



Building Indonesian Nationalism Among Indonesian People Through Civic Education

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Abstract. Plurality is an asset for the Indonesian nation-state to become a large and strong country. Indonesia's condition is still in a safe position so that Indonesia will often survive disintegration because of the blurring of borders between regions and the absence of a political agenda that could support separatism. Meanwhile, weak law enforcement, conflict between parties and rampant corruption, brawls between students and villages, violence, religious intolerance, terrorist threats, and the continued existence of secession movements in several areas, including the Free Papua Organization, are actually getting stronger and are still happening up to now. now. Is Citizenship Education able to build awareness as a nation among Indonesian people today? This study proves that the national issue in Papua is a signal that citizenship education must be the basis for cultivating national awareness in Indonesia.

Keywords: Indonesia, nationalism, conflict and the state

1 Introduction

As a large, pluralistic nation-state located between islands, the Indonesian people should feel proud because to this day the Indonesian nation still stands strong from Sabang to Merauke. Plurality is an asset for the Indonesian nation-state to become a large and strong country. According to Robert Cribb [7], Indonesia's condition is still in a safe position. Indonesia will survive disintegration because of the blurring of borders between regions and the absence of a political agenda that could support separatism. Cribb's views above remind the Indonesian government and society that the possibility of disintegration is very small.

It turns out that various internal problems continue to occur from time to time, including weak law enforcement, conflict between parties and rampant corruption, brawls between students and villages, violence, religious intolerance, terrorist threats, and the continued existence of secession movements in several areas. . The situation above shows that being "Indonesian" is a major need for Indonesian society today. Meanwhile, Indonesian people's understanding of "being Indonesian" is still a problem. Elson [9] shows Soekarno's statement at the end of the struggle for independence. Soekarno stated that "it is important to note that Indonesian ideas, with all their diversity, have not yet found a "comfortable home in the Indonesian state that was built." Therefore, it is not wrong if Putut Widjanarko [7] states that Indonesianness is a continuous search process, never finished.

Meanwhile, so far, people who are considered not to be Indonesian nationalists, including Papuans, have been immediately dealt with without understanding how Papuans in the past knew and understood the integration process, especially regarding the Indonesian process. On the one hand, the action of eradicating anti-Indonesian movements can be considered correct considering that Papua is part of the Republic of Indonesia, while on the other hand a more militaristic approach will actually strengthen awareness of Papuanness rather than Indonesianness (Meteray, 2014).

The views of Soekarno and Putut Widjanarko above indicate that becoming Indonesian in the context of the Indonesian nation-state has actually not yet reached its final stage because the process of forming one's identity as an Indonesian is still in progress. Meanwhile, when it comes to national awareness in Papua. Meteray [10] explains that the process of seeding and growing Indonesianness has not yet reached all regions in Papua, but after integration from 1963 to 2024 in Papua, the government has made almost all areas of Papua that are not yet nationalist, including inland areas, as target areas for military operations. People who are considered not nationalist in Papua are immediately prosecuted without understanding how Papuans in the past knew and understood themselves as part of Indonesia. The Papua case shows that the use of

"generalization" in handling cases that also occur in various places in Indonesia needs to be reviewed because societal and geographical diversity requires not only a historical approach but also civic education to overcome the nation's problems today.

The various national problems mentioned above can trigger national disintegration. This shows that awareness of being Indonesian among Indonesian people, both central and regional, is "still problematic" and has not yet become an important part of state life. In fact, according to Abdul Wahab and Sapriya [1], for a nation state that upholds state and national values, the concept of citizenship occupies a strategic position so that it becomes a central concept for national and state life. Therefore, in the context of making fellow Indonesian citizens aware in the era of globalization that Citizenship Education is very important, the topic of "Building Nationalist Awareness among young Indonesian citizens through Citizenship Education" is worthy of study in order to build the unity and unity of the Republic of Indonesia.

2 Methods

This article uses the literature study method as the main approach to data collection. This method involves collecting, analyzing, and interpreting various reference sources, such as books, scientific journals, official documents, as well as related articles, which are relevant to the topic discussed. The literature study was chosen to gain an in-depth understanding of concepts, theories, and previous research results related to the issue being researched. Thus, this article aims to provide a comprehensive analysis based on reliable sources, to support the arguments and findings raised in the discussion.

3 Result

3.1 What does the name "Indonesia" mean?

In the 1945 Constitution, article one paragraph one states that the Indonesian state is a unitary state. The ideal of unity was pledged by young people in a famous event, namely the Youth Pledge on October 28 1928. Unity in question includes the nation, language and territory.

After the Proclamation of Independence on August 17 1945, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) was established. Furthermore, on August 18 1945, the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence (PPKI) met to complete all state equipment, including the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution. Indonesian blood. What is meant by bloodshed is the entire territory of the former Dutch East Indies including Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, West Nusa Tenggara, East Nusa Tenggara and Maluku. The position of Papua (at that time it was called Netherlands New Guinea) was part of the Maluku province so that Papua was included in Indonesian territory.

To become part of Indonesian society goes through a long process and varies from one region to another. According to Elson [9], before the twentieth century, the Indonesian state did not exist and therefore the Indonesian people did not exist. There is not one flag, but many flags." It was even emphasized that in these islands there is no indigenous leadership that is formulated in a broad, modern and firm manner. The word Indonesia was first coined in 1850 in the form of Indu-nesians by the British traveler and social observer George Samuel Windsor Earl. Meanwhile, James Logan was the first person to use the name "Indonesia." Then Elson [9] also emphasized that in 1877, E.T. French anthropologist Hamy uses the word Indonesia to describe prehistoric and pre-Malay racial groups in the Indonesian archipelago. Then various people with various interests began to use the word Indonesia when describing the islands located between the continents of Asia and Australia

Meanwhile, Putut Widjanarko stated that each country has its own historical and philosophical reasons. Therefore, there is no intellectual equipment that is strong enough to accuse or question, for example, how a unitary state like China, Iran or France was formed. Likewise, Indonesia, which Putut Widjanarko admitted, did not fall like the apple on Newton's head. Furthermore, it is also said that Indonesia has been a cultural unity for thousands of years before Christ [7].

The thoughts of Elson and Putut Widjanarko show that becoming Indonesian is not just a name for the people living in this archipelago but is the identity of the Indonesian nation through a long process. Since the founding of Budi Utomo 1808 and Sarekat Islam 1911 in Java, there have been efforts to unite the various differences in society at that time. However, through the thoughts of Soewardi Soeryaningrat, Tjito Mangoenkoesoemo, and E.F.E. Douwes Dekker, Indonesianism was just starting to be conceived in the

"Indische Partij 1912. The idea of building togetherness in the context of Indonesianness continued from year to year and even became stronger when the students were in Java and the Netherlands.

In the Netherlands, for example, students discuss the meaning of Indonesianness in lecture halls, coffee shops and boarding rooms. In August 1918, Leiden Indonesian students revived the newspaper "Indies Poetra" based on the idea of the Indonesian Student Association (Indonesisch Verbond van Studerenden-IVS) with fourteen organizations and 668 people. The word "Indonesia" was used not only for native Indonesians but for those who had interests in the Indies at that time." According to Soewardi, anyone who considers the Indies or Indonesia to be his homeland, regardless of whether he is a full-blooded Indonesian, or of Chinese, Dutch or European descent. According to Elson, Soewardi's thinking is truly strong and far-sighted [9]. Meanwhile, the Minahasa people, GSSJ. Ratu Langgie, who was influenced by Doewes Dekker, stated that social problems only have one solution, namely the widest tolerance, general patience" and what is also considered important according to Ratulangie is the use of better words, namely "brotherhood (verbroedering) of nations, races race and interracial cross-breeding in Indonesia". Therefore, Elson is not wrong in saying that Java was the first place where Indonesians started discussing the issue of "Indonesianness."

Thus, gradually, Indonesian national awareness began to be used for the first time among Indonesian students in the Netherlands in the Indonesian Association (PI) organization in 1922 with the initiators including Mohamad Hatta, Natsir, Achmad Soebardjo and Soekiman, Wirjosandjojo. The idea of Indonesian nationalism was then spread to Indonesia by students when they returned to Indonesia, including GSSJ. Ratu Langgie from Minahasa and Johannes Lattuharhary from Ambon. So the 1928 Youth Pledge event was a manifestation of Indonesia's national awareness as one nation. This peak of Indonesian awareness became stronger and more real after the Indonesian nation became a nation state during the Proclamation of 17 August 1945.

3.2 Problems in Understanding Indonesianness in Indonesia

It must be acknowledged that the efforts of students from various places led Kahin [8] and Ricklefs [13] to emphasize that Indonesian elites and intellectuals were very important in spreading Indonesian national awareness against the Dutch colonialists in order to achieve independence and defend the Republic of Indonesia. According to Kahin and Leirissa [8], [9] the formation of the Indonesian Nation State on August 17 1945 was based on the Dutch administration which had united people from various languages and cultures into one political unity and thus would build a kind of general awareness. national.

However, according to Bambang Purwanto [2], awareness of being Indonesian was not automatically attached to all regions in the former Dutch East Indies or community groups within it when the proclamation of Indonesia was proclaimed in Jakarta, but rather a further process was needed so that awareness of being Indonesian was truly formed. The echo of national consciousness that grows and develops on the island of Java cannot be taken for granted by other Indonesians outside Java.

Maluku, for example, even though there was contact between the Maluku people and other regions in Indonesia which is estimated to have occurred in the 15th century, the journey of the Maluku people, both in the north, central and southeast, became part of Indonesia through a long process. Understanding as part of Indonesian society only began with the presence of Ambonese youth who had been studying in Java since the 1890s. The involvement of Maluku people in political activities cannot be separated from the presence of young people from Maluku who continued their studies long before 1928 in several cities in Java (Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Semarang and Surabaya) and Sulawesi (Makassar and Tondano) and the Netherlands. Some of the young people from Maluku who lived in various places in Java and Makassar, had continued their Dutch education in the fields of medicine and law and then returned to Java and Ambon. This meeting with various young people caused them to understand Indonesianness.

News of the proclamation of 17 August 1945 in Maluku only reached the youth and people in Maluku only through radio and newspapers. Mr J. Lattuharhary, who was previously a member of BPUPKI (General Preparatory Body for Indonesian Independence), was appointed by the president as governor of Maluku with his office based in Jakarta, making various efforts so that the news of this proclamation could be heard and understood by the Maluku people in various places, including Maluku.

Meanwhile, awareness of being Indonesian among Papuans only began to grow at the end of 1945, when J.P.K. Van Eeouchoud in West Irian recruited several Indonesians as government employees as well as several Indonesian nationalist figures who were exiled by the Dutch Government in Batavia to Papua in mid-1946. It is admitted that in 1935 Moh. Hatta and Syarif had been exiled in Boven Digul, but the understanding of Papuans as part of the Republic of Indonesia which was proclaimed on 17 August 1945 only grew in Hollandia and not in Boven Digul. This can be seen in the various political activities that took place during the 1945-49 period growing and developing in the context of the struggle to maintain Indonesian independence on 17 August 1945 in Papua. In this period, political activity was generally limited to the north, such as Hollandia, Biak, Serui, Fak-Fak and Sorong.

Thus, the formation of the Indonesian nation-state was not natural but through a political process. Wang Gungwu [14] said that Indonesia as a nation-state is a process that was created/made. While touching on Indonesian Unity, Magnis-Suseno, referring to Sukarno's thoughts, emphasized that the unity of the Indonesian nation is not natural but through a historical process (1995). Meanwhile, Henley (1996), who studied nationalism in Minahasa, emphasized that the Minahasa people ultimately became part of the Indonesian nation, however, their view of Indonesia was different from what was promoted by Soekarno. The concept of nationalism promoted by Soekarno, such as one homeland, one nation and one language, remains something foreign to the majority of the Minahasan people, including the intellectual group. Indonesia as a nation is a political project not based on historical or cultural facts.

By realizing that the Indonesian nation is very diverse and the process of becoming a nation also varies from one region to another, an understanding of nationalism is very necessary. Smith (2004) stated that a nation is a community that historically occupies a common territory, has the same experience in culture and history, a unified economic system, the same rights and the same duties for all members of society. Smith also emphasized that nationalism is an ideological struggle to achieve and maintain the autonomy, unity and identity of the population that forms a country. Meanwhile, another thinker, Ernest Gellner [15] suggests that nationalism is something that is created as a result of the emergence of a nation that previously did not exist. The formation of a nation and nationalism is not something that just appears, but is an invention or something that was created and based on the desire to live together because they have several similarities and is driven by elite or intellectual groups in urban areas.

The formation of a nation according to Renan is not solely based on various elements of similarity but the formation of a nation can also arise from differences [3]. Renan admitted that the formation of tribes and cities in Europe in the past made racial equality the most important factor, but when Rome adopted Christianity, this religion actually became the unification of all Roman territories in Europe. According to Renan, the emergence of countries in the West such as Germany, Italy, England, the United States and Spain is evidence of the formation of a nation that is not necessarily based on similarities in race, language, region or religion but rather based on the desire to live together. Renan even added that the existence of a nation is a daily plebiscite, just as that of the individual is a continuous affirmation of life. The importance of a "plebiscite" which is displayed at any time is very important to emphasize the desire to live together on the part of every individual for the sake of the survival of a nation state. With the formation of this nation, nationalism will also be realized.

3.3 Indonesian Nationalism in Civic Education

One of the efforts to build an integrated Republic of Indonesia to avoid disintegration is to provide Citizenship Education at every level of education at primary, secondary and tertiary levels. In the National Education System Law, PKN is indeed included in the core subjects and courses because PKN is one of the subjects that is very important for the formation of "nation and character building" of the very diverse Indonesian nation. Civics aims to form individuals who not only understand the rights and obligations as citizens, but also have the ability to apply civic values in everyday life, including at school. In this way, it is hoped that PKN can increase both national and state awareness and become a driving force for unifying Indonesian society. However, the reality shows that so far, PKN as a subject today is not one of the subjects tested in national exams. As a result, in various schools, PKN lessons receive little attention from both teachers and students.

For some teachers at school, PKN lessons are often considered so easy that anyone can teach PKN material. Likewise, comments from Retno Listyarti, Chair of the Indonesian Civic Teachers Association, in the Citizenship Education Seminar in Schools Through 4 Pillars in Jakarta on April 2 2013 emphasized that the teaching of Pancasila and Citizenship Education has been monotonous because it only understands textbooks and is not linked to actual reality. Thus, students find it difficult to practice national values in real behavior

Meanwhile, in Indonesian society today, it seems that awareness as an Indonesian nation in various regions is also getting weaker. This can be seen from various current events in Indonesia such as weak legal awareness, terrorist acts, secession movements in several regions, inter-party conflicts, corruption, domestic and child violence and religious intolerance.

Therefore, the effort to build and maintain unity among citizens of the Indonesian "nation-state" today is to have an Indonesian consciousness that is stronger than local or regional consciousness. This does not mean that regional awareness must be eliminated and only national awareness. Regional awareness is still needed to build togetherness in regional development without ignoring national awareness and through a historical approach it will really help reveal various studies in the past to understand various problems in the present.

Efforts to build collective awareness as an Indonesian nation, including Papua, are still problematic. Jayapura, as the central capital of the Papuan government since 1963, has not only been the place where the red and white flag has been flown for many years but has also been the center for the raising of the Morning Star flag to this day. female students at various levels, so on May 1 2024, the Jayapura City government involved students in unfurling the Red and White flag for 10.76 kilometers. This activity aims to commemorate the 61st anniversary of the Integration of Papua into Indonesia. This flag unfurling broke the MURI record and became the longest in the world. The display of the Red and White flag started from Ring Road to Holtekamp. This activity is a collaboration of all components of society, including Forkopimda, OPD, communities, associations, schools, banks and teaching staff. Acting Mayor of Jayapura, Frans Pekey, was proud of receiving the award from the Indonesian Record Museum. According to the Acting Mayor of Jayapura, Frans Pekey, this activity is a form of love for the Republic of Indonesia and proof that Papua has extraordinary commitment and enthusiasm.

Will the policy of the Jayapura City regional government on May 1 2024 to unfurl a 10 km long red and white flag to commemorate Papua's integration day into Indonesia be able to stop the flying of the Bintang Kejora flag in Jayapura City? Remembering that so far the Morning Star flag has always been flown every December 1 and even when the freedom fighter Fillep Karma died on November 1 2023, the Morning Star flag was not only unfurled during the journey to the cemetery but his grave had a picture of the Morning Star. Apart from that, mass media reports including articles such as studies by Saprilah, Thun Ju Lan and Darsono reveal that Jayapura residents still have a sense of satisfaction. Saprilla's study [16] entitled 'Are Papuan Students and Nationalism OK?' proves that the issue of Indonesianness among the young generation of Papua cannot be considered a simple problem. Saprilla stated that in Papua not only can kindergarten children shout M, but high school students in Papua are not free from the influence of disintegration. From the results of an interview with one of the teachers, Saprillah confirmed that one of the teachers at a high school in Jayapura Papua discovered the fact that in the living room of his student's parents' house there was a fairly large Morning Star flag displayed. Saprillah stated that although these screams cannot necessarily be called disintegration hysteria, in reality there are underground organizations working to campaign for the independent Papua movement and these screams are important social capital for them. Thus, it turns out that teachers in Papua have a dual task in teaching and instilling Indonesianism in schools.

Saprillah [16] acknowledged that the issue of Papuanness and Indonesianness in Papua is not a simple matter. The successful integration of Papua into part of Indonesian territory includes the issue of Papuan identity which has been established and established. However, the problem becomes increasingly complicated when the Indonesian government's policies tend to ignore the interests of the Papuan people. The military approach taken by the New Order government did not solve the national problem. A small group that wants an independent Papua lives and continues to wage continuous resistance. Finally, Saprillah concluded that no matter what, the Free Papua movement still existed and had not disappeared.

Darsono [4] emphasized that "The development of Indonesian nationalism amidst the strength of cultural diversity cannot be denied. Currently, Papuan nationalism continues to strengthen. According to him, it is necessary to build Indonesian nationalism in the diversity of nations and cultures that are woven into the four basic consensuses of Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, and the Republic of Indonesia for Papuans who are still problematic.

The studies of Meteray (2012 and 2022) and Meteray and Jamal [12] show that Jayapura is indeed the central point for sowing the seeds of Indonesian nationalism in Papua. It was from Jayapura that these seeds were distributed to Biak, Serui and other areas in Papua. Marcus Kaisiepo and Corinus Krey explained that the news of the proclamation of 17 August 1945 was heard on the radio in the city of Nica and together with several friends at the Civil Service School discussed the meaning of the proclamation. Jayapura is also the first place where political organizations and the Independent Indonesia Committee (KIM) were founded. However, in reality, the activities of freedom fighters for the Papuan people have not had a significant influence on the people in Jayapura from year to year until now. Therefore, the unfurling of the red and white flag by the local government of Jayapura City for 10 KM shows that the Indonesianness of the Papuan people in Jayapura City is not only still questionable but still doubtful.

Observing the unfurling of the Red and White flag in the city of Jayapura, Henley's (1996) thoughts examining Indonesian nationalism in Minahasa emphasized that the Minahasan people ultimately became part of the Indonesian nation, however, their view of Indonesia was different from what was promoted by Soekarno. The concept of nationalism promoted by Soekarno, such as one homeland, one nation and one language, is still something that is foreign to most people. According to Henley, Indonesia as a nation is a political project, not based on historical or cultural facts. The concept of Indonesia as one nation will not be easily accepted by the Minahasa people. So, if it is related to the response of the people in Jayapura City who are still raising flags other than the Red and White, it is necessary to properly understand the process of Papuans in Jayapura becoming part of Indonesia.

4 Conclusion

Indonesia is an archipelagic country with a very large territory, consisting of thousands of islands spread from Sabang to Merauke. One of the main challenges is understanding between citizens regarding awareness as Indonesians. These differences can trigger disintegration if not managed properly. If efforts to foster understanding of national consciousness among citizens are not strengthened, it will become a source of conflict.

The Indonesian nation state was not formed naturally, but rather through a long struggle as a political project involving various elements of society with the aim of uniting diversity. Indonesia is a common home built from the spirit of unity and unity of nations with different cultural backgrounds, languages and beliefs. In order to maintain and strengthen this spirit, citizenship education is very important to be taught at various levels of education in Indonesia.

Citizenship education aims to instill national values, an understanding of the rights and obligations as citizens, and foster an attitude of tolerance among the younger generation. By studying citizenship education, students are invited to understand the importance of unity and appreciate the differences that exist among Indonesian society. This is an important foundation for creating a generation that has a high awareness of national identity and pride in being part of the Indonesian nation.

Apart from that, citizenship education also equips the younger generation with critical thinking skills, inclusive attitudes and social skills needed to live in a pluralistic environment. With this education, it is hoped that citizens will emerge who are able to contribute positively in maintaining the stability and unity of the nation.

Therefore, citizenship education must be taught from elementary to tertiary levels so that all levels of society have the same awareness of the importance of Indonesia as "Our Common Home," and work together to maintain national unity.

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