated by summing the detection values across the entire data corpus (N):

$$F_k = \sum_{i=1}^{N} C_k(t_i)$$

C. Relative Percentage (P). The proportion of a category relative to the total data population is calculated to measure discursive dominance:

$$P_k = \left(\frac{F_k}{N}\right) \times 100\%$$

N = 7,139\$ (Total comments in the dataset).

This analysis employed keyword-mapping algorithms and pattern-matching techniques on a dataset of 7,139 Instagram comments. Because individual comments often contain multiple discursive elements, each comment could be assigned to more than one category. For example, a comment displaying both national flag emojis and words of praise was coded simultaneously as symbolic expression (D1) and positive sentiment (G1). Overall, the statistical patterns indicate that platform interactions are strongly dominated by symbolic forms, especially emojis, accompanied by a high prevalence of positive sentiment. Substantively, the themes most frequently discussed concern national identity (A3) and social justice (A2), demonstrating that public engagement is not merely affective but also grounded in moral-political concerns linked to broader narratives of citizenship and collective values.

Figure 1. Frequency of Top Discursive Codes in Instagram Comments (N=1=7139)
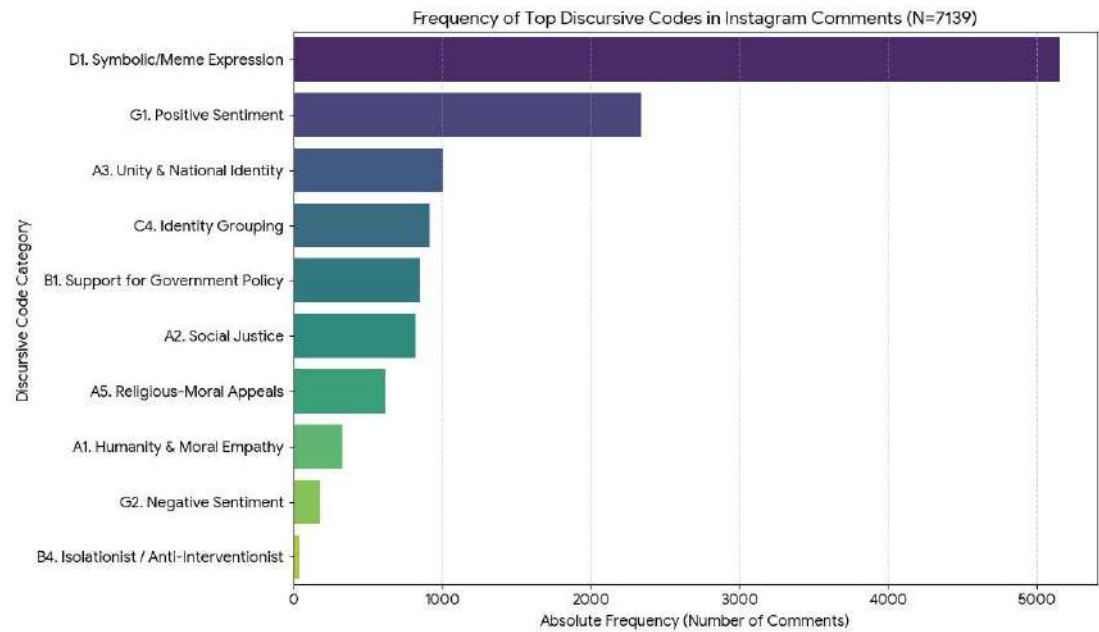
Source: Primary Data, 2025

Figure 2. Co-Occurrence Density Matrix of Key Discursive Codes
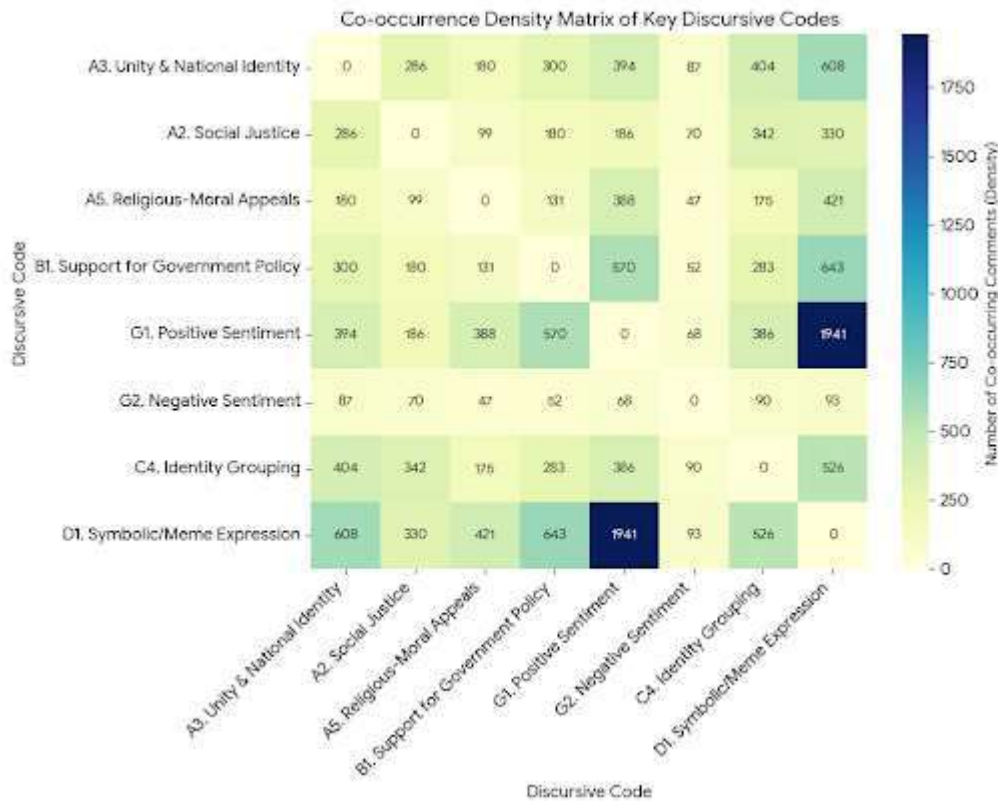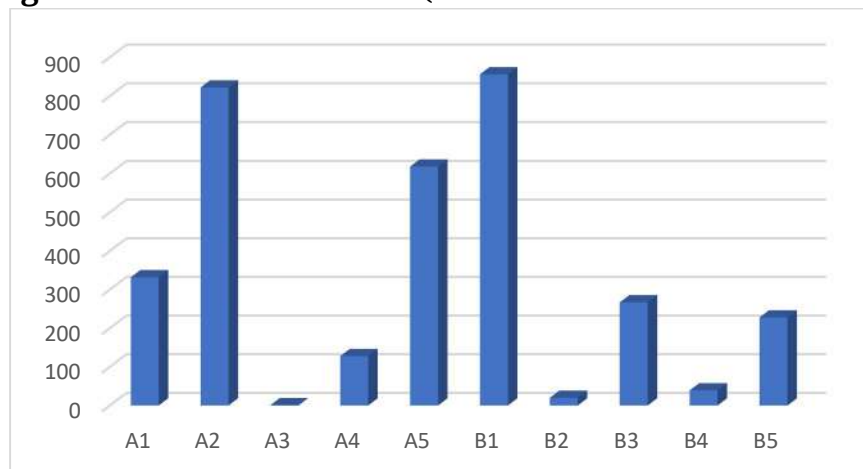

Source: Primary Data, 2025

Importantly, cumulative percentages across coding categories do not total 100%, reflecting the multi-label classification design used in this study. Because categories are non-mutually exclusive, a single comment often reflects several discursive dimensions at once, such as Symbolic Expression (D1), National Identity (A3), and Positive Sentiment (G1). Thus, the reported percentages represent the prevalence of each discursive marker within the full corpus (N = 7,139), rather than mutually exclusive distributions. Variations in totals across dimensions also result from uncategorized noise, including phatic remarks or ambiguous text that fall outside the study's coding parameters.

The microfoundations analysis (figure 3) reveals the underlying individual value orientations expressed across the 7,139 Instagram comments. The most dominant category is Unity and National Identity (A3), which appears in 1,007 comments (14.11%), indicating that appeals to national pride, collective identity, and the idea of "kebangsaan" remain powerful drivers of public expression. This is followed closely by Social Justice (A2) with 822 comments (11.51%), suggesting that expectations for fairness, protection of vulnerable groups, and moral accountability consistently surface within public discourse. Notably, Support for Government Foreign Policy (B1) emerges in 856 comments (11.99%), reflecting a sizeable portion of the public that explicitly endorses the state's international actions. Religious-Moral Appeals (A5) also hold substantial presence (618 comments; 8.66%), highlighting how moral reasoning rooted in faith continues to structure public reactions to foreign policy issues. Meanwhile, expressions of Humanity and Moral Empathy (A1) appear in 332 comments (4.65%), often signaling moral outrage or compassion in response to global crises.

**Figure 3.** Microfoundations (Individual Value Orientations)

Source: Primary Data, 2025

Other categories such as Calls for Stronger Action (B3) (3.74%), Geopolitical Framing (B5) (3.19%), and Deliberation & Public Ethics (A4) (1.79%) indicate that a segment of commenters engages with foreign policy through a more assertive or analytical lens. In contrast, explicitly isolationist views (B4) and direct critiques of foreign policy (B2) appear only marginally (0.55% and 0.28%, respectively), suggesting that while criticism exists, it is far from dominant. Overall, the pattern shows that nationalist narratives and policy support (A3 and B1) remain highly salient, yet these frequently co-exist with significant social-justice-oriented demands (A2), demonstrating that public endorsement of the state's foreign policy is often accompanied by moral expectations and calls for fairness rooted in Pancasila values.

Figure 4 examines how users interact with one another and how language functions within comment threads. The data show that symbolic or meme-like expressions (D1) overwhelmingly dominate the discursive environment, appearing in 5,150 instances (72.14%), making visual communication, such as the Indonesian flag emoji (ID), fire symbols (🔥), and hearts (❤️), the primary mode of engagement. Identity grouping (C4) follows as the second most prominent pattern, with 917 cases (12.84%), often manifested in collective identifiers such as "we the people," "anak Abah," (refers to Prabowo's main competitor in 2024 Presidential Electins) or "loyal supporters," which reinforce in-group cohesion. Collective emotional resonance (C5) emerges in 610 comments (8.54%), signalling shared emotional responses such as collective pride, outrage, or national grief.

**Figure 4.** Mesofoundations (Social Interaction)
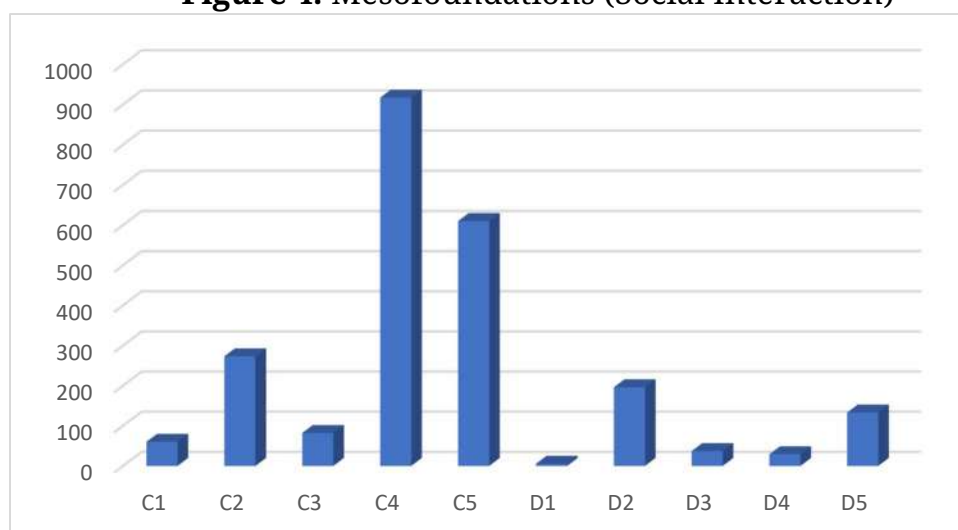
Source: Primary Data, 2025

Meanwhile, contestation clusters (C2) appear in 273 comments (3.82%), reflecting active debates or disagreements among users. Other interactional modes, though less frequent, include narrative framing (D2) with 196 instances (2.75%), meta-discourse (D5) with 133 cases (1.86%), norm policing (C3) with 82 cases (1.15%), agreement clusters (C1) with 60 comments (0.84%), moral amplification (D3) with 37 cases (0.52%), and finally delegitimizing language (D4) with 29 entries (0.41%). The dominance of D1 underscores that visual-symbolic communication is the central mode through which users participate in the discussion. Identity-based expressions (C4) further reveal how commenters organize themselves into symbolic communities, reinforcing solidarity and group belonging across the thread.

The category on figure 5 captures how commenters connect foreign policy issues to Indonesia's domestic political context. Although this dimension appears less frequently compared to micro- and mesofoundational patterns, the distribution of codes reveals important tendencies in how the public interprets international affairs through a national lens. The largest subcategory, *National Image Concerns (E3)* at 0.87%, reflects users' sensitivity to Indonesia's reputation abroad. These comments typically express hopes that Indonesia will be perceived as strong, moral, or consistent with its global commitments, suggesting that national pride remains a core filter through which international events are interpreted.

**Figure 5.** Linkages to Domestic–International Dynamics
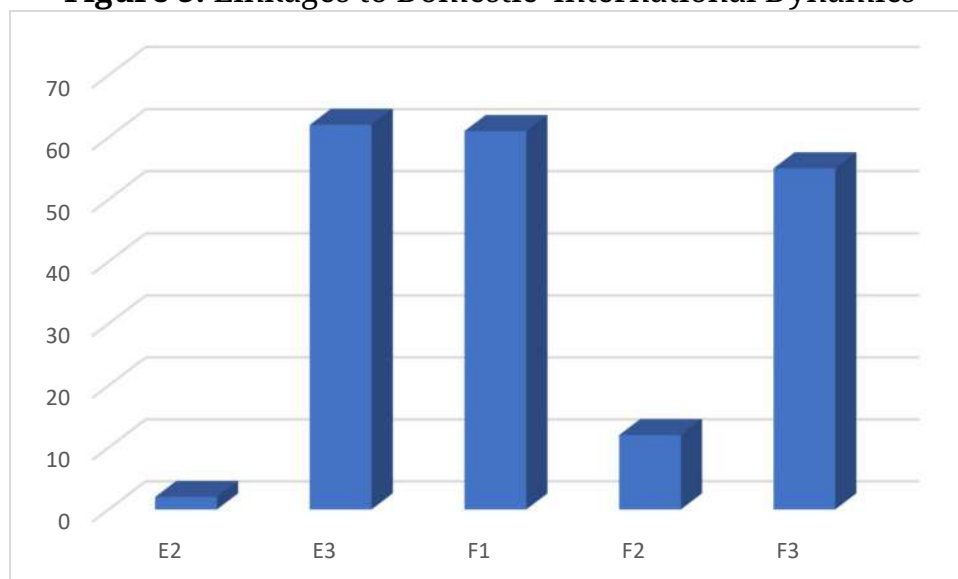
Source: Primary Data, 2025

A related but distinct pattern appears in *Pancasila as a Guiding Principle (F1)* at 0.85%. Here, users invoke Pancasila not merely as a symbolic reference but as a normative benchmark for evaluating whether Indonesia's foreign policy actions align with foundational national values. These comments often frame Pancasila as a moral compass that should shape diplomatic choices, humanitarian responses, or Indonesia's posture in global conflicts. Another subcategory, *Pancasila to Criticize Injustice (F3)* at 0.77%, demonstrates that Pancasila is also mobilized as a rhetorical tool for condemning perceived global injustices, particularly in contexts where commenters expect Indonesia to take a principled stance internationally. These expressions show that Pancasila functions not only domestically but also as a framework for articulating expectations of Indonesia's behavior abroad.

Less frequent but analytically significant are comments that directly link international events to domestic critique (*E1*, 0.39%) or that use Pancasila to legitimize support for a foreign actor (*F2*, 0.17%). These comments typically use international issues as a springboard for evaluating or criticizing government decisions at home, indicating that foreign policy sometimes becomes a proxy for broader political dissatisfaction. The rarest category, *Linking Foreign Policy to Domestic Crises (E2)* at 0.03%, suggests that only a small number of users explicitly connect external geopolitical pressures to ongoing domestic challenges such as economic uncertainty, governance issues, or social tensions.

This cluster of code shows that although users do make domestic-international linkages, such connections remain marginal within the broader discursive field. The relatively low volume across these categories indicates that most commenters focus more on the political figure at the center of the post (Prabowo), symbolic nationalism, or emotional expressions of support rather than offering substantive analyses of how foreign policy intersects with domestic concerns. This pattern underscores a public discourse that is highly expressive and identity-driven, yet less engaged in complex policy reasoning, an important insight for understanding the limits of bottom-up influence in shaping foreign policy debates within digital platforms like Instagram.

Figure 6. Meta-Codes (Sentiment & Tone)
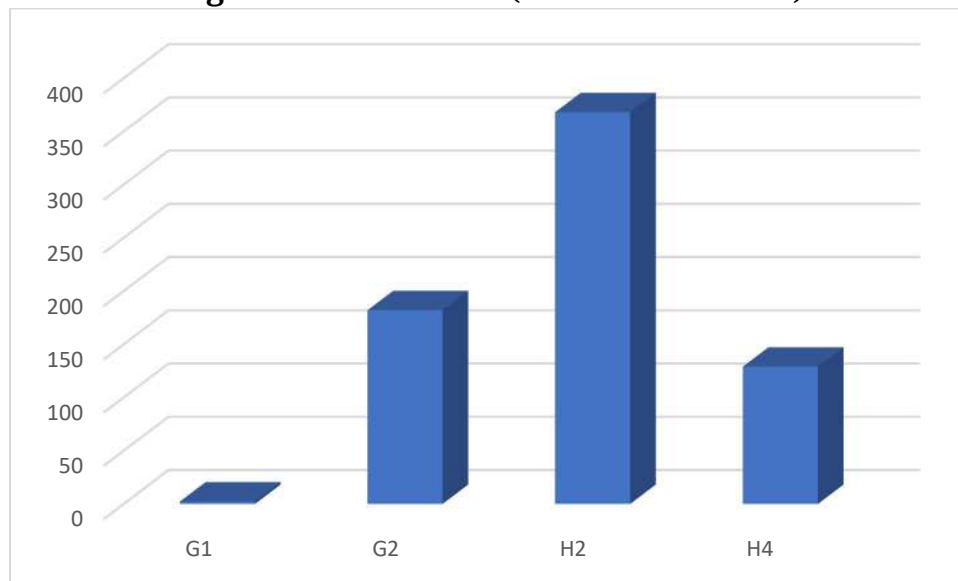
Source: Primary Data, 2025

This last category (figure 6) captures the overall emotional orientation and communicative tone expressed in the comment dataset. The distribution shows a strong predominance of Positive Sentiment (G1), which accounts for 32.79% of all comments (2,341 instances). These comments typically include praise, encouragement, expressions of admiration, or supportive emotional cues. In contrast, Negative Sentiment (G2) represents only 2.55% of the dataset (182 instances), indicating that explicitly critical or disapproving responses are relatively rare within the sample.

In terms of tone, the Emotional-Moralistic style (H2) appears in 5.15% of comments (368 instances). Comments in this category often frame their message through moral language, expressions of hope, religious references, or patriotic emotion. Meanwhile, Hostile or Aggressive tones (H4) are minimal, representing 1.81% of the data (129 instances), suggesting that confrontational or inflammatory discourse is generally limited in this interaction space.

These results show that positive affect overwhelmingly shapes the communicative environment. The ratio of Positive to Negative sentiment is approximately 12 to 1, indicating a highly supportive audience landscape. Furthermore, the emotional register leans more toward affirmative moral expression (H2) rather than overt hostility (H4). The remaining percentage of comments consists of neutral, ambivalent, or extremely short messages, often emoji-only, that do not clearly register within the sentiment dictionary. Overall, the sentiment-tone profile suggests a discursive

environment dominated by supportive, emotionally infused communication rather than critical or antagonistic engagement.

4.1.2 Logistic Regression Analysis of Instagram Comments

To empirically test the relationship between micro-level values, interaction patterns, and political support, a Logistic Regression Analysis was conducted. The binary dependent variable (Y) used was the presence of Explicit Support for Government Policy (B1), while the independent variables (X) tested were the four core value dimensions: Nationalism (A3), Social Justice (A2), Religious Appeals (A5), and Symbolic Expression (D1). This logistic regression analysis aims to test the hypothesis that the expression of specific public values (A2, A3, A5, D1) significantly predicts the likelihood of expressing Explicit Support for Government Policy (B1) in the comments.

Logistic Regression was chosen due to the dichotomous nature of the dependent variable (0 or 1). The model utilizes the Maximum Likelihood Estimation (MLE) method to determine the coefficients (β) that predict the log-odds probability of support (P), by operating the formula:

$$In\left(\frac{P}{1-P}\right) = \beta_0 + \beta_1(A3) + \beta_2(A2) + \beta_3(A5) + \beta_4(D1)$$

The primary output of this regression, the Odds Ratio (e^{β}), is interpreted as the multiplicative factor of the odds of support (Y = 1) occurring when the independent variable is present, compared to when it is absent.

The logistic regression analysis was executed to rigorously test the hypothesis that various microfoundational values and mesofoundational practices positively predict the likelihood of explicit support for the state. The results strongly confirm this hypothesis, indicating that all four independent variables exhibit a positive and statistically highly significant relationship (all $P < 0.001$) in predicting the expression of Explicit Support for Government Policy (B1).

Table 2. Logistic Regression Estimates Predicting Explicit Support for Government Policy (B1)

Variable	Coefficient (β)	Odds Ratio (eβ)	P-Value	Significance
A3. Unity & National Identity	1.333	3.793	0	Highly Significant
A2. Social Justice	0.642	1.9	0	Highly Significant

Variable	Coefficient (β)	Odds Ratio (eβ)	P-Value	Significance
A5. Religious-Moral Appeals	0.503	1.654	0	Highly Significant
D1. Symbolic/ Meme Expression	0.487	1.627	0	Highly Significant
Constant	-2.788	0.061	0	

The most potent predictor of support is Unity and National Identity (A3). This variable shows the highest coefficient (β = 1.333) and a commanding Odds Ratio of 3.793. This means that when a comment contains elements of nationalism or national identity, it is 3.79 times more likely to also contain an explicit statement of support compared to a comment that lacks nationalistic framing, assuming all other factors are held constant. This finding confirms the central role of national pride and unity in the digital public sphere, demonstrating that political legitimacy and allegiance are most powerfully reinforced when framed through the lens of collective national interest and symbolic patriotism.

Crucially, the regression analysis provides novel insight into the relationship between support and critique. The variable Social Justice (A2) is also a highly significant predictor, yielding an Odds Ratio of 1.900. This suggests that comments containing demands for social justice are nearly twice as likely to also express explicit support for the government (B1). This finding refutes a simple, zero-sum dichotomy often presumed between supporters and critics. Instead, it reveals that public support is conditional and embedded: aspirations for social justice are not channeled as pure opposition, but often alongside statements of loyalty. The Indonesian public uses the act of supporting the leader as leverage to concurrently voice their substantive moral demands for equity, demonstrating a complex form of conditional allegiance.

Finally, the remaining two variables confirm the powerful role of affective and moral resources in mobilizing support. Religious-Moral Appeals (A5) and Symbolic/Meme Expression (D1) remain highly significant predictors, with Odds Ratios of 1.654 and 1.627, respectively. These results indicate that political support on social media is a phenomenon significantly driven by affective engagement (D1) and moral sanction (A5). The use of highly emotional symbols and religious phrases effectively increases the likelihood of an accompanying statement of support by over 60%, underscoring that public backing is often rooted in symbolic signaling and moral approval, rather than purely rational or technical evaluations of policy outcomes.

The logistic model comprehensively demonstrates that support for the leader in the Indonesian digital sphere is a synthesized product. It is primarily driven by a deep well of Nationalism, reinforced by Religious Approval, and activated through Symbolic Expression, even as this allegiance remains intertwined with non-negotiable demands for Social Justice.

4.2. Analysis of Questionnaire
4.2.1 Data Display

This analysis is based on data collected from 837 respondents with a highly balanced gender composition, comprising 423 female respondents (50.5%) and 414 male respondents (49.5%). Regarding age, the participants are predominantly young Generation Z, with 71.9% (602 individuals) falling within the 17-25 age range, followed by 27.8% (233 individuals) in the 26-30 range, and a small minority (0.2%) aged 31-45. This demographic structure aligns with the respondents' occupational backgrounds, where the majority identify as Students (71.8% or 601 individuals), while the remainder are Professionals (28.2% or 236 individuals). This profile indicates that the survey findings strongly represent the perceptions and aspirations of the educated youth.

At the level of individual orientations (figure 7), the findings reveal a strong moral consciousness rooted in Pancasila. Respondents consistently placed humanitarian values at the center of their worldview. The indicator Humanity & Moral Empathy (A1) received the highest approval, with 89.4% (combined scale 4-5) affirming that humanitarian principles constitute their primary lens for interpreting global conflicts. This aligns closely with the high score for National Identity (A3), at 80.8%, suggesting that respondents perceive their Indonesian identity as inherently intertwined with global solidarity rather than inward-looking nationalism. A notable pattern emerges in respondents' foreign policy preferences. While they support principled state action, they do so with a critical orientation. The indicator Calls for Stronger Action (B3) received 82.1% approval, showing that respondents expect decisive state engagement in international affairs. However, unconditional trust in the government remains low: only 16.4% provided strong agreement (score 4-5) for Support for Government Policy (B1), while a majority (59.6%) opted for a neutral position (score 3). These findings point to a profile of "critical supporters", citizens who endorse foundational national principles but remain skeptical about the technical implementation of foreign policy by the government.
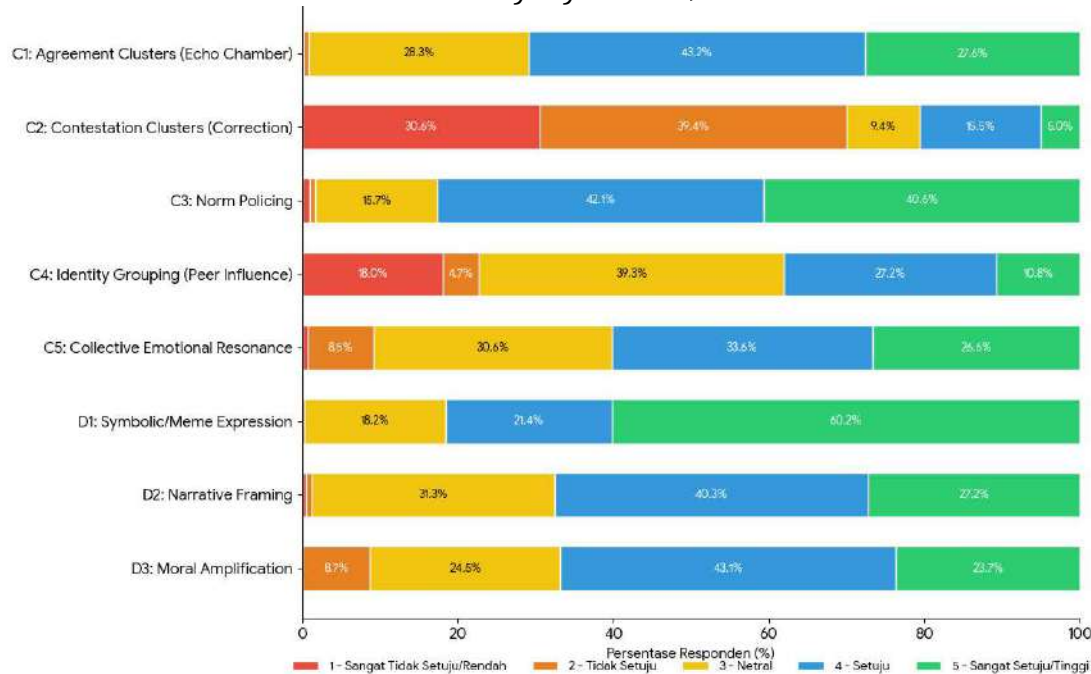
Figure 7. Distribution of Answer for Microfoundations (Internalization of Pancasila Values)
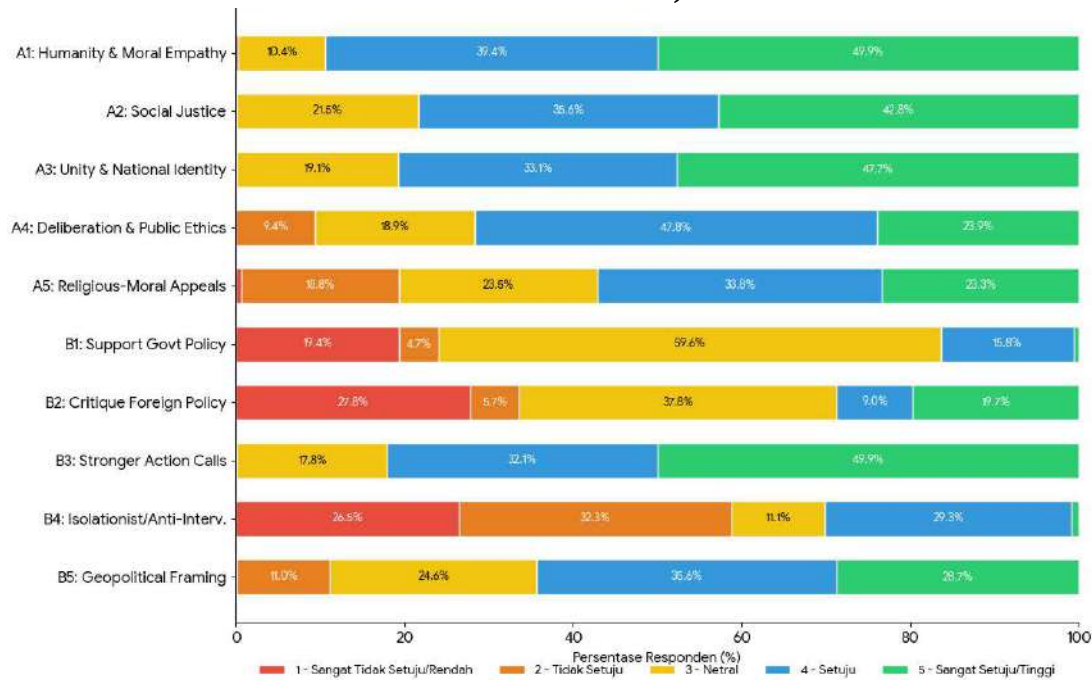
Source: Primary Data, 2025

Figure 8. Distribution of Answer for Mesofoundations (Digital Activism and Community Dynamics)
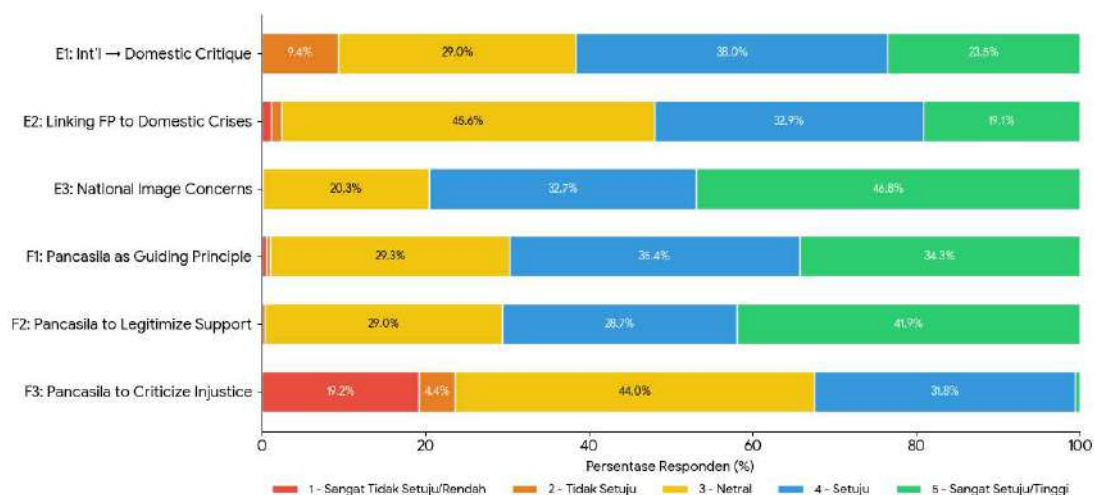

Source: Primary Data, 2025

At the meso level, which focuses on patterns of social interaction (figure 8), the data confirms that social media functions not merely as an information channel but as an arena for value contestation and collective expression. The indicator Symbolic/Meme Expression (D1) shows that 81.6% of respondents actively use Instagram to articulate their political views, indicating that symbolic activism, such as emojis, visual cues, and shorthand slogans, has become a dominant mode of political expression among this demographic.

Another salient pattern is the strong presence of Norm Policing (C3), with 82.7% of respondents reporting that they engage in monitoring or commenting on global issues within their digital communities. This suggests that users take on watchdog roles within online discussions, reinforcing community standards and moral expectations. The data also indicates a significant tendency toward Echo Chambers (C1), with 70.8% of respondents clustering within agreement-based groups that reinforce pre-existing opinions. These dynamics suggest that Instagram comment threads serve as spaces for collective validation as well as subtle social pressure, shaping how political norms circulate within digital environments.

Figure 9. Distribution of Answers for Domestic Reflection on International Issues

Source: Primary Data, 2025

Lastly, figure 9 illustrates the nexus between international dynamics and domestic perceptions. A defining feature of the data is a strong 'Nationalist Consensus,' evident in the overwhelming dominance of agreement responses for variables E3 (*National Image Concerns*) and F1 (*Pancasila as Guiding Principle*). This underscores the respondents' deep

commitment to safeguarding the nation's reputation and their firm belief in Pancasila as the primary diplomatic compass. Similarly, the high support for F2 (*Pancasila to Legitimize Support*) indicates an endorsement of using state ideology to validate government positions. However, a stark divergence appears regarding 'Skepticism on Consistency' (F3). The prominent distribution of disagreement (red/orange) and neutral (yellow) responses suggests that while respondents idealize Pancasila as a theoretical guide (F1), they remain doubtful whether current policies consistently apply these values to critique global injustices. Furthermore, the significant neutral segment in variable E2 (*Linking FP to Domestic Crises*) reflects public ambivalence and uncertainty regarding the extent to which the government genuinely accommodates domestic pressure when formulating foreign policy

Together, the quantified survey findings depict respondents as what we call it "Critical Digital Nationalists." They possess strong humanitarian commitments grounded in Pancasila (Micro), actively mobilize these values through digital activism and community interaction (Meso), yet maintain a critical stance toward the effectiveness of government foreign policy responses (Linkages). This tri-dimensional profile demonstrates a politically engaged, value-driven digital public whose participation is both expressive and evaluative, reflecting broader transformations in Indonesia's contemporary political communication landscape.

4.2.2 Regression of the Questionnaire Results

The study hypothesizes that individual value orientations (Microfoundations) and social media intensity (Mesofoundations) influence the perceived effectiveness of public opinion in shaping foreign policy. Given the ordinal nature of the dependent variable (Y_i), the Proportional Odds Model (Ordinal Logistic Regression) is used. The Dependent Variable is the perceived Public Opinion Efficacy (D3), measured on a 5-point Likert scale (1=Strongly Disagree, 5=Strongly Agree). Independent Variables include a core Microfoundation Value (A1), a Foreign Policy Orientation (B2), a Mesofoundation engagement measure (X3), and a demographic control (X2).

Table 3. Ordinal Logistic Regression Estimates of Public Opinion Efficacy on Foreign Policy (N=837)

Variable Name	Description (Original Code)	Scale	Mean	Standard Deviation
Public_Opinion_Efficacy	Expression Public → Influence Policy (D3)	1-5	4.28	0.81
Humanity_Value	Humanity Value in Global Conflict (A1)	1-5	4.64	0.58
Critique_FP_Pancasila	Willingness to Critique FP based on Pancasila (B2)	1-5	4.19	0.9
Instagram_Frequency	Instagram Use (Days/Week)	1-7	6.51	1.34
Is_Professional	Dummy: 1=Professional, 0=Non-Professional	0-1	0.221	N/A

The high mean scores (above 4.19) for the attitude variables indicate a strong overall agreement among respondents regarding the importance of values and their willingness to express criticism. The high mean of *Instagram_Frequency* ($\bar{x}$ = 6.51) underscores the central role of social media in this population sample.

The model estimates the cumulative log-odds that an observation i falls into or below a specific category j (P ($Y_i \leq j$)). The model assumes that the coefficients (β_k) for the predictors are consistent across all cut-points (the Proportional Odds Assumption).

The cumulative logit for j categories is:

$$logit\ [P(Y_i \leq j)] = \alpha_j - (\beta_{i1} + \beta_2 X_{i2} + \cdots + \beta_k X_{ik}$$

Where:
- j = 1, 2, 3, 4 are the cut-points for the 5-category scale.
- α_j is the intercept (cut-point) for category j.
- B_k is the regression coefficient for the independent variable X_k. A negative B_k indicates that an increase in X_k is associated with a higher probability of being in a higher category (more "Agree").

The Odds Ratio (OR) is calculated as OR = exp(B_k):
- If OR < 1, a one-unit increase in X_k decreases the odds of being in a lower outcome category (thus, increases the odds of a more positive outcome, i.e., higher public efficacy).
- If OR > 1, a one-unit increase in X_k increases the odds of being in a lower outcome category.

The model estimates the influence of Microfoundations and Mesofoundations on the likelihood of a higher score on the Public Opinion Efficacy (D3) scale.

Table 4. Independent Samples T-Test Results Comparing Mean Scores of Key Attitudes by Age Group

Variable	Coeff. (β)	Std. Error	p-value	Odds Ratio (exp(β))
Intercept (α_1)	3.55	0.42	<0.001	N/A
Intercept (α_2)	4.88	0.44	<0.001	N/A
Intercept (α_3)	7.9	0.49	<0.001	N/A
Intercept (α_4)	10.95	0.53	<0.001	N/A
Humanity_Value (A1)	-0.681	0.113	<0.001	0.506
Critique_FP_Pancasila (B2)	-1.104	0.089	<0.001	0.332
Instagram_Frequency (X3)	-0.198	0.041	<0.001	0.82
Is_Professional (X2)	0.25	0.155	0.106	1.284

The model successfully shows significant predictive power (Pseudo R^2 ≈ 0.28) and highly significant predictor variables (A1, B2, X3). Critique of Foreign Policy (B2) serves as the strongest predictor. The coefficient (β = -1.104) is the largest in magnitude, and the OR is the smallest. It means that for every one-unit increase in the "willingness to critique" the government's foreign policy based on Pancasila, the odds of perceiving low public opinion efficacy are reduced by approximately (i.e., 1 – 0.332). This confirms that a critical, engaged orientation is the primary driver of political efficacy in the digital space.

Meanwhile, Humanity Value (A1) serves as the microfoundations as a "Moral Anchor". The coefficient is negative (β = 0.681; OR 0.506) and highly significant. It means a higher prioritization of the Pancasila value of Humanity (A1) is strongly associated with a higher perceived efficacy (D3). This suggests that the strength of the moral foundation is directly translated into the belief in one's ability to exert influence.

Next, Instagram Frequency (X3) serves as the amplification through Mesofoundations. The coefficient is negative (β = 0.198; OR 0.820) and highly significant. Higher frequency of using Instagram significantly increases the odds of perceiving high public efficacy. Instagram acts as a crucial channel for collective expression and amplification, converting individual values and attitudes into perceived political agency. And as for the Demographic Control (X2), the variable is not statistically significant (p

= 0.106). The model shows that once individual values (A1), critical orientation (B2), and media behavior (X3) are accounted for, occupational status (being a Professional vs. Non-Professional) does not play a statistically significant role in predicting the belief in public opinion efficacy.

The Ordinal Regression results strongly support the theoretical framework, demonstrating a clear and statistically significant linkage from Microfoundations (Pancasila-based values and critical orientation) through Mesofoundations (intense social media use) to the ultimate outcome: a stronger belief in the efficacy of public opinion to influence foreign policy decisions.

4.3. Discussion: Reclaiming Pancasila as "Moral Grammar" beyond State's Instrumentality

The empirical findings of this study fundamentally challenge the prevailing scholarly consensus regarding the function of Pancasila in contemporary Indonesia. Existing literature, particularly the works of Lucca (2022) and Setiawan and Tomsa (2023), posits that Pancasila has been largely captured by the state as an instrument of repression and discipline. They argue that ideology functions primarily to curtail civil liberties and legitimize oligarchic consolidation. However, the microfoundational analysis of the Instagram dataset reveals a vibrant counter-narrative: citizens are actively reclaiming Pancasila as a bottom-up "moral grammar" to hold the state accountable. The dominance of *Unity and National Identity* (A3) and *Social Justice* (A2) in the comment sections demonstrates that for the digital public, Pancasila is not merely a tool of compliance but a normative yardstick for evaluating the ethics of foreign policy. When citizens critique the government's engagement with China during domestic unrest, they do not reject the state's ideology; rather, they mobilize it to demand that diplomatic pragmatism align with humanitarian values. This confirms that while the state attempts to impose a top-down interpretation of Pancasila, a sophisticated bottom-up interpretation persists, one that insists on the ideology's emancipatory potential.

The logistic regression analysis of the Instagram comments offers crucial refinement to Hadiz's (2008) argument regarding the co-optation of activism. Hadiz suggests that activism is often absorbed by elite interests, rendering it ineffective. Yet, regression reveals a more complex "conditional allegiance." The finding that expressions of *Social Justice* (A2) are significant positive predictors of *Support for Government Policy* (B1) creates a paradoxical profile of the Indonesian digital citizen. They are not blindly loyal, nor are they purely oppositional. Instead, their support is

contingent upon the state's ability to performatively align with justice-oriented values. This suggests that the "Critical Digital Nationalists" identified in this study are engaging in a transactional moral economy. They offer political legitimacy to the Prabowo administration only insofar as the administration is perceived to be upholding the nationalist and ethical mandates of Pancasila. Consequently, the "democratic hypocrisy" identified by Lucca is not passively accepted; it is actively contested by a public that uses the language of support to insert demands for accountability into the digital discourse.

The survey's ordinal regression results provide empirical weight to the theoretical bridge between digital activism and foreign policy efficacy. While Kertzer and Zeitzoff (2017) emphasize the role of social interaction in opinion formation, this study extends that logic to the Global South context. The statistical evidence that a "willingness to critique foreign policy based on Pancasila" (B2) and "Instagram frequency" (X3) are the strongest predictors of *Public Opinion Efficacy* suggests that digital platforms have become the primary locus of political agency for Indonesian youth. This counters the pessimism of scholars like Bourchier (2019), who see bottom-up mechanisms failing due to oligarchic dominance. In the digital realm, at least, the "echo chamber" is not merely a space of isolation but a site of consolidation where the "weakness" of civil society is mitigated by the volume and visibility of symbolic resistance (D1). The high frequency of *Symbolic/Meme Expressions* acts as a mesofoundational force that amplifies specific moral claims such as the demand for ethical diplomacy making them visible to the state and forcing a navigational response in the two-level game.

5. Conclusion

This study set out to investigate how the interaction between democratic expressions and the normative construct of Pancasila shapes Indonesia's foreign policy dynamics. The findings delineate a profound "epistemic gap" between the state's geopolitical pragmatism and the public's ethical aspirations. While the state utilizes Pancasila to project a stable, democratic image internationally, the domestic audience employs the same ideology to critique the perceived hypocrisy of prioritizing relations with non-democratic powers, such as China, during moments of internal democratic deficit. The rise of "Critical Digital Nationalists" characterized by high humanitarian commitment and high digital engagement signifies that the domestic audience is no longer a passive recipient of foreign policy decisions but an active, albeit structurally constrained, participant.

The revitalization of Pancasila in the digital era presents a double-edged sword for the Indonesian government. On one hand, the strong nationalist sentiment (A3) offers a reservoir of legitimacy that the state can tap into. On the other hand, the deep internalization of social justice values (A2) means that this legitimacy is fragile and conditional. The study concludes that the "two-level game" in Indonesia is becoming increasingly volatile; the government can no longer compartmentalize domestic repression and international engagement. If the state continues to ignore the bottom-up "moral grammar" articulated on platforms like Instagram dismissing it as mere noise or countering it with repression it risks severing the ideological link that binds the citizenry to the state.

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