

Perception of National Identity in a Group of University Students in Yogyakarta, Indonesia

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National identity is critical in a multi-ethnic country like Indonesia. This research of 75 second-year psychology students in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, investigates conceptions of national identity. Employing Rusciano's Selbstbild and Guibernau's five-dimensional theory, an email survey with three open-ended questions was utilized. Thematic analysis revealed prevalent themes among respondents, primarily within the political dimension of national identity. Noteworthy were notions of respecting diversity, safeguarding rights and privacy, opposing discrimination, and combatting intolerance. The diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds of participants underscored Indonesia's multiethnic landscape. The findings highlighted a heightened political commitment among female participants compared to males. In essence, this study illustrates the applicability of Guibernau's five-dimensional theory in comprehending the nuanced development of national identity in a diverse sample of Indonesian university students.

Keywords: multiethnic nation, ethnic identity, national identity, political dimension, political commitment

INTRODUCTION

In Indonesia the development of national identity goes together with that of other social identities based on membership of more exclusive and parochial groupings, namely ethnicity and religion (Subagya, 2015). There are 633 major ethnic groups adhering to either Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism or Buddhism and other local religions that make up a total population of 272,23 million Indonesian people (Kusnandar, 2021). This study is a follow-up of a study (Supratiknya, 2021) on national identity involving a sample of students with diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds in a private university in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Using an Indonesian adaptation of the *Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure* (MEIM; Phinney, 1992) as measure of ethnic identity and a measure of national identity that was developed on the Indonesian version of the MEIM (1992) as a model based on the assumption that ethnic and national identities are similar constructs (Schwartz, et al., 2012), the study resulted in the following major findings (Supratiknya, 2021).

First, the sample of participants showed relatively high levels of both national and ethnic identities and their responses indicated that the two identities were positively related. These findings underscore the importance of strengthening both the national and ethnic identities of the Indonesian youth since they appear to reinforce each other. Second, the Buddhist-Chinese sample representing the Chinese ethnic group showed the lowest level of national identity though their ethnic identity's level was high. Consistent with the interpretation of Verkuyten and Yildiz (2007) that attributed the low level of national identity of a sample of Turkish-Moslem immigrant youth in the Netherlands to discrimination, this finding seemed to be related

with the social discrimination experienced by the Chinese ethnic group in Indonesia (al Qurtuby, 2017; Ikasari, 2017; Hamous, 2020; Murdianto, 2018). Third, religion was not inherently related with national identity, but it seemed to be either positively or negatively related with it through its relation with ethnicity. Fourth, the sample of participants seemed to trust their parents as the source of both their national and ethnic identities but they apparently failed in helping them to develop their national identity. Fifth, the male participants showed a higher level of national identity than their female counterparts though their levels of ethnic identity were similar. This finding seemed to be consistent with the low level of women's political participation in Indonesia (Rahmatunnisa & Mariana, 2017).

However, there seemed to be two major limitations in the aforementioned study (Supratiknya, 2021). First, it used a standardized psychological scale to gather data. Standardized instruments as measures of psychological constructs that rely on predetermined descriptions consisting of verbal statements formulated by the researcher are effective in gathering data but are less effective at uncovering the way people really experience the psychological construct being studied. The interview method is perceived to be better at uncovering people's real experiences of a psychological construct by expressing their thoughts and feelings about it (Hogan & Foster, 2017). Accordingly, the present study applied the qualitative survey (Braun & Clarke, 2013) using an open-ended questionnaire method to uncover the meaning of national identity for the contemporary Indonesian youth, the sources they rely on in developing it, and the way those sources help them in developing national identity.

The second limitation was that it used the concept of national identity adopted from the social identity theory based on the social-psychological perspective, which emphasizes the psychological and cultural dimensions of national identity within the ethno-symbolic tradition that views it as static. Alternatively, Guibernau (2004) asserted that national identity is a fluid and dynamic modern phenomenon comprising psychological, cultural, territorial, historical and political dimensions. This multi-dimensional perspective seems to offer a more comprehensive understanding concerning the development of national identity of the contemporary Indonesian youth. Hence, the present study aimed to examine how Indonesian youth give meaning to national identity based on their response to the interview questions that incorporated Guibernau's (2004) conception of national identity as well as their perceptions of the ways their parents or other authority figures helped them in developing their national identity in their daily lives.

National Identity

National identity is both an individual construction and a collective identification, which is one's psychological affiliation with a nation-state where one is currently residing (Schwartz, et al., 2012; Fuller-Rowell, et al., 2013). There are two theories explaining nationalism in general or national identity in particular, specifically Anthony Smith's (as cited by Guibernau, 2004) ethno-symbolic theory and Guibernau's (2004) modernist theory of national identity. The ethno-symbolic theory contends that nations are transformations of what Smith called *ethnies*. These are human populations that share the same ancestry, myths, history, and culture, connected to certain territories or regions, and united by a sense of solidarity (Smith, as cited by Guibernau, 2004). An *ethnie* then is a precursor of a nation while ethnic identity is the pre-modern form of a collective cultural identity known as national identity. Hence, the ethno-symbolic theory of national identity emphasizes the cultural aspects of national identity.

By contrast, the modernist theory of national identity emphasizes nations as novel phenomena resulting from a process of formation. They are groups of people that are committed to form a community, to share a common culture, to relate to a territory with clear boundaries, to share a common history, to fight for a common cause as their future, and to claim a right for self-government (Guibernau, 2004). Hence, national identity results from a collective choice, a historical project that each new generation undertakes as new needs and conditions require. In short, any identity heritage is a product of choice that is open to changes decided by the new generations (Parekh, 1994).

Modern nationalism and national identity do not in fact fit into any single theory or model, since they always consist of an inherent duality of historical heritage and collective choice (Parekh, 1994; Jones & Smith, 2001). Such a constructivist view of nationalism (Parekh, 1994) contends that national identity results from a continuous dialogue between the past and the present, in which they interrogate and

illuminate each other. Using the modernist-constructivist conception, Guibernau (2004) defines national identity as a modern dynamic and fluid phenomenon representing the feeling of being part of a nation irrespective of the fact that people reside as citizens in either their country of origin or in a foreign country as immigrants. In the former case people may apparently use either “country” or “nation” interchangeably with the same meaning, while in the latter case people would apparently use the term “nation” when referring to their ethnic origin and the term “country” when referring to the state they currently reside.

Guibernau (2004) contended that national identity consists of five dimensions: (1) the psychological dimension, comprising the awareness of being members of a group based on the feeling of closeness that unites them as part of a nation; such a sharing of a national identity in turn will result in a sense of loyalty and of being united as members of a nation; (2) the cultural dimension, including values, mores, conventions, habits, language and different daily practices that are transmitted from older to new members of the nation; (3) the historical dimension, comprising a nation’s identification of its origin as a community preferably to the ancient times; ancient origin may show the strength, resilience, and superiority of a nation in maintaining its continuity and its collective self as a community; (4) the territorial dimension, namely how far every member of a nation may appropriate the whole territory where it resides, although many of them neither have visited nor will ever visit its different regions or acquaint themselves with everyone with whom they feel share the same national identity; and (5) the political dimension, essentially how far the elite of a nation work to create a sort of cultural and linguistic homogeneity while respecting the diversity among its members, as well as how far every member of a nation has an awareness to build solidarity in order to achieve ‘a common good for all members as brothers and sisters.’ Building on a previous study on national identity (Supratiknya, 2021), this study adopted Guibernau’s (2004) conception of national identity as its main theoretical framework.

METHODS

This study was a qualitative survey (Braun & Clarke, 2013) using a questionnaire that consisted of three open-ended questions to uncover the meaning of national identity for the Indonesian youth as well as the role and the way parents and other sources of authority help them in developing national identity based on their own perspectives.

Participants

The participants were 75 second year Psychology undergraduate students in a private university who participated in a previous study on the same topic using a quantitative survey method (Supratiknya, 2021). They consisted of 15 males and 60 females aged 18-22 years old (*Mean* = 19.3; *SD* = 1.23). In terms of ethnic backgrounds, thirty-eight participants identified themselves as Javanese, eight as Chinese, six as Indonesian, six as Mixed, four as Balinese, four as Batakese, five as Florenese, two as Sulawesinese, one as Dayaknese, and one as Timorese. In terms of religious affiliations, they consisted of 52 Catholics, 13 Protestants, 5 Muslims, 4 Hindus, and 1 Buddhist.

Procedure

The questionnaire consisted of three open-ended questions on national identity. To elicit the participants’ expression of their personal ways of experiencing national identity in their daily life, Rusciano’s (2003; as cited by Surijah et al., 2019) conception of national identity as *Selbstbild* was adopted. The questionnaire accordingly was designed to gather data on the self-image the participants have of their country or the way they think and feel about and act on their nation. Hence, the three open-ended questions were: (1) What does ‘being a citizen/member of the Indonesian nation’ mean to you? (*Apa makna ‘menjadi warga negara/bangsa Indonesia’ bagi Anda?*); (2) What or who do you feel influences you the most on the way you give meaning to ‘being a citizen/member of the Indonesian nation’? (*Apa atau siapakah yang Anda rasakan paling mempengaruhi cara Anda memaknai ‘menjadi warga negara/bangsa Indonesia’ bagi Anda?*); and (3) How do they influence the way you give meaning to ‘being a citizen/member of the Indonesian nation’? (*Bagaimana apa atau siapa tersebut mempengaruhi cara Anda memaknai ‘menjadi*

warga negara/bangsa Indonesia' bagi Anda?). Additional questions pertaining to the participants' identity (student number, gender, ethnic background, religious affiliation, and birth date) were included in the questionnaire. Each participant gave their responses in a typed e-mail message to the researcher's e-mail account. To protect their privacy, each participant's response was numerically coded.

The questionnaire was distributed through an email survey to a total of 125 prospective participants from September 18 to October 6, 2020. Voluntary, confidentiality and the absence of any connection with academic evaluation were emphasized. A total of 90 students responded; however, only 75 of them were qualified to participate based on both fulfillment of inclusion criteria and completeness of data. In a debriefing email message, the participants were encouraged to contact the researcher for any questions and/or concerns regarding the questionnaire.

Analysis

The typed data were subjected to thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) to identify commonly recurring themes in the participants' responses pertaining to the three main issues of the study, including the meaning, the sources of influence, and the way sources of influence helped them to develop national identity. The identity of the participants whose responses were presented as evidences in the findings were coded. Inter-coding between the researcher and a second coder as well as member checking on the thematic analysis with three participants were undertaken to validate the findings.

RESULTS

The Meaning of National Identity

The participants' narratives of national identity as their personal meaning of being a citizen or a member of the Indonesian nation consisted of five themes, including status, rights, obligations, feelings, and actions or behaviors.

Status

Status refers to one's position pertaining to the territorial dimension of national identity (Guibernau, 2004). Following Guibernau, status was understood as one's awareness of one's affiliation with a place of residence. Some participants contended that to be a member of the Indonesian nation is to be a resident of Indonesia who was born and raised in Indonesia.

P011 (Female): "... being one who was born and brought up in Indonesia. This makes me feel having the responsibility to be a good citizen and to contribute for the progress of Indonesia ..."

P024 (F): "I was born an Indonesian citizen ... I could not really choose to be a citizen of which country but the fact that I was born in Indonesia makes me feel satisfied enough."

P052 (Male): "... being a member of the Indonesian country/nation means to be a citizen who resides in Indonesia and has the full rights as a citizen ..."

P059 (F): "Being an Indonesian citizen to me means to be inside it ..."

Rights

Rights refer to one's state of being justly entitled to things pertaining to the political dimension of national identity (Guibernau, 2004). Following Guibernau, rights were understood as one's state of being entitled to act and to be treated in ways that represent a shared recognition of the existence of diversity within the Indonesian society. There were several rights that some participants perceived to be meaningful for them as described in the following responses.

P059 (F): “For me to be a member of the Indonesian country/nation means ... to have the right ... to be protected by the state.”

P052 (M): “In my opinion, to be a member of the Indonesian country/nation means ... to have the right ... to have freedom of speech and to be safe to carry out our activities in this country.”

P075 (F): “To be an Indonesian citizen means to be aware of our rights ... to cast our vote in the general election.”

P077 (F): “For me, to be a member of the Indonesian country/nation means a lot of things. One of them ... to have a shelter, namely to have a home and to be legally protected by the state.”

P145 (M): “To be an Indonesian citizen means to have the rights ... to express our voice, to vote and to be elected in politics, to pursue education, and to be granted with religious freedom.”

Obligations

Obligations refer to responsibility to take actions pertaining to the political dimension of national identity (Guibernau, 2004). Following Guibernau, obligations were understood as one’s responsibility as an Indonesian citizen to comply with the various laws, norms and other regulations as expressions of solidarity with other citizens in fighting for the common good of the entire Indonesian society. Some actions that the participants perceived to be mandatory for them to perform as Indonesian citizens are presented below.

P001 (F): “For me to be an Indonesian citizen means to carry out my obligations and rights as well as to maintain order within our society by showing respect to each other to avoid any conflicts among fellow Indonesian citizens.”

P004 (F): “To be a member of the Indonesian country/nation means ... to comply with the regulations and norms either written or not ... to carry out the citizen’s task of casting vote in the general election ...”

P049 (F): “To be a member of the Indonesian country/nation stipulates me ... to maintain harmony within our society.”

P065 (F): “As an Indonesian citizen I have to protect its reputation.”

P013 (M): “To be a citizen means to realize and to keep the ideals of the founding fathers of this nation.”

P034 (M): “It is a privilege for me to be born and be granted with the Indonesian citizenship. Hence, I feel obliged to guard its natural and cultural richness so that my children and grand-children will be able to enjoy them.”

Feelings

Feelings refer to mental states pertaining to the psychological dimension of national identity (Guibernau, 2004). Following Guibernau, feelings were understood as one’s feelings of being part of and having emotional attachment with the Indonesian country/nation. Three dominant feelings emerged in some participants’ narratives including a sense of pride, love and respect for Indonesia.

P014 (F): "... to me, to be an Indonesian citizen means to love and to respect the country and everything it contains."

P019 (F): "... I am personally proud of and happy to be an Indonesian citizen."

P024 (F): "I am happy to be an Indonesian citizen and I never thought of changing my citizenship or anything like that."

P030 (F): "... what I feel as an Indonesian citizen is to be proud of its cultures, for there are different ethnicities, religions here and all those mix into a unity."

P037 (F): "Frankly, I feel very happy to reside and to be born in this country."

P130 (F): "To be a member of the Indonesian country/nation is a pride for me. Although my grandparents were Chinese, I love the Indonesian nation."

Actions

Actions refer to conscious behaviors pertaining to the political dimension of national identity (Guibernau, 2004). Following Guibernau, actions were understood as one's initiative as an Indonesian citizen to consciously carry out various actions as expressions of a sense of responsibility for the common good of the entire Indonesian society. The kinds of actions that emerged in the narratives of some participants were as follows.

P002 (F): "For me ... to be an Indonesian citizen ... means to speak Indonesian in our daily life ... besides ... we can also use our local language."

P010 (M): "Hence, as part of the Indonesian nation, I totally dedicate myself in thoughts and deeds for the nation."

P013 (M): "To be a citizen ... to fight against corruption and intolerance is part of the struggle that we have to carry out enthusiastically."

P021 (F): "As members of the Indonesian country or nation we should treat each other as equals."

P022 (F): "... as an Indonesian youth I deeply respect the values of this country until now."

P060 (F): "To be a citizen ... know and understand the history ... that differentiates the Indonesian nation from all other nations."

P154 (M): "For me as a citizen I should know the history, culture, SARA¹, and the politics of our country."

P071 (F): "As an Indonesian citizen I feel to be destined to go on learning and fighting namely in expressing the voice of the marginalized groups, especially the workers and the sexual minority."

Sources of National Identity Development

The participants' narratives concerning the sources that influenced the development of their national identity could be categorized into the following five themes: the family, the social milieu, the school, public figures, and the self.

The Family

The family refers to the basic kinship unit comprising mother, father, siblings and relatives pertaining to the psychological and cultural dimensions of national identity (Guibernau, 2004). The narratives of some participants about their family as a major source of influence in helping them to develop their national identity were as follows.

P004 (F): “My parents are the ones who influence the meaning that I give to being an Indonesian citizen the most.”

P081 (F): “My family influences my way of thinking through the customs, the good manners, the language, and the world view of the Javanese they inculcate. By implementing all those things, I get the experience of being an Indonesian citizen ...”

P011 (F): “... through the education they provide me with since my childhood, and their (my father, mother, and elder sister) opinions and comments in our discussions about Indonesia and all it has in it.”

P015 (F): “What influences me in developing my awareness as an Indonesian citizen is the differences we have in my family. Having a father and a mother with different ethnic backgrounds makes me feel comfortable with differences.”

P085 (F): “My father influences me in the way I give meaning to being an Indonesian citizen, for example, in the regional and national (the presidential election) general election my father reminded me to vote ...”

P101 (F): “As a government official who used to be assigned in different places periodically, my father advises me to be able to adapt and to accept differences and the particular characteristics of every people or group of people ... He advises me to adapt well to the environment, to merge and to respect unity in diversity.”

P014 (F): “My grandfather often told me the stories of his youth when Indonesia was still a young nation... Sometimes I wanted to move out from this country for the many problems its own societies have created and my feeling that Indonesia would never develop ... But learning from the views of other people, namely my grandfather ... I think I have to learn to respect and to love this country more.”

The Social Milieu

The social milieu refers to the close social environment outside the family pertaining to the psychological and cultural dimensions of national identity (Guibernau, 2004). It comprised both individuals and institutions that helped the participants to develop their national identity, as expressed in the following narratives.

P015 (F): “... my friends influence me a lot in the way I give meaning to my identity as an Indonesian citizen.”

P134 (F): “I feel that the many cultures of Indonesia influence me most in the way I give meaning to being an Indonesian citizen.”

P116 (F): “Since my childhood the media has influenced me most in the way I give meaning to be an Indonesian citizen ... both printed media including newspapers, biographical books and digital media such as television and social media.”

P145 (M): “The way I give meaning to being an Indonesian citizen is influenced by ... the social media, the Internet and my social milieu.”

P013 (M): “And then ... the political party that I join to learn about politics. Since this political party is based on nationalism and respect for diversity, it teaches me more deeply about what it means to be a citizen.”

The School

The school is the teaching and learning institution pertaining to the psychological and cultural dimensions of national identity (Guibernau, 2004). As expressed in some participants’ narratives, it comprised its actors namely the teachers, its subjects, and the other activities that served as a source of values and socialization agents that helped them to develop their national identity.

P070 (F): “I gained my understanding of what it is to be a part of this nation from my school education, from elementary school to college.”

P147 (F): “... I was influenced most by the head of the foundation of the high school where I studied.”

P030 (F): “... I have been influenced by my teachers ... in the kindergarten, primary school, junior high-school, senior high-school, even now in the university. But ... the first group of people who taught me about that were ... my primary school teachers.”

P102 (F): “What influenced me most on that matter was the Civics class that I learned for twelve years.”

P050 (M): “The ones who influenced me most on that matter were my seniors and my colleagues in the Paskibra² in my former high-school.”

Public Figures

Public figures refer to famous people who have been recognized to be meritorious to the common good pertaining to the psychological and cultural dimensions of national identity (Guibernau, 2004). They included political figures and artists who provided models for what it means to be an Indonesian citizen. As expressed in some participants’ narratives, they consisted of the following.

P016 (M): “Independence heroes. I always wonder how such figures with different political, ethnic, racial, and religious backgrounds could create such unity. I began to learn that they could do so because they accepted everything that existed in Indonesia, especially its diversity in terms of religions, races, cultures, and the like, so that they could put away their egos and be united.”

P143 (F): “The Father of the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence, namely Soekarno.³”

P130 (F): “The one who influenced me to remain an Indonesian citizen was the late Mr. Habibie.⁴”

P157 (F): “The Bishop has always asked us to be a good Indonesian citizen through his sermons.”

P086 (M): “The one who has influenced me ... was Soe Hok Gie.⁵ He was apparently not an Indonesian native, as also indicated by his Chinese name, but it did not prevent him from defending Indonesia.”

P014 (F): “... Agnes Monica⁶ as a famous musical artist has reminded me to not forget our fatherland despite our many achievements.”

P019 (F): “The one who has influenced me most in shaping my views is Maudy Ayunda,⁷ both an artist and an activist in education.”

The Self

Pertaining to the political dimension of national identity (Guibernau, 2004), the self refers to one’s awareness as a citizen to take certain actions as expressions of one’s solidarity with other fellow citizens to realize the common good for the entire society. The following were the expressions of some participants pertaining to their self as a source for the development of their national identity.

P038 (F): “Frankly I am confused ... for I feel that such meaning has naturally flown in me during the 20 years of my life and shaped my way of looking at the condition of Indonesia. Looking back, I got such meaning from my observation on the national news, the administrative procedures (the application for identity cards, driving licenses, etc.), the teaching and learning process in schools, the real conditions in the field.”

P060 (F): “My self. Compared to people closest to me such as my parents and relatives, we may have different notions. But I feel that I was the only one responsible for what it means for me to be an Indonesian citizen. Why? Because I feel I am competent enough to explore, to give meaning, and to be aware of my position in social life.”

Ways of Helping to Develop National Identity

The participants’ narratives on the ways the various sources of influence helped develop their awareness as citizens of Indonesia could be categorized into three themes, namely instruction, habituation, and action. The first two themes refer to the behavior of other people while the third one referred to that of their own self.

Instruction

Instruction refers to the practice of teaching values, knowledge and skills or habits by more experienced people pertaining to the psychological and cultural dimensions of national identity (Guibernau, 2004). Some participants contended that the kinds of instruction they received from other people that shaped their ways of making the meaning of national identity were as follows.

P149 (F): “From my childhood, my parents teach me to be able to live together with other people who are different from me, namely those who have different faith.”

P024 (F): “Since my childhood I have been taught to be proud of being an Indonesian citizen.”

P030 (F): “... since I was a child, I had been made familiar with the Indonesian cultures and the Javanese culture where I lived and have been born.”

P033 (F): “I have been taught the typical Indonesian values of patriotism, morality, and ethics.”

P039 (F): "... by inculcating in me the values of Pancasila⁸ and Indonesia."

P021 (F): "By giving examples of how to behave according to the existing norms and culture and to respect each other."

P130 (F): "My father studied abroad but he returned to Indonesia to serve for the progress of his own country, disregarding the fact that the educational and the justice system in Indonesia is not quite fair."

P148 (F): "... since my childhood my father has taught me to responsibly comply with the many regulations we have in Indonesia, in fact I have never seen him to break any regulations in his job."

Habituation

Habituation refers to the act of making someone to be accustomed to certain good habits. It pertained to the psychological and cultural dimensions of national identity (Guibernau, 2004). As expressed in the narratives of some participants, it comprised the following actions.

P002 (F): "At home we speak Indonesian since my father is Javanese. But sometimes we speak our local language too ... I learn different languages and customs ... from my associations with people from different ethnicities."

P015 (F): "I learn what it means to be an Indonesian citizen from the differences we have in my family. The different (ethnic) backgrounds of my father and mother have made me to be accustomed with differences ... we have learned that differences may not necessarily create problems and we can live together happily."

Actions

Actions refer to the deeds one may perform as a responsible citizen and as an expression of social solidarity. It pertained to the political dimension of national identity (Guibernau, 2004). As expressed in some participants' narratives, it consisted of the following initiatives.

P071 (F): "As a member of the sexual minority, I have often been discriminated against either intentionally or unintentionally by the society at large and even by people who were close to me. I often saw acts of discrimination, criminalization and even assassination threats toward those who belong to the sexual minority. I feel that Indonesia is influenced by certain religious values (that are in fact multi-interpretable) in such a way that it even disregarded the human aspects of religions. I also often feel disgusted with the hypocrisy of the society and the government. Some persons in the government who like to start with a religious greeting when delivering a speech turned out to be corruptors."

P049 (F): "... based on my experience, some teachers tended to evaluate students based on ethnic or religious similarity. In high-school I was forced to embrace another religion. In my family, my mother had changed her religion, so I was forced to change mine too. Every time I attended this teacher's class, I was always given videos that contained religious lectures of that teacher's religion. Hence, I realized that as the young generation of our nation we have to learn to appreciate and respect the rights and privacy of every other people. We should not discriminate against other people. We basically do live in a country that is full of diversity."

P013 (M): “By internalizing the values inculcated by my campus, I have become a more human citizen. By reflecting on the values of social solidarity, anti-corruption, and anti-intolerance, I have become an enthusiastic citizen fighting against those persistent problems in this fatherland.”

P016 (M): “By accepting anything that exists in Indonesia especially its diversity, we will be able to really be one and that is the meaning of being the Indonesian Nation.”

DISCUSSION

According to the sample of the Indonesian youth in this study, having a national identity in the sense of being a member of the Indonesian country/nation meant: (1) having a status in the sense of being born, raised and residing within the territory of the Republic of Indonesia; (2) having certain rights including the freedom of speech and religion, to pursue education, to vote and to be elected in the general election, and to be protected; (3) having certain obligations including to comply with the various regulations, to pay taxes, to continue the ideals of the founding fathers of the nation, to maintain social harmony, to protect the reputation of the country/nation, to guard the natural and cultural resources, and to maintain unity; (4) having the feelings of pride, love, comfort and happiness, especially due to the existence of the various ethnicities and religions that mix diversity into unity; and (5) carrying out certain acts including to speak Indonesian, to offer thoughts and energy to the country/nation, to understand its history, to respect its values, to respect diversity and to live in unity, to treat fellow citizens equally, to fight against corruption and intolerance, and to bring out the voice of the marginalized groups especially that of the workers and members of the sexual minority.

The various agents perceived to be the sources of influence that helped them in developing their awareness of being a member of the Indonesian country/nation included: (1) the family, including father, mother, siblings, grandfather, the different ethnic and/or religious backgrounds of father and mother; (2) the social milieu, including friends, the various customs and habits, the media including newspapers, biographical books, digital media such as television, the social media, and the Internet, and political parties; (3) the school, including the primary school, the junior high-school, the senior high-school, and the higher learning institutions, the teachers, senior students and colleagues in the Paskibra, the Civics class, and the chairperson of the school’s foundation; (4) public figures, including the national heroes of independence, the country leaders, the Bishop, prominent figures such as Soekarno, B.J. Habibie, Soe Hok Gie, Agnes Monica, and Maudy Ayunda; and (5) their own self.

The ways the various sources of influence helped them in developing national identity included: (1) instruction, such as learning the values of Pancasila, patriotism and the specifically Indonesian morality and ethics, teaching to be proud of being an Indonesian citizen, teaching to live side by side with other people with different backgrounds, and giving examples to comply with the various regulations and norms, to decide to work in Indonesia after pursuing study abroad despite the apparently better condition abroad; (2) habituation, such as becoming accustomed to speaking Indonesian at home due to the different ethnic backgrounds of father and mother, being accustomed to diversity and acceptive of differences in the family; and (3) taking self-initiated actions, including to promise not to engage in negative acts having been exposed to discrimination, criminalization and even assassination threats toward members of marginalized minority groups, to learn to respect other people’s rights and privacy having been forced to change one’s religion by a senior high-school teacher, to internalize the values taught in the campus, and to accept everything that exists in Indonesia, especially its diversity.

The participants’ responses to the three main issues of this study exhibited elements associated with four of the five dimensions of Guibernau’s (2004) theory of national identity, namely the psychological, cultural, political, and territorial dimensions. Although mentioned elsewhere in the participants’ narratives, the historical dimension failed to appear independently. This finding led to the interpretation that the psychological-cultural dimension served a dominant role in national identity as it was treated as the only component of national identity in the ethno-symbolic tradition, but it seemed inadequate. On the contrary,

this finding was consistent and confirmed the five-dimensional theory of national identity of Guibernau (2004), except for the historical dimension. In other words, Guibernau's (2004) five-dimensional theory of national identity apparently served more adequately than that adopted from the social identity theory to uncover the dynamics of national identity in the sample of Indonesian youth in this study.

Adhering to the same ethno-symbolic tradition and making use of Tajfelian social identity theory, Eriksonian ego identity theory, and Marcian theory of identity status (as cited in Supratiknya, 2019), Phinney (1992) developed the *Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure* (MEIM) to measure ethnic identity. As a construct, it consists of six components: (1) self-labeling (one's identification as a member of certain ethnic group); (2) commitment/attachment (a sense of belonging and being attached to one's ethnic group); (3) exploration (one's effort to find information and experiences relating to one's ethnicity); (4) ethnic behavior (one's effort to behave relating to one's ethnicity such as speaking one's local language); (5) ingroup attitude (feeling comfortable with and showing positive attitude towards one's ethnic group); and (6) values/beliefs (one's respect of the values and beliefs characteristic of one's ethnic group) (Phinney, 1992). However, the MEIM that consists of 14 items comprises only three of the six components of the construct: (1) positive attitude and a sense of belonging with a certain ethnic group (5 items); (2) ethnic identity achievement, including exploration and achievement (7 items); and (3) ethnic behaviors (2 items). Phinney and Ong (2007) revised the MEIM (1992) into MEIM-R. It consists of 6 items representing two components, namely exploration and commitment. The omission of the ethnic behavior component had indeed made the MEIM-R perfectly consistent with the Eriksonian ego identity theory and the Marcian identity status theory, but at the price of leaving out the social identity component of the Tajfelian social identity theory (Supratiknya, 2019). The present study showed that the participants perceived the behavior component including certain ethnic behaviors as an important component both in their meaning-making and in adopting the ways to express their national identity especially when the major source of influence in developing their national identity was their own self. As the findings showed, the kinds of behavior they adopted represented the political dimension of Guibernau's (2004) theory of national identity. In other words, the findings of this study confirmed the interpretation that Guibernau's (2004) five-dimensional theory of national identity served better in uncovering the dynamics of national identity development in the sample of Indonesian youth in the present study. The findings also suggested that it was a right decision to keep the behavior component of ethnic identity as adopted by Phinney (1992) in the construction of the original MEIM. Assuming the similarity of the structures of the constructs of both ethnic and national identities (Schwartz, et al., 2012), the Indonesian adaptation of the MEIM (1992) was used as a model in the development of the national identity measure (Supratiknya, 2021) used in a previous study that inspired the present study. Hence, the behavior component of both ethnic and national identities seemed to be too important to be ignored.

Compared to the other themes, those pertaining to the actions the participants expressed in their narratives as representing their sense of national identity were apparently more genuine in the sense of really born out of personal experiences in their daily life and political engagements. They included fighting for equality (P021, F) and unity (P053, M), respecting other people's rights and privacy (P049, F), respecting differences of opinion (P089, F), fighting against corruption and intolerance (P013, M), maintaining peace and security for the whole society (P038, F). They were genuine for they were based on both personal experiences including having father and mother with different ethnic or religious backgrounds or both (P015, F; P049, F), being forced by a teacher to change one's religion (P049, F), or on vicarious experience, such as witnessing members of the sexual minority group be discriminated against, criminalized or even threatened with assassination for their choice of sexual orientation (P071, F). They were political since all of them involved a certain level of power relations with other people.

The findings also showed that relatively more female (P015, P021, P038, P049, P071, P089) than male (P013, P053) participants reported actions that exhibit compassion and social solidarity as expression of their national identity. Apparently more female than male participants showed political interest and involvement. This finding might be interpreted as inconsistent with some previous studies showing that women's political involvement was lower than their male counterparts in Indonesia (Rahmatunnisa &

Mariana, 2017; Rhoads, 2012). If it were really the case, however, this finding would indicate a positive increase of women's involvement in political affairs in Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

One of the major limitations of this study was that the sample population was drawn from a study program of a private university in Yogyakarta, which might fail to adequately represent the general population of Indonesian youth. With that in mind, however, the present study showed some important findings. First, Guibernau's five-dimensional theory of national identity proved to be productive for uncovering the dynamics of national identity development in the sample of participants in the study. Second, the sample of participants in this study tended to represent national identity as an awareness of being Indonesian citizens, emphasizing the territorial (born, grow, and being residents), psychological (love, pride dan respect), and political (rights and obligations, taking actions including to speak Indonesian, to respect diversity, to fight against corruption and intolerance) dimensions. Third, they recognized the family (father, mother, siblings, and grandfather), the social milieu (friends, the media, and political parties), the school (teachers, school subjects, and extracurricular activities), public figures (Soekarno, B. J. Habibie, Soe Hok Gie, Agnes Monica, and Maudy Ayunda) and their own self as the sources of influence that helped them to develop their national identity. Fourth, the ways the external sources of influence adopted in helping them to develop their national identity included instruction (teaching, showing, and giving examples of what it is to be Indonesian), and habituation (becoming accustomed to speaking both Indonesian and the local languages at home, accepting and becoming familiar with diversity). Regarding their own self, it helped them to develop their national identity by taking certain social actions including to respect other people's rights and privacy, to respect and accept differences, to fight against corruption and intolerance, and to accept diversity for the sake of unity of the whole society. Fifth, the political dimension pertaining to the themes of respecting diversity, respecting one's and other people's rights and privacy, as well as fighting against discrimination and intolerance appeared to significantly color their narratives about the meaning, the sources as well as the ways the various sources helped them to develop their national identity. Sixth, the female sample of participants apparently showed relatively more political commitment in their accounts of national identity than their male counterparts. Such a conclusion, however, might be limited by the significant imbalance of the number of the female participants ($n = 60$) compared to that of their male counterparts ($n = 15$) in this study. Hence, the two last findings seemed to be important to scrutinize in future studies.

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ENDNOTES

1. *SARA*, an acronym for 'suku, agama, ras dan antar golongan' (ethnicity, religion, race and inter-group) refers to political activities performed by politicians that exploit ethnic, religious, racial and inter-group relation issues in order to attract sympathies from the public during general elections.
2. *Paskibra*, an acronym for *Pasukan Pengibar Bendera Pusaka*, is a selected group of young men and women, usually high-school students, tasked with raising the national flag in the Independence Day ceremonies.
3. *Soekarno* (1901-1970) was the first President of Indonesia, serving from 1945 to 1967.
4. *B. J. Habibie* (1936-2019) was the third President of Indonesia, serving from 1998 to 1999.
5. *Soe Hok Gie* (1942-1969) was an ethnic Chinese Roman Catholic activist who opposed the authoritarian leadership of both Presidents Soekarno and Soeharto.
6. *Agnes Monica* (born 1 July 1986) is an Indonesian pop artist.
7. *Maudy Ayunda* (born 19 December 1994) is an Indonesian artist and activist for education.

8. *Pancasila* is the Indonesian state philosophy that consists of five values, namely belief in the one and only God, just and civilized humanity, the unity of Indonesia, democracy guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst representatives, and social justice for the whole people of Indonesia.

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