A New Direction for Nationalism in Indonesia

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Abstract

In the era of modern Indonesia, marked by the swift flow of globalization and technological advances celebrated enthusiastically, Indonesia faces significant challenges in terms of awareness of nation and state. The onslaught of foreign culture facilitated by media and internet technology can freely present in our society and has the potential to dominate and influence local culture. In addition, other state problems threatened the nation's sovereignty, especially after 1998, such as the emergence of ideologies contrary to the state ideology, terrorism, radicalism, and social conflicts based on ethnicity, race, and religion. These problems have shifted the meaning of nationalism, especially among the people. Therefore, to deal with these problems, a new understanding and direction related to nationalism is needed so that it can survive during the onslaught of the times. This research aims to conceptualize a new understanding of nationalism using qualitative research methods with a descriptive approach. The results of this study reveal the conceptualization of the understanding of nationalism carried out by Surya Paloh.

Keywords: *Nationalism, Globalization, Indonesia.*

Introduction

Nationalism is one of the essential concepts that became the main foundation of the formation of states. The development of nationalism in the West, especially in Europe, went through three phases: first, it began with the collapse of empires and the establishment of national states, with the main feature in this phase being the identification of the nation in the ruling individual. The second phase began with the French Revolution, which became momentum in developing Western nationalism. The main feature in this phase is no longer the mindset of the king but the mindset of a specific class of more progressive people, so this phase is often referred to as middle-class nationalism. The third phase is characterized by the desire of the masses to involve themselves in the development of nationalism. Hence, in this phase, there are excessive movements in interpreting nationalism (Yosaphat et al., 2015).

The development of nationalism in the West awakened the awareness of the differences between the English, the Germans, the French, the Spanish, the Portuguese, and so on. This realization led to the need for sharp borders between their respective countries. Fired by the free competitive spirit of liberalism and capitalism, Western European nationalism at that time arrogantly gave birth to colonialism, which is the desire to seek colonies outside its continent. In its homeland, Western European nationalism grew into fascism and authoritarian rule. When this nationalism became dominated by capitalism, it led to imperialism. (Fahrudin, t.t.. 2020).

The concept of sovereignty became one of the forerunners of the idea of nationalism. According to the idea, sovereignty has the highest, absolute, and independent position of the state's legal power over its people and is limited by divine and natural law. Sovereignty is considered necessary in state power, meaning it is absolute, universal, unlimited, and eternal (Gevorgyan, 2021).

Nationalism itself has a close relationship with the concept of nation. This familiarity is built on the notion that the nation is a national identity that provides the basis for forming identity and solidarity. Identity construction is indeed an essential thing in a state or nation. However, on the other hand, the attachment of identity to a nation will also be fatal. One concrete example that we can see is how identity conflicts give rise to feelings of superiority that have implications for the marginalization of minority groups. The

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emergence of a new nationalism in the US with the election of Donald Trump and Brexit in the UK, which brought nationalism and anti-immigrant narratives, is considered a new era of the rise of nationalism (Mihelj & Jiménez-Martínez, 2021). Therefore, nationalism cannot be separated from the rise of populism.

The concepts of nation and nationalism have a very close relationship. According to Heywood (Heywood, 2014), at the most basic level, a nation is a group of people bound by cultural entities. Cultural factors are an essential element in defining a nation. Usually, a nation is bound by the same language, religion, traditions, and historical awareness. Meanwhile, the nation is a political collectivity in a particular territory. The relationship between the two eventually gave rise to the term nation-state. In its most basic formulation, a nation-state is often understood as a state whose inhabitants see themselves as a nation. It is a legal entity with geographical boundaries under a single government whose inhabitants see themselves as interconnected with one another (Mustaqim & Miftah, 2015b).

However, the issue of the meaning of nation and state is ultimately blurred when it clashes with the separation of the nation through a particular territory called the state. So, the middle way is to raise awareness of unity towards ties in the community space. However, this middle ground will ultimately mobilize the primordialism and xenophobia currently existing in Europe and North America (Morozov, 2021). The awareness to strengthen ties is essential in forming new nationalism in Indonesia. However, this awareness also has implications for the emergence of identity conflicts that are getting stronger, considering Indonesia is a very plural country.

As a country with the most ethnicities and languages worldwide, Indonesia is vulnerable to identity issues. The life of the nation and state in Indonesia, once known as the archipelago, is inhabited by hundreds of ethnic groups that have grown and developed in an atmosphere full of bloody social conflicts since Indonesia's independence. Some historians and social-humanities observers say that SARA conflicts in the Malay nation occurred before the pre-colonial era. Racial conflict is part of the life of a multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-cultural society like Indonesia. In the early days of Indonesian independence, bloody social conflicts were more sourced in political and ideological conflicts. Then in the late twentieth century, conflicts over religious and ethnic identity were replaced. Religious and ethnic differences are no longer a source of national strength but have become a disaster (Siradjuddin HM, 2015).

Identity issues have eroded nationalism in Indonesia, but several other issues, such as Globalization and Modernization, are also the culprits for the blurred meaning of nationalism in Indonesia (M. H. Rahman, 2019). The development of technology and information systems will help a country to develop by eroding the boundaries between countries that used to be an obstacle. However, for third-world countries, including Indonesia, globalization and modernity only sometimes bring positive impacts and even create new problems that erode national identity. The sweet offer of improvement and equity in the social and economic fields by modernization has implications for Indonesia's disintegration process. The expectation of social transformation triggered by the rise of the market economy and globalization is inversely proportional to the empirical facts felt by the community today. Through the urgency of finding a new format of nationalism in Indonesia, this article will explain how the style of nationalism in Indonesia by analyzing the development of nationalism in Indonesia from time to time. Analyzing the development of nationalism is essential to find symptoms that lead to the erosion of nationalism in Indonesia.

Research Method

This article uses a descriptive research method with a qualitative approach because it emphasizes logical construction and interpretive excavation based on documentation and literature materials relevant to the topics and problems of this research." (Muhadjir, 1990). Qualitative approaches generally place researchers on a phenomenological view where researchers try to understand the meaning of events and their relationship to people in certain situations. Therefore, using a qualitative approach in this study is more to synchronize, compare and find common ground between empirical reality and theory. According to Afrizal (2017), qualitative research methods are defined as social science research methods that collect and analyze data in the form of words (oral and written) and human actions, and researchers do not try to calculate or

quantify qualitative data that has been obtained and thus do not analyze numbers, the data analyzed in qualitative research are words and human actions.

The data collection technique used in this article is to use secondary data, namely library research (literature study). Then for data analysis techniques, the data is analyzed using four stages, namely first, the sorting stage of data related to the resistance of the educator group. Second, the classification stage (categorizing) by comparing one data with another. Third, the comparison stage is by comparing one data with another. Furthermore, the fourth stage of synthesizing by interpreting the data and linking it with the theoretical framework so that the phenomenon of the development of nationalism in Indonesia can be understood.

Theoretical Framework

Nation VS State

In many cases, the concepts of nation and state are often conflated, so the differences and relationships between the two become very biased. This is evident, for example, when nationality is used to denote membership in a particular country. Confusion is also found in the name of the United Nations, for example, an organization that is a union of states rather than nations. At the most fundamental level, a nation is a cultural entity, a group of people bound together by a shared cultural heritage. A nation, in terminology, is a primordial entity that encompasses human history as a group (Lay, 2006). Objectively, we can see that a nation can be identified through a common identity and struggle. In Indonesia, specific regions, such as Sumatera, are referred to as the Malay nation, including Singapore and Malaysia. Essential factors that define a nation are usually language, religion, and tradition (Heywood, 2014).

Identification with the nation can ultimately only be defined subjectively through people's awareness of their nationality or nationality consciousness. This consciousness revolves around belonging or loyalty to a particular community. Ernest Gellner (Gellner, 1983) argues that the defining feature of nationality consciousness is not only the sentiment of loyalty and belonging to the nation but the aspiration for independence and self-government. The implication is that the nation defines itself by pursuing independent statehood. It will seek to secede and redraw national boundaries if it is still encompassed within a larger territorial area. This ultimately results in an understanding of nationhood often accompanied by political demands. Ernest Renan said that the essential condition for the existence of a nation is a plebiscite, which requires mutual consent at present, and which contains a desire to want to live together with a willingness to make sacrifices. If the nation's citizens are willing to make sacrifices for the existence of their nation, then the nation remains united in its survival (Sulisworo et al., 2012).

In the end, understanding the nation tends to be fiercely contested. It is often intertwined with understanding the state based on territorial boundaries. The conflict in India that led to the birth of the state of Pakistan, the collapse of the Soviet Union that gave rise to new states, the campaign in Quebec to break away from Canada, the Scottish National Party's demand to break away from Europe, East Timor which broke away from Indonesia. All the countries mentioned above share a common language, culture, and religious identity. However, here we can see that the correct conjunction to connect these disparities is in the scope of the state. A state is a territory governed through monopolistic control of legitimate power. This is a consequence of the political entities that emerge within the nation. Gellner's words (Gellner, 1983) are valid if, in the end, the community members of the nation will present internal political conflicts that then transform into a state.

After a nation becomes a state, the collectivity that has been built still uses the essential elements of the concept of the nation, namely unity based on identity. People who share the same cultural or ethnic identity when they gain the right to rule, nationality, and citizenship will coexist. Hence, national symbols, flags, anthems, and anniversaries benefit individuals and the broader society in the project called nationalism. In addition to the commonality of identity, another major strength of a nation-state is that it offers the prospect of cultural cohesion and political unity. The term nation-state temporarily became a peacemaker. In modern understanding, the term nation-state is a process of unifying the definition of a state that has a territorial area, society, and sovereign government with the concept of nation that comes from the unification of a

common identity. Nation-State lives from the spirit that juridical territorial boundaries must resonate with ethnic boundaries in the national unity (Mustaqim & Miftah, 2015a). According to Nurcholis Madjid (B. M. Rahman, 2019), the nation-state is intended for the entire nation based on mutual agreement. This agreement then produces open transactional and contractual relationships based on these parties. The concept of the nation-state eventually became the foundation for the emergence of nationalism.

Nationalism

The concept of nationalism needs revisiting, especially in Indonesia. This need is based on a definition often considered simple by many people. Nationalism is not just about the love of the country, heroism, and dark eyes to protect the country. This definition causes the meaning of nationalism to become stunted and outdated, so it has no relevance to today's contemporary problems.

The idea of nationalism was born during the French Revolution when people were finally released from the political construction of monarchy, which triggered the emergence of patterns of thinking of themselves as citizens (Heywood, 2015). Nationalism only emerged between the 17th and 8th centuries in Europe and the Americas while integrating kingdoms into states. In summary, the development of Nationalism that occurred in Europe and America has its characteristics.

Styles of Nationalism in Some Countries

No	Nations	Emergence of Nationalism	Styles of Nationalism
1	USA	Inequality and discrimination	Justice and humanity resulting from financial and economic imperialism
2	France	Monarchies and unjust systems of power	*Liberte, egalite dan fraternite*
3	German	Absolute power drives invasion	*Chauvanistik*
4	Italy	Driven by fascist leaders	Fasism

Source (Nusarastriya, 2018)

The development of nationalism in the world is, in fact, based on the form of a movement to struggle for freedom based on the breath of nationality. The Declaration of the United States of America proclaimed in Philadelphia in 1776, the French Revolution of 1789, the collapse of Hitler's regime in Germany, and the rejection of Mussolini in Italy are revolutionary agendas aspiring to freedom from the presence of oppression.

According to Geertz, the history of nationalism is divided into four stages, namely, the stage when nationalist movements are formed and the stage when nationalist movements are crystallized, then the stage when these movements organize themselves into states, and finally, the stage when these movements must define and establish their relationship both with other countries where the movement emerged (Baèová, 1998).

Nationalism, according to Anderson (Anderson, 1999), is something that is still relatively new; to this day, according to him, the age of nationalism is only two centuries old. Nationalism can be explicitly understood as the belief that the state is the main principle of political organization. According to Anderson (Anderson, 2002), nationalism is "it is an imagined political community that is imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign." In summary, Anderson says that nationalism is a political community that is imagined as a unified whole based on the principle of egalite. This image of unification through nationalism then interprets nationalism as an abstract concept. The abstraction of nationalism can be traced through the definition of the nation. It has been explained earlier that the nation is a colony based on a common identity. Historically, nationalism was born from the nation as a counter to colonialism and authoritarianism. Therefore, nationalism was mainly filled with anti-state movements at the beginning of its formation. Peace between state and nation was reconciled around the 19th century.

Nationalism, according to Mulyana (Kusumawardani & Faturochman, 2004), is state consciousness or national spirit. Nationalism not only functions as an instrument in attaching plurality but also as a container that emphasizes plural identities in various cultural dimensions. According to Dhakidae (Dhakidae, 2001), nationalism is based on friendship, brotherhood, kinship, and several other similarities. This basis gives nationalism a double meaning; on the one hand, it can be a unifying tool for oppressed groups.

Borrowing Rosa Luxemburg's analysis as a figure of scientific socialism, the definition of nationalism that presupposes the realization of unity using cultural identity is vulnerable to being ridden by the bourgeois class (Mulyanto, 2019). According to Rosa, the bourgeoisie, with its economic power, utilizes identity to advance its interests as a class. Therefore, for Rosa, national unity in its political sense is just a stage play because the nation is composed of different social classes with their interests. This thesis is relevant to nationalism in the West, where the hope of equality has developed into expansive nationalism. Expansive nationalism occurs because freedom is lived more in the political sphere than in the economic and social spheres. This nationalism brings about exploitative world capitalism, imperialism, and colonialism. So, in understanding socialism, nationalism that relies on strengthening identity as a unification effort ultimately biases the struggle of the proletariat class.

In another conception, liberal nationalism is an idea that states that nations have equal rights in freedom and self-determination. Liberal nationalism views nationalism as a mechanism to secure a peaceful and stable world order. In contrast, conservative nationalism is less concerned with self-determination and more with the promise of social cohesion and public order embodied in the sentiment of national patriotism (Heywood, 2015).

From all the explanations above, nationalism is based on culture and historical roots in establishing a nation-state. As the foundation of the emergence of nationalism in the west, the process of nationalism formation is based on power and oppressive systems. Nationalism is also intertwined with the ideology that accompanies each country. This can be seen in liberal countries that use nationalism. Nationalism is seen as the unification of citizens from the perspective of freedom. Today, nationalism is seen as lagging as the task of nationalism has largely been achieved with the disappearance of colonialism and oppressive political systems. Although authoritarianism still exists in some countries, nationalism is seen as unable to solve these problems. Nationalism has, at some point, been replaced by democracy, which is rapidly spreading through globalization. Therefore, it is crucial to reinterpret nationalism as an alternative idea for solving today's contemporary problems.

Discussion

The Development of Nationalism in Indonesia

In Indonesia, the history of Nationalism is closely linked to the struggle against colonialism. Nationalism is how unity is created through a common identity and historical consciousness. An overarching element is patriotism, which means love of country. Nationalism and the nation-state have radically reshaped the structure of people's political allegiance to dynasties to the principle of popular sovereignty.

In Indonesia, nationalism was adopted by young Indonesian thinkers, especially those who studied in the West. The conversation about nationalism was marked by Soekarno, who started a debate about nationalism in Pandji Islam magazine with M.Natsir. Nationalism in Indonesia began in the 18th century called Indist nationalism. According to Niwandhono (Alfaqi, 2016), "Indist nationalism is a consciousness motivated by the invasion of Europe or Indis (a term for Europeans in Indonesia who have hybridized both biologically and socio-culturally)." The resistance against the Dutch was based on cultural and linguistic similarities. Explicitly, the Indis nationalists moved by accommodating the oppression of the Indonesian people through the prosecution of the fulfillment of citizenship rights to the Dutch government. One of the products produced by the Indist Nationalists was the Indsiche Partij which gave birth to figures such as Soewardi Soerjaningrat, Eduard Douewes Dekker, and Tjipto Mangoenkusumo. Therefore, Indonesian nationalism cannot be equated with western nationalism because Indonesian nationalism is nationalism that

is integrated with social justice and anti-colonialism, which Bung Karno called socio-nationalism (Wahyono & Perdana Kusuma, t.t., p. 2018).

Some of the descriptions of the history of nationalism presented above are reinforced by research conducted by Kahin, an American who was also a soldier in World War II. He identified many things about the development of nationalism since the Dutch East Indies. The research, conducted since 1948, reinforces that nationalism is the antithesis of colonization (Zusron Alfaqi, 2016).

The historical similarity that gave birth to nationalism was indeed the mastermind of the birth of a spark of struggle against Dutch rule (Suyatno, 2021). However, not many people know that the understanding of nationalism in Indonesia in the early 19th century contained elements of identity that were sometimes discriminatory. This stems from the legacy of colonialism that dichotomized consciousness, changed mentality, made culture ambiguous, and even made people of color have the same mentality as white colonial masters. Social segregation as a colonial product eventually led to racialized political segregation to varying degrees. Some Indo and white groups showed their support for the Nazis (Soepomo, Notonindito), and Some nationalist groups sought cultural identity and past glory as political ideas (Soetatmo). There is no symmetrical idea of nationalism as a modern idea. According to Wilson (Wilson, 2020), the asymmetry of ideas about nationalism can be seen in the emergence of the "Javanese nationalist" group promoted by Soetatmo. Soetatmo defines Javanese nationalism as a national identity that has led to the greatness of Javanese culture and history since the Majapahit era. According to him, the government should be filled by aristocrats.

Racist nationalism also emerged in the constitutional debates at BPUPKI ahead of independence. The statement about the provision that the right to become President is "originally Indonesian" or indigenous to power must be understood as a political phenomenon rather than scientific (Wilson, 2020). In another direction, the development of nationalism was rekindled when Soekarno expressed his opinion at the Bandung study club in 1925. He stated that the foundation of Indonesia's unity must be nationalism and love of the country as the basis of its struggle. A debate about nationalism took place between Soekarno, A. Hassan, and M.Natsir in the magazine Pandji Islam. Soekarno argued that Indonesian nationalism was not chauvinistic nationalism; Indonesian nationalism was inspired by eastern leaders such as Gandhi Mustafa Kamil (Assyaukanie, 2011). He stated that nationalism and religion are two complementary concepts. The discussion about religion also participated in the debate about nationalism because, at that time, the cynical attitude towards Soekarno through his ideas about nationalism was considered incompatible with the general views of the Islamic community.

The idea of nationalism in Indonesia through its figures raises a red thread. Most previous nationalist thinkers, such as Soekarno, Syahrir, and Jtokroaminoto, agreed that nationalism carried the idea of a struggle against colonialism, the absolutism of power, and the rejection of the presence of capitalism. Sjahrir was even more apparent that progressive nationalism is nationalism with a foundation in understanding socialism. Even Islamic groups such as Natsir in Persis and Mochtar Lubis in Permi agreed on a nationalism based on resistance to colonialism and imperialism. The development of nationalism was at its peak when this idea was proclaimed on August 17, 1945. Pancasila has also become a channel for the development of the transformation of ideas about nationalism as our guide in the process of statehood. Soekarno's speech at the birth of Pancasila emphasized that nationalism is necessary for Indonesia, a nation with heterogeneity that needs to unite based on equality (Alfaqi, 2016).

Today, the development of nationalism is going through different phases. According to Edward Aspinall (2016), nationalism emerged during the 2014 election. In various media platforms in Indonesia, the issue of Chinese workers arriving and the control of the economy by foreigners were issues that circulated during the 2014 election. Contemporary Indonesian nationalism is still shaped by its historical roots. For example, the belief that political unrest in the Indonesian periphery arises from a combination of separatism and foreign intervention can be directly traced to the revolutionary years, when the Dutch sponsored the United Republic of Indonesia as part of their strategy to defeat the nationalists. Thus, according to Aspinall (2016), one feature of contemporary nationalism in Indonesia still revolves around issues of foreign threats and national dignity.

Problems of Nationalism in Indonesia

Nationalism in Indonesia faces many complex problems and challenges. Globalization and modernization are slowly eroding citizens' sense of national identity. This change is also caused by nationalism being used to intimidate citizens politically (Lay, 2006). The use of nationalism is also used as a tool of coercion to legalize the ruler's interests. One of the most memorable examples was during Soeharto's reign when ideas of nationalism were reproduced for power.

Several things have weakened the idea of nationalism. Firstly, nationalism is considered a political ideology supported in Indonesia in the past, especially by the PNI. PNI is considered a group that weakens the position of nationalism by making it one of the political streams that must deal with other political streams. Nationalism cannot be used as an ideology because it does not have elements such as socialism and capitalism. According to Marcus and Howard (Ethridge & Handelman, 2016), an ideology must have a coherent political thought, a vision of justice, an identified opponent, a plan to achieve an ideal society, and a conception of a good government. Second, nationalism emphasizes the superiority and absolutism of the state over its citizens and ignores the substance of nationalism. Nationalism is not merely the liberation of a nation but also the liberation of the individual citizens of that nation. This is the dimension of nationalism that is often ignored in understanding or practice. The consequence that we must bear is that the meaning of nationalism has deteriorated sharply into "the necessity to sacrifice" for the people to the state. In other words, nationalism, which was previously considered a unifying idea, has become a doctrine by creating new enemies ideologically so that the doctrine of nationalism can be fought for in such a way.

On the other hand, there is a malfunction in nationalism as an instrument of dialogue between society and the state into a unilateral instrument of power holders who impose their unilateral will on their citizens. According to Prasdojo (Kusumawardani & Faturochman, 2004), it was hijacked during the New Order era.

As a result, the meaning of nationalism became difficult to develop, and pride in national identity became challenging to form. Critically, nationalism in the New Order era controlled political, economic, and bureaucratic resources. The New Order era ended when people were fed up with the irresponsible actions taken by Soeharto and his cronies. The culmination of the disenchantment with nationalism was the reformasi movement built when overthrowing Soeharto using the concept of democracy. The reformed order formed by the Indonesian people at that time was characterized by the demand to realize a democratic life that did not use Pancasila or the spirit of nationalism. The New Order government, with its development ideology doctrine in various political, social, and economic policies, tended to strengthen the integration of the ruling elite's power and further strengthen all the authoritarian elements of the New Order. Political stability tends to lead to the stability of power without thinking about the stability of government (Handayani, t.t., p. 2019). According to Samekto (Samekto, 2020), in the reform event, there was an attempt to obscure the role of Pancasila as the basis of the state and outlook on life. The reason why there is a demonization of Pancasila is considered an instrument to maintain the status quo, and this is feared to happen in the future. After democracy was restored, Samekto continued (Samekto, 2020) two big thoughts emerged, namely the logic of capitalism and free markets and radical thinking in religious life. As a result, the idea of nationalism disappeared from the circulation of thought in Indonesia.

We know that nationalism in Indonesia is used to maintain the integrity of various tribes and cultures that stretch from Sabang to Merauke. However, after the reformation, ethnic, cultural, and religious conflicts emerged in Indonesia. The Madurese and Dayak conflicts, religious conflicts in Ambon, and religious conflicts in Sampang, Madura, Javanese, and Lampung tribal conflicts are examples of cases where ideas about nationalism failed to be put into practice. Indonesia's multidimensional crisis has finally uncovered all the "masks" down to the hidden parts. Indonesian nationalism today is being degraded by the rise of inter-ethnic, inter-religious conflicts and the phenomenon of national disintegration. Not to mention the historical similarities within the spectrum of colonization fading over time. Colonialism was one of the binders for the Indonesian people at that time to present nationalism as a process of national integration to reject colonialism. This means that colonialism is considered or used as a common enemy so Indonesian people can gather in the frame of diversity.

The loss of nationalism is not only happening in Indonesia but globally. The cause, according to Daniel (Bell, 1988), is the loss of nationalism power due to massive and complex social development supported by rationalization and modernization. In addition, the waning morality of society, the neglect of national identity, and conflicts between ethnicities, religions, and races are increasing along with the erosion of nationalist values. Therefore, finding a new format for the concept of Pancasila is considered necessary.

The decline of nationalism cannot be separated from the rise of populism. The definition of populism is simply a set of strategies used by politicians who promise more than what they can realize or who try to increase popularity by showing closeness to ordinary people and speaking their language. Populism can be understood as a particular communication style with voters or an extension of personalist leadership by charismatic politicians. However, what is essential for us to know is that populism is closely related to the rise of identity politics. According to Fukuyama, identity issues have dominated politics in recent years. It is somehow paradoxical that the political right "has adopted the language and framing of the left: the idea that white people are victims, that their situation and suffering are invisible to the rest of society, and that the social and political structures responsible for the situation - especially the media and the political establishment - need to be destroyed" (Ufen, 2018). Overall, populism is associated with the polarization, dramatization, and moralization of politics. Populism is always a sub-type of identity politics. As a "thin ideology," it merges with additional fragments of ideas from traditions such as liberalism, conservatism, and socialism with the aim of building or rebuilding a culturally and ethnically homogeneous society. One of the most visible examples in Indonesia was the 2014 general election. Both candidates used ethnic and religious issues. This created social polarization so political dynamics by their respective interests could be realized. Nationalism is no longer seen as a concept to unite but as a political commodity that is promoted even after the polarization of society is formed.

The new format of nationalism has developed in various parts of the world. The presence of new nationalism, along with the emergence of right-wing groups that carry the idea of populism in Europe and North America, is considered a return to the idea of nationalism in a new format. The reason why Populism is considered a trigger for the birth of nationalism is that it brings ideas about strengthening national identity and economic and indigenous issues, such as in France, the US, and Australia. According to Angelo (Rivero, 2020), this will have implications for the emergence of racism, xenophobia, and chauvinism, along with the birth of new nationalism in the early 20th century.

On the other hand, the strengthening of new nationalism, according to Sabina Mihelj and Martinez (Mihelj & Jiménez-Martínez, 2021), is motivated by technological modernization. Qualitatively, according to them, what influences the birth of new nationalism is that the reach of participatory digital technology has allowed more actors to contribute to the public communication area, which has implications for the growth of nationalism by creating imaginations such as an independent nation, rejection of foreigners and so on. This strengthens the narrative of strengthening national identity into an interesting issue that invites the mobilization of extreme forms of nationalism.

In Indonesia, Aspinall (2016) sees that the growth of new nationalism is in line with the disappearance of ideological battles of post-reform political parties. Currently, all major parties in Indonesia rely on a strategy of clientelism to mobilize electoral support. Contemporary nationalism is helpful for politicians to gain support in Indonesia's ideological erosion landscape of political parties. Through technological modernization, issues regarding many Indonesian workers in Malaysia and Singapore, the weakness of national security and economy, and the emergence of foreign workers spread rapidly, making nationalism a differentiating identity for politicians to gain votes. In the end, contemporary nationalism in Indonesia is simply looking for a new standard enemy format, indigenous vs. foreign, which is expected to integrate national interests as a political move to gain support. This step then invites populism in Indonesia, which leads society to forms of discrimination and intolerance.

The emergence of new nationalism is very tangential to the disintegration that began to emerge due to the strengthening of national identity. National identity is ideally based on shared culture, religion, history, language, or ethnicity. "Nation creates national identity" creates national identity, which gives people a

feeling of belonging to a nation (Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Indonesia, 2017). Therefore, Indonesia needs to find a new format of nationalism that is just and full of tolerance values.

One of the new formats of nationalism in Indonesia was proposed by Surya Paloh. According to Surya, the new format of nationalism is, first, appreciation of achievement or meritocracy. Second, the allocation of a fair political and economic ecosystem. Third, law enforcement and equality in the eyes of the law. Fourth, creating a tolerant attitude towards fellow citizens. According to David BW (Wahyuni, 2018), the search for a new format in the concept of nationalism needs to pay attention to global issues. Global issues are considered a process of development of the times where the circulation of money, goods, and services, information passes through the boundaries of state territory. The world is now unified, and the concept of nation is closely related to economics and politics. Nationalism must be placed in the context of the times (Handayani, 2019). Reform-era nationalism faces challenges from previous eras, where the state's problems are increasingly complex.

Moreover, today is the age of gadget technology that shrinks the world into a virtual world. Easily accessible news, increasingly virtual friendships, easily accessible news an increasingly grounded online economic system require Indonesians to be technologically literate. If there are restrictions on citizens to access these things, it is feared that Indonesia will lose its love for the country. Ideally, nationalism in the new format should be accommodative and inclusive.

In Surya's new format of nationalism, meritocracy is the first thing to go. This is because respect for someone who has the ability in the political field not based on social class and wealth to become a leader is fragile in Indonesia. Therefore, in Indonesia, through government policy, the description of the criteria for a leader must be regulated by specific regulations. Political parties are not the only group that has the right to determine their candidate leaders, and it is the people who must then be charged with analyzing how a leader's eligibility should be. Next is equitable economic distribution and law enforcement. Economic problems are often the culprit for the collapse of a nation. Borrowing the term Robinson James (Acemoglu Daron, 2012) in his work on why countries fail, it is called extractive politics and economics. Extractive politics and extractive economics are Robinson's terms for political and economic distribution that only revolves around certain groups. This then resonates with the failure of a government in managing the country.

Surya's final point is to revive multicultural nationalism. Multicultural nationalism is nationalism based on local wisdom and global culture. This idea embodies that Indonesia cannot escape from globalization, but on the other hand, globalization does not necessarily eliminate national identity. Multicultural nationalism cannot be separated from two things, and the first is the bond of nationality in overcoming primordial fanaticism. Second, national ties that focus on economic development based on cultural values (Muttaqin et al., 2006). Based on this explanation, the desired new form of nationalism is a national bond based on the conception of human beings as a whole subject. Therefore, Multicultural Education has become crucial in this era of globalization and modernization. Multicultural education is a concept or idea as a set of beliefs and explanations that recognize and value the importance of cultural and ethnic diversity in shaping the lifestyles, social experiences, personal identities, and educational opportunities of individuals, groups, and countries. Multicultural education is also considered a process of developing the human potential that has respect for diversity and differences in society which is the result of the philosophy of cultural pluralism in an education system based on the principle of equality (Prakasih et al., 2021).

The national bond based on humans as a whole subject allows new nationalism to be created. The spirit of building national bonds as the initial capital of the independence phase must be revived today. With all its limitations, the emerging global challenges have surprised Indonesia. However, with the problems that have emerged about the fading spirit of nationalism due to the various kinds that have been explained at the beginning, it should be able to trigger the community, especially the authorities, to be able to create conditions that support the birth of new ideas about nationalism.

Conclusion

In Indonesia, nationalism has experienced fluctuations in understanding due to different ruling regimes and globalization, and modernization. In the early phases of nationalism's development, it held several narratives, including the narrative of nationalism built on equality of fate and the narrative of discriminatory nationalism. Nationalism also experienced rejection from some Islamic groups who considered that nationalism was contrary to Islamic teachings. Nationalism in Indonesia has experienced a sharp decline. During the Old Order regime, nationalism became a tool for the ruler to normalize the ruler's interests above the interests of its citizens. After the reformation, the view on contemporary nationalism became blurred. With the loss of ideological battles of political parties after the reformation, contemporary nationalism is only used as a tool for politicians to gain votes. Another cause of the weakening of post-reform nationalism is the issue of identity and the rapid flow of modernization.

With all the problems and challenges to nationalism, a new format of new nationalism is essential to keep nationalism alive in Indonesia. The new format that Surya Paloh is trying to offer is by reviving meritocracy, distributing political and economic power, reorganizing the law in Indonesia with the slogan law enforcement and forming multicultural nationalism. In the process, nationalism in this new format needs to rely on global mapping in the fields of technology, economics, society, and politics as a response to modernization which is an essential spectrum in dealing with world changes. In addition, contemporary nationalism must be placed according to the spirit of the times so that it can adapt to the rapid development of global society and answer the times' challenges.

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