

NATIONAL INTEGRATION AND ITS PROCESS IN INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

National Integration covers the arrangement of culture, territory, power, value and behavior. Basically, integration process is a horizontal change for the view of local to national or even international people and vertical change of elite group establishment having power legitimation. Integration process in Indonesia experiences up and downs and it will not enable to satisfy any and all related elements. It is started by national revival to establish the independence country, to find the fit and proper governance, to build a country to be strong in economy field and then find the independence in liberal democracy nature. National integration is processed in accordance with the distory development.

Key Words: *national integration, nationalism, patriotism, process and its history in Indonesia.*

Introduction

Nation concept or according to Harsja Bachtiar (1984 : 855), more precise as nation based on the explanation of Ernest Renan, is a big solidarity as a result of the sacrifices that has been created and tend to be created in the future. A nation has a past but it will continue itself in the recent days with a confirmed fact which is agreement and willingness to continue to live together.

Nationalism is occurred in phases and stages passing certain development phases. Periodization of nationalism development is explained by Clifford Geertz (1973:238) stating the four development phases and stages as follows :

That is which the nationalist movement formed and crystallized ; that is which they triumphed ; that in which they organized themselves into state ; and that (the present one) is which, organized into states, they find themselves obliged to define and stabilize their relationship both to other states and to the irregular sociates out of which they arose

The most real and interesting changes is the second and third phases which is during achieving victory and organizing itself into a country. However, the biggest part of the changes is in the first and four stages which are during the

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establishment and crystallization of national movement as well as good relation stabilization with other country and the controversy community. Nationalism movement is first contradictory to the stupidity of culture, racial, local and grouping of language, lead to nationality form in modern definition. Narrow ideas in the traditional community is changed with the more general ideas including collective identity conceptions.

National Integration

The terms of integration or unification according to Myron Weiner includes the wide issue related to the relationship and behavior among human. IN the third world countries living, he explained that at least there are five forms of integration including :

the integration of diverse and discrete cultural loyalties and the development of a sense of nationality; the integration of political units into common territorial the integration of the rulers and the ruled; the integration of the citizen into a common political process; and finally, the integration of individuals into organizations for purposive activities (Weiner 1972:63)

Cultural integration is implemented by absorbing minory culture to the dominant culture or creating new combination of culture. In its development which unity and difference should be necessary to be developed which is unity in political field and differences in cultural field that may become the foundation for modern countries.

Territorial integration is related to the state building issue. Some experts often differentiates state and nation. The first term is related to the central authority and power with ability to control the region, and the last term is related to the subjective loyalty of the community within the Country. In the independence era, the area and region which previously controlled and authorized by the collonial government is taken by the new government. Some of the new government will not put any and all authority in central government based on the limited ability, but no government will tolerate the situation where the law is not effective for the part of territory.

Integration between the Ruler and the peple or integration between elite and mass will create disintegration in the event that the Ruler is only explaining their rights only. Discrepancy between both of them is the difference of fundamental behavior and culture. Elite group is usually having West and Secular education while the mass is strictly oriented to traditional and religion values. The national and popular Leader usually knows the mass well but after he/she becomes a Ruler and his/her social status increases, he/she considers the community as the obstruction to establis a modern country. And therefore, the mass and elite group will be changed into detractors. The new nation elite group continues to talk to the mass, they do not listen to the mass because the talks of the mass will not any matters that the nation elite group would like to listen and hear. However,

they can not leave their mass because they need mass mobilization and elite will become the role model within the agrarian community.

Integration of value, generally, means the procedure able to be received in order to settle any conflict. Why value integration required? There must be three possible answers which are: (1) The widespread of scale and volume of conflict within the community implementing modernization; (2) The occurrence of new positions creating new elites often resulting conflict with traditional elites; (3) Ideology conflict often occurs within the developing community. Usually, there are two strategy models to integrate the values. (1) To emphasize consensus and maximize uniformity. (2) To maximize emphasizing on interplaying personal and group interests.

Behavior integration which is the individual readiness to cooperate with organization in order to achieve certain. Modern community implements revolution of organizations which all of them required participation of its members. Psychologist is asked to contribute on preparing the community to face the new situation.

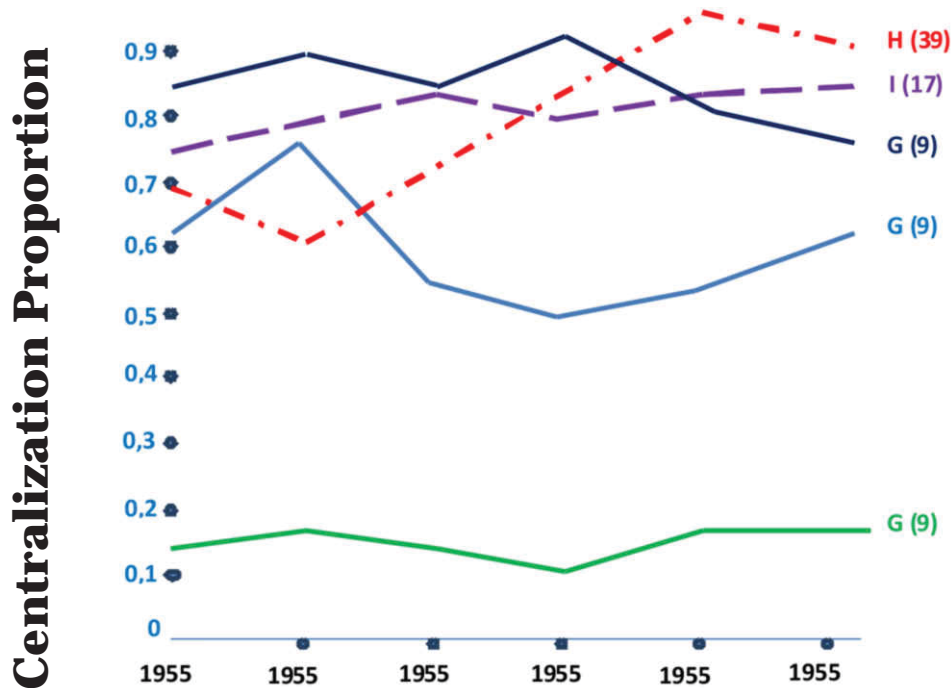
National integration process means the loss of isolation and autonomy of local community as well as the growth of formal national institution, and also the occurrence of intermediary class bridging national institution and local community. The change of closed local community to the open community will be generally accompanied by the following matters: (1) The occurrence of outside orientation consideration within the part of the communities will be signed by the occurrence intermediary with outside world. (2) The occurrence of important and significant development in the community changing/adding the existing habit including sales system of harvest, credit, national trade. (3) The change of aspiration fund standard by adapting with the general standard including : prestige symbol, status based on age and gender, status of occupation. (4) The focus will be aimed at the achievement of status and vertical mobilization, consumeristic and wealth accumulation as well as the loss of communal solidarity. (5) The occurrence of discrepancy of community member and therefore the farmer will be placed at the new community heterogeneity (Safa, 1991 : 219)

In accordance with the opinion, National Integration process, based on the local community perspective, can be called as scale increasing process. Local community will be integrated to the wider scale community. The relation with the other community will be more intensive and therefore the dependence and bond between them will be less. Integration of pre-modern community to the bigger bonding will occur by various areas of life. In politic area, the small community groups will be lifted to the modern politic unit called Country. In the countries which are having their independency recently, nationalism spirit, local communities unification spirit will occur as a result of the reaction to imperialism. The occurrence of threat from the outside, and therefore nationalism and ethnocentrism will be stronger as a result of necessity to survive, unity among them and loyalty legalization will occur (Statt, 1972: 37)

The research performed by John W. Meyer also shows that the external pressure in politic and economy area will enforce national country, the bigger

difference existed within the community, the bigger willingness of the community to establish a central Government [Meyer and Hanan, 1979 : 197]. In relation to the less centralization of power and authority from the world countries in the year 1950 – 1975, he graphically gives the description as seen in the following graph.

Graph 1.1 : Proportion of Power and Authority Centralization



Source : John W. Meyer (1979 : 192)

- G : East Europe and Uni Soviet
- H : Sub Sahara Africa
- I : North Africa and Middle East
- J : Asia dan Oceania ;
- K : Latin America and Caribia
- L : The developing nation ;
- (-) : Number

Based on the graph, we can see that the communist countries is expecting for authority and power centralization completely. The power and authority centralization is relatively big within the developing countries including Africa, Asia-Oceania, and Latin America. Meanwhile, the developed countries (already developed) has tend to implement decentralization.

Integration of local community to the national politic structure means the establishment of extension of bureaucracy performing Government duties in local level. Order is maintained, national law system is prepared and therefore the local community will lose the form of their own law and regulation implementation (Weiner, 1972 : 104)

In economy area, National integration also bring the sufficiently big changes. As a result of transportation development and the increase of security, mobility increases and local community knows the new products well. As a result of introduction and necessity to the new products, the village people brought by the national market wave. Economy integration occurs as a result that many people work in various economy sectors having big scale including mining, trading, plantation, industry, etc. Based on this method, people can earn the money needed but other impact will be the occurrence of migration and urbanization process. Many village people moving to the city or many of them become commuter, they become the intermediary between village and city.

Byron G. Massialas quoting the opinion of Coleman said that the issue in National Integration is the differences of ethnical, localism, narrow view and opinion's groups. In addition, related to the educational role, he explained the occurrence of two dimensions which are: (1) Horizontal dimension which is the extension of firmament view and opinion of the local community leading to regional, national and even international; (2) Vertical dimension which is the occurrence of elite group giving certain role and having authority and power legitimation. National integration process is basically parallel with modernity process because both of them is the transformation of local/traditional community to the more developed community (Massialas, 1977 : 297).

National Integration in Indonesia

There are some theoretical studies based on the empirical data presented by some writers concerning National Integration in Indonesia. The writers will be including : Taufik Abdullah (1985), Harsja W. Bachtiar (1984), A. B. Lopian (1983) dan H. Anton Djawamaku (1985).

There are two contradictory/different views of integration/unification process of Indonesian nation. The first view is that Indonesian nation has been existed from the old times, it can be from pre-history era. In Sriwijaya and Majapahit era, Indonesian nation unity is clearly seen to be realized as one big politic unity. In colonial era based on its *devide et ampera* politic, Indonesia was not a unity. By the occurrence of proclamation of independence, Indonesia makes an effort to re-unite the unity that has been divided.

The second view is based on the opinion that before XX century, there was no community in this island able to name Indonesia nation. Indonesia name was created by British antropologist J.R. Logan, to name the island and its community between Asia and Australia continent which are until the year 1850 had no name yet. The process of Indonesian nation establishment, globally, was at the beginning of XX century. It was started by the establishment of social, economy

and new politic groupings within the colonial community replacing traditional groups (Harsja Bachtar, 1984 : 851 – 857)

Budi Utomo was established on May 20th Mei 1908, even at the beginning of establishment, it was localism and only moved in culture area. However, as a result that this organization has been modern and became the motivation and stimulation for the occurrence of other organizations, and therefore the date of establishment is determined as National Revival. On October 28th, sumpah pemuda is pledged stating that they are one island, one nation and one language. In BPUPKI council, July 1945, agreement concerning area border and community covered in Indonesia has not agreed yet. There are five options which are: (1) Former Hindia Belanda. (2) Hindia Belanda added by East Kalimantan, Papua, and Timor. (3) Hindia Belanda added by Malaka, East Kalimantan, Papua, and Timor. (4) Hindia Belanda subtracted by Papua. (5) Hindia Belanda added by Malaka, subtracted by Papua. After the voting was implemented, it turned out that 39 of 56 votes the widest area which is the third opinion mentioned above.

This data showed that one and quarter months before the Proclamation of Independence is announced on August 17th 1945, there was no agreement concerning Indonesian limitation borders and also strengthen the second opinion concerning Indonesian nation integration. In the next development, as a result that Indonesian nationalism was always be faced by colonialism at the beginning, and therefore the border is the former of colony area.

Eventhough, formally, Indonesian nation has been established on August 17th 1945, and Integration National can be said as realized, National integration continued to be implemented. The inperfection of National Integration can be understandable as a result that the satisfaction of various parties becoming integral part of Integration process is not possible to be completed perfectly. In determining the form of country, country ideology, income distribution, pressure on modernization process was difficult to satisfy any and all parties. In addition, there are the condition reality enabling the latent conflict sources including: (1) Difference of ethic; (2) Diversity of cultural; (3) Heteroginity of Religion, and (4) Discrepancies of Economy (Abdullah, 1985 : 854). Even, in certain different formulation, Lopian (1983:12) said that the issue of ethnocentricm, limited education within certain areas, groups or association based on ethnicism and localism, the unequalized distribution of power and authority, and imbalance in economy prosperity level is the seeds of National Integration obstruction.

It is allmost similar with his partners, Koentjaraningrat said that in order to unite the diversity community, there are four issues to be handled and settled immediately are: (1) The issue to unite various ethnics which some of them can be focused by changing negative behavior based on the stereotype prejudice and based on suspicion, developing tolerance behavior and understanding behavior. In addition, the matters having the same importance is the establishment of National Culture characterized as Indonesia and had high quality. (2) Relation issue between the religious community which is usually extrem and inspired by rational emotion. The settlement can be attempted by tolerance, understanding other party religious basis and respect one another. (3) Relation issue between

majority-minority. The settlement and handling is almost same as the first issue. The minority, Chinese, is continued by eliminating the Chinese identity, implementing National Integration especially in economy and social area. (4) Integration issue of Irian Jaya culture. In order to reduce the suspicion to other Indonesian nation, and therefore the arrangement of any and all matters should be trusted to regional son (Koentjaraningrat, 1984 : 345-369)

Indonesia community is consisting of the different human races (Mongoloid, Negroid, Caucasoid), each has certain physical characteristic. Many people assume that every race has the characteristic of personality, character and culture, even the reality they do not always have it. The important and significant thing to be known is that any and all races existing in Indonesia is only the part of entire races, and the other parts is existed outside of Indonesia. Indonesia community is consisting of various ethic groups which each of them has: culture, language, community structure, political system and personal area. Each of the member has certain ethnicity identity and within certain condition, they will realize the solidarity among the members.

Indonesian community believe in various religions, even Islam is the majority. The believers of each religion have the faith that their religion is the most correct and therefore the believers feels that they have obligation to ask another people to be the believers. Each community is a solidarity unity. And therefore, in one side, religion will strengthen Indonesian national unity. However, on the other side, Religion can also be the national unity obstruction as a result of separation of Religious communities.

Discrepancies of economy within the developing countries is superior. The difference between the rich and the poor within any and all community layers, economy domination by certain group, discrepancies of economy between the regions, distribution of different development fund in every region can become the conflict source.

Each conflict source can be overlapped one another because the differences are the reality existed in our country, and therefore the issues often called as SARA (ethnic, religion, race and between groups), are the sensitive issues and they must be handled and settled seriously so that it will not harm another group. Moreover, if it is possible, it is better to support each other. Our goal as explained by Harsja Bachtiar, a is a community where any and all groups can live in harmony, develop themselves without harming other groups and even helping each other and therefore the fair and prosperous community can ve realized (Harsja Bachtiar, 1984 : 860)

The characteristic and Dynamics of Indonesian National Unity

Anton Djawamaku (1985 : 919-923) explained that the unity has the strong bonding with nationalism concept. Our nationalism concept is inspiring and becomes the soul dynamic in the growth of Indonesian nation and also becomes the new nation. It grows as the self identity of Indonesian community struggling which characteristic and motives are varied, the identity capable to form the

community struggling into *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* struggling. Our nationalism handles and settles any and all understanding of groups and personal, the unification of any and all community. Our nation has independent motives and characteristics which is the nationalism based on *Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa, Kemanusiaan yang adil dan beradab, Kerakyatan yang dipimpin oleh hikmah kebijaksanaan dalam permusyawaratan perwakilan*, and mewujudkan *keadilan sosial bagi seluruh rakyat Indonesia*. “Unikom” and the special characteristic based on Pancasila is the strong pillar of life continuation of Indonesian national country.

Anton explains the four characteristics of nation unity which are: (1) Nation unity is family integralistic. The characteristics: balance of inner and outer, the leader having one soul and spirit with the community, amicable deliberation, unity of community and leaders, unity between groups, mutual aid spirit, family spirit. (2) Nation unity is anti-discriminative and it is no ethnic connotation. Anti discrimination means refusing any and all forms of discrimination : ethnic, race, originality, skin color, religion, localism, economy status, etc. No ethnic connotation means not receiving majority-minority conception, the first and second community class. Any and all citizen has the same status and position in law and governance. (3) *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* Unity. The diversity will remain to always well developed in the harmony of diversity of Indonesian nation. Otherwise, the diversity growing and developing as nation reference both based on country, constitution, ideology and nation view of life will not kill the diversity. The diversity is collected to one nation, history, country, view of life, the national basis of the country. (4) Nation unity always bind with the insight to the archipelago. The insight of archipelago considers that archipelago is one unity of : politis, social and culture, economy and national defense, and therefore the narrower interest including regional interest or group interest must concede with the bigger national interest, in the event that conflict of interest is occurred among both of them.

Within Orde Baru era, based on the Stipulation of MPR Number IX MPR/1978 regarding the Guideliness of *Penghayatan dan Pengalaman Pancasila (P-4)* may be evaluated as the conscious and serious effort to implement/perform Pancasila which is able to reach any and all layers of community groups. Within reformation era, reshuffle of the order in various areas within community, nation and state life is implemented. The old order is left behind while the new order is not existed and effective yet, and then it will be prepared immediately, full of conflict, resulting to the uncertainty condition. Pancasila, remaining to be effective even P-4 has been revoked, slowly lost its authority and meaning. Strategy to redevelop the nation discourse, according to Sugiyanto (2007: 13-18) is implemented by nation wide education which is *Pendidikan Pancasila dan Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan* (Civics).

Bungaran Saragih (2007: 5-12) explained that Pancasila reformation nature is marginalized more and more. We enjoy the independence and democracy but we loss our identity. There is a rapid development of politic infrastructure development but at the same time, togetherness basis, as the nation, is getting

thinner and thinner, local and regional conflict, ethnic and religion conflict increases and demand of justice will occur everywhere. The solution is inviting Pancasila to the contemporary discourse of our politic. Pancasila must become the basis and capital in preparing our democracy development.

Nationalism growth in Indonesia, according to Djoko Suryo (2009 : 43-52) is that before the independency era describing the dialoge and struggling process between local, supralocal, national and international strength with national oirientation and clear objective which is the independency crystallizes in three systems of political streams, namely nationalism, socialism, and religion (Islam). The struggle and the struggle continues in the New Order and â days later, describing the dynamics of historical continuity.

Dynamics of the Indonesian nation Journey are in Seara a dynamic, full of change and occurrence, struggle and peace, and calm the tension, conflict and consensus. After independence it was divided into four phases:

1. Stage of the revolution (1945-1949)
2. Post-revolutionary phase (1950-1957 and 1957-1965)
3. Phase New Order (1966-1998) and
4. Advanced phase (beginning 1997-1998).

The first phase, the phase of the young republic that is still weak, but the spirit of nationalism perjuangandan high in the face of internal and external threats. External longer have to face the Dutch colonial presence, and the legitimacy of the struggle for international recognition as independent states. Internally face chaos (disorder) in connection with the alteration and renovation, gap and violence as a characteristic of the revolution, which occurs suddenly and quickly. Various keteganan, conflicts and differences in approaches need to be addressed, but at this time as the period of formation of perception, personality, ideology of the Indonesian nation is very powerful. The influence of the French Revolution and American Revolution is very strong in this phase.

The second phase is the phase of the system, trial and error parliamentary democracy government that ended in failure. The failure of the application of parliamentary democracy has been pushed back to be implemented nation-state, the implementation phase of the Guided Democracy (1957-1965). In this phase of the national and state threatened conflict situations, which then prompted the outbreak of the tragedy of the G 30 S in 1965. Indonesia is also not free from the influence of the cold war. If at the beginning of this phase in Indonesia tend to be politically oriented towards the democratic West Block, then in the end tends to shift toward the Communist Block. Important issues in this phase is the struggle to determine the state ideology and a sense of national unity as well as issues of military leadership in the leadership of the country.

New Order period, which is the third stage, takes place in a very long time (32 years), based outside observer, the Suharto government is more inward, focusing more on the development of the Indonesia's New Order. Governments tend to be conservative, not revolutionary. Although members of the Non-Aligned, Indonesia is considered as a good friend of the west because of the anti-communist, so a

lot of help and support capital investment à industrialized countries. Indonesia succeeded in recovering economic damages and progress very rapidly. Thanks to economic growth in Indonesia earned the nickname “son of a tiger” grow (tiger appears). Suharto enabled political insight that is no longer facing an ideology, with a single principle of Pancasila. The government held a P4 upgrade to be understood and internalized. The government expects growth of a sense of belonging / sense of belonging, and sense of responsibility / accountable to each other. Government in launching the construction of the Fabian strategy; strategy adopted slowly but surely making changes “slowly but sure” (java: Alon Alon Waton kelakon). In the field of security the government implemented “Violence Strategy”, the strategy of violence in the thug crackdown (Suryanegara, 2010: 482-483). This Order collapsed because of an inability to face the challenges of the post cold war, the era of globalization of world economy. The economic crisis and the reform movement to end of this order.

The fourth phase / cutting-edge, marked economic and political crisis that could threaten the disintegration of society and the nation state. The government was formed tend authoritarian, conservative, neo-feudal and repressive. The impact of changes brought about by the process of modernization and development.

Against the people of Indonesia have actually been integrated into a unified, national society (national community) as a result of communication and transportation revolution brought about by modernisasi and development process. Indonesian society is not only integrated in the “global village” but integrated in the “National Village”. Open society, critical and insightful, so it requires openness, freedom, and democracy in various areas of life. Government / community will need to learn from history. At the beginning of our independence can be passed with unity of vision, mission, moral and ideological zeal and a clear purpose. In looking to the future we will need a common goal à goals based on religious teachings and moral high ground in accordance with the values of Pancasila, in the face crazy era according to Ronggowarsito, poet of Surakarta.

Conclusions

National integration implies very broad, covering the cultural association, forming a new mixture of cultural, territorial integration with public education, integration between rulers and people, the integration of the value of the mangatasi conflict and integration of behaviour to cooperate in achieving the goals. The integration process on the substance of the transition from a closed local communities to national community open and outward-oriented perspective than customs, standards and expectations change of vertical mobility and inequality among communities. National Integration Process which is a process of magnification scale of local communities into new countries. The spirit of nationalism, the spirit of unification of the local communities become more robust in the face of external threats, the reaction from National imperialisme. Integrasi seen from the horizontal dimension means the expansion of local public

opinion against the national or even international, and the vertical dimension means the emergence of an elite group who have a legitimate government.

In Indonesia, although in the era of Sriwijaya and Majapahit had formed an area approximately equal to the unitary state now, but the process towards the national state of Indonesia began in the early 20th century. Although formally a national integration has been realized on August 17, 1945, but the integration process still continues, and may not fulfilled completely. There are some latent sources of conflict, among others: ethnic, cultural diversity, religious heterogeneity, and economic disparity, respectively - each often abbreviated with SARA (Tribe, Religion, Race and Inter-Group), are problems that the principal, must be handled wisely. Uniqueness / properties that have maintained the unity of Indonesia is: an integrative nature of the family, anti-discrimination, Unity in diversity is bound to the archipelago.

At the beginning of the growth of national integration leads to the formation of an independent State. At the time of independence, the young Republic, which is still weak, but with a high spirit of struggle. The next phase of search system of Government which the Spurs high conflict situation, thereby encouraging the tragedy of G 30 S PKI. In the Soeharto's era security is maintained with growth, so that economic hard thrive. In the period of democratic reform with freedom in various fields of life as well as authoritarian and conservative governments often cause conflict between communities or community groups with the government. During this period the movement required to demonstrate again the need for national unity to establish a civilized society.

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