

REVISITING CITIZENSHIP AND ETHICAL SPACE IN
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ABSTRACT

This article aims to revisit the concept of citizenship which shaped by Pancasila values through ethical conversation. Using a qualitative research methodology anchored in philosophical inquiry, this study examines the meaning, values, and ethical foundations underlying the concept of Pancasila based citizenship. Levinas notion on extraterritoriality and citizenship contemporary discourses are employed as conceptual frameworks to explore that shared space is related to shared understanding and responsibility without undermining the alterity of others. The findings provide a deeper perspective of the concept of citizenship in Indonesian socio-political discourses. As an archipelagic community, Indonesia emerged from its commitment to embrace the concept of nation-state that presupposed the inclusive space equipped by the ethical foundation and impartial system to safeguard the civic rights. Every citizen of Indonesia are expected to commit on peace and justice in domestic and global contexts, opposing any kind of oppression, exploitation, marginalization and dehumanization. Hospitality and solidarity for humanity underlie the formation of Pancasila and the idea of Indonesia as an ethical entity based on core awareness of Unity in Diversity.

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk meninjau kembali konsep kewarganegaraan yang dibentuk oleh nilai-nilai Pancasila melalui dialog etis. Dengan menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif yang didasarkan pada telaah filosofis, studi ini berupaya memahami makna, nilai, dan landasan etika yang mendasari konsep kewarganegaraan berbasis Pancasila. Pemikiran Levinas mengenai ekstrateritorialitas dan diskursus kontemporer kewarganegaraan digunakan sebagai kerangka konseptual untuk mengeksplorasi bahwa ruang bersama berkaitan dengan pemahaman dan tanggung jawab bersama tanpa mengabaikan alteritas yang lain. Hasil penelitian ini memberikan sudut pandang baru yang lebih mendalam mengenai konsep kewarganegaraan dalam konteks sosial politik di Indonesia. Sebagai masyarakat kepulauan, sejak awal Indonesia lahir dari komitmen untuk menerima konsep negara-bangsa yang mengandaikan ruang inklusif yang dilengkapi dengan landasan etika dan sistem yang adil untuk melindungi hak-hak warga negara. Warga Negara Indonesia diharapkan dapat berpegang teguh pada perdamaian dan keadilan dalam konteks domestik maupun global, serta menentang segala bentuk penindasan, eksploitasi, marginalisasi, dan dehumanisasi. Keramahmatan dan solidaritas terhadap sesama manusia menjadi dasar pembentukan Pancasila serta gagasan Indonesia sebagai entitas yang etis ditopang oleh kesadaran Bhinneka Tunggal Ika.

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INTRODUCTION

Pancasila has become an integral part of Indonesia's nation building, both in social and political spheres. On one hand, Pancasila is deeply intertwined with the socio-cultural dynamics of Nusantara People as the archipelagic community, embodying distinctive collective values. On the other hand, Pancasila encapsulates principles that embrace universal understanding of respect for human dignity. From the beginning, Indonesian has been always grasped the idea of national and global citizenship. These dual aspects highlight the unique capacity of a nation and its foundational values like Pancasila to be constructed both as national and international commitments, involving a vast geographically and culturally diverse community. While this phenomenon has been explained through shared experiences of colonization, this argument is inadequate when compared to countries that also emerged from colonialism but still experienced conflict and division, such as India-Pakistan Partition in 1947. What grounds enable Indonesians to develop a mental map as a nation and a part of global human society amidst spatial challenges and socio-cultural diversity?.

The investigation of these facets begins with acknowledging that Pancasila inherently intersects with discourses on humanity. Understanding humanity entails examining interconnectedness among individuals, naturally leading to ethical considerations. Ethics, as a branch of philosophy, concerns moral principles rooted in the understanding that human thoughts and actions produce consequences, either beneficial or detrimental, affecting both the individual and others. Consequently, ethics is often regarded as practical philosophy, intimately connected to quotidian human experiences (Magnis-Suseno, 1991; Mazid et al., 2025).

The formation of nation-state in line with the creation of citizenship as the consequences of social contract. In this context, the spatial and ethical accounts are necessarily embedded in the processes. Furthermore, the varied geographic and socio-cultural terrains pose unique challenges in constructing a collective political identity within the framework of the nation-state. This calls for a reconsideration of shared understandings and consensus regarding spatial notions. Citing Article 1 of the Montevideo Convention, which underscores the importance of defined sovereignty, the discourse surrounding the nation-state inherently involves spatial considerations, both tangible, such as territorial boundaries, and intangible, conceptualized as an 'imagined community' (Ahmad, 2017; Anderson, 2006). The ethical implications inherent in redefining shared space serve as pivotal entry points for examining how Pancasila functions as a unifying ethos, promoting cohesion (*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*/Unity in Diversity) among Indonesia's diverse archipelago populations and reinforcing their national identity. The Indonesian experience and Pancasila are important for understanding multicultural citizenship, highlighting the unique social dynamics and ethical commitment to humanity within both domestic and global context.

Previous research on the formation of multicultural citizenship in Indonesian society based on Pancasila includes Chia (2022) who discussed Pancasila as a form of social contract based on pluralism or Covenantal Pluralism. The study identified Pancasila as being formulated within the framework of Covenantal Pluralism. However, its implementation remained incomplete due to insufficient recognition of the identities of certain groups, especially religious minorities. According to Stewart et.al, Covenantal Pluralism requires three conditions (Chia, 2022), as follows: "the freedom of religion and belief. It means that people can exercise their religion freely and receive an equal right; the religious literacy. It means the understanding of his or her belief systems and the engagement to others faith; The positive attitudes towards diversity, such as humility, patience, and empathy". Chou's (2024) research

on the Sea Tribe People (Suku Orang Laut) supports this finding, highlighting barriers to civil rights arising from their nomadic lifestyle and the absence of official recognition of their spiritual traditions. A similar situation is also experienced by Chinese Ethnicity in Indonesia, even if they are Buddhist or Christian, they continue to encounter legal and social obstacles to the exercise of civic rights (Khu, 2026). The implementation of Hukum Adat/Customary Law is also inseparable from this dynamic, even though it has been recognized as part of the formal law in Indonesia (Anggoro & Negara, 2021).

Nevertheless, collective values that promote pluralism, such as Pancasila, still play a significant role in building national identity and inclusive citizenship, as demonstrated in Mbuta's (2023) research, which compared it to the concept of Ujamaa in Tanzania. Pancasila and Ujamaa play a crucial role in building citizen awareness and responsibility in maintaining socio-political life in a pluralistic society. Mbuta (2023) states that the advantage of Pancasila is that these values are codified and serve as the formal legal basis for the foundation of legislation and state institutions. Civic awareness and responsibility can be further cultivated through cultural roots, which are instrumental in the development of Pancasila and serve as a foundation for strengthening, deepening, and advancing pluralistic values in everyday life. Various innovations based on traditional values in Pancasila and Civic Education have been widely implemented and have made positive contributions, such as in the research of Setyawati & Aulia (2023) in Bangunjiwo Village as a cultural village status is one example of the implementation of cultural and civic literacy. This is also reflected in research that makes the traditional Balinese values of *Tri Hita Karana* a gateway to a better understanding of Pancasila-based citizenship, as outlined in the article by Lestari et al. (2024). Usmi et al. (2025) examined the *Sinan Pancasila* (Learning Pancasila), the program was designed by Yogyakarta Province Government in order to promote multicultural society awareness. Pancasila used as media and instrument in building the inclusive citizenship. In other research, traditional values such as gotong royong (cooperation between citizens) can also be employed to foster awareness of citizen responsibility on digital platforms (Prajna et al., 2026).

The COVID19 Pandemic and increasing digital exposure have raised challenges for citizenship and civic awareness in academic discourses as well as in everyday life. Calzada (2023) developed the taxonomy of five emerging digital citizenship regimes: pandemic citizenship, algorithmic citizenship, liquid citizenship, metropolitan citizenship, and stateless citizenship. Ambrosini (2024); Palmberger (2022); and Davies et al. (2023) examined the problem of refugee, global solidarity and the role digital citizenship after the pandemic. The pandemic era also has contributed in raising and strengthening the ecological responsibility awareness. Global citizenship discourses often intertwined with the importance of civic responsibility in addressing the environmental sustainability in local level and global levels. (Guzmán & de Velazco (2024) explore the participatory environmental protection as part of global citizenship understanding. Houart et al. (2025) highlighted the environmental politics in Riverine Hydrosocial Territories in relation with environmental justice encompasses the rights and well-being of both humans and other species. Pudjiastuti et al. (2024) proposed Environmental Education as an approach to create Ecological Citizenship. Recently, digital citizenship and global citizenship have been discussed as inseparable, especially in the context of Civic Education. Mulyani et al. (2024) highlighted the significance of Civic Educations transformation in addressing global challenges and opportunities. Feriyansyah et al. (2026) proposed an emancipatory approach in Civic Education to have real and impactful engagement in digital citizenship. Susi & Shah (2026) research concluded that Outcome-Based Education curriculum had feasibility in strengthening Pancasila values in digital

citizenship context. Afan et al. (2024) also highlighted the role of Pancasila and Civic Education in harmonizing strong national character and global citizenship awareness.

This paper conducts an effort to rereading the concept of citizenship which shaped by Pancasila values in relations with shared experiences both spatial and ethical contexts. Along with the discourses on citizenship, this research utilizes the principle of extraterritoriality as a door to understand ideal concept of citizenship in the context of Pancasila formulation as part of Indonesian nation building as ethical conversation in establishing ethical entity, which was motivated by the aspiration to overcome colonialism that had alienated the nation from its own land. Revisiting the core values of Pancasila in the formulation processes is expected to contribute a comprehensible understanding on contemporary discourses of Indonesian citizenship and its challenges including digital and global citizenship.

METHOD

This paper is an output of a qualitative research with philosophical inquiry to understand the meaning, values, and ethical foundations underlying the concept of Pancasila based citizenship. According to Bakker & Zubair (1990) the systematic-reflective framework commonly used in philosophical research to examine concepts, ideas, and values in depth through systematic exploration and critical reflection. Similar approach has been examined by Rotar (2024) that showed the Reflective Practice Frameworks (RPF) still relevant in phenomenographic data analysis. RPF consists two levels, a systematic-reflective and researchers critical positioning interpretatives that allows the researchers actively participate in knowledge productions through the research processes. Through this method, the concept of citizenship in the context of Pancasila are analyzed and placed within a coherent framework. The historical records of Pancasila were collected from official state documents and previous related researches, e.g., Prawirosoedirdjo et al. (1984); Pranarka (1985). Emmanuel Levinas primary texts used as analytical tools in understanding interrelation between ethics and space. Secondary sources included books, scientific journal articles, and previous research results relevant to the themes of ethics and citizenship. Data collection techniques were carried out through literature studies by tracing, reviewing, and comparing various relevant sources. The research uses the data from early process of Pancasila formulation to the end of Sukarno Presidency in order to understand the origin of values and interpretation by those who engaged with the formulation. The collected data are analyzed using descriptive analysis by emphasizing the interpretation of meaning and conceptual interconnectedness. Through this process, the research seeks to demonstrate how Pancasila shapes a distinctive concept of citizenship as an emanation of ethical space.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

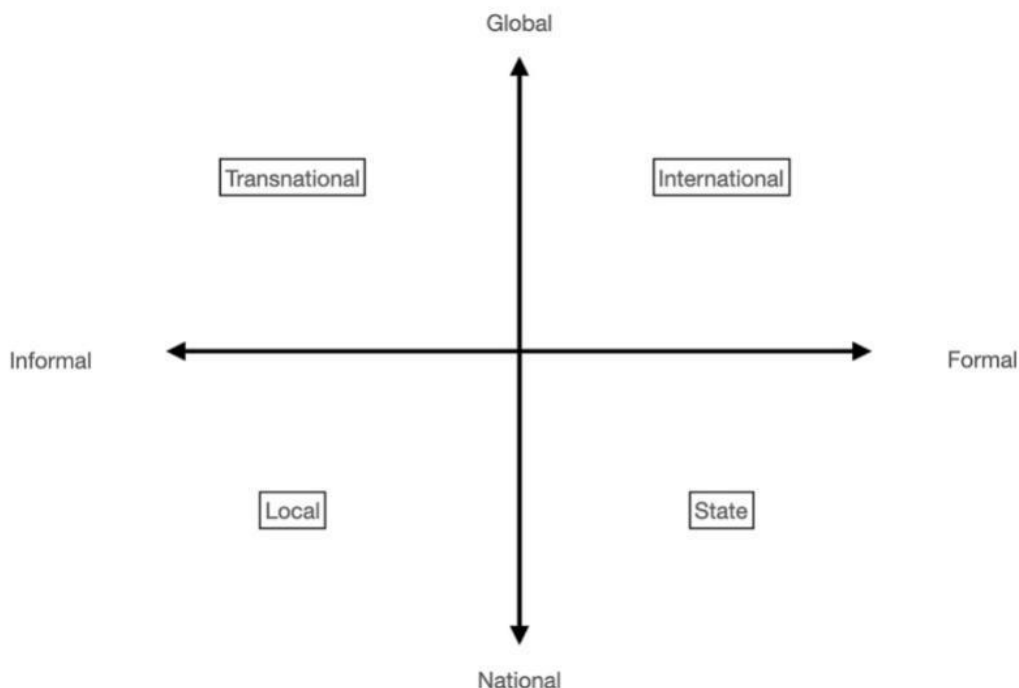
1. Citizenship in Political and Ethical Spaces: Territoriality and Extraterritoriality

Living space is essential not only for humans. However, in humans, the conception of space develops into complex categories that uniquely shape human experience. Sociologically, the need for living space engenders the management and control of space, with particular emphasis on boundaries, or what is termed territoriality (Lyman & Scott, 1967). Lefebvre contends that human cognition of space encompasses physical, social, and mental dimensions (Lefebvre, 1991; Makinde & Lanrewaju, 2024). The formation of space emerges through intricate intersubjective interactions, shared worldviews, and social norms. Territoriality and democratic space establishment are inseparable in understanding the evolution of relations between state and citizen (Purcell, 2022). The nation-state exemplifies

this development, relying on a shared understanding of living space. Territoriality holds significance in both geographic and socio-political contexts, such as the concept of citizenship, which delineates the rights and obligations between the state and its citizens. It also implies the existence of space beyond shared boundaries, a space devoid of collective meaning, known as extraterritoriality. Amir & Sela (2025) assert that, akin to territoriality, extraterritoriality links humans to space with broad implications, particularly in understanding individuals' positions within space, law, and representation across social, political, artistic, and cultural domains.

In conservative views such as Marshallian Tradition, citizenship as institution as a result of passive top-down rather than participatory bottom-up processes. Citizenship is bound to a set of political rights and duties in sense of given territory. This context immediately creates some limitations to the subjects (Turner, 1990). Critical views on citizenship argue that passive citizenship is not the only form, active and participatory citizenship can also emerge, evidently in people based revolutionary political dynamics (Turner, 1990), for example decolonization or people power movements. Contemporary studies challenge the conservative views as more fluid interactions and movements among citizen inside and beyond the territoriality (Zarycki et al., 2022), such as European Union regional concept of citizenship. From the critical and contemporary views, being a citizen of a country does not mean to see other countries and their citizen as outsider, territoriality does not limit sense of humanity and make the transnational or global solidarity possible. Citizenship is not merely political space membership, but has deep connection with how intersubjective relations develop and interpreted in human language and actions. Participatory aspect is playing important part in recent development of citizenship model, including ecological citizenship, a conception that reflects the relationship between humans and the environment, emphasizing awareness and care actualized through environmentally-based habits and behaviors (Bria et al., 2025).

Nordensvärd & Ketola (2024) incorporated the Marshallian Tradition as a part of a comprehensive understanding on contemporary citizenship. Marshallian Tradition serves as formal citizenship that provide a legal position of a subject relation with the state membership (civic rights and duties) and international consequences (e.g. immigration policy). Formal citizenship is shaped by legal responsibilities via state. Informal citizenship is shaped by moral responsibilities that transcends the physical territories. Informal citizenship allows the societies understand broader scope and deeper meaning of rights and responsibilities each other in local and transnational context. Community based ethical conversation and understanding can be crucial in strengthening formal citizenship engagement. Formal and Informal citizenship are interdependent and compliment to each other. This perspective also highlights the inevitable connection between ethical and spatial aspects of citizenship.

Figure 1. Informal and Formal Citizenship Welfare Model

Source(s): Nordensvård & Ketola (2024).

Several studies show the significance of understanding citizenship beyond border. The globalization put on view the diversity of humanity, exposing the new insights as well as challenging our fragile understanding and dispositions to others (Demaine, 2002; Ong, 2022; Yeğenoğlu, 2005). The virtual space has contributed in shaping flexible perception on citizenship to voice intercultural global solidarity and address marginalized groups and agendas (e.g. social and environmental justice) (Gupta et al., 2024; Lenkaitis & Loranc-Paszyk, 2022). Glasze et al. (2023) analyze the vast development of technology especially digital platforms growing create and add complexity on how humanity perceive their existence and experiences including the tension between digital freedom and state sovereignty, digital space and political space. Griffini & Mazzoleni (2026) expose the paradox of contemporary world in relation with political and ideological discourses. In one hand, technology based livelihood offer almost unlimited mobility both physical and digital space. On the other hand, the social and political discourses do not always produce to a better understanding of others, such as the spreading of populism and racism based public opinion.

The relationship between ethics and spatial aspects is relevant not only in the context of the birth of the nation-state but also in the process of adapting to ongoing changes, including shifts in the meaning and context of space. The phenomenon of bounded solidarity in both homogen or heterogen community is included as adaptation process in social and shared spatial experiences (Pippenger, 2023). Previous related studies include those by Argounova-Low (2007); Behr (2007), which highlight the meaning of space, including in the context of borders, as shaped by the dynamics of social, economic, and political interactions, both domestically and internationally. Social interaction space is also a primary arena for maintaining shared values, as conveyed by Febriani et al. (2025), who discuss Habermas's view that inclusive and undistorted communication creates ethical

discourse that strengthens shared values, which give rise to laws not only formally but also substantively. COVID-19 has created challenges for voicing justice, pushing digital space to become increasingly important in social activism, as expressed in Yusuf & Wibowo's (2021) research on student digital activism in Malang during the pandemic. Triandafyllidou & Yeoh (2023) investigate the sustainability and resilience in migration governance, citizenship, and migrant worker protection after isolation policy in some countries. Radhuber et al. (2023) study shows that virtual space boost the transnational interaction during pandemic, this condition lead to the trend of global citizenship in Europe and Latin America. Cathrin et al. (2024) show that the development of AI and the strengthening of human interconnectedness as part of a global society have also opened up various debates, especially in the ethical aspects of knowledge development and education.

Amir & Sela (2025) examine the concept of Extraterritorial Ethics to understand how thinkers explore the relationship between space and human agency, and its impact on collective life management. A detailed examination reveals that extraterritoriality is often viewed as a framework for understanding shared space; however, it also serves as a pathway to conceptualizing ethics itself. Levinas's work on the rights of man provides a point of reference. Extraterritorial Ethics involves endeavors to forge relationships and comprehend realities beyond the individual subject, with the principle of ethical extraterritoriality emphasizing encounters with others as foundational to understanding space's essence and its relational dynamics with the individual and the collective.

Bernasconi (2016) interprets Levinas's notion of extraterritoriality in the context of political space by emphasizing the relationship between the state and the people as that of a subject and the other. The people and their rights are extraterritorial to the state. Why? Because the people and their rights are not static; they are always in motion and require various adaptations. For example, states previously did not need to draft laws or regulations to protect their citizens from cybercrime. Diversity also constitutes an aspect of extraterritoriality in the political sphere. Human rights and their evolution serve as the fundamental basic for the enactment of laws at both the national and international levels (Levinas, 2016).

Levinas (1969, 1981, 2016) argues that human being has ability to know and identify themselves as subject because of their encounters with other human being. This experience allow us to understand that there is another reality outside themselves or what is called exteriority, other subjects are part of exteriority with unique characteristics because they have similarities and differences (alterity) with I as the subject. Furthermore, these encounters are also events that awaken the awareness that human as a subject not only know the existence of other subjects, but that these other subjects cannot be fully understood and treated the same as myself, awareness develops further and deeper that other subjects with all their similarities and different identities create alterity in which must be recognized and respected their space of existence according to the needs they determine. In the concept of the state, we recognize sovereignty which presupposes the right to self-determination.

Extraterritoriality is the other's space of existence, in terms of relations between subjects, other bodies and their spaces of existence become physical territorial boundaries, the face besides being physical also become psychological and ethical boundaries that form the basis for me as a subject not to commit uninvited acts over other subjects, human rights are born from the basic obligations to respect the living space and existence of others. In the concept of the state, domestically the state is an institution that guarantees that these

rights are fulfilled, internationally territorial boundaries are a symbol of sovereignty and also imply an ethical obligation to respect the sovereignty of other countries, whether they share direct borders or not. Extra-territoriality is a comprehension of the space outside the subject and outside the state as ethical space (Bernasconi, 2016; Levinas, 2016). Respect for other human beings precedes our understanding of what we called as human experience, including freedom and equality. Human brotherhood precedes equality and freedom (*Fraternite, Egalite, Liberte*). Freedom and equality in human experience can only be understood in the context of the fundamental obligation to preserve the life and existence of others (Burggraefe, 2018).

Extraterritoriality in the relationship between subjects and states creates a distinctive space, namely political space. The state itself is considered a rational agency formed from a social contract. In the domestic context, the state has the primary obligation to guarantee the security and welfare of its citizens, and is responsible for fulfilling fundamental rights, or what we know as human rights. In the international context, states also face various challenges in coexisting with other nations. Guaranteeing the rights of citizens while simultaneously contributing to maintaining global order and peace. The state should prioritize its citizens. However, it often neglects or even violates the rights of its citizens (Muhtaj et al., 2020). Discrimination and marginalization can indicate a lack of recognition for certain groups and the denial of their rights because they are perceived to have characteristics, values, norms, and other characteristics that differ from those of other citizens. Human rights violations are also likely to occur during conflicts or wars, both domestic and international (Bernasconi, 2016; Levinas, 2016; Naldo et al., 2026).

Other perspectives and critical comments on Levinas's extraterritoriality can be found in various works. Bauman (1999), in his essay, "The World Inhospitable to Levinas," criticized Levinas's lack of attention to third parties. However, Bauman still sees the relevance of the principle of extraterritoriality from a more complex perspective. Crowell (2007) takes a position from the intersection of Husserl and Levinas's ideas regarding phenomenology as a method. Extraterritoriality is understood as an inseparable part of intentionality, making intuition a primary instrument in both ethical moments and other phenomenological revelations. This work discusses extraterritoriality from a methodological perspective. Doukhan (2012) sees extraterritoriality in his work as one of the principles that is also the basis for exile, whether physical or mental, voluntary or forced.

Levinas analyzed the state as an aggregate of ethical relations that govern communal life in a broader and more complex physical and social space. To carry out its functions, the state must have a deep understanding of the nature of these fundamental rights in order to create the system, policies, and instruments that provide adequate guarantees and protection. Levinas both critiques and supports liberalism in terms of establishing institutions that support and oversee the realization of justice and the welfare of the people, as long as these institutions place political relations as part of ethical relations and actions. His critique of the system created by liberalism often fails to create a just political space because it always moves from freedom rather than responsibility. For Levinas, the state as an ethical space must be built from an understanding of responsibility towards others (Bernasconi, 2016; Levinas, 2016).

Levinas (1969, 1981) argued that language is not only the initial realization of my response as one person to others; it also enables the subject to remain open to diversity. Words constitute a horizon of understanding regarding the most adequate answer when the subject fulfills their responsibilities. Language mediates human sensitivity and sensibility

to operate the semantic networks of their perceived world, also shapes human understanding of viability and limitation in taking actions. Through language and conversations, human-beings create a horizon of understanding that becomes the limit of vision while simultaneously enabling that vision to expand. Another related view from Gadamer, the understanding of intersubjectivity is formed through the fusion of horizons, grounded in the human abilities to find a vision of ideas that may not be completely the same, yet pursue their own image and resemblance in shaping equal dialogical discourses (Latuheru et al., 2020). In Levinas's context, the understanding of intersubjectivity is made possible by the ethical subject's tendency to be open to the alterity of others. Diversity not only entails the decay of horizons but also broadens them. Karel Vařák (1977) introduced the concept of the Three Generations of Human Rights to demonstrate how interpretations of Human Rights have evolved, shaped by the expanding intellectual and moral horizons throughout human history (Domaradzki et al., 2019). For instance, the Right to Life not only prohibits the unlawful killing of another person but also encompasses the protection against acts that undermine individual differences, such as discrimination or violation of personal autonomy. Additionally, it affirms the right of individuals to enjoy their extraterritorial rights, ensuring they are safeguarded beyond national borders. Similarly, regarding Women's Rights, Indigenous Peoples' Rights, and so on. The determination and enforcement of Civic Rights can also be linked to the extent of the development of the ethical horizon of that community through ongoing and perpetual conversations.

2. Historical Landscape of Pancasila Formulation: Embracing Territoriality and Extraterritoriality

The elements of Pancasila, particularly those related to harmonious social and ecological coexistence, are deeply embedded within Indonesia's cultural traditions, beliefs, and religions. This tangible evidence includes historical artifacts such as inscriptions on ancient monuments, communal spaces like village meeting halls, and traditional architecture. Intangible or non-physical evidence encompasses traditional ceremonies, religious festivals, and commemorative activities that reinforce social cohesion. These elements were carefully explored and articulated by Indonesia's founding pioneers as the foundational principles for establishing a sovereign nation-state, emphasizing unity, diversity, and ecological harmony. They were heavily discussed, compiled, and formulated by the BPUPKI (*Badan Penyelidik Usaha-usaha Kemerdekaan Indonesia*/Investigating Committee for Indonesian Independence) and PPKI (*Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia*/ Preparatory Committee for the Indonesian Independence). Pancasila values were part of the Indonesian constitution, Undang-Undang Dasar Tahun 1945, formally codified as the foundation of the state on August 18, 1945. Pancasila is based on the life of the Indonesian people, truly existing and real experiences, and flourishing within Indonesian society (Sunoto, 1985). Pancasila was discovered as a crystallization of the values contained within these diverse religious, cultural, and traditional elements (Suyahmo, 2018).

One of the first figures to articulate these values was Soepomo, who, in his speech of 31 May 1945, began by reviewing the arguments presented by previous speakers. Soepomo highlighted that the question of the state's foundation is essentially a question of its guiding ideals. He argued that the characteristics of Indonesian cultural mindset serve as the foundation for the ideals and foundations of the state, including: the ideals of unity and coexistence; the harmonizations of corporeal and transcendental dimensions of human existence; the leaders who are united with the people in spirit; a deliberative system of governance; an atmosphere of unity between the people and their leaders, as well as among

diverse social groups, guided by the values of mutual cooperation and kinship (Pranarka, 1985; Widiatama et al., 2020).

Referring to Pranarka's delineation of the stages in the evolution of Pancasila, the initial phase, the formal discovery and formulation stage, commenced with the establishment of BPUPKI, which laid the groundwork for independence. Nonetheless, Pranarka underscores that this phase represented a continuation of ongoing discourses that had originated during the National Awakening and the Youth Pledge (*Kebangkitan Nasional dan Sumpah Pemuda*). The intellectual contributions from prominent figures active since the 1920s were instrumental in shaping both the political structure and foundational ideology, intended to integrate the diverse aspirations for independence across the archipelago. The efforts to forge a unified vision were prominently highlighted during BPUPKI sessions. While the Youth Pledge reflected the participation of groups representing distinct socio-cultural identities, the preparatory period for independence indicated three main factions aligned with specific political and ideological orientations: the Western-oriented, Islamic, and nationalist factions (Pranarka, 1985).

The most significant events marking the strengthening of nationalist ideas were the National Awakening and the Youth Pledge. On the one hand, the early 20th century saw the general social and political situation of the Nusantara archipelago significantly influenced by global developments, both wars and Western intellectual discourses. On the other hand, the diverse cultural identities of the archipelago remained an important consideration for the state founders. The ideals of liberation and independence were based on an awareness of diversity from the beginning. The 1908 national awakening itself was initiated by a group of intellectuals from various ethnic and religious backgrounds (Poespowardojo, 1991; Pranarka, 1985). As a leading advocate of women's rights in the Nusantara, R.A. Kartini advanced a vision that addressed the concerns of not only Javanese women but also women across the colonies. In her letters, R.A. Kartini discussed not only Java but also Tanah Bumiputra, another name for the territory of the Dutch East Indies. Regarding emancipation, she also highlighted the disparity in women's access to education and the general underdevelopment of colonial society (Poespowardojo, 1991; Sutrisno, 1981). Poespowardojo (1991) argued that the core values of Pancasila emerged from various historical developments and the contributions of key figures who shaped and advanced its principles. First, there were events that marked the rise of national consciousness, including R.A. Kartini and her struggle for emancipation, the founding of Boedi Oetomo in 1908, and the founding of Sarekat Dagang Islam/Sarekat Islam. Second, there were events that marked the rise of political consciousness, namely the founding of the Indische Partij led by Douwes Dekker in 1912, the founding of Jong Java, Jong Sumatra, Jong Ambon, and others. Furthermore, the founding of the Indonesian National Party (PNI) and other parties that sought to fight for Indonesian independence with a spirit of nationalism and patriotism. Third, the events that marked the rise of ideological awareness were the 1928 Indonesian Youth Congress, which produced the Youth Pledge, and the numerous arrests and exiles of prominent independence supporters (Poespowardojo, 1991).

These intellectual and political movements would later become the foundation for the independence struggle, which initially seemed fragmented, and turn it into a shared aspirations. The Youth Pledge reinforced awareness of a nation as a pluralistic society united by a common vision, mission, ideals, and goals, as evidenced by the adoption of the name "Indonesia," which had previously been used for several institutions or movements initiated by prominent independence supporters. Several important figures also helped

shape and strengthen the idea of the Indonesian nation. However, the contributions of some were marginalized due to their association with communism, particularly during the New Order period, when they were largely excluded from historical narratives. One such figure was Tan Malaka, who played a significant role in formulating the ideals of an independent Indonesian nation and the Republic of Indonesia (Suprianto et al., 2024). International and domestic political dynamics would influence the various efforts to achieve independence. Independence movement leaders were targeted by the colonial government and faced arrest, imprisonment, and exile. However, many of them refused to be silenced and continued to promote the spirit of independence from prison in various ways. For example, Ki Hajar Dewantara established *the Indonesische Persbureau* during his exile in the Netherlands, and Sukarno's defense in a speech entitled "Indonesia Menggugat" in a colonial court. These figures also observed the international political landscape and saw momentum that could support the struggle for independence, albeit from different perspectives. Tan Malaka pointed to the success of the Bolshevik Revolution, while Sukarno pointed to the rise of other powers, including Japan, in Asia. Responses to the dynamics of international politics, as well as the end of Dutch colonial rule and the beginning of Japanese rule, also divided the figures' views on the best way to continue the struggle for independence. However, ultimately, these views strengthened the belief that the opportunity to break free from the shackles of colonialism was increasingly open, and this momentum was realized in the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence on August 17, 1945 (Gunn, 2025; Legge, 2003; Suprianto et al., 2024).

The BPUPKI sessions were essentially the culmination of pre-existing ideas. Pancasila was shaped by intellectual movements within a nation-building process that had been underway long before independence. The first period saw nationalist ideas from these movements transformed into constitutional political movements. The diverse backgrounds of the nation's founders also produced a range of ideas for formulating a draft constitution for an independent Indonesia. This was reflected in the atmosphere of the BPUPKI sessions, both the first and second, which were characterized by exploratory, critical debates yet still demonstrated respect for diversity in achieving common goals. At least three main groups were involved in preparing for independence: those espousing the National Ideology, the Islamic Ideology, and the Western-Secular Ideology. All three had significant influence on the formulation of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. The Jakarta Charter was the initial agreed-upon text, demonstrating the significant influence of the Islamic Ideology group, while still containing common values and representing a compromise between the other two ideologies. In the subsequent process, changes related to the implementation of Islamic law occurred, and the national ideology was considered a mediator between the two opposing ideologies. In the first session, three figures discussed the foundation of the state: M. Yamin, Soepomo, and Sukarno. Interestingly, all three presented similar proposals, even proposing five basic principles they considered could serve as the foundation of the state. On May 29, 1945, Muh. Yamin presented his opinion as follows: Nationality; Humanity; Belief in God; Democracy; and People's Welfare. Emphasizing further formulation, M. Yamin presented his opinion as follows: Nationality; Humanity; Belief in God; Democracy; and People's Welfare. Emphasizing further formulation, Yamin stated that "the basic principles of the Indonesian state must be formulated according to the character of Indonesian civilization." Yamin also proposed a constitution draft, which included five principles of the state (Pranarka, 1985).

Sukarno delivered his speech on June 1st 1945. This event became a significant historical milestone because it marked the first introduction of the name of Pancasila

(Pranarka, 1985). Regarding the name Pancasila, everyone agrees that Sukarno invented it. However, regarding the final formulation of Pancasila, as contained in the preamble to the 1945 Constitution, there are several differing views, as it combines ideas from figures at the time. Nevertheless, historically, Sukarno is considered the most significant figure in the birth of Pancasila (Prawirosoedirdjo et al., 1984). The final formulation of Pancasila as we know it today is:

- 1) *Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa* (Belief in One God)
- 2) *Kemanusiaan yang adil dan beradab* (Just and Civilized Humanity)
- 3) *Persatuan Indonesia* (Unity of Indonesia)
- 4) *Kerakyatan yang dipimpin oleh hikmat dan kebijaksanaan dalam permusyawaratan perwakilan* (Democracy guided by the wisdom in the unanimity of deliberations among representatives)
- 5) *Keadilan Sosial bagi seluruh rakyat Indonesia* (Social justice for all Indonesians)

Following the Proclamation of Independence on August 17, 1945, and the enactment of the 1945 Constitution on August 18, 1945, the Republic of Indonesia became an independent nation and began establishing a political system with all its components, including the formation of political parties. The political climate was further characterized by ideological contestation, both intellectual and armed, culminating in movements such as the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) Madiun Rebellion of 1948 and the Darul Islam/Islamic Army of Indonesia (DI/TII) insurgency that emerged in 1949. These developments undoubtedly posed a challenge to maintaining integration and tested the ideals of nationalism and the Pancasila on which it rests. (Bazzi, 2025; Cahyadi et al., 2025; Pranarka, 1985)

Beyond domestic issues, Indonesia began entering the international arena, fighting for international recognition of its sovereignty. Indonesia's presence in international relations was also marked by various obstacles, constraints, and challenges, particularly from the Netherlands, which still considered Indonesia part of its colony. Efforts to maintain independence were carried out both through armed resistances and diplomatic channels. This struggle culminated in Dutch recognition of sovereignty but also forced Indonesia to change its state system from a unitary state to a federation, Republik Indonesia Serikat (RIS). Eventually several state declared their willingness to reunite as Republic of Indonesia. (Cahyadi et al., 2025; Pranarka, 1985; Sukma, 1995)

Pancasila formulation and implementation in early historical phase of Indonesia exhibited that national identity building and civic awareness were shaped by complex participatory processes. Extraterritoriality is closely related to the concept of space and its consequences for intersubjective interactions and relations. Pancasila is the consensus that underlies the process of building social and political space as a nation-state and part of the global community. This consensus is formed through understanding and respect for diversity. Pancasila, arising from the struggle against colonialism, is uniquely not dominated by narratives of "Us and Them," but rather by an effort to understand shared interests. It is not only about the struggle for territorial space, but about building a shared space that can protect all parties. Even in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution, colonialism is addressed not from the perspective of Indonesian interests but is stated in the emphasis that independence is the right of all nations. The birth of Indonesia as a nation-state is not about victory over colonialism, but rather a full awareness that manifesting a just and civilized society is a process that requires inclusive understanding.

Sunoto (1985) pointed out that a cosmological approach to discussing Pancasila is related to the context of space, time, and movement. In the spatial context, Pancasila has a place throughout Indonesia. However, this does not preclude the possibility that Pancasila can also exist in other spaces, including being connected to universal humanitarian values. Perspective in the context of time, Republic of Indonesia is essentially a Pancasila state, therefore as long as the Indonesian state and nation exist, Pancasila will live, and vice versa. Pancasila and the context of movement can be understood as follows: Pancasila is permanent and within its permanent nature, its dynamic nature underlies efforts and actions in achieving the national ideals, specifically a just and prosperous society based on Pancasila. The spatial and time aspects shaped territoriality awareness. The movement and the Pancasila values shaped the ethics of extraterritoriality.

3. Ethical Conversation in Pancasila Formulation: Embedding Spiritual, Social and Ecological Relations

Extraterritoriality in both the ethical and political spheres demonstrates the process by which diverse values and norms are experienced and become the subject of discourse to achieve consensus, both at the level of intersubjective relations and in the relationship between the state and its citizen. Informal citizenship establishment involves the intersubjective relations and conversations. As for subject relationship with the state is obviously given context for formal citizenship. This will serve as a guide in examining the dynamics of the ethical and political spaces formed during the development of Pancasila.

Levinas idea of human rights as an *a priori* in intersubjective relations is crucial for understanding the extraterritorial principle of Pancasila. Awareness of human rights in this context is not a voluntary recognition but an inevitable framework when subjects encounter others. This underlies the formation of social relations and their dynamics. Throughout history, the formation of social groups and/or political entities has been closely linked to shared norms that are not solely about maintaining the continuity of individuals or communities, but also to the tendency to prioritize the interests of others or the common good over individual interests and to how to treat others outside the community. Levinas demonstrates this tendency in conversational language. The first expression when we meet another person is a greeting, such as “After you” or “How may I help you?” which demonstrates hospitality. For Levinas, this is a manifestation of the subject responding to the call of responsibility toward others by providing space, both physically and metaphysically, for others to show or express themselves according to their needs, which may not always be the same as what the subject needs. In other words, hospitality is an automatic recognition of they who dwell in a shared space with me, but at the same time, who always live outside of myself and my understanding, the other who always lives in an extraterritorial space (Levinas, 1969, 2016).

Levinas (1981) describes language as born from the subject’s need to respond to the call of responsibility from others. Language allows the subject to ask what others need. Language, especially in conversation, is always an ethical act that enables intersubjective relations and subsequent communal life. In this context, although not referring to Levinas’s view, Driyarkara (1980) conveys a view closely aligned with Levinas’s ideas. For Driyarkara, understanding the essence of state life can be seen as a conversation. The state is the result of conversation, certainly not always a direct conversation among the citizens. The state is the realization of the commitment of all citizens to fight for their life and destiny. This conversation takes place in socio-political spaces, including representative institutions. Like conversations in general, conversation in state life is also an ongoing process, not static but

dynamic. Conversation unites visions but also opens up space for differences and change, as well as for finding common ground. Conversation certainly requires a shared language reference, including a fundamental reference that enables the conversation to proceed smoothly. In the context of ethical relations, the reference is what is good itself. In state life, there is a shared reference as an ethical language. For the Indonesian people, Pancasila is an ethical language. It embodies a sense of openness to others. From the outset, Pancasila discourse has been grounded in respect for diversity.

Both Levinas (1969) and Driyarkara (1980) point to the potential for failure in conversation. This failure can occur when some parties impose their understandings too heavily on others, a term Levinas calls totalization, which eliminates the space for others' expression and existence, converting the other to the same. In Driyarkara's view, this coercion can also occur in attempts to unify overly extreme views. Therefore, conversations in the context of the state must always assume an openness to differences. Driyarkara argues that Pancasila is the basis of state life. Pancasila contains general principles and refers to an abstract philosophy of human nature. This makes Pancasila easily accepted by society in general and creates a shared space that open to dialogue. If Pancasila were more concrete, some parties' perspectives and interests might not be accommodated, potentially limiting the space for expression and the existence of some members of society. For Driyarkara, the state manages social life in a unified form, but this unity does not encompass all aspects of life. Just as a song is formed from the unity of musical instruments or voices that carry out their respective characters, which are certainly different, so too in the life of the state, Driyarkara emphasizes the importance of understanding the purpose of its formation precisely to provide guarantees for human rights and dignity, which in essence cannot simply be equalized (Driyarkara, 1980). If the conversation occurs based on ethical language, it will open an ethical space that allows diversity not as a challenge but as an opportunity to seek various forms of understanding and to welcome others better.

Notonagoro, using Max Scheler's Philosophy of Values, argued that the values of Pancasila also encompassed three categories of values in human experience: material values, vital values, and spiritual values (Kaelan, 2009). In the historical chronicle of the birth of Pancasila, which coincided with the decolonization of the Indonesian archipelago, the nation's founders from various socio-cultural and educational backgrounds shared a similar view regarding the importance of embracing Nusantara cultural values as a guideline for the new political entity they envisioned. This cosmological perspective and the triadic relationship between divine-being, human-being, and nature created a sense of interconnected space that became a unified realm of thought and worldview for the Indonesian people: spiritual, social, and ecological. All three require ethical attitudes and actions. From this context, Pancasila can be understood as manifestation of intersubjective and intercultural ethical conversation. The core of what Nordensvärd & Ketola (2024) called informal citizenship. Pancasila is a form of the ethics of extraterritoriality, its inclusive and ethical vision of civic duties and responsibilities has been established long before state legal formal citizenship defined, beyond the territoriality. This position allows Indonesian people easily engaged with the other societies in the world in the spirit of solidarity, peace and justice.

4. Ethical Space and Pancasila based Citizenship: Unity in Diversity

Physical and metaphysical space are needed by all humans. Building a state and nation is about ensuring an ethical space that guarantees each individual a living space and a space for recognition of human dignity. As a nation that was once colonized, the Indonesian

people were once physically born, living, and settling as residents of the archipelago, but socially and politically isolated. Colonized people may not always live in isolation in physical extraterritoriality like refugees, but they are isolated metaphysically. From this perspective, Pancasila can be understood as an effort to overcome this metaphysical alienation by establishing guarantees for previously lost rights while upholding the essence of diversity. Diversity is the essence of Indonesian citizenship (Bazzi, 2025).

On the one hand, the development of Pancasila can be seen as a critical discourse on universal values, expected to form the basis for consensus formation. On the other hand, in the historical record of Pancasila, the founders and subsequent intellectuals have consistently shown a keen interest in the particularity that characterizes each group in Indonesian society. In this context, each stage of Pancasila's development has been marked by efforts to the better understanding. Along the way, these efforts have faced various challenges, particularly when Pancasila is interpreted within specific political contexts, such as leadership succession and socio-political change, whether intentional, such as elections, or unintentional, such as the influence of technological developments and disruptions.

One historical event that demonstrates the agreement on the formation of a mental map is the Youth Pledge. The occasion has already created a collective identity of Indonesian citizen as bound by same homeland, language and committed as a nation. Before Indonesia was formally established, Indonesia as an ethical space had already been born. This space emerged from the willingness of young people from various ethnic backgrounds to position themselves as someone-for-another. The Youth Pledge proves Levinas's argument that brotherhood between humans was born first before equality and ultimately freedom (*fraternite, egalite, liberte*). Equality and freedom always presuppose responsibility towards others (Burggraeve, 2018). Furthermore, referring to the historical record of the Youth Pledge also shows alignment with the argument that extraterritoriality is not a reason for isolation and neglect. These young people, without abandoning their extraterritoriality, were willing to answer the call of responsibility towards others through a pledge to uphold Bahasa Indonesia as a language of unity, acknowledging Indonesia as their nation and motherland, while respecting each other's differences and identities.

Furthermore, during the BPUPKI sessions, opinion differences did not diminish the tendency of all parties to always position themselves as subjects fulfilling the call of responsibility towards others. The proposed formulations indicated a common characteristic: basic principles that could serve as the foundation for a nation that welcome all. Despite quite heated debates, most were agreed upon, including the draft of the 1945 Constitution, the preamble containing five principles of the state foundation, which Sukarno would call Pancasila. The period of Pancasila's formulation was crucial and determined its position and status in the subsequent period. The BPUPKI sessions took place relatively close to the proclamation, yet they were considered successful in formulating and agreeing on shared values that were fundamental to the conduct of national life. In general, the 1945 Constitution also served as the basis for establishing Indonesia as a constitutional state with a democratic character from its inception. Challenges and changes in subsequent phases will demonstrate that the 1945 Constitution was the most adequate formulation in accomodating the diverse society dynamics. The involvement of intellectuals in political movements before and after independence was central to the quality of the formulation of the constitution and Pancasila. The text of the 1945 Constitution and Pancasila contain not only formal legal provisions but also insights into the identity and hopes of a diverse nation.

Sukarno recognized that the process of forming a national identity did not end with the fulfillment of formal legal requirements. A republic founded on diversity naturally presented differing ideas and perspectives. At least three major groups active in political discourse, those emphasizing Western thought, Islam, and nationalism, continued to debate various aspects of national and state life. While these three groups generally did not reject the core ideas of Pancasila, they also deemed several aspects necessary for adjustment. Despite the various controversies surrounding President Sukarno's leadership, Pancasila seemed to be an idea that truly influenced some aspects of his administration. Sukarno not only helped create it and give it a name, but also believed that Pancasila was the most appropriate state philosophy for Indonesia. This is reflected in his efforts to continuously promote Pancasila not only in political discourses but also in academic discourses. Pranarka (1985) argues that the history of the development of Pancasila thought is closely related to the interaction between the dynamics occurring within the political sphere of the state and the academic sphere, as well as the interaction between Pancasila thought, both ideologically and philosophically. This process made the development of Pancasila thought not only about the legal-formal aspects of Indonesia's founding as a nation-state but also part of the history of Indonesian society and culture. In line with this view, during Sukarno era, both political and academic channels were given equal attention. In the political arena, Pancasila was always a part of Sukarno's speeches, both in domestic and international arenas. Sukarno's most significant legacy in the academic world besides his own writings was the holding of the 1st Pancasila Symposium which brought together the most influential political thinkers at that time to once again discuss how Pancasila could become an expression of nationalism that illuminated the interactions of all Indonesian and also Indonesia as part of the international community can participate in the world order based on peace and justice.

Pancasila during the Sukarno era still demonstrated a character that guaranteed an ethical space accepted by most groups in society, from political, academic, and general public perspectives, as a reference for the search for and formation of a living space for the nation and state. The conflicts that occurred during this period can also be seen as part of the struggle to establish a nation that guarantees a just social and political space for all parties. From the beginning of independence until the end of Sukarno's leadership, Indonesia struggled to build a national identity. This process encompassed various complex social and political dynamics. The formulation of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, at first glance, occurred in a short time. However, the core ideas within Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution had actually developed long before, not only being debated but also serving as a bridge of understanding for various groups seeking to liberate themselves from colonial rule. Indonesia's formal status as a nation-state was marked by the proclamation of independence, but its mental map as a political entity striving for shared ideals had already been established. Lanur (1995) argues that diversity, which is the essence and facticity of the Indonesian nation, is its soul. Pancasila embodies this unique spirit of nationalism, with the following characteristics: Ethical; Open; Harmonious and balanced; Based on the essence or nature of humankind.

Pancasila was born from a conversation that places recognition and respect for the existence and existential space of the diverse Indonesian people, while also being guided by a shared view of the essence of human life, which is always connected spiritually, socially, and ecologically. This view can be found as deeply rooted in various Indonesian traditions and religious belief (e.g. Balinese's *Tri Hita Karana principles*; *Islamic perspective on Hablum Minallah, Hablum Minannas, Hablum Minal Alamin*). Although the ecological aspect rarely

received primary attention in early studies of Pancasila, this aspect has become an integral part of Indonesian society's cosmological consciousness. Spiritual teachings often explicitly require efforts to maintain harmony with fellow humans and nature as part of the effort to achieve a higher spiritual understanding.

The first and second principles of Pancasila are born from an awareness of responsibility in relationships with God, humans, and nature. Indonesians with a religious understanding ideally also understand that civilized humans uphold justice by respecting others and avoiding greed, both socially and ecologically. The third principle reaffirms the social contract based on diversity, known as Covenantal Pluralism. Pancasila citizenship is formed from an awareness of differences, but united by a sense of respect and responsibility for maintaining a just and civilized shared space. *Bhinneka* (the diversity realm) should be understood not only as a diversity of identities but also as encompassing the diversity of aspects of life, including nature. The fourth principle demonstrates the importance of building healthy social and political communication media in manifesting the fifth principle, the ideal of social justice for all Indonesians.

Thus, Pancasila, not only emerged from ethical conversations, but also serves as a prompt that can open and maintain the sustainable ethical conversations. Pancasila citizenship is also founded on the understanding that we are citizens of Indonesia and the world; in addition to being part of a nation, we also share the world with all humanity, which is also an inseparable part of an ecological unity. Indonesian society has long recognized the close relationship between human existence and the sustainability of the natural environment. Pancasila-based citizenship implies not only rights and responsibilities towards other citizens but also towards fellow human beings and nature. Pancasila citizenship is not only political but also social and ecological.

CONCLUSION

As an archipelagic community, Indonesia emerged from its commitment to embrace the concept of nation-state that presupposed the inclusive space equipped by the ethical foundation, along with impartial system to safeguard the citizen rights based on Pancasila values. Citizenship in the context of Pancasila have consequences on shared understanding and responsibilities as a member of a country and a member of humanity. Every citizen of Indonesia are expected to commit to peace and justice in domestic and global contexts, opposing any kind of oppression, exploitation, marginalization and all form of dehumanization other fellow human beings. Pancasila is a vision that frames humanity as a collective capable of transcending individual interests, embracing a mode of being that honors both human interconnectedness and ecological belonging. It is important to introduce and disseminate Pancasila based citizenship from the origin of the values as ethical vision. Hospitality and solidarity for humanity underlie the formation of Pancasila and the idea of Indonesia as an ethical entity based on core awareness of Unity in Diversity. Pancasila citizenship is formed from an awareness of differences, but united by a sense of respect and responsibility for maintaining a just and civilized shared space. *Bhinneka* (the diversity realm) should be understood not only as a diversity of identities but also as encompassing the diversity of aspects of life, including nature. Pancasila based citizenship is a form of active and participatory membership who exercise the responsibility to other politically, socially and ecologically.

DECLARATIONS

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