

NATIONALISM CIVIL SOCIETY: A CHALLENGE TO THE EXISTENCY OF STATE

Abstract

Nationalism and civil society become the topic which are very much discussed after the collapse of the new order. Where Indonesia started looking for the right herbs for the existence of life of the nation. Nationalism is considered able to bridge the plurality faced by the people of Indonesia with a high risk of emerging social conflicts which can cause further loosening of social relationships and tend materialist. The discourse about nationalism certainly can not be separated from democracy and civil society. The existence of the state will be threatened if the ethnic nationalism is more dominant than civic nationalism. In this condition, the presence of civil society to participate actively in civic life that promote tolerance, not closed and open social compromise is necessary. It is assumed that the country will be strong if it has a strong democratic system. Strong democracy is supported by the citizens as a civil society. Civil society is strong when there is an association with the country. Democratic life of the country results to citizenship and civil society. In a democracy, the rights of the individual, the fulfillment of the basic needs of individuals and assurance, confidence and even lack of certainty among the public is the root of the emergence of civil society. Nationalism is present in the state as unifying the nation from a wide variety of challenges in an era of increasingly advanced in democratic countries. Each generation will vary to meet the challenges and the reaction in the embodiment of nationalism. The challenges to nationalism are getting hard in the era of 4.0.

Keywords: Nationalism, Civil society, The existence of the state.

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I. INTRODUCTION

During the initial process of formation of the ideology of nationalism appears the separation of Islam and nationalism. Indonesia's multicultural society both in ideas and implementation in the community does not need a short process and this process is the experience in the nation's history.

The notion of nationalism has been already discussed by the Founding Fathers before independence day. Nationalism civil society is starting to disappear and fade with the proliferation of conflicts especially redistributed. When viewed from the founding of our nation, *the founding father* when the basic formulation countries agreed to remove the word "to run the Islamic Shari'a for its adherents" is proof that pluralism in Indonesia is accepted and recognized long ago.

Currently in the midst of globalization and ethical spirit of nationalism as a political practice of the state and society should begin. The government and political organizations should be able to mobilize the community to be able to find the source of the ideological force of nationalism. Actually, if want to realize, the source of nationalism ideology is in unity and cohesion. Undeniably, the spirit of nationalism and patriotism, especially among the younger generation has started to recede. The rise of global trends become one of the trigger.

On the other hand, dissatisfaction with government performance handful of people will think they are not serious in improving the welfare of its citizens and not be able to realize the ideals of nationalism that is listed in the preamble of the Constitution Act, 1945. This is of course very concerned for the people who are so great and blessed with abundant resources. This condition is of course exacerbated by the increasing lack of awareness of all elements of society will be the spirit of nationalism.

One obvious example has been waning sense of nationalism among the younger generation is the increasing number of young people who are trapped and entangled with drugs. The numbers of drug users is increasing each year so they prefer a more materialistic life stuck even criminality. The younger generation is beginning to forget their responsibility as a pillar and backbone for the existence of this country.

Ernest Gellner, quoted Adisusilo (2009) said that the nation was born out of a nationalism, democracy was born by the state and the government. The nation state was born by nationalism with democracy. But democracy is the goal of the nation-state itself and also as a means to realize a just and prosperous society materially and spiritually for the entire nation of Indonesia.

Narrowly conceived nationalism that would be dangerous because it will only look at the most powerful nation itself. Like wise, the application of the concept of civil society narrowly will also cause problems because there will be no intolerance. Therefore this article will explain how nationalism role of civil society in maintaining the existence of the state.

II. UNDERSTANDING NATIONALISM

Nationalism according to wikipedia is understood that creating and maintaining the sovereignty of a country to realize the concept of a common identity for a group of people that has the purpose or ideals together in realizing the national interest, and nationalism also curiosity defend his country, both internally and externally.

The term nationalism that has been absorbed in the Indonesian language has two meanings, namely:

1. Understood/teachings to love the nation and the state itself and the consciousness of membership in a nation that is potentially or actually together to achieve, maintain, and perpetuate the identity, integrity, prosperity and strength of the nation.
2. Means proclaiming the superiority of an affinity groups based on the similarity of languages, cultures and regions.

At first the sense of nationalism and patriotism is equated its significance. At the beginning of nationalism indeed associate with love for a group of people in the nation, language and origin of the original area which of course is the same meaning with patriotism.

Nationalism is not a product that is born naturally but this understanding is born of a history of a nation that is caused by the reaction of their political, economic and social. Carlton Hayes cited in Adisusilo (2009) distinguishes four meanings of nationalism, namely:

1. As an actual historical process, namely the process of historical formation of nationalities as political units, the establishment of ethnic and national state institutions modern empire.
2. As a theory, principle or ideal implication in the process of actual history.
3. Nationalism put their interest in political activities, such as the activities of certain political parties, the merger process of the historical and political theory.

4. As one sentiment, which shows the state of mind among the nationalists.

With the background of the multi-ethnic society and multi-national, national identity a person can not just one but multiple layers and is present in more than one level roles. This means that a citizen can be identified themselves as members of a national group, sub-national and a member of a minority group.

Broadly speaking, nationalism can be divided into six types, namely nationalism, civic / citizenship (civic nationalism) in the form of a bond of nationality based on their recognition of and loyalty to the authority of the constitutional and political framework. Ethnic nationalism (ethnic nationalism) is based on a common language, culture and ancestry. Romantic nationalism / identity is a sense of nationalism derived from organically political correctness (the origin) of a race or nation and based on the spirit of romance. Cultural nationalism, where political correctness is obtained from the culture of a country not of the nature or descent. Nationalism state, other forms of ethnic nationalism and citizenship. Strong nationalistic feeling that the state provide more primacy to address universal rights and freedoms. The latter is a religious nationalism which the legitimacy of the state obtained by the state from religious equation. However, on his way religious nationalism is often confused with ethnic nationalism.

There are several determining factors of nationalism, among others:

1. The intervention of other nations that are usually through the colonial territory of a nation.
2. The desire and determination together with very strong to be able to escape the confines of the shackles of colonialism or absolute power with the aim of every people can get their rights as citizens fairly.
3. Their sense of shared destiny and dream because of the past experience of the same.
4. Equally residing in the region.

III. DISCUSSION

A. The development of Nationalism

Nationalism in its development within a country passed through three stages, among others:

1. Phase string, which at this stage of a nation has realized that he is a nation that has suffered in the form of pressure - pressure against the idea - foreign ideas and foreign ways of life and all that foreigners brought foreign nations.

2. Stage center-piece of nationalism, is a period fought for freedom.
3. Consolidation phase, which is a period of consolidation is at the present time in which this phase focuses on the consolidation of political and economic efforts.

Nationalism itself has a style and type that are mixed. This is due to differences in the factors that affect predominantly, these factors include: economic factors, political factors, cultural factors and others. According to Hall (1993: 1-2) in the style and type Adisusilo nationalism divides into two, namely:

1. Nationalism is nationalism from the grass roots level. In general, this nationalism emerged on the pioneer of the old intelligentsia who play more and more numbers because the more open access to education. The intelligentsia as a class of modern, liberal and democratic so as to encourage the establishment of normative integration within their territory as a nation state that is also free and democratic. In addition, factors that encourage this nationalism is a change and economic development of sociality agrarian society into industrial society, from rural communities to urban communities caused by the industrialization. Nationalism begins and evolves in European countries in the 18th century and the 19th.
2. Integrative nationalism, nationalism emerging area and exploit their resentment over oppression by other nations. Thus encouraging the formation of the integration of all aspects of national life are used to facing other nations that oppress them. This integrative nationalism emerged and developed in Germany especially by the Fascism and Nazism.

B.Nationalism Indonesia

Indonesia is a nation rich in culture, ethnicity, race and religion. It is closely associated with the nation's soul Indonesian Nationalism, high or low of Indonesian nationalism caused by many factors influence. Factors that affect the high or low sense of nationalism among others the influence of Western cultures are very easily enter and affect the Indonesian Cultural identity is Eastern Cultures.

There is also economic factors that affect the nation's sense of nationalism Indonesia. Apart from these factors actually in the history of nation states that a sense of nationalism in colonial times higher than at present, it can not be denied that made the nation Indonesia can be detached from the Dutch colonial that of course there can be practically pioneered by the Hero of Reform Indonesia.

In Indonesia today is more directed at the type of nationalism counterrevolutionaries is transparent so it can be viewed by the general public, because the elite politics we always felt he was right and when they see something does not fit with their interests they will not hesitate to fight the enemy that is against interests.

Nationalism as we know it is always glorifying the history and culture of the nation, but the implementation in real life it is very ironic and inversely. Now a days, we often see a lot of people who actually stepped on - trampling the nation's culture and history as well as use it for the sake of power. Then selling the ideology and the betrayal of the trust of the people can not be avoided.

The relationship between the noble values that glorified it and socio-political behavior becoming completely unclear, often while boasts a national culture, easily kill people. Or as he called for tolerance, brazenly kidnapped people - people who have different opinions and steal the money belongs to the people and seizing people's land.

C. Civil Society (Civil Society)

The term Civil Society are well known and are often the subject of conversation in the discussions at the time of the 1998 reform in Indonesia. At that time, there were some opinions that equate the term civil society with civil society. Ultimately though, the way of thinking there are some experts who argue that civil society groups are not the same, or do not fit when lumped meaning with civil society.

In this paper, the authors tend to use the term civil society as a synonym of *civil society*. Where civil society can be defined by their awareness of the whole or part of the population to participate in a voluntary and not a behavior that is done because of the compulsion.

In the Hegelian approach, the emphasis is more on the importance of the middle class and empowerment, especially in the economic sector, for the development of a strong civil society. Mean while, in the Gramscian perspective of strengthening civil society as a tool to confront the hegemony of the ideology of the state. Civil society is an arena where organic intellectuals can be strong whose purpose is to support the efforts to fight against hegemony. In Tocquevillian approach, strengthening civil society more emphasis on streng then in organizations and independent associations in the community and culture incubation civility (civic culture) for building the spirit of democracy. (Hasan 2003),

The concept of civil society is the area of organized social life that is open, voluntary, self generating, self-sufficient (at least partially independent), autonomous from the state, and

bound by a legal order or set of shared rules. For the formation of a civil society, of the many definitions of civil society different there should be a space to be filled, where NGOs and NGO is organisasi non-formal most widely expected to play the role of filling the public space in the filling space of civil society such ,

Both non-formal community organization was that CSOs and NGOs are organizations that can be a source of potential political power in the framework of civil empowerment. In developing countries, including Indonesia, civil society activity fundamentally has put the operation of the system and the political structure and democratic governance as the main objectives to be realized.

But in order to realize a democratic system of government before, will only be achieved if people have certain components as a condition for the existence of civil society earlier. The component consists of four things, Autonomy, public access to state institutions, public autonomous Arena, Arena Public open.

The social movement is one form of activity of civil society are typical, which is defined as forms of collective action by the orientation of the conflictual clear to the opposite of social and political particular, performed in the context of the network of cross-institutional closely by actors who tied a sense of solidarity and identity a strong collective exceed bond forms a coalition and campaign together.

A wide variety of social movements will not be possible to run without a formal container political organization or NGO. In any country, the government will recognize the enormity of the role of NGOs in everyday life. The ideal type of relationship between the activities of the NGO civil masyarakat the government should facilitative and synergy in order to sustain the successful development demokratis governance.

Synergistic partnership is possible when the NGO and the government is trying more attention to the contribution of complementary, rather than competing contributions. Country synergies community approach can be developed to strengthen sustainable development.

In public relations with the state, civil society has three functions: First, as complementary in which the elements of civil society has an activity to promote the welfare to supplement the country's role as a public servant (public services). Second, as substitutor. That is, in civil society groups conducted a series of activities that are not or in relation to the state as an institution that serves the public interest. And third, as a counter power state or the state or countervailing counterbalancing forces. Civil society groups to advocate, advocacy,

litigation, even the practices of opposition to counter balance the hegemonic power of the state or at least become an alternative discourse outside the bureaucratic state apparatus.

The functions above, press-point difference presupposes the implementation of the ideas of civil society, the social and cultural sphere or in the political sphere. Iwan Gardono (2001) argues that the civil society that emphasizes the social aspect of culture can be either horizontal usually closely related to "civility" or existence and "fraternity". Indigenization concept of civil society is done in order to attract relevance to the context of peoplehood. While the civil society in a more vertical connotation refers to the political dimension, making it closer to the citizen aspect and liberty. The press-point difference has implications for diverse meaning, or at least the terms vary to mention civil society.

By combining both horizontally and vertically, so the complementary function, substitutor, and the countervailing forces into an inseparable unity. Perhaps the problem lies in how the civil society groups in various sectors and areas of concern of the activity they are doing to share the role towards democratization based society.

Keep in mind that the formation of the civil society is not a society of instant or one-off, which is devoid of values, taken for granted. Civil society is the concept that the liquid formed from a long historical process and continuous struggle. Civil society can only be achieved if the subject of this conception that people can develop properly and man through education. Develop human meaning is that if the community has been able to assume its responsibilities as a citizen of society. For the sake of the common good, they have full freedom to be able to actualize themselves in a positive way for the realization of shared ideals and harmony equitable society.

D. Role Of Nationalism In Existence Of State.

Nationalism became a very important thing to be implemented in the advancement and prosperity of civil society, it is becoming very important to apply in its heterogeneity pluralistic Indonesian nation. Thus, understanding the importance of the spirit of nationalism is a commitment to building a civil society, the question is now, how horizons of nationalism can be understood as part of part of the future of civil society in this regard there are some points which is important enough to be stated with regard to the revitalization of nationalism in building civil society.

Benedict Anderson also stressed the continuing importance of nationalism for the Indonesian people, in the traditional sense. One urgent in Indonesia today is the existence of

what is referred to as a "deficit of nationalism", namely the reduction in the national spirit, especially among the rich and educated (Anderson, 2001: 215).

For that Anderson encourage regrowth importance as the first nationalist fervor in real life among the fighters and the revolutionary movement. He proposed cultivated the spirit of "populist nationalism" that are not elitist but aligned to the wider community, especially the weak and marginalized people. One of the main features of the populist nationalism is the stronger sense of shared destiny and bad destiny as a nation (Anderson, 2001: 214-215). He indicated that the current leaders did not have a patriotic spirit, as has been seen in the decisions they make as well as in social behavior, their political and economic. They send their children to study abroad and secretly harassing her own culture,

More Sartono Kartodirdjo (1999: 13) in Adisusilo (2005) said that Indonesian society post-revolution any more post-reform still requires nationalism as a triggering factor in the process of consolidation of social order and political framed by the nation state, especially if nationalism is true -Right accompanied by five main principles, namely guaranteeing the unity (unity) and the unity of the nation, guarantees freedom (liberty) individuals or groups, ensuring similarity (equality) for each individual, ensure the realization of personality (personality) and achievement (performance) or excellence for the future of the nation.

During the five pillars of nationalism is still there then nationalism will remain relevant and continue to be needed by every nation and nationalism will continue to develop more dynamic, in accordance with the demands of the times and the needs of the nation. Therefore, nationalism face from time to time may change and evolve, sakalipun essence and main elements remain the same.

In an increasingly modern society, especially the globalization in every aspect of life can not be avoided, the role of nationalism of civil society is immense. More over, we are facing is no longer a physical occupation again but competition mainly in trade and information flows. Therefore, the character of a civil society that is unity and mutual cooperation should take precedence. On the other hand, the elitism that refers to the veneration which exaggerated the strata or social classes based on wealth, power and honor to be minimized by balancing the interests of individuals and groups exclusively into society through the social contract and social alliances that open, orderly, and mutual trust.

Civil society actually is a community that is inclusive society that is able to put himself into the other person's perspective of seeing the world and have the adaptability to the

surrounding environment. Nationalism civil society must be able to face various challenges both at the local level as concerns about corruption, poverty, unemployment Independence, empowerment and others are also challenges at the global level such as environmental issues, global warming, terrorism and so on.

Seeing the enormity of the role of nationalism of civil society is the spirit of nationalism, they must continue to be nurtured not to wear off by turning on and develop a discourse of pluralism public and recognize that this diversity is a gift from God to be grateful because it could be substantial capital to become a great nation in the world arena.

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

A. Conclusion

The integrity and sustainability of the country will be threatened if the ethnic nationalism on the one hand be closed, exclusive, intolerant and do not compromise, and on the other hand being pressed civic nationalism and ethnic nationalism ethnic nationalism demanding residents to leave their ethnic identity, marginalizing ethnic or cultural community. Homeland must be maintained the integrity and continuity of the movements based on identity politics and global powers oppressive and tends to be uniform.

Because the real nationalism is a political attitude of a nation that puts the interests of the nation above personal or group interests. As an ideology or ideology, nationalism can play three functions: bind all classes of citizens, uniting the mentality of all citizens and establishing or strengthening the influence of citizens on the measures taken by the government.

Nationalism is definitely required by a state as a unifying factor. Where nationalism is used as a tool to manipulate friction or social differences to maintain the existence of a nation in the midst of the onslaught of globalization.

B. Suggestions

1. Reproduce open discussions on talk of pluralism and nationalism Pancasila
2. The government must ensure the rights of citizens and to realize the ideals of the nation is to realize a just and prosperous society so that no widening social inequality in society.
3. Instilling a sense of *kewarganegara* early for the next generation and implement character education in schools in order to later be able to continue and lead the nation with the wise and prudent that upholds pluralism in Indonesia.

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