

Transnational Ideologies: A Threat to Values of Pancasila and National Character of Indonesian Citizens Abroad

Dian Mulyadi Johan Johor Mulyadi ^{ab,1*}, Encep Syarif Nurdin ^{a,2}, Yadi Ruyadi ^{a,3},
Agus Mohammad Najib ^{b,4}, Jagad Aditya Dewantara ^{c,5}

^a Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, Indonesia

^b Badan Pembinaan Ideologi Pancasila, Indonesia

^c Universitas Tanjungpura, Indonesia

¹ johan_upi22@upi.edu*

*korespondensi penulis

Informasi artikel

Received: 2 Januari 2025;

Revised: 15 Januari 2025;

Accepted: 20 April 2025.

Keywords:

National Character;

Values of Pancasila;

Transnational Ideologies;

Indonesian Citizens;

Diaspora;

Human Rights.

ABSTRAK

Indonesian citizens abroad are vulnerable to being influenced by foreign ideologies that are contrary to Pancasila, both those that lead to radicalism-terrorism, those exposed to communism-atheism, and those that show liberalism-westernism. The purpose of this study is to compare various groups of Indonesian citizens abroad, especially Indonesian migrant workers in Tawau, Malaysia, and to analyze how exposure to the above-mentioned transnational ideologies impacts their understanding of Pancasila values and threatens their national character after returning to Indonesia. In this study, an autoethnographic methodology was used. The results of this study are to force the Indonesian Government to create a strategy to protect Indonesian citizens abroad. This strategy will be called the Internationalization of Pancasila Ideology Development. The conclusion of this study is that without implementing the Pancasila Internationalization strategy for Indonesian citizens abroad, the transnational ideological values that are contrary to the Pancasila they adhere to upon returning from abroad will be forcibly disseminated as has happened recently, causing unrest and security disturbances in Indonesia.

ABSTRACT

Kata-kata kunci:

Karakter Nasional;

Nilai-nilai Pancasila;

Ideologi Transnasional;

Warga Negara Indonesia;

Diaspora;

Hak Asasi Manusia.

Ideologi Transnasional: Ancaman terhadap Nilai-nilai Pancasila dan Karakter Kebangsaan Warga Negara Indonesia di Luar Negeri. Ideologi Transnasional: Ancaman terhadap Nilai-nilai Pancasila dan Karakter Bangsa Warga Negara Indonesia di Luar Negeri adalah tentang Warga Negara Indonesia di luar negeri rentan dipengaruhi oleh ideologi-ideologi asing yang bertentangan dengan Pancasila seperti radikalisme-terorisme, komunisme-ateisme, dan liberalisme-westernisme. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk membandingkan berbagai kelompok warga negara Indonesia di luar negeri, khususnya pekerja migran Indonesia di Tawau, Malaysia, dan untuk menganalisis bagaimana paparan ideologi-ideologi transnasional berdampak pada pemahaman dan nilai-nilai Pancasila mereka dan mengancam karakter bangsa mereka ketika kembali ke Indonesia. Dalam penelitian ini, metodologi yang digunakan adalah autoetnografi. Hasilnya adalah memaksa Pemerintah untuk membuat strategi melindungi warga negara Indonesia di luar negeri. Strategi ini disebut Internasionalisasi Pancasila. Kesimpulan dari penelitian ini adalah bahwa tanpa menerapkan strategi Internasionalisasi Pancasila bagi warga negara Indonesia di luar negeri, ideologi-ideologi transnasional yang menentang Pancasila yang mereka anut ketika kembali dari luar negeri akan disebarkan secara paksa seperti yang terjadi baru-baru ini, yang menyebabkan keresahan dan gangguan keamanan di Indonesia.

Copyright © 2025 (Dian Mulyadi Johan Johor Mulyadi, dkk). All Right Reserved

How to Cite : Mulyadi, D. M. J. J., Nurdin, E. S., Ruyadi, Y., Najib, A. M., & Dewantara, J. A. (2025). Transnational Ideologies: A Threat to Values of Pancasila and National Character of Indonesian Citizens Abroad. Jurnal Moral Kemasyarakatan, 10(1), 135–163. <https://doi.org/10.21067/jmk.v10i1.11362>



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/). Allows readers to read, download, copy, distribute, print, search, or link to the full texts of its articles and allow readers to use them for any other lawful purpose. The journal hold the copyright.

Introduction

The Pancasila Ideology Development Agency (Badan Pembinaan Ideologi Pancasila) has prioritized the program of strengthening and grounding Pancasila Ideology Education and Development. It is carried out domestically with a priority scale starting from PIP for government officials first and then continued to all elements of the Indonesian nation. Parallel to PIP domestically, BPIP must now immediately enter the stage of carrying out the institutionalization and internalization program of Pancasila/Pembinaan Ideologi Pancasila abroad (internationalization of PIP). Especially in countries that are widely inhabited by Indonesian citizens and the Indonesian diaspora. This internationalization of PIP will be used as the discovery of the results of the researcher's dissertation research as an official at BPIP. Furthermore, for decades, foreign nations have competed with each other to spread the influence of their transnational ideologies.

There are three transnational ideologies in conflict with the ideology of Pancasila such as communism-atheism, liberalism-westernism, and radicalism-fundamentalism. The book of "Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy" Friedrich & Brzezinski (1965) describe communism-atheism to explore the mechanisms by which communist regimes disseminate atheistic ideology to consolidate power. The implications of it is the tension between state-imposed atheism and traditional belief systems, leading to social fragmentation. Samuel Huntington is explaining liberalism-westernism in his book "The Clash of Civilizations" (1996) as a Western ideology, driven by individualism and capitalism, that often clashes with non-Western cultural norms. The implications of liberalism's spread often trigger ideological resistance, emphasizing the need for context-sensitive engagement.

Roy describes radicalism-fundamentalism in his book "Globalized Islam" (2017) that explores how globalization facilitates the spread of radical Islamist ideologies. Radical ideologies appeal to disaffected individuals, particularly in diaspora communities disconnected from traditional cultural roots. Therefore, the implication demonstrates how radical ideologies exploit identity crises created by globalization. In the era of globalization, Indonesia's socio-political dynamics are not only influenced by internal developments, but also by the flow of transnational ideologies spread through Indonesian citizens and the diaspora abroad. Several ideologies such as communism-atheism, liberalism-westernism, and radicalism-fundamentalism pose a serious threat to the values of Pancasila. The lack of efforts to ground Pancasila to Indonesian citizens abroad makes them vulnerable to the influence of ideologies that conflict with the character of the nation.

This condition is exacerbated by the fact that the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency (BPIP) has so far prioritized strengthening Pancasila ideology education domestically, so that the strategy of internationalizing Pancasila has not been a primary concern. Therefore, research is needed to understand the situation, challenges, and opportunities in the internalization and institutionalization of Pancasila for Indonesian citizens abroad as an effort to build a strong national character and become a bulwark against the spread of transnational ideologies to Indonesia. This study discusses the current situation of Indonesian citizens abroad regarding the threat of transnational ideology, the strategy of internationalizing Pancasila to shape their national character, supporting and inhibiting factors in implementing the strategy, and the impact of internationalizing Pancasila on strengthening the national character of Indonesian citizens abroad.

This study aims to analyze the situation of Indonesian citizens abroad related to exposure to transnational ideology, evaluate the implementation of internationalizing Pancasila, design an effective strategy to internalize Pancasila values, and provide policy recommendations to BPIP and the Indonesian government in preventing the spread of transnational ideology that conflicts with Pancasila. The urgency of this study lies in the challenges of globalization that affect Indonesia's national identity and character. Indonesian citizens living abroad are often exposed to foreign ideologies that have the potential to erode the values of Pancasila. Without a strategy for internationalizing Pancasila, this threat could have an impact on Indonesia's socio-political stability in the future. Therefore, this study is important as an initial step in developing an ideological protection strategy for Indonesian citizens abroad.

This study also departs from several previous studies. (Sulistyarini et al., 2021) highlights how globalization facilitates the spread of radical ideologies, especially among diasporas alienated from their traditional cultural roots. However, this study does not specifically discuss the context of Indonesian citizens and the values of Pancasila. Meanwhile, (Martono et al., 2021) explains the clash between Western liberal ideology and non-Western culture due to globalization, but does not offer practical solutions in the Indonesian context. In addition, the emphasis on the importance of Pancasila education to maintain national character amidst the flow of globalization, but only focuses on implementation domestically without touching on the aspect of internationalization of Pancasila for the diaspora (Dewantara et al., 2023). Compared to previous studies, this study has unique features.

First, this study specifically examines the context of the Indonesian diaspora exposed to transnational ideology. Second, this study attempts to design a strategy for internationalizing Pancasila to shape the national character of Indonesian citizens abroad, which has not been widely discussed in previous studies. Third, this study examines in depth the impact of the implementation of the Pancasila internationalization strategy on strengthening the national identity of the Indonesian diaspora. By focusing on the context of the diaspora, this study is expected to provide a real contribution to maintaining the values of Pancasila in the era of globalization. Now they are fighting each other over the followers of the Indonesian nation, in Indonesia, using the hands of the Indonesian nation (Indonesian citizens and diaspora) who have lived abroad for various reasons.

Based on the research background above, which is taken from empirical experience in the field, there are many cases of Indonesian citizens and Indonesian diaspora abroad who support transnational ideologies that are contrary to Pancasila. So, it is necessary to formulate the following problem: "How can the internalization and institutionalization abroad (internationalization) of the Education and Development of the Ideology of Pancasila have implications for strengthening the national character of Indonesian citizens abroad so that they become a fortress from the entry of transnational ideologies that are contrary to Pancasila into Indonesia?"

In order to make it easier to understand each variable, the research problem formulation above is broken down into several research questions as follows: how is the situation of Indonesian citizens abroad toward transnational ideologies threats, how is the picture of the implementation of the strategy of internationalization of Pancasila/PIP for Indonesian citizens abroad, how is the concept of the strategy of internationalization of PIP as an education to shape up the national Pancasila character for Indonesian citizens abroad and how do the supporting

and inhibiting factors in the implementation of the strategy of the internationalization of PIP to have implications for making Indonesian citizens abroad a fortress that prevents the penetration and spread of transnational ideology into Indonesia?

Method

The research uses autoethnography methodology with the qualitative and case study. The use of autoethnography is because this research will be based on a case study that I found during my experience. This combination of methodology provides an opportunity and space for me to express myself and my experiences without distancing myself from my writing. So just like other research methods, my theme is suitable for research with autoethnography methods as scientific-research methods. For the research purpose, I am collecting the data from Indonesian citizens at home and Indonesian citizens abroad. Those respondents at home are Indonesian Government Officials from some Ministries and Government Institutions non ministry, some civil servants of those Government Institutions and some students of the Universities. Autoethnography was chosen as the methodology in this study because it allows for the integration of personal experience with in-depth scientific analysis. As a form of respect for the purely ethnographic elements in this work, the writing style is maintained to ensure that the personal experiences I have experienced remain integrated with the broader context of data analysis (Sun, 2024). We can utilize data from Dian Muhammad Johan Johor Mulyadi's empirical experience as a Diplomat State Civil Apparatus for 30 years (starting March 1995 until now). With autoethnography methodology, researchers can express themselves and their experiences in maintaining a balance between the research process, culture and self. This research is to prove the validity of the researcher's experience while working as a Diplomat with the position of Consul at the Indonesian Consulate in Tawau for Manpower Seccion. His main function at that time was to provide services to Indonesian citizens, especially to Indonesian Migrant Workers who work in various oil palm plantations in Tawau, Kalabakan, Kunak, Lahad Datu and Semporna areas in the state of Sabah, East Malaysia. This explanation does not need to be in the results section, because it still describes the research method process. The research steps include initial reflection on personal experiences, data collection through interviews and digital questionnaires to respondents at home and abroad, narrative analysis that connects personal experiences with empirical data, and the preparation of a comprehensive research narrative. With this approach, the research not only produces fact-based analysis, but also provides a richer understanding of how the threat of transnational ideology affects the values of Pancasila and national character of Indonesian citizens abroad.

Result and Discussion

Since 2019 until today, we have witnessed at home in Indonesia, many debates and conflicts between fellow citizens are going on and on endlessly (Utomo & Wasino, 2020), especially in the social media. The root of the conflict between supporters of the Pancasila ideology together with the legitimate government against supporters of various foreign/transnational ideologies is because they are very ambitious to spread their transnational ideologies that are contrary to the ideology of Pancasila in Indonesia. Indonesians living in conflict countries are more prone to being influenced by transnational ideologies which conflict with Pancasila, leading to insensitive, intolerant, racist and radical behavior which might eventually lead to radicalism-terrorism (Campbell, 2010). On one hand, they could be exposed to communism-atheism.

On the other hand, Indonesian citizens living in western countries also demonstrate liberalism-westernism, individualist, permissiveness, promiscuity, pornography, drugs, LGBT and to legalize same-sex marriage (Bijl & van Klinken, 2019). Without the strategy of Internationalization of Pancasila performed by the Representative Offices of the government of Indonesia abroad, almost all Indonesian are very vulnerable toward the influence of those transnational ideologies when they are residing for a long period of time in countries where the norms might be very free (liberal) or vice versa, where the norms are very strict/puritan (extreme fundamentalism). The conclusion of the research is that risk of danger comes if the norms which they have adapted goes in contrast with Pancasila, therefore upon their return, these misguided norms are brought into the country and be spread as it has been seen recently.

For Indonesia, the penetration and spread of the transnational ideology at home has caused unrest and security disturbances within the country. Therefore, immediate action for internationalization of PIP by the government is very urgent. The internationalization of PIP is in accordance with the speech of Ir. Sukarno (President of Indonesia at that time) on September 30, 1960 at the United Nations General Assembly in New York, United States of America. On that occasion, Ir. Sukarno echoed Pancasila which he called the Five Principles to the Western colonial nations. The message of his speech was also addressed to the newly independent nations of Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Latin America and the Caribbean who were still struggling to realize their independence. Ir. Sukarno asked all United Nations General Assembly attendees in New York, USA.

At that moment he is strongly suggesting that Pancasila could be accepted as an alternative ideology for the world which at that time was dominated by the transnational ideology of Liberalism/Capitalism of the Western Block and Communism of the Eastern Block at that time. But the more important message of Ir. Sukarno's speech, which until now has not been realized by the diplomacy of the Indonesian government at the UN, is his desire for Pancasila to be included in the UN Charter. At that time, Ir. Sukarno mandated Indonesian diplomats fight for Pancasila in the United Nations' Charter because it could be a solution to ending colonialism among humans (in French: *l'exploitation l'homme par l'homme*) which is contrary to universal human rights.

He believes that Pancasila could be the solution to stop, once and forever, the nuclear arms race between the Western Block and the Eastern Block which has the potential to wipe out all human races from the face of the earth. This strategy of the Internationalization of Pancasila is in accordance with the intermestic theory which is very popular in international relations. The intermestic theory stated that in the current era of globalization, all countries in the world are interconnected and never free from international geostrategic and geopolitical interests. This intermestic theory was first presented by Bayless Manning. In his article in the journal "Foreign Affairs", Bayless Manning, President of the United States Council of Foreign Relations (1979) stated: "foreign policies have such a significant direct effect on the domestic sphere, that the deliberations behind them are rooted in both international and domestic considerations".

According to Bayless Manning's, intermestic means that international policies can directly influence a country's domestic policies based on considerations between international/globalization interests and domestic interests and it goes, *vice versa*. Then Bayless Manning's intermestic theory was developed by US historian Frederick Logevall: "intermestic policy to mean an international policy that affects or has implications on the domestic

discourse". According to Frederick Logevall's statement, intermestic policy means international policies that influence or have an impact on domestic discussions. Bayless Manning's intermestic theory is different from Frederick Logevall's theory. The original concept of intermestic theory, the result of Bayless Manning's thinking, paid more attention to the dividing line between international economic policy and domestic economics.

Based on the reasons above, on October 12, 2024, the researcher conducted a study in Tawau, Sabah, East Malaysia, with the aim of collecting data using methodology of autoethnography mentioned above. Given that not all themes can be researched statistically, it is concluded as if making statistical methods unscientific. Autoethnography is a new research method in the academic realm that has the advantage of obtaining data from personal experiences. Although it has been around for a long time, it is only in the last 2 (two) decades that autoethnography has been widely used in academic writing and has raised much debate about subjectivity and ethical issues. This means that although in terms of content or data, autoethnography research uses a lot of data owned by the researcher himself, it must still use the principles and disciplines of the ethnographic research method.

At that time, the researcher faced various problems experienced by Indonesian migrant workers. This includes the threat of the influence of the transnational ideology of liberalism and radicalism adopted by the Malaysians on Indonesian migrant workers. This happened due to the ignorance of Indonesian migrant workers that Indonesia already had the Pancasila ideology. For this, the researcher conducted a study to confirm the certainty and truth of various initial findings. The researcher also confirmed various minor premises found while the researcher was still working at the Indonesian Consulate in Tawau. Where at that time the researcher witnessed and experienced directly various facts about the tragedy of the suffering of Indonesian migrant workers and their families. The conditions and fate of Indonesian migrant workers who are treated very badly, cruelly and horribly and very inhumanely.

Those cruelties are performed, both by the managers of the palm oil plantation company and by the Malaysian government apparatus. The human tragedy of Indonesian migrant workers that violates Universal Human Rights and the Pancasila ideology does not only occur in one palm oil company but happens widespread throughout Malaysia. The owners together with the administrative officers who employ Indonesian migrant workers in various Malaysian palm oil plantations commit various atrocities. These very inhumane actions are actually supported and assisted by the Malaysian Government apparatus who are a transnationalist ideology of liberalism-westernism. Through its propaganda, the liberal ideology and the Malaysian government are supported by England.

Meanwhile, England has so far acted to show the world as if it were the originator of liberalism, an ideology that defends and prohibits violations of Universal Human Rights. Liberalism-westernism ideology always feels better and more superior than other ideologies. So that nations that adhere to this liberal ideology tend to force their ideology by justifying various means, even through violence such as fighting other nations that do not share the same understanding as liberalism ideology. So, what often happens is that the nations that support it actually propagandize Universal Human Rights by committing human rights violations themselves. The life experiences that have been experienced by migrant workers and their families for so long are so bad, that in order to end their suffering, they are willing to exchange their Indonesian citizenship and Pancasila ideology for Malaysian citizenship and the transnational ideology of liberalism.

Indonesian migrant workers no longer see any benefit in having the Pancasila ideology and becoming Indonesian citizens if their stomachs are hungry and their lives suffer from poverty. For them, memories of Indonesia are only blood descendants (*ius sanguinis*) of their extended family/tribe and their homeland/village of birth (*ius soli*). Furthermore, these Indonesian citizens in Malaysia prefer the transnational ideology and become Malaysian citizens, because Malaysia has given them enough food and promised them prosperity. Throughout the experience of working and living abroad for a long time, researchers have found many Indonesian citizens claim that they still have nationalism. They still miss their families, their local food, their culture, their hometown, their families, etc. in Indonesia.

So, they still want to return to Indonesia if they have the opportunity and have enough money for transportation costs to return home. However, if asked about whether they know the state ideology of Pancasila, the answers vary widely. There are Indonesian citizens who do not know, there are Indonesian citizens who know but do not memorize it, there are Indonesian citizens who no longer remember Pancasila, and so on. I even met an Indonesian citizen who said that he still memorized Pancasila but no longer cared because he did not see the benefits of Pancasila for his life. Generally, their opinion is that after living in a foreign country for so long, they think the ideology in the country where they now live is the most suitable for them.

It was also influenced by all foreign nations and news from the mass media in that country who always practice transnational ideology in their lives. The impact is that these Indonesian citizens are encouraged to imitate foreign nations which over time makes them more accustomed and comfortable with the transnational ideology in Malaysia rather than the Pancasila ideology of Indonesia. As a result of the lack of understanding and diminishing trust in Pancasila, there are Indonesian citizens who do not hesitate to participate in national defense programs in their foreign countries without giving up their Indonesian citizen status. Foreign parties who recruit them to participate in national defense or military service in foreign countries deliberately allow them to keep their Indonesian passports.

So that, they are not traced if they have changed their nationality by the Indonesian government. Even though it can cause them to lose their Indonesian citizen status. There are also many Indonesian citizens who do not hesitate to give up their Indonesian citizen status to become foreign nationals of the prosperous foreign countries that recruit them. They consciously or unconsciously (due to the influence and invitation of friends, relatives, third parties, both fellow Indonesian citizens and foreign parties) have changed their citizenship status, at least to permanent resident status. Furthermore, there are those who decide to become foreign nationals for various reasons, especially the reason for wanting to improve the social and economic status of their families is the most common.

Looking at the cases above, it is clear that the position of Indonesian citizens who are studying or working as professionals or migrant workers abroad for a long time is very vulnerable. Unfortunately, from observations and research during the development of the vulnerability of Indonesian citizens abroad, it turns out that there is very little or almost no attention from Indonesian government officials, especially those who work at Indonesian Representatives abroad. Therefore, in order to conduct the research, beforehand researchers conduct an interview with some Government Officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection at home. Also researchers spread a digital questionnaire to all Indonesian citizens and palm oil workers all over Tawau, Kalabakan, Lahad Datu, Kunak and Semporna.

The same digital questionnaire was also submitted to Indonesian students and Government Officials of the Indonesian Embassy, Indonesian Consulate General and Indonesian Consulate in Malaysia, China, Italy, USA and Canada. This research presents a number of findings related to the understanding of Indonesian citizens abroad regarding the Pancasila ideology and the potential influence of transnational ideologies that conflict with Pancasila. The researcher concluded that the understanding of Indonesian citizens abroad regarding the Pancasila ideology, as well as the potential influence of transnational ideologies that conflict with Pancasila, is still a very vulnerable problem.

The main findings from the results of interviews with the Director of Protection of Indonesian Citizens & Indonesian Companies, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and also the Director of Deradicalization, Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme (BNPT), they showed that:

"The Indonesian government, through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and BNPT, does not have in-depth records and adequate data regarding the understanding of Pancasila ideology among Indonesian citizens abroad, including among Indonesian migrant workers. There is no information and data related to the involvement of Indonesian citizens in transnational ideologies or radicalization".

The absence of this data was identified as an impact of the unsustainability of Pancasila education in Indonesia.

Pancasila ideology education by the government, which had stopped for 25 years, occurred due to irregularities in Pancasila education in Indonesia. Especially after the New Order era until 2017 which had implications for the lack of understanding of the ideology among the young generation of Indonesia, including those abroad. From the results of the study involving questionnaires and interviews with Indonesian citizens abroad, several important findings were found that provide an overview of the situation. Questionnaire data shows that most respondents are male (66.7%), with the majority being Muslim (74.1%), and most are aged between 18-30 years (52.6%). In terms of education, the majority of respondents have higher education, with 52.9% having a Bachelor's degree (S1) and 23.2% having a Master's degree (S2).

Regarding employment, the majority of respondents work as Civil Servants (39.3%) and migrant workers (32.1%). Most respondents have a good educational background. However, despite this, the interview results showed that 95.5% of respondents did not adhere to the transnational ideology, while 4.5% admitted to adhering to it. This indicates that although the understanding of transnational ideology is relatively low, there is still the potential for the spread of ideologies that conflict with Pancasila among Indonesian citizens at home and abroad. The findings that prove this are from a research professor from the Indonesian Education University who was assigned by the Ministry to review the border areas of Nunukan and Tawau. From the results of the research professor's interview with Indonesian citizens in the border area, there were similarities with the researcher's findings, Indonesian citizens on the border were captivated, both by traders and by the Malaysian authorities.

This attraction is actually a subtle trick (soft power diplomacy) so that Indonesian citizens view Malaysia as better than Indonesia with the slogan "Garuda (Indonesia) is on my chest but Jalur Gemilang (Malaysian flag) is on my stomach". This writing, which was often found by researchers, was written on the walls of shops in the border area. Furthermore, Malaysia hopes that these Indonesian citizens will eventually change their citizenship and side with Malaysia. The Indonesian citizens interviewed provided information to the research professor that:

“Traders from Tawau, Malaysia who are trading partners of Indonesian citizens in Nunukan and Tarakan, Indonesia, who buy many basic necessities (gas, white sugar, oil, garlic, rice, etc.) from them to be traded to the people of Nunukan and Tarakan, will be given bonus tickets and hotels to travel for several days in Kuala Lumpur with their families. Another case is that Indonesian citizens who participate in the Health Tourism Program propaganda, especially mothers who give birth in Tawau Hospital, their babies will be given a kind of Malaysian Insurance Card that will provide health service facilities for the baby such as vaccinations and medical treatment. This is possible because Malaysia adheres to the principle of *Ius Soli* Citizenship (everyone born in Malaysia is Malaysian).”

It is not surprising that in the future, this transnational Malaysian ideological propaganda politics succeeded in creating a national identity crisis and influenced many young generations of Indonesian citizens on the border who preferred to join the Malaysian army, police, immigration and customs rather than the Indonesian apparatus. That is why many people and politicians in the country question the effectiveness of the Pancasila Ideology Education strategy implemented by BPIP. As many as 68.3% of respondents know about the PIP strategy implemented by BPIP, but only 73% of respondents feel that the strategy is effective. This shows a gap between awareness of the importance of Pancasila and the success of implementing the strategy among Indonesian citizens abroad. The theory of transnationalism suggests that individuals living abroad are exposed to the influence of transnational ideologies from the countries where they are located.

This can result in identity conflicts among Indonesian citizens abroad. Such Indonesian citizens can be dragged into imitating the ideology of liberalism-westernism that idolizes a life of unlimited freedom by becoming LGBT practitioners, drug terrorists, pornography industry activists, etc. in order to be seen as contemporary and modern and follow trends in their social circles. In extreme cases, their exposure to the ideology of radicalism-terrorism that conflicts with Indonesian values causes them to be trapped into joining foreign defense, resulting in the loss of their Indonesian citizen status because they violate Law Number 12 of 2006 concerning Citizenship without realizing it or joining treasonous groups supporting the caliphate state such as HTI, IM, Wahabi, ISIS and other foreign terrorists.

The findings that prove this are from the Director of Non-Governmental Placement for the Asia and Africa Region at the Ministry of P2MI who said that:

"When assigned by his Ministry at the Indonesian Embassy in Damascus, the Director had to bring home to Indonesia an Indonesian migrant worker from Syria, one of the Arab countries in conflict because it is controlled by rebels with a transnational caliphate ideology. His job was to bring out, secretly like an intelligence operation, the migrant worker from Damascus because his life was threatened only because the migrant worker, along with all Indonesian citizens, gave a cash donation while attending a religious study that was routinely attended by Indonesian migrant workers and other Indonesian citizens in Damascus. The speaker of this study was a cleric, a figure from Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia who was finally targeted by Indonesian security forces because he often gave donations to terrorist groups with a transnational caliphate ideology such as ISIS, Wahabi, HTI as at that time. This migrant worker's life was threatened because he reported the speaker and his terrorist group to the Indonesian Embassy that the donation money would be used to finance the movement against the government to replace it with an Indonesian caliphate state. Throughout the flight from Syrian airports, Dubai, Singapore to Jakarta, their lives were threatened because they were still being followed by members and sympathizers of the terrorist group. Thank God they both managed to arrive safely back home.”

According to the researcher's analysis, all the penetration of transnational ideologies that are contrary to Pancasila have successfully infiltrated and spread in Indonesia due to the absence of Pancasila ideology education in the curriculum in schools and in society for 25 years, and it was also related to the Theory of Political Change and the Theory of Education Policy. During this period, Indonesia experienced a transition from the New Order to the Reformation era, which caused fundamental changes in education policy. The absence of a structured Pancasila curriculum made the generation that grew up during this period less familiar with their country's ideology. It was only after 2017, when President Joko Widodo established UKP PIP, followed by the establishment of BPIP in 2018, that awareness of the importance of this ideology education was re-emphasized.

The absence of Pancasila education in the education curriculum has caused an identity crisis among Indonesian citizens abroad and the Indonesian diaspora. This is also related to the Transnationalism Theory popularized by Linda Basch, Nina Glick-Schiller, and Christina Szanton Blanc (1994). The theory of the three British and US character experts states that individuals who live abroad will be influenced by the ideology of the country where they live. To fulfill all the objectives of making the strategy, the internationalization strategy for fostering the Pancasila ideology must be made more planned, detailed, measurable, directed and right on target by BPIP. The following is a graphic and description of the steps of the strategy of the internationalization of Pancasila:

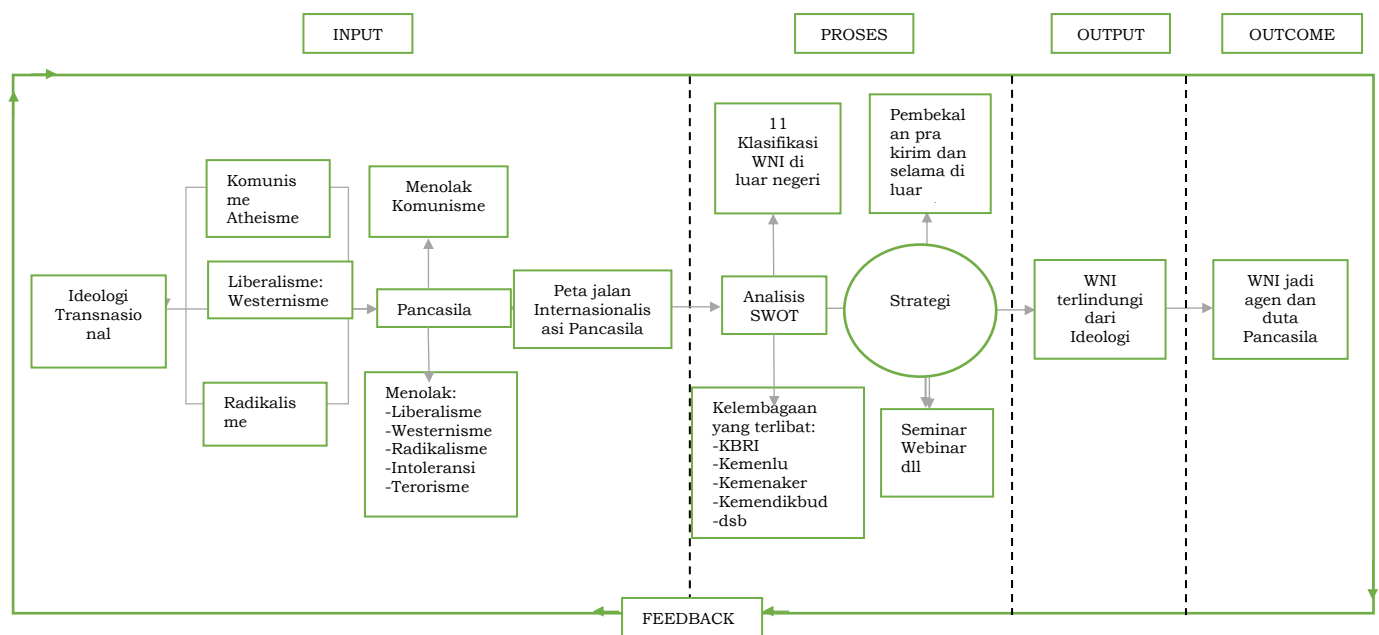


Chart 1: Pancasila Internationalization Strategy

Firstly, the government, in this case BPIP as the spearhead of the implementation of the Internationalization of Pancasila/PIP, carries out cross-sectoral coordination with all other Government Institutions related to the departure, presence and protection of Indonesian citizens abroad such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs together with the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Indonesia, the Indonesian Embassy, the Indonesian Consulate General, the Indonesian Consulate; Ministry of Trade, the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Economy, Trade Attaché; Ministry of Manpower, Ministry of P2MI, Manpower Attaché; Ministry of Education and Culture, Ministry of Science and Technology, Education Attaché;

Ministry of Religion, Religious Attaché; Badan Intelijen Negara/BIN, Special Attaché; Badan Intelijen Strategis Tentara Nasional Indonesia/BAIS TNI, Defense/Military/Army Attaché, Air Force Attaché, Navy Attaché; Prosecutor's Office; Ministry of Law and Human Rights, Immigration Attaché; and National Central Bureau Interpol, National Police, National Counterterrorism Agency, National Narcotics Agency.

Secondly, the coordination is in order to create all mapping related to Indonesian citizens abroad. For example, such as location, number, activities, interactions with foreign nationals, situations experienced, potential threats, disturbances, obstacles and challenges, etc. All are done using Strength, Weakness, Opportunities and Threats analysis so that it is more planned, detailed, measurable, directed and right on target to protect Indonesian citizens abroad.

Third step, after the mapping is done and all the important information needed can be collected, a digital questionnaire is created with standards determined by BPIP. The digital questionnaire contains a number of questions regarding data on Indonesian citizen respondents and questions regarding material for measuring Indonesian citizens' understanding of Pancasila ideology and transnational ideological threats. This digital questionnaire is distributed to targeted Indonesian citizens before and after the provision material of the Internationalization of Pancasila to measure the depth of knowledge and differences in respondents' understanding of Pancasila ideology compared to transnational ideology.

Fourth step, all of these stages are used as a strategy for the Internationalization of Pancasila's Roadmap which is entering the strategy implementation stage. After the creation of the Internationalization of Pancasila's Roadmap, the targets and the final results to be achieved from the implementation of the strategy of Internationalization of Pancasila are determined, namely to fortify Indonesian citizens abroad from the threat of transnational ideology that is contrary to Pancasila and not to be influenced to help spread it by forcing it on Indonesian citizens in Indonesia.

Fifth step, BPIP, with the permission and knowledge of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, coordinates directly with all Indonesian Representative Offices (Indonesian Embassy, Indonesian Consulate General, Permanent Representatives of Indonesia and Indonesian Consulates) throughout the world to carry out joint activities and to carry out Indonesian community development programs in the accreditation and overlapping areas where Indonesian Representatives are located. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has all of the facilities and infrastructures for Indonesian Representatives that can support the implementation of community development programs abroad. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is also required to be utilized by BPIP through cooperation to immediately realize the mandate of Sukarno which he once conveyed at the UN General Assembly on September 30, 1960 so that Pancasila can be included in the UN Charter. Only the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as the spearhead of implementing Pancasila diplomacy, has the supporting facilities to provide consular services and community development to Indonesian citizens and diasporas abroad in order to realize this.

Sixth step, BPIP also needs to cooperate with the Ministry of Manpower, Ministry of P2MI and the Manpower Attaché who are accustomed to sending Indonesian interns and migrant workers abroad to help provide supplies in their homeland and while living abroad regarding the internationalization of PIP and the dangers of transnational ideological threats to Indonesian citizens in foreign countries.

Seventh step, BPIP must cooperate with the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology and the Education Attaché who send students abroad. The Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology and the Education Attaché also have special facilities and networks to the Academic Community of accredited countries that can be utilized by BPIP to internationalize PIP and the dangers of transnational ideological threats in foreign countries to Indonesian students.

Eighth step, BPIP also needs to cooperate with the Ministry of Trade, Trade Attaché and the Indonesian Chamber of Commerce and Economy which handles Indonesian Companies and Joint Venture Companies abroad because they have special facilities and networks to Chambers of Commerce and foreign entrepreneurs in accredited countries that can be utilized by BPIP for the internationalization of PIP and the dangers of transnational ideological threats to entrepreneurs and professionals in foreign countries.

Ninth step, BPIP can also cooperate with the Ministry of Religion and Religious Attaché to immediately certify preachers for leaders of all religions recognized in Indonesia so that they are filtered if they want to give religious sermons (domestic and foreign). It is no longer a secret that preachers who practice abroad and are not certified are very vulnerable to being involved with transnational ideological organizations that are contrary to Pancasila. Not a few Indonesian citizens, diaspora and Indonesian migrant workers are trapped by preachers like this to donate their assets as if for their religious struggle when in fact the donations are used by the preachers to finance terrorist activities abroad and in Indonesia. The actions of uncertified preachers like this are very detrimental to Indonesian citizens, diaspora and Indonesian companies abroad because they are damaging their reputation in the eyes of their foreign countries. This also endangers their long survival effort in the foreign country. Indonesian citizens and diaspora have willingly given donations, but as a result, as donors, supporters of international ideology drag them into becoming participants in criminal acts of terrorism and must face criminal penalties for terrorism.

Tenth step, BPIP also needs to cooperate with BIN, BAIS, the Prosecutor's Office, National Central Bureau of International Police, Badan Nasional Penanggulangan Terorisme and Badan Narkotika Nasional which have the support of security personnel and security facilities abroad as well as a network of law enforcement cooperation with similar institutions owned by foreign governments and international organizations to carry out early detection and prevent such things related to transnational ideologies that are contrary to the Pancasila above before they enter and spread in Indonesia, causing chaos and disruption to Indonesian security.

Eleventh step, the type of activity can be carried out periodically (for example once a month or quarterly or semester) in the Indonesian Permanent Representative, the Indonesian Embassy, the Indonesian Consulate General or in the Indonesian Consulate, depending on the number, situation and condition of Indonesian citizens in the accredited country. This can be done by holding offline seminars through visits by authorized BPIP officials to all of the Indonesian Representative Offices mentioned above or holding online webinars that are tailored to needs.

Twelfth step, in the seminars at the Indonesian Permanent Representative, the Indonesian Embassy, the Indonesian Consulate General or in the Indonesian Consulate, or webinars facilitated by Indonesian Representative Offices abroad, all necessary internalization materials can be provided relating to deepening understanding of the history of Pancasila ideology to how to implement Pancasila in action.

Thirteenth step, in the implementation of the Internationalization of Pancasila, an understanding is also provided regarding the existence and threats of transnational ideologies, both ideology of Western Right (liberalism, westernism, LGBT, drugs, etc.) as well as Communism and ideology of Eastern Right (radicalism, intolerance, caliphate states, terrorism, etc.) in the accredited country where Indonesian citizens are located so that they and their families are vigilant, not easily influenced, let alone participate in spreading and forcing them on fellow Indonesian citizens abroad and at home by bringing them back to Indonesia.

Fourteenth step, the strategy of the Internationalization of Pancasila must be carried out continuously and sustainably without stopping because other transnational ideologies also do the same thing, a never-ending propaganda. Therefore, it must be carried out not only by BPIP officials but also by all other government officials. Thus, BPIP is required to carry out technical guidance training on the Training for Trainers regarding the strategy of the Internationalization of Pancasila to all government officials without exception until they understand how to teach the strategy of the Internationalization of Pancasila in accordance with the roadmap standards outlined by BPIP to all Indonesian citizens abroad.

Fifteenth step, then the final result of implementing this strategy of the Internationalization of Pancasila is that Indonesian citizens abroad are not only successfully protected from the threat of transnational ideologies that conflict with Pancasila but can also become Pancasila Ambassadors and Pancasila Icons who introduce and promote Pancasila to foreign nationals in the countries where they live so that Pancasila is increasingly widespread in accordance with the mission of the book "Pancasila From Indonesia For The World" (Utomo & Wasino, 2020).

Sixteenth step, the output indicators of Indonesian citizens abroad who are protected by Pancasila are Indonesian citizens who have Pancasila character, namely: Indonesian citizens who have an understanding, disposition (attitude and commitment), and act based on Pancasila values. In the context of Indonesian citizens abroad, they demonstrate Pancasila character while they are abroad, either as students/pupils, migrant workers, professionals or state officials. For the Indonesian nation, the majority of whom adhere to Islam, it is certainly not difficult to implement the values, functions and rules of Pancasila in everyday life because everything contained in Pancasila is in harmony with Islam so that it is embedded in Indonesian citizens to become Pancasila characters.

Some examples of Indonesian citizens who have Pancasila character are: First, Indonesian citizens who understand Pancasila. Those are Indonesian citizens who have been introduced by their parents and have received lessons from teachers at their school regarding the Pancasila principles as their national ideology and carry out actions in their religious teachings such as worshiping, praying, being harmonious with family and neighbors, having good morals, maintaining ethical politeness, helping each other, etc. Second, Indonesian citizens who are scholarship recipients from foreign countries become pro-Pancasila. Those are Indonesian citizens who are scholarship recipients from foreign countries who have known Pancasila and even though they have been abroad (from school to work) for a long time, it does not make them interested in the lifestyle and influenced by the transnational ideology in the foreign country where they live due to their association with foreign nations who adhere to the transnational ideology of liberalism or radicalism. These Indonesian citizens bridge good relations between Indonesia and the foreign countries that provide scholarships for the sake of Indonesia's progress.

Third, Indonesian citizens who are scholarship recipients from the Republic of Indonesia but defend Indonesia's interests. Those are Indonesian citizens who are scholarship recipients from the Indonesian government such as Lembaga Pengelola Dana Pendidikan who have known Pancasila and even though they have been abroad for a long time, they can understand, accept and are not disturbed and not influenced by the lifestyle of foreign nations. These Indonesian citizens remain loyal to Pancasila and invite all their families, relatives, friends, environment and other people they know to also be loyal to Pancasila, build the country and advance the Indonesian nation. Fourth, Indonesian citizens who are students abroad who are self-funded and support the Pancasila ideology. These Indonesian citizens study abroad at the expense of their parents. They know Pancasila and even though they are abroad for a long period of time, they are not interested in the lifestyle and are influenced by the transnational ideology in the foreign country where they live due to their association with foreign nations who adhere to the transnational ideology of liberalism or radicalism. They remain loyal to Pancasila and invite all their families, relatives, friends, environment and other people they know to also be loyal to Pancasila.

Autoetnografi R.D.M. Johan Johor Mulyadi: Discovering Transnational Ideology among Indonesian Migrants in Malaysia. In 2014, I began my journey as a Diplomat at the Indonesian Embassy (KBRI) in Malaysia. This assignment brought me into the midst of the Indonesian diaspora community, providing an opportunity to understand their lives up close. During my four-year assignment until 2018, I witnessed various social, economic, and cultural dynamics experienced by Indonesian migrants. However, among all these experiences, one thing that caught my attention was how transnational ideology began to seep into their lives. This observation became the basis for my autoethnographic research. The first interaction that showed the influence of transnational ideology occurred at an oil palm plantation in Tawau, Sabah. While visiting to provide consular services and guidance to migrant workers, I found conversations discussing global religious and political issues with radical nuances.

These workers, who mostly came from rural areas in Indonesia, seemed to be influenced by certain ideological narratives spread through social media and small group meetings. At that time, I heard one of the workers talking about the idea of establishing a political system based on a certain religious ideology, which clearly contradicts the values of Pancasila. I realized that exposure to such ideologies did not happen suddenly. They were influenced by online lectures, transnational religious groups, and diaspora networks that had certain ideological agendas. In addition to migrant workers, I also established relationships with Indonesian student communities studying in Malaysian universities. These students, who came from higher educational backgrounds than migrant workers, showed different tendencies in accepting transnational ideologies.

Some of them were involved in intellectual discussions influenced by the ideas of liberalism and westernism. They adopted individualistic values that sometimes conflicted with typical Indonesian collectivism. However, what was surprising was how some of these students were also exposed to radicalism through international campus organizations. Some students participated in discussion activities and lectures that carried radical ideological agendas, even forming small groups that exclusively discussed the ideology. Their presence in this global context opened up opportunities for exposure to ideologies that contradicted Pancasila, especially because they often felt alienated from the more moderate Indonesian culture. This experience gave rise to various reflections in me. As a state official, I feel responsible for

understanding how this transnational ideology has infiltrated the Indonesian diaspora community.

As an individual, I also experienced inner turmoil when I saw fellow Indonesian citizens, who should be the guardians of the values of Pancasila, actually starting to lose their national identity. I did not only observe this phenomenon in passing, but I also studied it through in-depth interviews and direct observation. I visited more than 10 regions in Malaysia, from Kuala Lumpur to remote areas in Sabah and Sarawak, to get a broader picture of this dynamic. In my interactions with migrants and students, I found that many of them felt they had lost their ties to their homeland. This created an empty space that was then filled by transnational ideology. For migrant workers, dependence on a particular community for social support often becomes an entry point for the spread of radical ideology.

Meanwhile, for students, their involvement in global academic discussions without a strong understanding of the values of Pancasila makes them vulnerable to the influence of excessive liberal ideology. This phenomenon shows how the Indonesian diaspora abroad, if not managed properly, can become an easy target for ideologies that are contrary to the nation's identity. As part of my responsibility, I try to introduce Pancasila ideology development programs to this diaspora community. However, the biggest challenge is how to convey the message in a way that is relevant and acceptable to them. I realize that a formal approach is not enough. A more personal approach is needed, based on their daily experiences. Therefore, I often use stories from my own life to explain the importance of Pancasila as the foundation of the nation.

I also involve community figures who have influence among the diaspora to help spread this message. My four-year experience in Malaysia has taught me valuable lessons about the complexity of transnational ideology and its impact on the Indonesian diaspora community. This phenomenon is not only a challenge for the government, but also a call for every individual to maintain the values of Pancasila amidst the flow of globalization. Through this autoethnographic research, I hope to make a real contribution in understanding and overcoming the threat of transnational ideology among the Indonesian diaspora. This experience is also a reminder for me personally about the importance of maintaining national identity amidst global diversity.

The phenomenon of the spread of transnational ideology among the Indonesian diaspora in Malaysia shows the complex dynamics between globalization, migration, and the reconstruction of (Chiu & Yeoh, 2021) identity. Indonesian migrant workers and students in Malaysia often experience identity transformation as a result of changes in the social and cultural environment (Fatmawati & Dewantara, 2022) dependence on new communities for social and emotional support opens up space for the penetration of (Amster & Lindquist, 2005; Tapia Ladino, 2023) transnational ideology. This ideology offers a sense of solidarity and answers to the need for collective identity, but often conflicts with original values such as (Dewantara et al., 2020)

Pancasila. Cultural globalization plays a significant role in the spread of (Casmata et al., 2023) transnational ideology. The flow of information through social media and online lectures allows the Indonesian diaspora to easily access ideological narratives beyond borders (Ong et al., 2017; Tedeschi et al., 2020). Global communication technology connects individuals with ideological groups that are not bound by geographical boundaries (Panzi et al., 2023). This impact is seen in migrant workers who are exposed to radical ideologies through transnational

religious groups that utilize their social networks. On the other hand, Indonesian students in Malaysia who interact with the global academic community are also vulnerable to the influence of liberal ideologies that conflict with typical Indonesian collectivism.

The context of international migration relations and geopolitics also influences this situation (König, 2016). Migration involving the movement of workers and students from Indonesia to Malaysia creates a heterogeneous diaspora community that is vulnerable to global socio-political dynamics (Nieswand, 2018). Diasporas often function as transnational entities that are at the intersection of two or more national identities (Budiawan, 2017). In the midst of feelings of alienation from their home culture, migrants seek support for new identities that can strengthen their position in a foreign environment (Jailani et al., 2021). In this process, they become easy targets for transnational groups that offer radical religious or political ideologies.

The penetration of transnational ideology among the Indonesian diaspora poses serious challenges to the integrity of Pancasila values. In many cases, this ideology not only changes individuals' views on national identity, but also creates the potential for internal conflict in diaspora communities. For migrant workers, dependence on certain ideological groups often replaces the role of formal institutions in providing a sense of security (Dewantara, 2024). Meanwhile, for students, involvement in global academic discussions without a strong understanding of Pancasila can lead to the adoption of excessive individualistic values, which are contrary to the collectivism of Indonesian society.

Efforts to overcome these challenges require a holistic approach. Pancasila ideology development programs must be tailored to the unique needs and experiences of the Indonesian diaspora. Formal approaches are often ineffective, because they are less relevant to their daily lives. On the contrary, approaches based on personal experience and community participation can be a more effective way to strengthen national values. The involvement of influential diaspora figures can also help spread the message about the importance of maintaining national identity amidst the challenges of globalization. Through autoethnographic research, the author's first-hand experience provides a unique perspective on how transnational ideology permeates the Indonesian diaspora community in Malaysia. This approach allows the researcher to understand this phenomenon from both a personal and scientific perspective (Dewantara & Budimansyah, 2024).

Conclusion

The conclusion about the implementation of the Pancasila character education strategy through the Internationalization of Pancasila shows that this effort is on the right track, although it needs strengthening. The strategy designed must be more integrated, innovative, and responsive to the challenges of globalization and the diversity of contexts of Indonesian citizens abroad. In this case, the success of the program depends on the consistency of implementation, resource support, and continuous evaluation to achieve the goal of building national character based on Pancasila. Pancasila has once again had a government institution to guard its existence and spread its grounding. Pancasila had disappeared from the world of education for 25 years, but that did not mean it had disappeared from the midst of the Indonesian nation. Thanks to the alertness of President Joko Widodo who established the BPIP government institution which is responsible for running the internalization, institutionalization and later internationalization programs of Pancasila in a planned, measured, directed and targeted manner, Pancasila has again spread like mushrooms in the rainy season in the country.

Furthermore, to protect the interests, comfort and security of all Indonesian citizens abroad, BPIP has collaborated with several other government institutions, especially the Indonesian Embassy, Consulate General, Indonesian Permanent Representative Office, Indonesian Chamber of Trade and Economics and the Indonesian Consulate to carry out their duties to fortify Indonesian citizens abroad from the threat of transnational ideologies that in the long term will disrupt the Republic of Indonesia because its mission is to replace Pancasila. The government program to carry out the internalization and institutionalization of PIP already has a strong foundation, namely the legal basis in the form of Presidential Regulation No. 7 of 2018 concerning the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency. Also, BPIP Regulation No. 5 of 2020 concerning Guidelines for Providing Recommendations on Policies and Regulations that Conflict with Pancasila, BPIP Regulation No. 4 of 2022 concerning Pancasila Value Indicators and Government Regulation No. 4 of 2022 concerning amendments to government regulation no. 57 of 2021 concerning National Education Standards which require Pancasila subjects to be taught from Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini/PAUD to tertiary education starting from July 1, 2022 supported by all government institutions and all elements of the Indonesian nation without exception. Last but not least, as the suggestion, I would like to direct this work to strategic recommendations as follows: first, increasing awareness of Indonesian Citizens through Technology. Use digital platforms to provide interactive education about Pancasila values for Indonesian citizens abroad. Second, increasing the competence of Government Officials abroad. To train Indonesian representative officials to become agents of ideological change who not only understand Pancasila, but are also able to apply it. Third, the alignment of cross-institutional policies. Realize the strategy of the Internationalization of Pancasila's standards through a clear memorandum of understanding between BPIP, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and other related institutions. Fourth, a sustainable budget. Involve the private sector and the Indonesian diaspora to support the financing of the program of the Internationalization of Pancasila. Finally, these steps will strengthen the resilience of the Pancasila ideology, especially among Indonesian citizens abroad, in facing the challenges of globalization.

References

- Amster, M. H., & Lindquist, J. (2005). Frontiers, sovereignty, and marital tactics: Comparisons from the borneo highlands and the Indonesia-Malaysia-Singapore growth triangle. *Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, 6(1), 1-17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14442210500074846>
- Bijl, P., & van Klinken, G. (2019). Citizenship in Asian history. *Citizenship Studies*, 23(3), 189-205. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2019.1603268>
- Blasco, P. G. y., & Wardle, H. (2007). How to Read Ethnography. In *How to Read Ethnography*. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203390962>
- Budiawan. (2017). How do Indonesians remember Konfrontasi? Indonesia-Malaysia relations and the popular memory of "Confrontation" after the fall of Suharto. *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 18(3), 364-375. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649373.2017.1345349>
- Campbell, J. R. (2010). Transnational Security Threats to Indonesia. *Issues for Engagement Asian Perspective on Transnational Security Challenges*, 2-20.
- Casmana, A. R., Dewantara, J. A., Timoera, D. A., Kusmawati, A. P., & Syafrudin, I. (2023). Global citizenship: preparing the younger generation to possess pro-environment behavior, mutual assistance and tolerance awareness through school engagement. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 21(1), 15-32. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2021.2013167>
- Chiu, T. Y., & Yeoh, B. S. A. (2021). Marriage migration, family and citizenship in Asia. *Citizenship Studies*, 25(7), 879-897. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2021.1968680>
- Dewantara, J. A. (2024). Assessment of West Kalimantan ' s border dynamics : Challenges in

- nationalistic perspectives. *Jurnal Civics: Media Kajian Kewarganegaraan Jurnal Civics: Media Kajian Kewarganegaraan*, 21(2), 262–273.
- Dewantara, J. A., & Budimansyah, D. (2024). Using multicultural and ethnographic approaches in educational research : The Indonesian-Malaysian border. *Issues in Educational Research*, 34(3).
- Dewantara, J. A., Efriani, E., & Sulistyarini, S. (2020). Caring National Identity Through Teacher Contributions in the Border: Pancasila Actionistic Basic Implementation. *Jurnal Basicedu*, 4(3), 649–661. <https://doi.org/10.31004/basicedu.v4i3.407>
- Dewantara, J. A., Sulistyarini, Prasetyo, W. H., Efriani, Riyanti, D., Afandi, & Ulfah, M. (2023). School teachers, national identity and an Indonesian-Malaysian border community: A case study in Entikong. *Issues in Educational Research*.
- Fatmawati, & Dewantara, J. A. (2022). Social resilience of indigenous community on the border: Belief and confidence in anticipating the spread of COVID-19 through the Besamsam custom in the Dayak community. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, n/a(n/a). <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.2611>
- Friedrich, Carl J. "Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy." *Harvard UP* (1965).
- Jailani, M., Dewantara, J. A., & Rahmani, E. (2021). The Awareness of Mutual Respect Post-Conflicts: Ethnic Chinese Strategy through Social Interaction and Engagement in West Kalimantan. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10911359.2021.1990170>
- König, A. (2016). Identity Constructions and Dayak Ethnic Strife in West Kalimantan, Indonesia. *Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, 17(2), 121–137. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14442213.2016.1146917>
- Martono, Dewantara, J. A., Efriani, & Prasetyo, W. H. (2021). The national identity on the border: Indonesian language awareness and attitudes through multi-ethnic community involvement. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 50(January 2022), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.22505>
- Nieswand, B. (2018). Border dispositifs and border effects. Exploring the nexus between transnationalism and border studies. *Identities*, 25(5), 592–609. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2018.1507960>
- Ong, C. E., Ormond, M., & Sulianti, D. (2017). Performing 'Chinese-ness' in Singkawang: Diasporic moorings, festivals and tourism. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 58(1), 41–56. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1111/apv.12149>
- Panzi, U., Aditya Dewantara, J., Heru Prasetyo, W., & Shimrumun Lora, J. (2023). Beyond the Presidential Threshold: How Cebong and Kampret Political Identities Shape Social Media Discourse. *POLITICON : Jurnal Ilmu Politik*, 5(2), 163–194.
- Roy, Olivier. "Globalized Islam: the search for a new Ummah." *Islamology* 7.1 (2017): 11–40.
- Samuel, Huntington. "The clash of civilizations." *Foreign Affairs* 72.3 (1993): 22–49.
- Sulistyarini, Dewantara, J. A., Purnama, S., & Mirzachaerulsyah, E. (2021). Transnationalism threat to the Indonesian society in the border area of Indonesia-Malaysia (study on camar bulan society). *Jurnal Pertahanan*, 7(3), 484–500.
- Sun, X. (2024). Teacher intuition and teacher development: An EFL teacher's autoethnography. *Issues in Educational Research*, 34(2), 743–759.
- Tapia Ladino, M. (2023). Migrations and Borders: Contributions to Understand Mobility in Cross-border Areas. *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 38(3), 441–459. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08865655.2021.1948897>
- Tedeschi, M., Vorobeve, E., & Jauhiainen, J. S. (2020). Transnationalism: current debates and new perspectives. *GeoJournal*, 8. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10708-020-10271-8>
- Utomo, C. B., & Wasino. (2020). An integrated teaching tolerance in learning history of Indonesian national movement at higher education. *Journal of Social Studies Education Research*, 11(3), 65–108.