

Building the Nation-State Future through the Development of Indonesia Multiculturalism-Based Nationalism

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Abstract. Besides being the largest archipelagic country in the world, Indonesia also has ethnic, linguistic, cultural, and religious heterogeneity. Pancasila is the ideology and the foundation of the state that unites the diversity across Indonesia, which has over 17,000 islands. In the context of the modern nation where heterogeneity is found in many aspects, it is necessary to understand the concept that there is a difference between a Nation-State and a Conventional State. Essentially, a Conventional State is characterized by the similarity of descent, ethnicity, culture, language, religion, and the like as the unifier. The government mechanisms are formed through organized figures, whose manifestations are in the form of monarchy or kingdoms with a hereditary government system. Thus, the glory of the state is left to the dynastic system. In the context of the current Indonesian nation, the concept of the Nation-State as a nation established for all people based on an agreement that results in a contractual relationship between the parties that agree tends to be misunderstood by some citizens. This phenomenon is characterized by the mushrooming primordialism, which sees one's own ethnicity and religion as superior to those of others. This is undoubtedly problematic and requires a viable solution given the high heterogeneity in various aspects of life. Therefore, to establish the Nation-State, it is essential to develop nationalism, which is developed based on Pancasila as the noble agreement of the nation as the foundation of the Republic of Indonesia. The Pancasila should become the spirit of nationalism. Practicing Pancasila values means that every individual is willing to devote themselves to the Nation-State and embrace the diversity in ethnicity, language, and religion and see it as shared or common identity. In this case, instilling nationalism using a multiculturalism approach seems to be the best option. This way, people interaction and integration of the diverse Indonesian communities can run peacefully, safely, and most importantly, foster a spirit of togetherness, humanity, and tolerance that can help to build a democratic nation.

Keywords: *heterogeneity, multiculturalism, nation-state, and nationalism*

INTRODUCTION

Multicultural education in Indonesia is a relatively new concept, which is not widely known by most teachers [1]. Therefore, it is important to introduce it to the public through seminars, workshops, brainstorming, and supplementary subjects in schools through Civic Education and Social Sciences. The heterogeneous Indonesian society is well managed through a multicultural values approach. Thus, interaction and national integration can run peacefully to foster cooperation, tolerance, humanity, and democracy. In a heterogeneous society, an understanding of multiculturalism is essential to broaden the community horizon or raise awareness to diminish the cultural "selfishness." Cultural plurality is social interaction among people who have different perspectives and ways of thinking in society but can coexist and cooperate in an ideal way.

The heterogeneous nation of Indonesia inhabiting the world's largest archipelago of more than 17,000 islands commits to uniting based on Pancasila. The independence of the country was not given but earned through a long process of struggle by the founders of this country. Pancasila and *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity) is a necessity for the survival of a nation whose territory is an archipelago and its heterogeneous people. Pancasila is a comfortable space for the development of diversity (heterogeneity) and *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity) and a basis for the awareness of national identity. The implementation of Pancasila and *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* in the form of positive law will not be beneficial unless through law enforcement. A new norm, value, rule, or law will only be useful when there is law enforcement, which is performed honestly and fairly.

METHOD

This study examines the social phenomena related to efforts to build the nation-state future through the development of Indonesian multiculturalism-based nationalism. Considering the heterogeneity of the Indonesian nation, this issue seems to be worth studying. Nationalism should be maintained so the nation can live in harmony despite the globalization, which can erode the values of nationalism. This study uses a qualitative approach to investigate a social phenomenon and human

problems [2]. Qualitative method is a research procedure that produces descriptive data in the form of written and spoken words from the people and actors observed. In line with the statement, Moleong [3] states that qualitative research is research that uses a naturalistic approach to understand a phenomenon in a particular setting.

Based on these theories, a feasible approach to use in this study is a qualitative approach. The researcher decides to employ this method based on the following reasons: (1) The researcher acts as the main instrument or human instrument, which plays an active role as a data collector, data processor, and data reporter, (2) This study does not rely on hypotheses and inductive data analysis. Instead, it constructs knowledge based on data obtained from the field. The data from the field were collected through observation, interviews, and documentation studies, (3) The researcher conducts the identification and solving the research problems through observations, interviews, documentation studies, and Focus Group Discussion (FGD), and (4) This study seeks to obtain a description and understanding of multicultural material forming the nationalism attitudes that can be elaborated and implemented into formal education materials.

The researcher uses grounded theory to construct the concept of the nation-state future through the development of multiculturalism-based Indonesia nationalism. It is the development of a theory that is closely related to the context of the events being studied. It emphasizes the efforts to conduct an abstract analysis of a phenomenon in the hope that specific theories can be created and precisely explain the phenomenon (Creswell, 2008). In this case, the researcher does not intend to test the theory of multiculturalism. Instead, the researcher studies and analyzes the theory of multiculturalism as a study material to establish the values that can be used to develop nationalism attitudes. The values developed are in the form of a description of multiculturalism that can be elaborated into educational materials to develop an attitude of nationalism in formal education.

RESULT

Indonesian nationalism was born in the 1908's national resurgence. The era of nationalism reformation requires a new formula in building a multicultural nation-state. The formula should be implemented through national education [1]. Indonesian multicultural and cultural societies demand a new perspective of nationalism. Multiculturalism is a view that recognizes the diversity in a nation, as in Indonesia. The term multicultural society is relatively new and firstly introduced in the 1970s. The multicultural movement first appeared in Canada, followed by the United States, Australia, Britain, Germany, and other countries [4]. The concept of multiculturalism has different meanings with the diversity of ethnic groups or cultures that characterizes plural societies. The meaning of the pluralistic community concept proposed by Furnivall and

Clifton Geertz is that diversity is natural or given rather than a human-made.

Meanwhile, the concept of a multicultural society is interpreted as a state of society in which cultural, linguistic, religious, customs, and patterns as the order of behavior of members of the community. It functions as a guideline for human life. In the context of national development, the term multicultural has formed an ideology called multiculturalism [5].

Multicultural not only means the recognition of cultural diversity, language, religion, customs, and patterns as the order of behavior of community members but also has political, social, economic implications. Therefore, multiculturalism is also related to the principles of democracy. Recently, there were many countries that declare themselves a democratic country but did not acknowledge the multiculturalism in their nation. This is often the cause of various vertical and horizontal conflicts. After achieving its Independence, Indonesia experienced several upheavals and social conflicts. The PRRI rebellion, DI / TII PERMESTA, RMS, G 30S / PKI, Sampit conflict, Poso, Ambon, the Free Aceh Movement, and the Free Papua Organization showed the crisis of nationalism. As a vast multiethnic and multicultural archipelagic country, Indonesia must be able to manage its diversity to unite the nation.

According to Parekh [6], multiculturalism can be classified into three models. First, it is a model that prioritizes nationality. Nationality is a new figure built together without regard to a variety of ethnic groups, religions, and languages. Moreover, nationalism acts as a means to unite the diverse Indonesian society. This model views every person - not as a group - has the right to be protected by the State as a citizen. The weakness of this model is that it does not pay attention to the ethnic and cultural roots that constitute the state. Instead, it treats the ethnic and cultural roots as the past of the nation. The second model is the ethnicity nationality model based on the strong ethnic collective consciousness. The foundation is a relationship of blood and kinship with the founders. Besides, the unity of language is also a feature of ethnic nationalism. This model is considered a closed model because outsiders who do not have blood relations with the nation's founders will be treated as strangers. The last model is the ethnic multicultural model. It acknowledges the rights and ethnics of citizens collectively. This model of diversity must be recognized and accommodated by the state since the identity and origin of citizens are considered. This model is usually applied by countries that have issues of indigenous people (aborigines) and migrants, such as Canada and Australia. Parekh adds that the three multicultural models can be used as a basis for analyzing how the multicultural portrait of Indonesia must be developed in the future. Therefore, national integration can be maintained and even becomes more robust through the implementation of multicultural-based nationalism.

Nation-State is a semi-contractual natural history where nationalism is the strongest foundation [7].

Nationalism is a psychological situation where one's loyalty is devoted directly to the nation-state. During the war of independence, a concept was needed as a basis for rational justification. The concept was about the guidelines for self-determination that could unite the nation. The basis of justification was made by Dr. Wahidin Sudirohusodo. His idea was to establish a national State whose territory is vast and not bound by equality of ethnicity, language, ethnicity, geography, or religion. The idea was welcomed by the youth leaders at that time, and the Budi Utomo Organization 1908 was founded, which was recorded in history as a national awakening [8]. Twenty years later, Budi Utomo's goal in the field of education and culture gave birth to the next generation's ideas. The inception of October 28, 1928, Youth Pledge was pioneered by young people. They vowed to acknowledge one motherland, Indonesia; to acknowledge one nation, the nation of Indonesia; and to respect the language of unity, Bahasa Indonesia. The values of the Youth Pledge are far more fundamental and have existed earlier than the ideology of multiculturalism that was born in the 1970s.

The basis of further justification emerges in the concept of understanding the ideology of nationality commonly referred to as nationalism. The national ideology of the Indonesian nation was formulated by the founders of this country. Sukarno in his speech on June 1, 1945, in front of *Dokuritsu Zyunbi Coosakai (BPUPKI/ Investigative Committee for the Preparatory Work for Indonesian Independence)*, asserted that Indonesian nationalism is not a narrow nationalism or chauvinism. Instead, it is an open nationalism prioritizing the brotherhood of nations. In Soekarno's words, "*Internationalism cannot flourish well if not rooted in its earth, which is nationalism. Nationalism cannot thrive if it does not live in its parks, which is internationalism*". This later became the basic principle of Indonesian nationalism. Subsequently, he proposed the five basic principles of the state, Pancasila.

Sukiyono [9] argues that Indonesia nationalism is constructed based on national pluralism because Indonesia is a pluralistic country. When examined from the aspect of ethnicity, religion, race, groups, and geographic area, Indonesia is characterized by a plurality [10]-[14]. It can be seen from a large number of regions and biodiversity in it. Today, many people consider nationalism and its derivative products (e.g., the concept of a nation-state) old-fashioned. However, nationalism is actually relevant and beneficial for the survival of the nation since the essence of nationalism is the vision of the future.

CONCLUSION

Since the 21st century, the forms and the formats of pluralism-based nationalism have been developed. The national leaders often associate Indonesian nationalism with the unity of the nation. The Indonesian nationalism style that needs to be realized in the millennial era, or commonly known as the Industrial Revolution Era 4.0,

are as follows: (1) well-managed pluralism characterized by high level of tolerance and harmony that positively impacts nationalism, (2) strong nationalism, which is essential for the independence and competitiveness of the Indonesian people in the arena of international relations, and (3) the nation's independence and competitiveness, which can be strengthened by potential nationalism. It will make Indonesia stand as high as other great nations in the international stage. The main goal of Indonesian nationalism is to uphold the Pancasila ideology in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, which has accommodated multiculturalism. In addition to Parekh's (2008) view that stated a multicultural ethnic model recognizes the existence and rights of ethnic citizens collectively, the ideology of Pancasila accommodates the diversity into a reality that must be recognized and accommodated by the state, acknowledges the identity and origin of citizens, and puts the faith in God as the first principle since Pancasila is a religious ideology not shared by other ideologies in the world. The attitude of tolerance and mutual respect among religious people is expected behavior in everyday life. Therefore, amid the swift flow of globalization, the identity of the Indonesian nation should not dissolve in a cultural onslaught that undermines the unity of the nation. Amid the incessant global influences which not always brings a positive effect on the existence of the nation, a national culture rooted in local culture needs to be instilled for the survival of the nation and state. Thus, efforts to instill the nationalism in the context of the current dynamics of change must be made by formulating an effective and efficient strategy.

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