The Representation of Nationalism Values in Indonesian Films in the Early Stages of Independence, New Order and Reform Era

Euis Komalawati*

Abstract

The aim of this research is to elaborate the representation of nationalism values in Indonesian films during the beginning of independence, New Order and Reformation Era. Additionally, it also aims at finding the elements that constitute nationalism and revealing the typology of nationalism in Indonesian films. This research uses constructivism as a paradigm and is a qualitative descriptive study. The semiotic of Roland Barthes is used as a data analysis. Data collection methods include documentation of film texts, documentation of regulations and articles on films, and also literature review. This research concludes that representation of nationalism values and type of nationalism shift dynamically, and this is very much related to social, economic and political conditions in a nation-state. The results of the research show that the typology of nationalism represented in Indonesian films is descent nationalism during the beginning of independence era, state nationalism during New Order Era, and civics nationalism during Reformation Era.

Keywords: representation, nationalism, film

I. Introduction

The issue of nationalism is always presented when we are dealing with other nations. One of them is the issue of relations between countries that occurred in Indonesia and Malaysia which has been running since long time ago. So many cases have drawn attention since the Indonesian confrontation with Malaysia in the Soekarno era. The issue of recognition of various Indonesian cultural attributes by Malaysia such as songs of Rasa Sayange song and Terang Bulan, reog ponorogo, batik, even food like rendang. In addition to these issues, nationalism is always become a topic especially in the border areas such as the case of Pulau Sipadan and Ligitan or conflicts of border areas in Kalimantan. Another issue that touches nationalism is Malaysia's maltreatment of Indonesian workers.

The development of media and nationalism cannot be separated from the reality of Indonesia as a pluralistic country. Such distinctiveness is characterized by a rich diversity of cultures, languages, beliefs, religions, and traditions. Nationalism which refers to national identity derived from national culture according to Heryanto (2012) which is a combination and tension between the four main forces that become the basis or backbone of Indonesia. These four powers are indigenous 'traditions' in the archipelago and Javanese culture, Islam, liberalism and Marxism.

The argument about nationalism is a never-ending debate. The transformation of Indonesian nationalism according to Haris (2007) is indeed problematic of Indonesia as a modern nation-state that is essentially inseparable from the long history of national identity searching by elite movements since the beginning of the 20th century. Haris (2007) said that although the momentum of the 1945 proclamation is celebrated every year as a day of resurrection, liberation and independence, the Indonesian format as a modern state that can uniform all the elements of a very diverse nation is not yet fully formed. Attracts and tensions in the search for choice of state form (unity versus federalism), democratic system (presidential versus parliamentary), economic

* Euis Komalawati, Dean of Faculty of Social Sciences and Management, STIAMI-Institute of Social Sciences and Management, Jl Pangkalan Asem Raya No. 55 Cempaka Putih, Jakarta-Indonesia. Email: e_komalawati@yahoo.com

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structure (socialist versus liberal-capitalist), central-regional relations (centralization versus decentralization), civil-military relations, non-indigenous peoples, and Java-outside Java, clearly reflects all of that. At the same time, identity politics marked by the strengthening of ethnicity and ethno-nationalism, as well as the radicalization of religious movements and religious-nationalism in contemporary Indonesian reality, indicate a similar picture. If historically examined as a starting point, the nationalism implicit in the meaning of Indonesia is embodied in the Five Principles (Pancasila) and the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution. In it, it can clearly be found the ideals of democracy or the sovereignty of the people, social justice, welfare, and unity. Indonesian nationalism underwent a very significant transformation, namely cultural nationalism (not only ethnic-based but also incorporated within it) that turned into political nationalism.

Indonesia as a nation-state was finally materialized on August 17, 1945 supported by the growth of Indonesian nationalism throughout the territory of Indonesia. Kahin (1952) put forward four main factors that helped nurture Indonesian nationalism. First, the similarity of religion, because 90 percent of the population of Indonesia are moslems. Second, the use of Malay in various layers of society. Third, the formation of Volksraad which is representative of various layers of society. Fourth, the emergence of mass media in the form of newspapers and radio. The role of the elite and the intellectual is very important in terms of disseminating awareness of the nation in Indonesia. The emergence of Boedi Oetomo in 1908 as a youth organization that initially fought for the consciousness of the Javanese also motivated the birth of new regional organizations such as Jong Java in 1918, Jong Sumatranen Bond in 1917, the Minahasa student association in 1918, and Jong Ambon in 1918. Meanwhile, the beginning of the emergence of national awareness of Indonesia just started among Indonesian students in the Netherlands in the Association of Indonesian Students (PI) in 1922, led by Mohammad Hatta, Natsir, Achmad Soebardjo, and Soekiman Wirjosandjojo. The Indonesian students association sought to dispel the sense of regionalism and to bring unity against the Dutch. The idea of Indonesian nationalism was then disseminated to Indonesia by the students when they returned to Indonesia through the mass media. Finally through the efforts of various youth organizations that exist in Indonesia, the 1928 Youth Pledge is a manifestation of the awareness of the nation of Indonesia as a nation (Kahin, 1952).

The awareness of Indonesian nationalism was more powerful and real after the Indonesian people became a nation-state in the event of Proclamation August 17, 1945. Indonesian nationalism is a nationalism that grew because of feelings of being oppressed. Feelings of the same fate of all the people aroused resistance against the Dutch colonialists for the sake of Indonesian independence. According to Kahin, the establishment of an Indonesian nation-state based on the Dutch administration has united people from different languages and cultures into a single political entity and thus builds a national consciousness (Kahin, 1952).

National awareness about nationalism is built through various media, one of which is the film mass media. In the context of Indonesia, the film industry has ups and downs in its development since the beginning of the 1950s until now. Various issues are often accused of causing the film industry not to run according to the wheels of the industry, from the problems of regulation, the rise of Hollywood movies, film piracy, the competition between films and television movies to public appreciation as consumers of Indonesian films shown by low interest in watching national movies than imported films. In the midst of these problems, however, the Indonesian film industry has shown encouraging developments in the last decade, especially in the improvement of film production and the interest of movie viewers. If searched the development of Indonesian films cannot be separated from the political moments that took place in Indonesia. In the New Order era, film development had reached the golden age but again collapsed before the fall of President Soeharto in 1998. After the reform, the revival of the films shows a good development even if the dynamics are inevitable.

In the context of Indonesia, the development of mass media cannot be separated from the dynamics of Indonesian politics. Since the beginning of the independence movement until now-post-reform era, film has been a medium for nationalist construction. Film is also a medium for
shaping nationalism. As a medium, then the film has the ability to build nationalism. But in fact, the film journey is not separated from the social and political turmoil of the Indonesian nation since the beginning of independence, the new order until post-reform. The reality of nationalism presented in film is built through a process of representation that reveals what it wants to show and what it seeks to hide from a reality. Therefore, this paper aims at digging deeper how nationalism value of Indonesian people was represented by films in the early stages of independence, new order, and reform era.

II. Literature review

*Stuart Hall Representation Theory*

Stuart Hall (1997) says representation is one of the important aspects that produces culture. Culture is a very broad concept. A culture of 'sharing experience'. Someone is said to have come from the same culture if the human beings share the same experience, share the same cultural codes, speak the same 'language', and share the same concepts. Hall (1997) describes three approaches to representation: (1) Reflective: relating to the view or meaning of representation that is somewhere 'out there' in our society; (2) Intentional: concerned with the views of the representational creator / producer; and (3) Constructors: who pay attention to how representations are made through language, including visual codes.

Stuart Hall saw two representation processes. The first is the mental representation, namely the concept of 'something' that is in our respective head (conceptual map). This mental representation is still something abstract. The second is the 'language' that plays an important role in the construction process of meaning. The abstract concept that exists in our heads must be translated in the usual 'language', so that we can connect our concepts and ideas about things with certain signs and symbols. Hall (1997) explained that the first process allows us to interpret the world by constructing a set of correspondence chains between something with our 'conceptual map' system. In the second process, we construct a set of correspondence chains between the 'conceptual map' and the language or symbol that serves to represent our conceptions of something. The relation between 'something', 'conceptual map' and 'language / symbol' is the heart of the production of meaning through language. The process that connects these three elements is called representation.

*Definition of Nation*

The nation is often used to designate a state, sovereign with its own government, borders, troops and symbolic markers of nationalities such as flags, anthems, local currency, heads of state, UN membership, and so on. However, many nations are not state-nations. A number of countries cover more than one nation (eg., Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland in the United Kingdom). Then there are the nations that cross the border of their country (China) or the nation spreads in some countries (Kurdistan) (Hartley, 2010).

Benedict Anderson (2002) expressed his understanding of the nation. Nations in Anderson's view are as a pictured community, namely: "It is a political community and is conceived as something that is inherently limited as well as sovereign" (Anderson, 2002). Meanwhile, Anthony Smith, defines a nation as :

"a named human populations sharing a historic territory, common myths, and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and a common legal right and duties for all members" (Smith, 1991, p.14).

Smith emphasizes nationalism as an ideological movement, a sense of consciousness as a nation that requires symbols of identity. These symbols for Smith are used by the state as a means of doctrination in the political interest of a state against its people.
Definition of Nationalism

Smith sees nationalism as an ideological struggle to achieve and sustain the autonomy, unity, and identity of the population that constitutes a state. According to Ernest Gellner, nationalism is something that was created as a result of the emergence of a nation. The formation of a nation and nationalism is not something that just happens so, but rather an invention or something that is created and made aware of the desire to live together because of some similarities and is driven by an urban elite or intellectual group (Smith, 1998).

Meanwhile Snyder (2003) divides nationalism into four namely: SARA nationalism (ethnic), civil nationalism, revolutionary nationalism and counter-revolutionary nationalism. SARA nationalism bases their nationalist appeal on cultures, languages, religions, shared experiences, common ancestor myths, and they use that insight as a criterion for accepting or rejecting as members of the nationalist group. For example: Serbia and Estonia. Civilian nationalism bases their appeal to a set of ideas and political institutions that are considered fair and just. A person is accepted or rejected as a member of the group, especially on whether the person is born or resides long in the territory of the nation. For example: Britain and the United States of America.

Revolutionary nationalism based their propaganda on the effort to defend the political revolution that had brought a new regime to the pinnacle of power, which ruled on behalf of the nation, and isolated those who sought to reverse that change. Example: France of the 1790s. Counter-revolutionary nationalism based their propaganda on resistance to internal factions seeking to undermine the nation's traditional institutions. They exclude the social class, religion, culture, or adherents of all political ideologies which, according to those criteria, are considered "enemies of the nation". For example: Germany before 1914.

Based on the above explanation, the problem of representation of nationalism becomes urgent related to identity politics as always debated in the polemic of culture, so it is important to express the nationalism carried by the film media. Therefore, the author proposed the following issues: (1) How is the representation of the value of nationalism in Indonesian film in the early independence, the new order era until the reform era? And (2) How is the typology of nationalism represented in the text of film in the early era of independence, the new order era and the reform era?

III. Methodology

This study uses a qualitative method. The word qualitative implies an emphasis on processes and meanings that are not rigorously or unmeasurably measured (if they are measured) in terms of quantity, intensity, or frequency. Qualitative researchers emphasize the nature of socially constructed reality, the close relationship between the researcher and the subject under study, and the pressure of the circumstances that make up the inquiry. Qualitative researchers are concerned with the nature of value-filled investigations. They sought answers to questions that highlighted the way in which social experiences emerged as well as their meanings (Denzin & Lincoln, 2009).

The researcher seeks to observe the symbols of nationalism in the natural setting related to the social and political context in which the text is produced. The data analysis is done inductively referring to the film text that is lifted in each era, thus producing double realities recorded in the film text. In her observation, the author often redesigns the analytical framework according to the needs and objectives of the study.

The results of observations on the meaning of representation of nationalism in the text of the film, then poured in descriptive data with a picture that cannot be separated from the context and background of the text. In this study the researcher presented the study of representation of nationalism associated with historical analysis in the social context according to the era studied. This research strategy is done by semiotic analysis with data collection method through film text
document and literature study to fulfill requirement of reference of social context in question. Associated with the use of qualitative approach as a process in this research, as the following description is the exposure of qualitative research as a process that shows differences from quantitative research related to the aspects of researcher, theoretical paradigms, research strategies, methods of data collection, to interpretation and data analysis.

In a study of the representation of nationalism, the researcher attempts to do direct and detailed observations of social actors in the natural setting of daily life in this case recorded in scenes of film texts, in order to be able to understand and interpret how social actors concerned create and maintain or manage their social world. The researcher also attempts to express the representation of nationalism that cannot be separated from the influence of regulation in the film. What is revealed in this research tries to explain the meaning of nationalism in each era from the beginning of independence, the new order era until the reform era. To understand the use of paradigms that researcher employs in this study viewed from aspects of ontological, epistemological, methodological and axiological which is stated as follows:

**Ontologically**, the paradigm of constructivism is relativism i.e., reality is a social construction. The truth of a reality is relative, applicable in the specific context considered relevant by the social actors. In this study the representation of nationalism in Indonesian film since the beginning of independence, the new order era until the reform era is a representation built by the power of language based on the historical process and the forces of institutions and the public. The representation observed in the text of the film is then born as a reality which is a social construction of both filmmakers and public readings. The truth of reality is relative to the socio-political context and also the background and reference pattern of the researcher as the instrument in this study.

**Epistemologically**, constructivism research is a transactionalist/subjectivist that an understanding of a reality, or findings of a study is a product of interaction between researcher and those studied. In this study, researcher interacted with the text of the film through the process of "diving", entered into the text by being 'in' the text, meaning the representation of nationalism in the text of film with an understanding of the socio-political context through the search of documents in the form of books, references that make researcher 'wrestles' with situations when text is produced. With the process, the writer's subjectivity values cannot be released in the observation and meaning of nationalism in each era. The background of researcher which is accustomed to living in a multicultural environment and dive into diverse areas both in the border areas of Papua (in childhood), local areas Majalengka and Cirebon districts (in adolescence), local area of West Java around Bandung and Jatinangor (in adolescence to adulthood), until now domicile in the capital city of Jakarta (in adulthood until now) able to form a picture of the assessment of nationalism from various angles. In addition to domicile, relationship of researcher who comes into contact with a variety of ethnic greatly affect the meaning process.

**Methodological Aspect.** In the methodological aspect, constructivism research is reflective/ dialectical that emphasizes empathy and dialectical interaction between researcher and respondent to reconstruct reality which is examined through qualitative methods such as participant observation. With the criterion of quality research authenticity and reflectivity, the extent of the findings is an authentic reflection of the reality lived by social actors. Of course in this research the researcher is a participant observation because the researcher is also Indonesian citizen and live in Indonesia. This study examines nationalism in film since the beginning of independence, the new order era until the reform era. With the span of time that has begun since the beginning of independence, then considering the birth of researcher in 1976 or in the New Order era, the participation of researcher with the early era of independence cannot be done, to meet the need for understanding the social context, the researcher observed through the study of historical documents, historical records, as well as literature that contains the context in early independence.

While understanding and participation of researcher in the new order era is possible considering the researcher's observation, experience and social context perceived at that time.
Participatory engagement of the researcher is intact in the reform era because it is still ongoing and because researcher has been involved continuously to observe Indonesian film especially in the last four years. In this study, when researcher 'wrestled' with the situation when the text was produced, the researcher reveals the representation of nationalism in a comprehensive analysis.

Axiologically, values, ethics, and moral choices are integral parts of a study. The researcher applies ethics and moral choices according to the context in which the research takes place where there is freedom of expression and it is ethically protected in Indonesian law. Researcher as passionate participant that is facilitator which bridges the diversity of social actor subjectivity. The purpose of research is reconstruction of social reality dialectically between researcher and social actors researched. In the study of representation of nationalism in film, the researcher communicates with archival documents and supporting data related to social conditions during the ongoing or production of the film.

The objects in the study on Representation of Nationalism in Indonesian Films are film texts with the theme of nationalism in the early era of independence, the new order era and post-reform era. The selection of film texts representing each era is based on considerations such as: the film with the theme of nationalism and was a box office movie in its era, and became phenomenal in its time. This is based on the assumption that the films that fall into the box office category (Indonesia) is the most watched movie so that it can spread and influence the values, beliefs that exist in the community.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Year of Release</th>
<th>Film Title</th>
<th>Production / Director</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Early Independence</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>The Long March (Darah dan Do’a)</td>
<td>Perusahaan Film Nasional Indonesia/ Usmar Ismail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1951</td>
<td>Enam Djam Di Djogia</td>
<td>Perusahaan Film Nasional Indonesia/ Usmar Ismail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>New Order Era</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Janur Kuning</td>
<td>PT Metro/ Alam Surawidjaja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Serangan Fajar</td>
<td>PPFN/Arifin C. Nur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Post Reform Era</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Nagabonar Jadi 2</td>
<td>Citra Sinema dan PT Bumi Prasidhi Bi-Epsi/Dedy Mizwar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Di Timur Matahari</td>
<td>Alenia Pictures/Ari Sihasale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>5 CM</td>
<td>Soraya Intercine Films/ Rizal Mantovani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To express the representation of nationalism in Indonesian film, the researcher uses text analysis ie semiotic analysis of Roland Barthes. The relation between the signifier and the marker based on such convention is what is called signification. Semiotics of significance thus, is semiotics that studies the relation of sign elements within a system, based on certain rules and conventions.

In this study, researcher will reveal the representation of the value of nationalism in Indonesian film. The stages of this research began with the collection of materials in the form of a national themed film texts in early independence, the new order era and post-reform. In addition to film text documents, regulatory documents, articles and literature studies and related literature research are also added. The second stage is the analysis of texts with semiotics analysis of Roland Barthes, the sign of nationalism studied is the image and idea that is reflected through language (dialog), appearance and attitude.

The next stage to make meaning comprehensively, researcher tries to express the representation of nationalism in the film in each era. The analysis is continued by the representation of nationalism in Indonesian film in early independence until post-reformation that is related to the socio-cultural and political context in each era. The process of categorization of nationalism is done.
by looking at the values that are carried in the nationalism representation in each era. After that researcher does interpretation, discussion theory, conclusion and end with recommendations.

IV. Research Findings and Discussion

Representation of the Value of Nationalism in the Early Independence

Based on Roland Barthes's semiotic analysis of the two films above namely “Darah dan Doa” (The Long March) and “Enam Jam di Djogdja” (Six Hours in Djogdja), the representation of the values of nationalism revealed in the two Indonesian film are among others Indonesian nationalism which emphasizes the values of leadership, humanist, existence and high sense of nationality, the strength of collectivist culture, and the religious of Islam.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value of Nationalism</th>
<th>Representation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leadership</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>▪ Nationalism inherent in both military and civilian leaders.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Nationalism derived from a sense of shared destiny and the struggle for independence.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Nationalism is waged by a leader who has full responsibility for his troops, is responsible for his decision, and acts quickly, has a personality to be proud of and exemplifies.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Lead nationalism will affect the value of the nationalism of its troops through its influence.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Has character and charisma / authority and firmness in solving problems.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ The value of nationalism is represented by an unyielding attitude. Leaders and troops will always be compact despite the leader in exile.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Devotion and tirelessly demonstrated as a form of nationalism despite the limited facilities and infrastructure of the struggle.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>▪ Nationalism is something must be fought for.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humanist</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Nationalism refers to an identity that leads to humanitarian ethics related to humanity as a whole human entity.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ The value of nationalism promoted to defend independence.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Nationalism built on social values and views in society. The phrase &quot;The grass of the neighbors appears greener than the courtyard itself&quot;, this is often experienced by the Indonesian people, who often judge others more fortunate than themselves, whereas on the other hand others feel the opposite.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ 'Pseudo-nationalism' is presented through cultural values such as &quot;Enemy in the blanket&quot;, this phrase is worthy of use to Indonesians who claim to be Indonesian nationalists but in fact do the opposite.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Rough curses in language seem unstoppable.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Representation of the Value of Nationalism in the New Order Era

The representation of the value of nationalism in two films in the new order era ie “Serangan Fajar” (Attack in the dawn) and “Janur Kuning” (Yellow Leaves). Based on the semiotic analysis, the signs revealed include nationalism rooted in the thickness of Javanese culture and the legacy of feudalism, nationalism through the role of the military, the manifestation of the nation's self-esteem and the character of the nationalism of people who embrace religious magic.

Representation of the Value of Nationalism in the Reform Era

The representation of the value of nationalism in the film has shifted. The representation of the value of nationalism in film in the era of reform is the difference in the value of nationalism between the young and older generation, the shift in the values of lifestyle-related nationalism, the nationalism rooted in religious diversity, the existence of the nation, education and success, utopian nationalism, and nationalism which comes from a global paradox in some communities.
Tabel 3: Representation of Nationalism in Two films in the New Order Era

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value of Nationalism</th>
<th>Representation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Javanese Culture and the legacy of feudalism | - The value of nationalism developed among the people with diversity. In prijaji society it is divided between nationalist groups and groups that still maintain family traditions without concern for the environment.  
- The value of nationalism is shown by the Sultan's high concern for the fate of the Indonesian nation. Sultan Hamengkubuwono as the royal leader at that time has a high concern and concern on the state of the Republic of Indonesia. The Sultan has an important role in supporting the army's struggle in defending independence.  
- Education greatly influences the mindset and values of one's nationalism.  
- This representation of strong Javanese ornaments depicts the strong Javanese cultural roots in the nationalism of Indonesian. |
| The Role of Military | - Nationalism is shown by a high sense of devotion among the military, the strong role of the military in the existence of a country in the eyes of the international world. Military power becomes the basis of a nation's sovereignty.  
- The Indonesian National Army represents nationalism rooted in military power, when the TNI is ready in the vanguard of the Dutch colonial forces.  
- Nationalism is also shown by its responsibility and concern for its citizens. A good leader is represented as a leader who cares about the citizens' fate, concerns and downsets directly solves the problem. |
| Nation’s Dignity | - Nationalism is represented as the honor and dignity of a nation upheld in various symbols. Flag as one of the nation's honor symbols. Flag harassment is harassment of the nation's self-esteem.  
- Indonesian nationalism is represented through national dignit in the eyes of the international with the recognition of sovereignty over the nation-state of Indonesia. The United Nations as an international institution paying homage shows recognition of the nation's sovereignty.  
- Nationalism is manifested in the love of the homeland embedded in the soul of someone who does not want to be colonized. |
| Religious Magic | - Indonesian nationalism also comes from belief in God Almighty. The belief in God's grace on the homeland is manifested in social actions and attitudes in the struggle.  
- Nationalism manifests in an effort to defend Indonesian independence even with objects believed to have magical powers.  
- Indonesian people believe in God Almighty that the independence achieved is not solely for the efforts of national unity which is supported by nationalism but also because of the grace of God Almighty.  
- A religious nation that uses the expression of language that represents Islam with the word "alhamdulillah", "insyaallah". This shows the nation of Indonesia is a religious nation that believes in the power of God behind every action. |

Based on the results of the above research, it can be understood that the roots of nationalism of Indonesia refers to the national movement that was begun in the early 20th century. At least there are three important events that became the basis of Indonesian nationalism, namely through the organization of Budi Oetomo, then continued with Soempah Pemoeda moment and reached the top in the Proclamation of 1945.

The organization of Boedi Oetomo initiated the emergence of a nationalist organization that began to think about the fate and position of the Indonesian nation. With the Dutch colonial background for three centuries, it was not easy to raise national awareness. The nationalism that developed at that time was of course nationalism with the freedom spirit from the Dutch imperialists and colonialists.

Indonesia, which is pluralistic with its ethnic, racial and religious diversity, can be united in a moment of the 1928 Youth Pledge that results in the aspiration: "one homeland, Indonesia; one nation, Indonesian; and one language: Indonesian". All the ethnic groups of Sumatra, Java, Ambon
are united to recognize the country, the nation and the language of Indonesia. This became the main foundation in Indonesian nationalism.

### Table 4: Representation of Nationalism in Three Films in the New Order Era

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value of Nationalism</th>
<th>Representation</th>
</tr>
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</table>
| Value of nationalism intergeneration | ▪ Experienced a significant shift between two generations including the elderly who lived in the era of struggle to have a different view with the younger generation born after the 1980s, commonly known as Y generation  
▪ The value of nationalism is a picture of the open-minded, open-minded Papuan children to remain united in conflict amidst tapered opinion.  
▪ Nationalism rooted in the love of the homeland, the pride of the nation of Indonesia. In the midst of a sad country situation, young people still have pride of their own nation than any other nation.  
▪ Nationalism is represented by the culture of love in the homeland as early as possible. Respect and love of this country is shown with pride in the nation of Indonesia through flag ceremony. |
| Value of Nationalism related to Lifestyle | ▪ The value of Indonesian nationalism in the era of reform is a representation of the value of nationalism related to the shift in lifestyle that appears from attributes, performances and choices on the values of life.  
▪ The erosion of the young generation's proudly towards something Indonesia-oriented. Everything that comes from abroad is considered something better, more advanced, more proud.  
▪ The young generation relies heavily on overseas and proud brands when using it. Often this is seen as a declining sense of nationalism associated with the love of the country following the products of the Indonesian nation. |
| Diverse Religiosity                  | ▪ Nationalism is represented by religious values rooted in religious equality. Religion forms a social bond in society that also builds the value of nationalism.  
▪ Film also represents the diversity of religions and adherents of other religions other than Islam, i.e., Christian represented by Priest figure who not only devoted to religious service but also education field. |
| Nation Existence                     | ▪ Nationalism is represented by the existence of the nation through the achievement of the nation in the eyes of the world whether sports, art, or other achievements that bring the reputation and good name of the nation in the eyes of the world.  
▪ Nationalism embodied in the love and pride of the country is depicted through the ambassadors of the nation such as sports or art.  
▪ The existence of the nation is also shown with pride and love for the natural beauty of Indonesia.  
▪ The value of nationalism of young people is represented by the admiration for the beauty of the land of Indonesia and proud to be part of Indonesia. |

After the proclamation of independence in 1945, political events influenced the meaning of the value of nationalism that was built. The beginning of independence is a crucial period in the formation of a country. Revolutionary upheaval colored the dynamics of politics. While in the new order era known as "era of development", the style of nationalism also experienced differences from the previous era. Now in the era of reform, when the world increasingly 'shrinking' because of globalization and technology, the value of nationalism has a distinctiveness. The Figure 1 shows the basis of Indonesian nationalism in films:

Based on the above exposure it is clear that the value of nationalism in the film rooted in the personality of the Indonesian nation born from the long struggle before independence. The foundation affecting the nature of nationalism is the rules and laws of the film that apply in each because it will determine the function and character of the film industry. After the proclamation of independence, the journey of the Indonesian nation experienced the dynamics of social politics affecting the regulation and media culture in Indonesia. Regulation in the film industry certainly helped determine the style of nationalism built in films.
At the beginning of independence, the themes of nationalism were widely featured in the stories of struggle, the revolution defended the country from the invaders and some featured the heroic tale. While in the New Order era, the theme of nationalism was still more or less the same as the previous era which featured stories of struggle, heroic stories and historic events. In the reform era there was a shift in which the themes of nationalism not only raised the stories of heroism but began to vary with the theme of the wider struggle such as the struggle of athletes, the struggle to achieve the ideals and hopes, or the theme of nationalism associated with the love of the land and the spirit of defending the nation and the state so as not to be trampled by foreign nations.

The main issue in representation is how the reality or object is displayed. There are three processes that the media must encounter when an object, event, or an individual idea is displayed. At the beginning of independence, the reality of nationalism emphasized the discourse related to the revolution to defend the nation's independence from the invaders. The discourse was then depicted in a symbol of characteristic leadership, a humanist nation having a sense of nationality, a collective culture with an Islamic religion. The picture of nationalism is a linking internal aspect of the Indonesian historical values, myths, cultures, and external aspect namely policy and regulation, socio-political conditions and also the influence of cultural organizations that developed in those days. In the New Order era, the value of nationalism was encoded through the discourse of reality which raised the forms of struggle against colonizers and the life of the class society. The picture was represented by the strong influence of Javanese culture and the legacy of feudalism, the role of the military, the national dignity and the religious magical character.

While in the era of reformation, the value of nationalism is encoded through a number of competing discourses about the struggle for independence, the struggle of citizens in their respective fields such as students, alet, artists, and the discourse of love and pride in the nation and country related to wealth and natural beauty as well as loyalty of the border community of the Indonesian nation. The discourses are represented on the differences between generations, the shift in lifestyle values, religious diversity, the existence of the nation, the utopian and the global paradox. This reveals a multicultural pluralism that negotiates local and global ideology.

While the second level is related to how the value of nationalism that depart from reality is depicted in descriptive media on the appearance of the display shown in the film. At the third level, the process of representation of the value of nationalism is related to the ideological linking that is

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**Figure 1: The Foundation of Indonesia Nationalism in Film**

- **Boedi Oetomo (1908)**
  - Initiate the forming of a nationalist organization

- **Youth Pledge (1928)**
  - Creating "One Homeland, One Nation and One Language"

- **Independence Day (1945)**
  - The Five Principles (Pancasila) as the basis of the state and the 1945 Constitution as a guide of people's way of life
  - Indonesian Flag (Red and White)

- **In the beginning of Independence (1945-1966)**
  - 1950-1959 RIS: Ordonansi Film No. 507
  - 1950-1959 RIS: Ordonansi Film No. 507

- **New Order Era (1966-1998)**
  - UU Pnps No. 1/1964
  - UU No. 1/1964 on Film Development

- **Reform Era (1998 - ...)**
  - UU No. 8 / 1992 on Films
  - UU No. 33/ 2009 on Films
carried behind the symbols of nationalism. At the beginning of independence, there was a linking of the revolution of independence in the thick eastern culture, while in the new order era nationalism stemmed from the state ideology which began to open market support. Nevertheless the spiritual values of the spiritual east still appeared. And in the era of reform the value of nationalism shows pluralism rooted in multiculturalism that negotiates local and global ideology (glocalization).

To clarify these three processes, the following presents the representation of national identity in the following table:

Table 5: The Process of Representation of Nationalism Values in Indonesian Films

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Encode of nationalism</th>
<th>Description of nationalism</th>
<th>Nationalism Ideological Convention</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early Independence</td>
<td>New Order Era</td>
<td>Reform Era</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The revolution retained the nation's independence from the invaders.</td>
<td>Forms of struggle against the invaders in the life of the class society.</td>
<td>The struggle of independence, the struggle of citizens in their respective fields such as students, athletes, artists, and the discourse of love and pride in the nation and the country related to the richness and natural beauty as well as the loyalty of border communities in the nation of Indonesia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A symbol of characteristic leadership, a humanist nation with a sense of nationality, a collective culture with an Islamic religion.</td>
<td>The strong influence of Javanese culture and the legacy of feudalism, the role of the military, the nation's self-esteem and religious magical character.</td>
<td>The differences between generations, the shift in lifestyle values, religious diversity, the existence of the nation, the utopian and the global paradox.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The linking of the ideas of the revolution of independence in the thick eastern culture</td>
<td>The state ideology that began to open market support</td>
<td>Pluralism rooted in multiculturalism that negotiates local and global ideology (glocalization).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Nationalism

The discovery of nationalism issues both at national and international levels needs to be examined as a moment to study how important the concept of nationalism is. Some experts have described the types of nationalism based on the results of the research and observations.

Figure 2: Forms of Nationalism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Nationalism of SARA</td>
<td>• Classical Nationalism</td>
<td>• Political Nationalism</td>
<td>• Political Nationalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Civil Nationalism</td>
<td>• Functional Nationalism</td>
<td>• Cultural Nationalism</td>
<td>• Economical Nationalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Revolutionary Nationalism</td>
<td>• Contra Revolutionary Nationalism</td>
<td></td>
<td>• Religious Nationalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Contra Revolutionary Nationalism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Cultural Nationalism.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the social context, the researcher sees the importance of seeing the journey of the socio-political conditions of the Indonesian nation because the socio-political context of a country will create a distinctive system of governance that often leads to different policies in the midst of different societal conditions.

Year 1950-1959 in the Republic of the Indonesian States (RIS), a film served as a tool of national struggle to fill the independence. However in Guided Democracy in 1959-1966 a film was not merely a merchandise, or as educational and illumination tool, but also was functioned as a vital revolutionary tool for nation building and character building and film as a tool of shaping and developing a national culture. Two films observed from the early era of independence are the film of *Darah dan Doa* (The Long March) and *Enam Jam di Djogja* (Six hours in Djogja) that were present ed in the 1950s. Valuable nationalism revealed is the values of military & civilian leadership, humanist, existence & nationalism, strong collectivist culture, and Islamic religius.

While in the New Order Era, regulation was becoming more apparent. Initial changes made by the New Order was the arrangement of the structure of government organizations that handled the film. The film in the New Order era functioned as a mass media of hearing-sighted communications having the function of lighting, education, the development of national culture, entertainment, and economy. The two films observed were *Jamur Kuning* (Yellow Leaves) and *Serangan Fajar* (Attack in the dawn). Of the two films, the values of nationalism that emerged were the strong Javanese culture and the legacy of feudalism, militaristic nationalism, the manifestation of national self-esteem, and religious magic.

In the era of reform after 1998, the function of film began to experience a shift in culture, education, entertainment, information, the driving of creative works, and the economy. This emphasis on economic function has an impact on themes born out of business economic interests rather than cultural and educational functions. Three films taken, among others, *Naga Bonar Jadi 2* (Naga Bonar becomes two) , *Di Timur Matahari* (The Sun in the East) and *5 Cm*. The nationalism value revealed is the intergenerational of values of nationalism related to lifestyles, national existence, nationalism rooted in religious diversity, utopian nationalism and global paradox. These three periods are listed in the following table:

### Table 6: Value of Nationalism in Indonesian Film

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Early Independence</th>
<th>New Order</th>
<th>Reform Era</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Regulation:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ordonansi Film No. 507</td>
<td>• UU Pnps No.1 / 1964</td>
<td>• UU No. 8/ 1992 on Films</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• UU Pnps No. 1 / 1964 on Film Development</td>
<td>• UU No. 8 / 1992 on Films</td>
<td>• UU No. 33 / 2009 on Films</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Function of Film:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Function of Film:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Function of Film:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• As a tool of mass publication that is important for national building and character building.</td>
<td>• As functions of enlightenment, education, the development of national culture, entertainment, and economy.</td>
<td>• Culture, Education, Entertainment, information, the driving force of creative work and economy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Value of Nationalism:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Value of Nationalism:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Value of Nationalism:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The value of military &amp; civilian leadership - Humanist</td>
<td>• The thickness of Javanese culture and the legacy of feudalism</td>
<td>• Differences across generations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Existence &amp; sense of nationality</td>
<td>• Military nationalism</td>
<td>• The value of lifestyle-related nationalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Strong collectivist culture</td>
<td>• Manifestation of the nation's dignity</td>
<td>• The existence of the nation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Religious Islam</td>
<td>• Religious Magis</td>
<td>• Nationalism rooted in religious diversity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Typology:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Typology:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Typology:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Nationalism of SARA</td>
<td>• A mixture of SARA and Revolutionary Nationalism</td>
<td>• Civil Nationalism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the table above, the researcher sees the typology of nationalism depicted early in the independence is a nationalist SARA which, according to Jack Snyder derived from the similarity of tribe, religion, and history. But according to the researcher the value of nationalism at the beginning of independence is not only based on cultural values and religion as Snyder's typology, but it takes leadership nationalism to initiate a nation-state. In this case, according to the researcher, when a new state is formed and independent, the aspect which is needed is the leadership other than a sense of togetherness both ethnic, national, religious and historical background of the ancestors then the nationalism that developed is Descent Nationalism, namely the value of nationalism that comes from the same background both historical ancestors, cultural, ethnic, religious and leadership values derived from the noble culture of the nation.

Referring to table 6, typology of nationalism in the new order era is a mixture between SARA nationalism and revolutionary nationalism, because on the one hand the sense of equality rooted from ethnic and cultural background, but on the other hand began to develop a government that seeks to maintain its power through propaganda or regulations implemented. In this situation when the state began to rise, to build its country, the nationalism developed was nationalism to support the government, supporting the formation of character and national identity which the researcher called State Nationalism, namely a government developed nationalism in building uniform character and national identity through policies issued by the government.

Based on table 6, it is depicted that typology of nationalism in the era of reform is a form of civilian nationalism that bases their appeal to a set of ideas and political institutions that are considered fair and responsibility. The researcher also observed the diversity of nationalism values in this era, one of them because of the influence of technological development and globalization that increasingly burst in every point of life, then when a developing country, better economy, technology and globalization increasingly affect every side of life, then nationalism which is developed is Civics Nationalism, namely nationalism of citizenship which was sourced from citizens' responsibilities in accordance with the capacities of their respective citizens, which vary greatly from tribe, religion, race, ethnicity, profession which gave rise to nationality of citizenship. The concept of nationalism that the author offers is illustrated in the following chart:

**Figure 3: Typology of Nationalism**

V. Conclusion and recommendation

Nationalism in the films is the result of an interrelated discourse of nationalism related to the historical, ethnic and cultural background and social conditions of society when the text was born. The role of state, public and market will impact on the value of nationalism presented in the film. The value of nationalism in two films at the beginning of independence represents the leadership through the representation of nationalism attached to figures of both military and civilian leaders in which nationalism derives from the sense of the same destiny and the struggle for independence. In
the New Order era, from the two films observed, the value of nationalism was represented through Javanese culture and the legacy of feudalism and the strong role of the military in the existence of a country in the eyes of the international world. And in the era of reformation, the three films observed represent the values of nationalism ie intergenerational nationalism, which experienced a significant shift between two generations including the elderly who lived in the era of struggle had a different view to the younger generation born after the 1980s, commonly known as generation Y; the value of nationalism related to lifestyle that is the value of nationalism related to lifestyle shift which is seen from attribute, performance and choice of life values. This is indicated by the erosion of young generation's pride towards something which is Indonesia oriented. Future research is recommended to analyze and discuss further about the values of nationalism of generation Z through the films produced after the year of 1990s and 2000s.

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