Cosmopolitan Nationalism (A Theoretical Review)

*Dwi Wandari Purwa Nugraha, Azmi Fitrisia

Master Program of Social Sciences, Postgraduate – Universitas Negeri Padang
*E–mail: dwiwandaripn@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Nationalism is an important component in the life of the nation and state, especially in Indonesia, because nationalism is a form of love and respect for the nation itself. However, the concept of nationalism has shifted due to the current globalization which brings various understandings. One of them is cosmopolitanism which forces individuals to interact with ideas and symbols that come from outside their nation-state. Then the concept of cosmopolitan nationalism emerged as nationalism that is relevant to be applied in the era of globalization which consists of the following aspects: nationality with the indicators being: achieving the ideals of a nation that is dynamic, not narrow-minded, maintaining national identity and loyalty to the state. Morals include humanity, nationality, kinship, and religion. Politics includes tolerance, justice, and responsibility. The Cultural Dimension includes lifestyle, diversity, individual behavior, and global similarity.

Keywords: Nationalism, Cosmopolitan Nationalism.

INTRODUCTION

Nationalism is an important component in the life of the nation and state, especially in Indonesia, because nationalism is a form of love and respect for the nation itself. Benedict Anderson (1983) reminds us that if Indonesia recognizes itself as one nation, then these are:

...something that was imagined because even the smallest members of the nation would not know and would not know most of the other members, perhaps never even heard of them. However, in the mind of everyone who is a member of the nation, there lives a shadow of their togetherness. (Anderson, 1983; Ariyani, 2018)

The image of togetherness in the nation as stated by Anderson will be further strengthened by the existence of nationalism.

"Nationalism is a feeling and mutual bond between individuals (citizens) and the state (government) for the similarity of dynamic goals and ideals, which are guaranteed by the state (government) while at the same time demanding individual loyalty (citizens)" (Saraswati et al., 2021).

Nationalism is indispensable for the survival of a country, with the hope of creating a sense of unity within the country. Every citizen in a country should have an attitude of nationalism, especially the younger generation. If the young generation has a high attitude toward nationalism, they will be able to do something best for their nation, such as maintaining the integrity of the nation, national unity, and increasing the dignity of the nation in front of the world. The future of the nation rests on the younger generation because the younger generation is dubbed the generation that brings change (generation of

change). However, the issue that is currently developing is that the nationalism of the younger generation in Indonesia is starting to erode and disappear amid the pace of globalization. Globalization is a phenomenon that causes geographical boundaries in social and cultural settings to weaken so that the values of a country are easily spread to other countries (Linstead & Banerjee, 2001).

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS

The position of nationalism in globalization can be said to be getting weaker due to the entry of various foreign influences such as symbols, ideas, and new understandings into our country, Indonesia. It is possible that the new ideas that have entered are contrary to local values and can gradually erode national identity. One of the understandings that participate in developing along with the pace of globalization is "cosmopolitanism".

Cosmopolitanism is an understanding that has the view that humans are one community, and create relationships based on morality. Etymologically cosmopolitan comes from the word kosmos which means the universe, while cosmopolitan itself is a population from various directions; who have broad insight or knowledge (Kariadi, 2016). Cosmopolitan values can be described as an orientation and a willingness to engage and interact with other parties (Zimmermann, 2008).
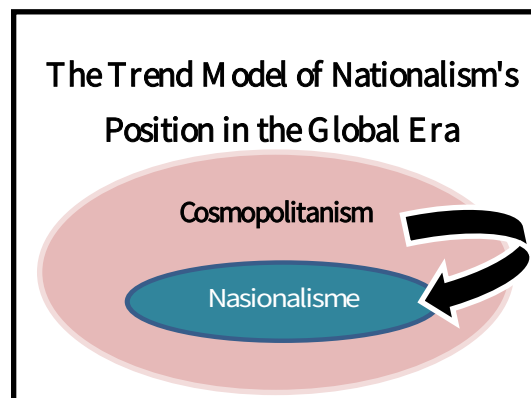

Figure 1. This model could be a trend that is already symptomatic at this time with the emergence of various public spaces outside the national state and the emergence of cosmopolitan forces that can affect the sovereignty of the national state and undermine nationalism.

Cosmopolitanization forces individuals to interact with ideas and symbols that come from outside the nation-state. Thus, cosmopolitanism is related to the crisis of the relationship between the individual and the state due to globalization. Global forces encourage the influence of cosmopolitanism so that it becomes dominant in the lives of nations. Cosmopolitanism requires a local identity, we will become a better cosmopolitan society if we are also liberal nationalists where our nation will be safe in the face of modernity. A local group is in dire need of national identity, in a contemporary industrial setting or "post-industrial" society. The only way to have a local identity, or at least a secure identity, in such circumstances is to have a national identity (Nielsen, 1999). One way to maintain national identity is by growing the spirit of nationalism.

Along with the times, the influence of globalization has led to the development of information and communication technology causing a shift in the meaning of nationalism

then and now in Indonesia. The concept of nationalism in the past was ideological and binding on citizens in several ways, namely 1) Having awareness as a nation, which can strengthen the sense of nationality, unity, and integrity; 2) The soul, spirit, and patriotic values, are related to feelings of love for the homeland, love for the homeland, love for the country and nation, love for the nation's cultural property, willingness to defend their homeland; 3) Creative and innovative spirit, spirit and values; dan 4) The soul, spirit, and values that can shape the personality, character, and nobility of the nation. (Yanti & Jayanti, 2018).

The ideal of nationalism in the past is not necessarily ideal for today. Ideal in the past was represented by the figure of a young man who fought for Indonesian independence. One of the most important moments in Indonesian history was the Second Youth Congress in 1928. At that time a group of youths with different religious and ethnic backgrounds for the first time recognized the existence of similarities that transcended primordial boundaries. the existence of youth. Then in 1944-1946 during the revolutionary period when the social and political climate was full of uncertainty, the youth at that time slowly transformed into a group with a fighting spirit that was very prominent, for example in the Rengas Dengklok incident.

Meanwhile, today's nationalism is represented by the millennial generation. The millennial generation is the generation with an age range of 18 years to 35 years at this time. They are called the millennial generation because they are the generation that lives at the turn of the millennium, namely in an era where all aspects of life have been touched by technology. This millennial generation is a product generation of globalization. This generation is often described as a free-thinking group, that has a wide network, and is open to new ideas. The same opinion was also expressed by Hidayatullah that all aspects of the life of the millennial generation are technological, which cannot be separated from daily communication tools such as smartphones (Gadgets).

The swift onslaught of foreign cultures facilitated by media and internet technology can freely present themselves amid our society making it easier to interact and exchange ideas with people around the world supported by social media such as; Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, TikTok, and various other social media. This matter has the potential to dominate and influence local culture as It is easy for foreign influences to enter such as ideology, understanding, ideas, lifestyle, culture, and traditions from other countries which are contrary to local culture, namely Indonesian culture. This causes the identity of the country to fade. Therefore, globalization is said to be a new form of colonialism. Now this will be the responsibility of today's young generation, namely the millennial generation as the bearer of the responsibility to maintain national identity with the spirit of nationalism. as described earlier, the meaning of nationalism as intended today is different from nationalism in the past.

The difference is that the nationalism of the younger generation in the past arose because of the resistance to colonialism and the desire to be independent of foreign colonialism so all kinds of efforts were made by Indonesian youth to defend their homeland so that they could stand as a living space for their own nation's potential and independence. Nationalism in this concept is no longer relevant to be applied today because the challenges faced are different, no longer colonialism in the form of foreign colonialism, but a new style of colonialism in the form of globalization which has a positive impact if it is addressed critically but also has negative impacts, including can cause the fading of national identity because globalization makes it easier for people around the world to exchange ideas. Therefore, cosmopolitan understanding also comes with globalization which requires individuals to interact with ideas and symbols that come

from outside their nation-state. Thus, cosmopolitanism is related to the crisis of the individual's relationship with the state. Global forces encourage the influence of cosmopolitanism so that it becomes dominant in the lives of nations. However, if you respond to nationalism and cosmopolitan with a critical attitude, then nationalism and cosmopolitanism will interact healthily and functionally as in the following scheme:
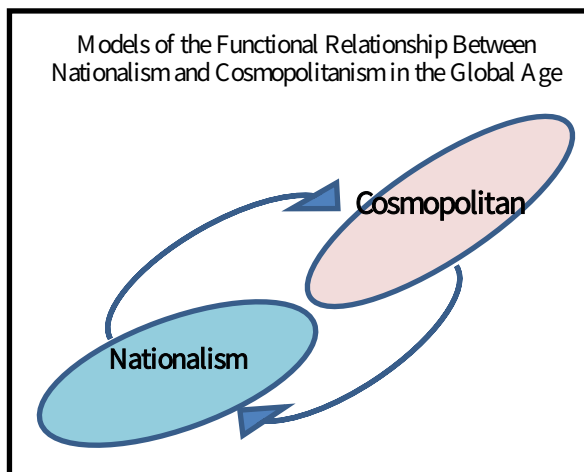

Figure 2. Patterns of more functional relationships Not only being critical, but each also opens up relationships to give new meaning to things so that they are more functional. Do not dominate each other but there is a need for both. Cosmopolitanism does not kill nationalism but nationalism does not annex humanity only for narrow interests.

Alternative answers to the above can be formulated in what is called cosmopolitan nationalism. Nationalism in this context is understood not as an exclusive bond to one nation-state entity. On the other hand, this form of nationalism opens the possibility for citizens to link with other identities outside of their relationship with their nation-state.

According to Van Peursen (1993) nationalism and cosmopolitanism cannot eliminate each other, but open relationships with each other to give new meanings so that they are more functional. In simple language, nationalism is still needed and must play a role in a global era characterized by a cosmopolitical spirit. On the other hand, cosmopolitanism is also a global phenomenon that will inevitably color the lives of the nations of the world. The phenomenon of social media such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram is an example that it can be an effective force if used properly for a nation. So cosmopolitanism is one of the middle ways that can bridge the position between globalization and nationalism.

Kariadi (2016) argues that in its history, Indonesian nationalism has gone through several stages of development which are divided into four stages, namely: 1) The first stage was marked by the growing feeling of nationality and equality of fate, followed by resistance to colonialism both before and after the proclamation of independence. Religious nationalism and secular nationalism emerged simultaneously with the emergence of the idea of an independent Indonesia. The efforts of Islamic nationalists to establish a state based on Islam and secular nationalists who want to maintain a secular state based on Pancasila are used as benchmarks to analyze national awareness or feelings of nationalism; 2) A second stage is a form of Indonesian nationalism which is a continuation of the revolutionary spirit during the struggle for independence, with a greater role for national leaders. Nationalism in this era presupposes the constant threat of external enemies to Indonesian independence; 3) The third stage is the nationalism of unity and unity. Opposition groups or those who are not in line with the government are removed because

they will threaten national unity and stability. Differences are muffled not by solving the main problem but are suppressed and hidden. For foreign countries, nationalism means sovereignty, integrity, and national identity. The pressure for respect for human rights, democracy, and protection of the environment is considered a foreign interference with the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia. Universal values by the New Order rulers were considered contrary to the values of the nation or Pancasila democracy; and 4) The fourth stage is cosmopolitan nationalism. By joining Indonesia in the global international system, Indonesian nationalism is built is cosmopolitan nationalism which is based on that Indonesia as a nation cannot avoid other nations, but by having a cultural nationalism to Indonesia by providing opportunities for local actors directly to become a cosmopolitan actor. In this global context and trend, more and more people imagine being global citizens and bound to universal human values. For this reason, the values and spirit of the new generation of modernization and globalization cannot be understood in the old sense of nationalism, namely love and defense of the homeland in total and even blindly.

Cosmopolitan Nationalism

Cosmopolitan nationalism has the possibility of diagnosing the need for linkage to the nation-state while remaining open to outside ideas. Anne Shakka Ariyani in a book entitled "Nationalism in the Middle of Cultural Citizenship and Global Extremism" expresses her opinion on cosmopolitan culture in Indonesia; ...it is hoped that there will be a continuation of the story (and ideals) that, without ignoring the country's overly dominant past, the Indonesian people can become a plural nation with a cosmopolitan culture as long as they still maintain and care for the "common language". (Ariyani 2018)There is a set of principles that become cosmopolitan values, which consist of 1) the same value and dignity (equal worth and dignity)This value is based on the principle that all individuals are free and equal beings; 2) an active intermediary (active agency).

This value relates to the ability to accept differences but also the capacity to form a community that is self-conscious, self-reflective, and self-determining. personal responsibility (personal responsibility & accountability). This principle is a complement to the first and second principles, which are indirectly related to differences that include how humans make choices about matters related to culture, politics, and economics differently. In this fourth principle, society can negotiate, and try to achieve interconnection between people, have a sense of interdependence, and try to get the same opportunity to live.

- **collective decision-making about public matters through voting procedures** fifth principle prioritizes the existence of a majority vote in decision-making and emphasizes the importance of inclusiveness.
- **completeness and additional (inclusiveness & subsidiarity)**This principle argues that if a decision on an issue is something that is translocal, transnational, and transregional, then all political organizations can no longer be based on local things, but must be based on a broader frame of reference and scope.
- **prevention of all things that are dangerous (avoidance of serious harm)**It is a principle that leads to social justice which places priority on important things until it reaches a condition of equality. Danger will arise if the need to meet his needs is not met.
- **sustainability**It is a principle that considers the availability of resources, especially irreplaceable resources, and considers their impact on the interests of future generations (Brock & Brighouse, 2005)

Furthermore, what is meant by cosmopolitan values for the progress of the Indonesian nation includes indicators; moral cosmopolitanism, political cosmopolitanism, and cultural

cosmopolitanism (Nowicka & Rovisco, 2009). In line with this opinion, Halimah (2014) in her dissertation divides indicators of values that shape cosmopolitan attitudes which include Moral Dimensions including humanity, nationality, kinship, and religion. Political dimensions include tolerance, justice, and responsibility. The Cultural

Nationalism is still needed and must play a role in a global era characterized by a cosmopolitical spirit. On the other hand, cosmopolitanism is also a global phenomenon that will inevitably color the lives of the nations of the world. One alternative answer to this problem may be what some scholars call "Cosmopolitan Nationalism" (Eckersley, 2007). Cosmopolitan nationalism is an attitude that is concerned and always open to foreign cultures that enter but are still accompanied by loyalty to the country. This cosmopolitan nationalism has become a social trend that allows individuals and even a nation to exist in the world community globally while maintaining loyalty to the state, even though it is based on cosmopolitan nationalism, the attitude of nationalism will still exist (Burhani, 2021). Based on expert opinion regarding the values related to cosmopolitan includes several aspects including; Morals, Politics, and Culture. The indicators that build it are described as follows:

📖**Moral**

Moral is the result of an assessment of the good or bad of a person or a society. Assessment here means an action against a person or society (Pramuda. 1995).

Humanity: a system of thought and action that pays attention to values and interests by devoting one's life only to the benefit of mankind.
Kinship: is one of the most influential systems in the social structure of a society. Kinship as one of the most basic principles to organize individuals into social groups, roles, and categories.
Religious: how far is the knowledge, how strong is the belief, how much is the implementation of worship and the rules and how deep is the appreciation of the religion he adheres to.

📖**Political**

Politics is human behavior, either in the form of activities or attitudes that aim to influence or maintain the order of a society by using power (Nambo, 2005).

Tolerance: attitudes and actions that prohibit discrimination against different groups or groups in a society.
Justice: Justice is a social situation when the norms of rights and eligibility are met.

📖**Culture**

Culture is everything that is obtained or learned by humans as members of society. Culture consists of everything that is learned from normative behavior patterns.

Lifestyle: A set of behaviors that have meaning for an individual or another person at a time in a place, including in social relations, consumption of goods, entertainment and clothing.
Diversity: Diversity is a condition in society where there are many differences in various fields.
Individual Behavior: a function of the interaction between the individual and his environment. Individuals bring order in organizations in the form of abilities, personal beliefs, expectations, needs, and other past experiences, shaped by their personalities and experiences.
Global Similarities: allows to adapt views with global insight, multiculturalism and pluralism that respects individual rights and communal rights.

CONCLUSION

From the explanation related to nationalism in the era of globalization, it gave birth to "cosmopolitan nationalism" as nationalism that is relevant to be applied to the younger generation, namely the millennial generation. Cosmopolitan nationalism is an attitude that is concerned and always open to foreign cultures that enter but are still accompanied by loyalty to the country. Thus enabling individuals and even a nation to exist in the world community globally while maintaining loyalty to the state, even though it is based on cosmopolitan nationalism, the attitude of nationalism will still exist. This concept of nationalism, which is nationalism that is relevant to be applied in this era of globalization, therefore based on the notion of nationalism and the values embodied in cosmopolitan, it can be concluded that the aspects that build cosmopolitan nationalism are: nationality with the indicators being: achieving the ideals of a dynamic nation, not narrow-minded, maintain national identity and loyalty to the state. Morals include humanity, nationality, kinship, and religion. Politics includes tolerance, justice, and responsibility. The Cultural Dimension includes lifestyle, diversity, individual behavior, and global similarity.
.

REFERENCES

Anderson, B. R. G. (1983). Old state, new society: Indonesia's new order in comparative historical perspective. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, *42*(3), 477-496.

Ariyani, F., Nayana, T., Saregar, A., Yuberti, Y., & Pricilia, A. (2018). Development of photonovela with character education: As an alternative of physics learning media. *Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan Fisika Al-Biruni*, *7*(2), 227-237.

Banerjee, S. B., & Linstead, S. (2001). Globalization, multiculturalism and other fictions: colonialism for the new millennium?. *Organization*, *8*(4), 683-722.

Brock, G., & Brighouse, H. (Eds.). (2005). *The political philosophy of cosmopolitanism*. Cambridge University Press.

Burhani, A. N. (2021). "It's a Jihad": Justifying Violence towards the Ahmadiyya in Indonesia. *TRaNS: Trans-Regional and-National Studies of Southeast Asia*, *9*(1), 99-112.

Eckersley, R. M. (2007). Culture, spirituality, religion and health: looking at the big picture. *Medical journal of Australia*, *186*, S54-S56.

Kariadi, D. (2016). Revitalisasi Nilai-Nilai Edukatif Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan Untuk Membangun Masyarakat Berwawasan Global Berjiwa Nasionalis. *Jurnal PIPSI (Jurnal Pendidikan IPS Indonesia)*, *1*(1), 14-23.

Nielsen, J. (1999). User interface directions for the web. *Communications of the ACM*, *42*(1), 65-72.

Nowicka, M., & Rovisco, M. (2009). Introduction: Making sense of cosmopolitanism. *Cosmopolitanism in practice*, 1-16.

Saraswati, M. (2021). The political campaign industry and the rise of disinformation in Indonesia. *From Grassroots Activism to Disinformation: Social Media in Southeast Asia. Singapore: ISEAS*, 43-62.

Van Peursen, C. A. (1993). EW von Tschirnhaus and the Ars Inveniendi. *Journal of the History of Ideas*, *54*(3), 395-410.

Yanti, F., & Jayanti, T. (2018). Pemahaman rasa nasionalisme mahasiswa pendidkan sejarah fakultas keguruan dan ilmu pendidikan universitas riau kepulauan. *Cahaya pendidikan*, *4*(2).

Zimmerman, B.J. (2008). Interesting self regulation and motivation: historical background, methodological developments, and future prospects. American Educational Research Journal, 45 (1), 166-1.