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# The Meaning of Nasionalism of Urban Students, Interpretive Study of State Defense in South Jakarta

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#### Abstract

Student nationalism, especially in urban areas, is often questioned by many because of the emergence of cases that indicate low nationalism such as not memorized Indonesian Raya songs and the text of Pancasila. With the aim of obtaining comprehensive information about nasionalism of urban students, the study was conducted using a qualitative methode with case study approach. Taking locus in four senior high schools that located in South Jakarta, studies use FGD (Focus Group Discussion) and indepth interviews as data collection methods; whereas for analysis used the theory of Social Construction (Berger and Luchmann, 1990). The results of the study show that students meaning of nationalism (in abstract form) interpreted the same and relatively good. Confirming Berger and Luckmann Theory that the meaning of facts or reality (that called by Berger as knowledge) is influenced by individual interaction with facts or reality, the study show that meaning of nationalism (in concrete form) understood differently by the students that strongly influenced by intervention activities that received (interaction or experience the student with the fact). SMAN 34 that have good rank school (number two in South Jakarta) and students generally get many experience with national and international scale activities wether competitions or upgrading), the students tends to link nationalism with achievement and interpret nasionalism as a serious effort, to be professional and inovative, to be creative, and become excellent students. SMA Suluh where scout as one of flagship activities, the student meaning of nationalism tends related with marching activities, following the ceremony solemnly, and respecting the flag. While in SMAN 97 that concern with developing moral of student activities, the students tends to link the meaning of nationalism with moral values such as honesty and responsibility. SMAN 109 that tends not to provide enough space for students to interact with many other activities which can develop their nationalism, condition rather different. The students interpret nationalism in a non-pattern form. The limited fact (experience) received (obtained) by students from school causes them use their own personal experiences that obtained from their interactions with facts outside of school such as the experience of interacting with facts in the family and peer groups as a reference source. That is why there is no pattern in their meaning of nationalism. Other results, there are three factors that influence the meaning of student nationalism, namely: a). Students involvement with programs related with development nationalism of students in schools, b). learning material of PPKN c). interaction students with discourse of nationalism in school (i.e in school organization) and out side of school (in family, peer groups, and internet).

Keywords: Nasionalism; Urban Students; Social Contruction Theory of Berger; Meaning; South Jakarta

## Introduction

Nationalism is an issue that has been widely discussed lately. Discovery number of cases that indicated low nationalism mention as a reason why issues of nationalism need to be discuss again (not memorized Indonesia Raya Song and Pancasila, do not know the history of the nation's fighters, and unfamiliar with national songs). Related to that, a case that quite surpraising of many is a case in Muhammadiyah University Purworejo that 25% of new students at this university (in 2016) did not memorize Indonesian Raya song and other patriotic songs. Nationalisme of people in the border areas, including in Sebatik, North Kalimantan, is a more sensitive issues considering the chances of occurrence being assessed are higher at least because of two things. First, because of the lacking central government control, both to local government and the community. While on the other hand, the opportunities for intervention from outside are very high. (Moeldoko, 2004). Regarding the intervention from neighboring countries, in Sebatik, the case is possible due to the use of the ringgit currency as a transaction tool and because of the dependence of the community to get food and daily needs from its neighboring countries, Malaysia. Second, the many problems of poverty in the border region, which allows the emergence of feelings of dissatisfaction with the central government (Thung Ju Lan and Manan, 2011). For students in the border areas, this issue become more crucial because of some reason such as there are quite a lot cases that some Indonesian students attend in schools of neighboring countries (Malaysia) that use curriculum that country and the language of those contry as a language of instruction, so when graduate the students cannot speak Indonesian even more known about Indonesia). The other, still found a number of cases about citizenship transfers that occurre only because Indonesian students want to continue their education to a higher level.

The other crusial thing, student nationalism is often questioned because increasingly long time span of independence with the lives of teenagers who now entered the age of 73 years. The distance of this time was feared to be one of the factors that reduced the feeling of students attachment to their country, Indonesian, even because the transfer of information about the history of the nation's struggle to students do not maximize, as well as for other reasons. In the context of learning nationalism in schools through PKN subjects, learning material that is less oriented to the needs and conditions of students and the ways of delivering material that is not able to inspire because too textbook and more oriented towards learning outcomes, may be the cause. Widespread penetration of foreign cultures towards young people (including students) that manifests as fever of Korean boy band and girl band or Korean wave fever (as a logical consequence of increasingly massive IT use among students), is another indication that cannot be ignored. As Khairunnisa Galih's thesis (2013, Unsoed) about perception of Purwokerto adolescents on Korean culture and the forms and effects of popular culture, K-Wave causes teenagers to carry the flow of globalization in their daily lives because of the strong character and identity of the Korean artists. As a result teenagers who love K-Pop culture not only make them as new trendsetters in music, acting, fashion; but also in lifestyle. Because of that if at first it initially manifests only in the form of the presence of various Korean communities, at an advanced stage it can appear in the form of imitating self-identity. Teenagers apply Korean culture by imitating these cultures in everyday life, such as appearance (hairstyle, clothing style and make-up), use of Korean language, and use Korean products. In other words, In other words, this can cause adolescents that affected K-Pop, potential to like and to prefer to practice Korean culture rather than Indonesian culture.

Another thing that is also a source of concern for many parties related to student nationalism, is related to the discovery of cases of penetration of radical ideology to adolescents/students. The case found a number of Indonesian citizens recruited by terrorist groups (the case of Rica's doctor and his friends who left the family to join groups identified as deviant groups), the existence of potential destructive movements towards the unity and integrity of the nation such as Gafatar (Gerakan Fajar Nusantara ) and NII (Negara Islam Indonesia), there were a number of teenagers who were successfully recruited to engage in terrorism activities and even became "brides" or bombers as the case of Dani Dwi Permana, 18

years old, identified as a suicide bomber at JW Marriott Hotel, Mega Kuningan; are some examples of cases related to this.Related to the study of nationalism, there are some relevant studies, which can be grouped into two types of studies, namely study of border areas and study of youth nationalism. Study of border areas among others are Development Study on the Form of National Bonds conducted in 2004 by the Directorate of Culture, Science and Technology and Agus Mansyah's study of Indonesian Community Nationalism in Borders Area and Its Impact to Sovereignty (Case Study in Sanggau Regency, West Kalimantan). While study of youth nationalism such as the Warsono study of Young Generation Nationalism.

Although there are many studies on borders area and youth nationalism, the study of nationalism of youth on the borders is still very limited. Because of that, is become a reason why this study must be conducted. Another significance of this study because of the need of comprehensive information on actual conditions about nationalism of students, not only from an outside perspective but also from the perspective of the students itself. It is important to find out the root of the problem of nationalism of students and at the end useful to formulate some recommendations to solve the problem. Another important thing, it is because nationalism studies are mostly done with the defense study approach, especially after the establishment of the Defense University, and citizenship education studies. Considering the substantial structural and cultural aspects of nationalism issues, the sociological approach to nationalism studies is urgently needed. Hence, this study intends to try to see the issue of nationalism from the perspective of objects which are the students to find out how students interpret nationalism. By using the Social Construction Theory of Peter L. Berger and Luckman, studies also tried to identify how the meaning process took place, and with use of Structuration Theory of Giddens tried to identify the main actors who were involved and how their roles were.

# Methodology

The study used qualitative methods type of case study, with Focus Group Discussion (FGD) as a data collection technique and also in-depth interview. Beside of that, quantitative data was also this study also collectincollected in this study with the consideration that it is necessary to obtain a more general description of the object, then collection is carried out even though it is only supporting data and is limited (only in one school). The study were conducted in four senior high school that all of them located in South Jakarta, namely in SMAN 34 Jakarta, SMA Suluh, SMAN 97 and SMAN 109. These schools were chosen with the consideration that they could represent picture of condition of urban youth with different social and economic conditions. SMA 34 and SMA Islam Al-Izhar were chosen because they were considered able to represent schools with students from middle to upper class social and economic conditions and schools that had quite a number of program interventions considering their existence as high ranking schools), while three others, namely SMAN 97, SMAN 109 and SMA Suluh represent the picture of schools with student from lower to middle socio economic conditions and have not too many program interventions.

# The Meaning of Nationalism and Teoretical Framework The Meaning of Nationalism

Referring to Craig Calhoun (1997), the definition of nationalism is very diverse, strongly influenced by the political context, political orientation, and cognition of the person giving definitions. Nevertheless, there is one single idea that becomes the common thread of the meaning of nationalism, namely that nationalism is the antithesis of colonialism and is a unifier to maintain independence (Purwanto, 2001). Quoting Sarman (1995) as revealed by Anggraeni Kusumawardhani and Faturochman in the Redefinition of Nationalism, nationalism is often interpreted narrowly as love the country without

reserve. As a symbol of heroic patriotism, nationalism translated as a form of struggle that justifies all means for a beloved country. Defining nationalism in that way according to Sarman is wrong because placing the meaning of nationalism as something that easily obsolete and no longer relevant to current issues, considering almost all countries at his moment no longer struggle with the issue of the struggle for independence. Because of that, it is interesting to examine the opinion of John Hutchinson, who emphasized that nationalism is more of a cultural product rather than a political product. His opinion is based on a belief that political activity, in essence, cannot be separated from cultural motivation. In this way, the issue of nationalism is always relevant to be developed at any time and case.

It is also important to observe James J. Kellas's definition. Kellas stated that nationalism both an ideology and a form of behavior. The ideology of nationalism builds on people's awareness of nation (national self-consciousness) to give a set of attitudes and programme of action, they may be cultural, economic or political. A nation can be defined in an ethnic, social, or official sense, so nationalism can also take these form. Thus, nationalism as a cultural product not only appear in the form of idealism (such as manifests in the form of orientation and attitude for example) but also can manifest in the form of concrete actions. Regarding the view that nationalism is an ideology, it is in line with Ernest Renan's opinion (in Soekarno, 1959) which states that nationalism is an awareness of unity which is demanded by obsession to realize a collective interest which is considered noble, which ultimately creates a national identity or identity of a nation (Jati, 2017, p. 9). In short, nationalism according to him is related to the resistance movement which ignores the primordial aspect. Whereas nationalism in the form of concrete actions, it can refer to Hutchinson's opinion as explained earlier.

# Study of Nationalism

Others, how is the study of nationalism? Studies of nationalisme continue to increase quantitatively. Because there are many sociological studies of nationalism, now led to emergence of a new branch of sociology, namely sociology of nationalism. Include in this studies are various theoretical approaches start functionalism theory, modernization theory, neo-Marxism theory, comparative-historical sociology theory, social constructionist theory to rational choice theory. The emergence of a variety of theories and approaches causes the emerging issues sometimes conflict with each other because of the specific issues behind the study of nationalism. For example, studies about national revival respond to the emergence of an absolute state and concerns about the waning of people's sovereignty. While the issue of industrialization is a response to issue of the need of cultural development, uneven development, and modernization. Beside of that, nationalism studies also developed along with the development of the complexity of the community itself. The issue of nationalism because of it politically developed and expanded from the US in the 18th century, Europe (19th century), and continued to spread to colonial countries such as Asia, Africa and the Caribbean in the 20th century. Because of this the issue of nationalism has a major role in modern cultural life in many countries, such as language, literature, art, gender, food, and even sports. Finally, issue of nationalism plays an important role in the rise of global civil society (replacing the nation-state), because of pressure on economic policies that more leaning to capitalistic economics.

Another thing that is important, the issue of nationalism is often faced with the issue of social transformation. Social change brings people closer to global values. The boundaries between countries become increasingly faded, which causes the role of nationalism values in the life of a country as if it is no longer important. This is in line with the thoughts of Soerjono Soekanto who said that there were a number of factors that were driving the change in culture, which of course also affected changes in values that lived in the community. One of them is due to the contact or touch of another nation's culture, which is now increasingly difficult to avoid because of increasingly rapid global changes. These problems contribute to the future study of nationalism, which is dealing with real challenges where nationalism

values on the one hand seem unimportant (because they will be counterproductive with the spirit of globalization and world unity), while on the other hand they are felt as a necessity to maintain integrity a country.

Related to the issue of the meaning of student nationalism that as a focus of this study, it is a real problem. The use of social media that is very massive, causes the invasion of external values not only to occur at certain times or in certain ways, but invade the minds of youth (in this context meaning of nationalism of students) at all times (24 hours), and take happen even in the most private places. The rapid movement of hate speech in the community, is one example of how the penetration of destructive values now invading anyone easily and with a powerful invasion. These are the issues that later became the topics of nationalism studies, namely contrasting between globalization and nationalism, the necessity of maintaining the attitude of nationalism, nationalism among young people, and others.

### **Teoretical Framework**

To understand how the meaning of nationalisme of the students can be formed, this study use the social construction theory of Berger and Luckmann (1990) as a lens of analysis. This theory explain that the meaning of individuals on social reality is constructed by individuals through three stages, namely externalization, objectification, and internalization. At the externalization and objectification stage the meaning of individual about social reality (in this context about nationalism), tend to manifest as an abstract form like an ideology. At externalization stage, individual get some input to understand reality, whereas at objectification stage individual is seeking justification for input obtained by factual reality witnessed or experienced. The meaning of nationalism changes into a concrete form at the internalization stage, where an individual raises his meaning about reality in the form of some action or some activities.

The other important point, Berger and Luckmann seperate between reality and knowledge (meaning of the people about reality). Reality is a genuin fact but knowledge is the reality that influence by individual experience (the intended of experience was obtained through a series of social interaction activities). Related to this theory, this study try to understand how meaning of students about nationalism can be formed and what kind of interaction they get that influence their meaning of nationalism.

#### **Results and Discussion**

The meanings of students in four senior high schools studied (SMAN 34, SMA 97, SMA Suluh, and SMAN 109), are generally the same namely referring to the meaning of nationalism commonly known such as love for the country, love for Indonesia, and pride as a citizen of Indonesia (abstract form of the meaning of nationalism). However, besides the general meaning, there is a more specific meaning (concreate form of the meaning of nationalism), which is different between one school and another. Related to the specific meaning, based on the study conducted, it is influenced by the facts faced by students in their school and on the interactions that occur between students and those facts.

Referring to Berger and Luckmann's (1990) theory that reality can be differentiated into **facts** and **knowledge**, the facts in this study are the nationalistic reality faced by students in their schools whether in the form of program intervention by schools as a form of implementation of Ministry of Education policies (such as the obligation to conduct ceremonies daily flag before starting learning activities and after learning activities and singing Indonesian Raya songs for starting the class); and program interventions because independent initiatives by schools such as including students in activities that can increase nationalism. The following are some of the activities carried out by the school for example, namely: *Sabang Sail* activities, including students in various competitions both at national and

international levels, involving students in national and international activities such as becoming members of Ratoe Jaroh dance team at the opening and closing of the Asian Games, as done at SMAN 34; accustom students to respect the flag by quitting activities when the flag is raised or lowered, as applied at SMAN 34 and SMAN 97; revive extracurricular activities such as scouts and paskibra, as done at SMA Suluh; and by developing values of morality such as honesty and discipline, bringing the good name of the school, as well as the discipline of attendance, as done at SMAN 97. In addition to program interventions by schools, intensive discussions about nationalism were discussions that took place in classrooms (especially on PPKN subjects), discussions in school organizations, as well as with parents and extended families; also enrich their information about facts or reality about nationalism. Then what is meant by knowledge in this study? Knowledge is the meaning of students about nationalism produced from the results of student interaction with various facts (fact) about nationalism as already mentioned. In more detail how the process of forming nationalism in students can be explained as follows: begins with the fact in the form of a number of activities held in schools to be followed by students in schools (externalization), followed by interactions (in the form of discussion and dialogue) with a number of parties such as teachers, friends, and family that enrich students' understanding of facts (objectification), and ultimately form the meaning of students about nationalism (internalization).

There are a number of findings, namely as follows:

1. The study confirms Berger and Luckmann's (1990) theory that knowledge is the result of individual interaction with facts or reality. The meaning of student nationalism, especially in the concrete form, is strongly influenced by student interactions with facts both facts that received in school (through activities organized by the school or specifically discussed in class with PPKN teachers, students interaction with their school mate or school organization) or out of schools (interactions students with peer groups or interaction in their family).

As the second best school in South Jakarta, achievement generally became the orientation of students in SMAN 34. Because of it, students of SMAN 34 who generally smarter than others tend to associate the meaning of nationalism as achievement, creations, a brilliant and innovative work, professionalism, and also serious learning.

"In my opinion, nationalism should not be interpreted narrowly. It's not just about love our country but also how we can achieve and boast. For example through varian creations that we produce."

Whereas SMA Suluh that stimulate students with additional activities such as scouts, heirloom flag raiser (paskibra), marching band, and so on; tends to associate nationalism with activity to respect the flag, ceremonial activities, discipline and others as said by one student: "Nationalism is close to activities such as scouts, paskibra, just activities that make us more disciplined ..."

While students of SMAN 97 who get more intervention with various stimulation related with students' moral formation such as honesty (not supervised at the time of the exam, getting used to admitting mistakes for example when they arrive at school), tend to link the meaning of nationalism with moral values (honesty, maintain the good name of the almamater, be responsible, respect parents, teachers, and those who are older, etc).

A rather different thing happened to the students of SMAN 109. Because they did not receive any intervention from the school (except mandatory activities from the Ministry of Education and Culture to carry out daily and weekly ceremonies and singing Indonesian songs before start the learning activity), the students tended to understand nationalism in a non-patterned form. The school close many opportunity for students to get intervention from outside (either by attending activities outside of school

or bringing in outsiders to fill out activities in school), with the reason that they are worried about disrupting school activities.

One of the students in the FGD activity said:

"The headmaster always refuses if someone asks us to take part in activities outside. Never mind taking part in outside activities, they just came here rejected by the headmaster. The reason is fear of disturbing school activities, fear bla...bla...., but the point is not clear ... Students here are like people who are less social. Well, forced to accept fate, while praying one day all will change ... "

There is no (minimal) intervention (fact) causing students interpret nationalism in their own ways which is very different from one student to another (a non-pattern form). Students who like cultural arts activities for example, interpret nationalism through art activities while those who like reading activities interpret nationalism by reading history or reading thought of founding fathers.

2. The meaning of students nationalism are not individual but refers to the meaning of their environment. It is related with students' assessment of themselves compared to students from other schools.

As illustrated by the statement of one of the students in the FGD: "We are SMAN 34 students. Because the entrance test to SMAN 34 is difficult, so we must produce something special, not just ordinary ..."

- 3. Related to the factors that shape the meaning of nationalism, it is influenced by the following five factor: a) the form of nationalism program intervention by the school to students, b) the delivery of PPKN material, c) discourse on nationalism in the family, d) discourse on nationalism which takes place in peer groups, and e) discourse on nationalism that takes place in school organizations.
- 4. Related to the lack of intervention as happened in the case of SMAN 109, where schools did not open the opportunity for students to get a lot of intervention from others, cause there is a non-pattern form of student meanings about nationalism. It can occur because of limited facts that received by students in other side and limited interactions experience by the students. As a result students use facts and experiences that are privately owned (which can be very different between one student and another), which in the final stage causes the meaning of students about nationalism to be un patterned.
- 5. Regarding the use of the internet, even though students make the internet a source of reference, the search for information about nationalism is generally related to teacher assignments (for PPKN subjects), so that it can be said not to be the main source of reference. Whereas regarding social media, generally it does not contribute to the meaning of students about nationalism, because of the lack of discourse on nationalism on social media. This is also explain why students generally look for more entertaining information on social media (for example to find out the information of K-Pop artists, films, BST and others).
- 6. There has been a state effort to improve student nationalism which has proven effective, namely the policy of requiring schools to hold daily and weekly flag ceremony activities, as well as the necessity to sing the Indonesia Raya song before starting learning activities.
- 7. There have been school efforts to improve student nationalism through program and policy interventions, both direct and indirect; which proved to contribute positively to the development of students' understanding of nationalism.

### **Conclusion**

There is the same meaning about nationalism (abstract form of nationalism) of the students in the four schools studied, which means nationalism as a love the country, love for Indonesia and pride of being as Indonesian citizen. This ssimilar meaning is allegedly derived from PPKN subject and nationalism development activities carried out in schools as the implementation of Ministry of Education and Cultural policy, namely the implementation of daily and weekly flag ceremonies and activities of singing Indonesia Raya songs before starting learning activities. In addition to the general meaning, there is a specific meaning of students about nationalism (concrete form of nationalism) that tends to be different. Referring to the construction theory of social reality, the formation of meaning is influenced by the intervention of specific activities given by the school to develop student nationalism. In other words, the meaning of students about nationalism is influenced by student interactions with the facts about nationalism that gained at school.

While regarding the factors that influence the meaning of student nationalism, this is due to the following things: a). Students involvement with programs related with development nationalism of students in schools, b). learning material of PPKN c). interaction students with discourse of nationalism in school (i.e in school organization) and out side of school (in family, peer groups, and internet).

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