

ARCHITECTURE, POWER, AND NATIONALITY

(A Research on Youth Response to the expression of Unity and Diversity in the Works of
Architecture)

M. Syaom Barliana, Diah Cahyani, Nuryanto

ABSTRACT

People judging that nationalism seems increasingly eroded the feelings and attitudes of the Indonesian young generation of Indonesia. Nationalism, becomes something very abstract in the midst of social and economic pressures, globalization and cosmopolitanism on the one side, and regional autonomy that are often dragged into tribalism on the other side.

Meanwhile, there was a time when architecture played in the rise of nationalism, such as works of architecture during the Soekarno's and Suharto's reign, like MPR / DPR building, Bung Karno Stadium, Monas, Ancol, Sukarno Hatta airport, etc. With various controversies about that nation leaders, it must be admitted that for the older generation, architectural works have contributed to the rise of nationality and ethnicity pride.

The problem is, how the younger generation puts the works of architecture in the perspective of power and national unity?. In operational question research; How is the young people's perceptions and responses to the expression of power, nationalism (unity) and ethnicity (diversity) in the works of architecture?; Which building perceived by young people expressing high nationalism?. It will be the focus of this research.

This research method uses a quantitative approach, qualitative descriptive. This research was conducted three large cities that represent the West and Central Indonesia, namely UPI, UNPAR (Bandung), UI, UNTAR (Jakarta), Udayana (Bali), the architecture student being respondents.

The results showed that the perception by students of architecture, form, style, and character of public buildings in the study as a whole to expressed strong enough for the aspects of nationality and unity, strong enough for cultural diversity, and hence, these buildings provide enough pride as an Indonesian nation.

Keywords: architecture, power, nasionality, unity, ethnicity, diversity

A. INTRODUCTION:

Background

Nationalism, seems no longer as an attractive terms for the younger generation. This issue appears occasionally at the commemoration of the nation's days like 17 of August to commemorate Indonesia's independence day, October 20 of national resurrection day, or 10 of November as the heroes day. This issue also appears when Indonesia has a legal dispute with neighboring countries like Malaysia to claim the case outer islands of Indonesia, or the case of sea sand export to Singapore.

Apart from these issues, some of the community values that nationalism seems increasingly eroded in the feelings and attitudes of the young generation of Indonesia. Nationalism, becomes something very abstract in the midst of social and economic pressures, globalization and cosmopolitanism in the one side, and regional autonomy that are often drawn into tribalism on the other side.

In the connection with that, there was a time when architecture played in the nationalism rising. This can be traced from the fact that creating and organizing architectural space, or specifically the town hall, is setting the nation's image and identity. A nation, a nationalist, is a form of unreal imagery about the peoples¹; the architectural "identity" needed to distinguish between "I" with "you," we "with" them", and even mark the *landmark* territoriality separates one nation to another nation². It is easily understood, because it was imagined community, is human community which is daily life in space and framed by the architecture.

In the early independence, the people who were prone to conflict and fragmented by ideological conflict, differences in political interests, and the threat of national disintegration, Sukarno as President of the Republic of Indonesia try to lead the nation with a new image as a binder and giving directions. New image was built through the architecture, and shows that how the new nation was able to make something big, something monumental in those days, so there should be this nation was taken.

There are a number of infrastructure and buildings that represent the ideas of Sukarno's nationalism and his pride as a nation, including the building Cenefo (*Conference of the New Emerging Forces*, which is not so held), and now becomes a MPR DPR; Ganefo building - Senayan (now Bung Karno Stadium), Istiqlal Mosque, and the National Monument (Monas). This phenomenon can be read as an attempt Sukarno to escape from the shackles of colonialism image, a discontinuity, and appears as a modern independent nation.

Suharto, who replaced Sukarno, try to delete what has been done by his predecessor. Collective memory of nations washed with new image, form, and new attention. The revolution's chaos was replaced by the pace of development. Perspective of how this nation will take was also different, because Suharto emphasized discipline as the city filler through

¹ Nation, firstly is an imagined community, because members are never know each other, but there are awareness growth being a community. Secondly, no matter how big the figured community, there is always a limitation in territory, separating with another. Third, the figured community is a sovereign, because the concept was born in the context of the secularization era, or in the Anderson said "born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the Legitimacy of the divine-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm". Fourth, the nation is always figured as a community, despite that communities marked by differences or gaps, the nation is always conceived as a deep brotherhood. See: Benedict Anderson (1983), *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso Edition and NLB, pp 14-15

² Nation can be understood as a nation (national) or nation (ethnicity). Architecture, being a symbolic and imagined- can also characterize, identity, and the landmarks of a nation, not like geography concerning physical territorialitas

the mass terror in the street creation. Then, Taman Mini Indonesia Indah (TMII) was conceived as a reflection of the unifying the nation concept "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika", an artificial diversity of physical form of traditional architecture physical, which is concentrated in Jakarta. In the meantime, Masjid Pancasila spread everywhere, unite standard form of the mosque, pentagon shape, with a reference speech of Javanese culture.

With various controversies about that nation leaders, it must be admitted that for the older generation, architectural works have contributed to the rise of nationality and ethnicity pride. **The problem is, how the younger generation puts the old works of architecture in the perspective of power and national unity?.**

the special purpose of this study is to obtain a description **about: How is the young people's perceptions and responses to the expression of power, nationalism (unity) and ethnicity (diversity) in the works of architecture?; Which building perceived by young people expressing high nationalism?**

This issue is important to be examined, when many people judging that among the younger generation, nationalism creasingly undermined, otherwise sentiment tribalism (ethnicity) are developed as a result of the reform and regional autonomy.

B. THEORY:

Architecture, Power, and Nationalities

Indonesian nationalism actually constructed and produced by political nationalism, namely the need of community and then framed in Indonesian consciousness, in order to break away from colonialism. Indonesian nationalism is not produced by cultural reasons on unity consciousness of social backgrounds, culture, ethnicity, race, and religion³. However, cultural factors such as language and also⁴ architecture, are very important role in the formation of national consciousness. About the significant role of language in the birth process and the formation of nationalist consciousness, can be studied further in the book of Ben Anderson; *Imagined Communities*.

This research, will be focusing in the architecture position (the city) in terms of power, identity of nationality and ethnicity. In the context of politic and power, "nationalism" is often a projection required by the authorities to achieve a goal. Thus, the slogan "for the nation" is a political joint⁵, which encouraged a kind of shadowing a truly pure and selfless,

³ Study of Benedict Anderson also showed, national identity is a produced. Unity of identity (national) Feelings did not appear firstly based on cultural background, ethnicity, religion, or social groups, but exactly socio-political and culture "strategy" to develop, produce, and reproduce new self-identity, as the negation of the identity which imposed by colonizers Pp 18-20

⁴ Furthermore, Benedict Anderson analys, that language plays a significant role in the process of nation's birth. Language is enlightened and educated young people lead them to big ideas, which in turn stopped the indiferent attitude. Language also is assembling the stories of young inlanders, which agglomerate into awareness of the unity of identity, which then develops into awareness of the nation. P. 24-45, 68-70, 128

⁵ Gunawan Tjahjono, in order to highlight Kusno Abidin's book, "Behind the Postcolonial: Architecture, Urban Space and Political Cultures in Indonesia", stated that the slogan "for the nation" is a political combination, push the imagery that encourages an easy fooled by the author to achieve strategic purpose. See: The idea of the Nation in Political Architecture and City Space (Kompas, Saturday, June 21, 2003).

or more often easily tricked by the authorities to achieve its objectives, including through the architecture.

Architecture is not only able to meet the basic desires of human activities within the resulting space limits, but also able to convey the meaning if the users are able to interpret. Therefore, the work of architecture and urban space easily becomes the medium of political message of a possessor. Many historical evidence shows that the emperors, kings, and other state leaders, built a monumental building and urban space to generate a special atmosphere in the form of identity, maintaining dignity, nurture the spirit, or even threaten its people.

*Gramsci*⁶, states that the power (*force*) is defined as the use of force to make people follow and comply with the terms of a mode production (culture). While hegemony is an elaboration and maintain the "active obedience" of the groups who dominated by power, through the use of intellectual leadership, morals, and politics that formed in the institutional co-optation and systemic manipulation of text and commentary.

If "text" is meant the whole discourse and cultural reality, and not just including the language, then, architecture included in the text referred to *Gramsci*. Architecture, thus, can not be separated from the influence of the prevailing system of power in a country. Power, basically formed because of the attraction between the role of the state on one side, with the people participation on the other side, and took place in the political system.

In the context of the relationship between architecture, power, and nationality, it seems important to look back on what was disclosed by Renan. At the University Sorborne dies on March 11, 1882, the Renan's speech titled *Q'est ce qu'une nation?*. He argues, human are not slaves of their generation (race), religion, language, or geographical position. A large collection of healthy human soul and their braveheart, creating a sense which called the nation. "*Cause Nation is one of the soul spirit of equality and brotherhood, a will to unite*", stated Renan.

What Renan expressed about nationalism, relevant to the present situation. However, the emotional feelings are not enough, when variety of determinants factors such as globalization who deconstructing and reconstructing the economic, social, political, and cultural. For the community, Indonesian nationalism, was not enough just to be guided by the statement of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) is final. Unitary Republic of Indonesia is final, and the Indonesian people in a unity, with the meaning that the unity was built for the welfare of all people and respect for humanity and the basic rights of all people.

Thus, Indonesian nationalism on the one hand requires the state to occupy rights obligations of the people, and people always must continue to take care of a feeling as a unity, as a nation of Indonesia. In the need to preserve and create nationalism, in the midst of the current challenges, of course there are a lot of media that can be used to achieve and promote awareness and pride as a nation. One is works of architecture.

On that basis, this study based on a theoretical basis and then tested empirically. Theoretically, the indicator of nationality expression in architecture includes three expression

⁶ Look at: Pabottinggi, Mochtar (1986). *About Vision, Tradition and Non Muslim's Hegemoni*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, hlm 214. Look at: Benedetto Fontana (1993). *Hegemony and Power: On the Realtion Between Gramsci and Machiavelli*. London & Minneapolis: University of Minessota Press.

aspects: unity, diversity, and pride. Similarly, the indicator of nationality (ethnicity) that includes the works of public architecture in the region, including the expression of ethnicity, local diversity, and local pride.

C. RESEARCH METHODS:

Semantic Differential Approach

This research uses descriptive quantitative- qualitative approach, which is designed performed on six major cities of Indonesia representing Western, Central, and East. But because of budget constraints, the study only includes the Western and Central Indonesia, with the cities of Bandung, Jakarta, Bali. Analysis Unit of of this study is college campuses, UPI, UNPAR (Bandung), UI, untar (Jakarta), Udayana (Bali), with the subjects are architecture students. Object of research are pictures and photographs of architectural works purposively selected, based on theoretical and pragmatic considerations. Theoretical considerations, the public buildings which represent the legislative, executive, judicial, and other public facilities that are considered important. Was determined based on 12 buildings as objects of research, namely the Istana Negara, the MPR / DPR building, the Supreme Court, Constitutional Court, Istiqlal Mosque, Gelora Senayan, National Monument, Taman Mini Indonesia Indah, Sukarno-Hatta Airport, Hotel Indonesia, Plaza Indonesia, and Jakarta Stock Exchange. These objects appreciated by the students respondents by looking at **the shape, style, and character of these buildings** are expressing **nationalities, national unity, Indonesia cultural diversity, and generate pride as a nation of Indonesia.**

the majors tools of data collection used questionnaires, with *numerical rating scale* through *semantic differential technique*, which has tested the validity and reliability. Data analysis using deskriptif analysis techniques, with data showing frequencies, means, mode and median. Next is a tendency to interpret test data. Interpretation of the data through trend tests based on the means of each variable is compared with certain parameters. This parameter is based on the consideration of researchers with reference to the concept of *judgment theory*. This parameter is the average of the multiplication between the midpoint (4) instruments answers option with a number of the question items. Options on the average value of the middle and not the ideal value (7), based on the assumption that the general achievement levels of nationalism and nationalities expression is only theoretically, and not in reality in the midst of many changes, challenges, and problems in the nation today. Interpretation of these criteria, formulated as follows:

Table 1. Criteria of Descriptive Measurement Interpretation

Criteria	Conclusion
$M = P + 1.00 \text{ SD}$ and upper	Very strong
$M = P + 0.5 \text{ SD}$ to $P + 1.00 \text{ SD}$	Strong
$M = P - 0.49 \text{ SD}$ to $P + 0.49 \text{ SD}$	Strong enough
$M = P - 1.49 \text{ SD}$ to $P - 0.50 \text{ SD}$	Weak
$M = P - 1.00 \text{ SD}$ below	Very weak

M: Mean P: Parameter

D. RESEARCH FINDINGS:

A Strong Enough Nationalities

Referring to the research data were compared with the above parameters, the results described in the table below. Number 1 on the building name indicates aspects of nationalities and national unity, the number 2 concerning aspects of cultural diversity of Indonesia, and the number 3 is the aspect of pride as a nation of Indonesia.

Table 2. Description of Research Units Per Building.

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Parameter	Indicator	Conclusion
Istana Negara1	142	4.1972	1.66414	4	$M = P - 0.49 SD \text{ s/d } P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough
Istana Negara2	142	2.8592	1.65710	4	$M = P - 1.49 SD \text{ s/d } P - 0.50 SD$	Weak
Istana Negara3	142	3.9648	1.72759	4	$M = P - 0.49 SD \text{ s/d } P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough
MPR/DPR1	142	4.3380	1.67961	4	$M = P - 0.49 SD \text{ s/d } P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough
MPR/DPR2	142	3.4366	1.55497	4	$M = P - 0.49 SD \text{ s/d } P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough
MPR/DPR3	142	4.5563	1.66535	4	$M = P - 0.49 SD \text{ s/d } P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough
Mahkmh Agung1	142	3.9296	1.54666	4	$M = P - 0.49 SD \text{ s/d } P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough
Mahkmh Agung2	142	3.1268	1.54304	4	$M = P - 1.00 SD \text{ s/d } P - 0.50 SD$	Weak
Mahkmh Agung3	142	3.8310	1.59775	4	$M = P - 0.49 SD \text{ s/d } P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough
Istiqlal1	142	4.0704	1.40237	4	$M = P - 0.49 SD \text{ s/d } P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough
Istiqlal2	142	3.9296	1.48586	4	$M = P - 0.49 SD \text{ s/d } P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough
Istiqlal3	142	4.4225	1.56343	4	$M = P - 0.49 SD \text{ s/d } P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough
Mahk Konstitusi1	142	3.6761	1.51844	4	$M = P - 0.49 SD \text{ s/d } P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough
Mahk Konstitusi2	142	3.5986	1.53475	4	$M = P - 0.49 SD \text{ s/d } P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough
Mahk Konstitusi3	142	3.7254	1.68491	4	$M = P - 0.49 SD \text{ s/d } P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough
Bursa efek1	142	3.4366	1.28529	4	$M = P - 1.00 SD \text{ s/d } P - 0.50 SD$	Weak
Bursa efek2	142	3.3310	1.28671	4	$M = P - 1.00 SD \text{ s/d } P - 0.50 SD$	Weak
Bursa efek3	141	3.5532	1.40115	4	$M = P - 0.49 SD \text{ s/d } P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough
Hotel Indonesia1	142	3.8310	1.39387	4	$M = P - 0.49 SD \text{ s/d } P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough
Hotel Indonesia2	142	3.6479	1.37453	4	$M = P - 0.49 SD \text{ s/d } P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough
Hotel Indonesia3	142	4.1127	1.44447	4	$M = P - 0.49 SD \text{ s/d } P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough
Plaza Indonesia1	142	3.2817	1.19316	4	$M = P - 1.00 SD \text{ s/d } P - 0.50 SD$	Weak
Plaza Indonesia2	142	3.6056	1.34195	4	$M = P - 0.49 SD \text{ s/d } P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough
Plaza Indonesia3	142	3.8239	1.51259	4	$M = P - 0.49 SD \text{ s/d } P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough
Monas1	142	5.2958	1.49604	4	$M = P + 0.5 SD \text{ s/d } P + 1.00 SD$	Strong
Monas2	142	4.5282	1.72464	4	$M = P - 0.49 SD \text{ s/d } P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough
Monas3	142	5.3099	1.62944	4	$M = P + 0.5 SD \text{ s/ } P + 1.00 SD$	Strong
Bandara Sukarno1	142	4.3592	1.54526	4	$M = P - 0.49 SD \text{ s/d } P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough
Bandara Sukarno1	142	4.7394	1.51905	4	$M = P - 0.49 SD \text{ s/d } P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough
Bandara Sukarno1	142	4.6901	1.65963	4	$M = P - 0.49 SD \text{ s/d } P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough
Gelora Senayan1	142	4.6761	1.65263	4	$M = P - 0.49 SD \text{ s/d } P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough
Gelora Senayan 2	142	4.3732	1.62258	4	$M = P - 0.49 SD \text{ s/d } P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough
Gelora Senayan3	142	4.9507	1.60817	4	$M = P + 0.5 SD \text{ s/d } P + 1.00 SD$	Strong
Taman Mini1	142	4.7042	1.86718	4	$M = P - 0.49 SD \text{ s/d } P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough
Taman Mini2	142	4.9085	1.89776	4	$M = P - 0.49 SD \text{ s/d } P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough
Taman Mini3	142	4.8099	2.05572	4	$M = P - 0.49 SD \text{ s/d } P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough

The results showed that for young people who understand architecture (architecture student final level), shape, style, and character of public facilities in the capital Jakarta is generally considered to express nationalities and national unity, Indonesia's cultural diversity, and pride as a nation of Indonesia in category strong. Otherwise, the National Monument is the only

building that is considered to express the unity of nationalities with the strong category. Meanwhile, Gelora Senayan and the National Monument are also considered to provide a strong pride as a nation. the Istana Negara Building, the Supreme Court and the Jakarta Stock Exchange is considered weak in terms of expressions of cultural diversity of Indonesia. Jakarta Stock Exchange Building is also considered to be weak from the aspect of expression of nationalities and national unity.

Table 3. Description of Total Research.

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Parameters	Indicator	Conclusion
Nationalities	142	48.7394	11.15378	48	$M = P - 0.49 SD$ s/d $P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough
Diversity	142	46.2676	11.28290	48	$M = P - 0.49 SD$ s/d $P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough
Pride	142	51.7254	12.01131	48	$M = P - 0.49 SD$ s/d $P + 0.49 SD$	Strong enough

When viewed in combination and not a per-unit buildings, table 2 also demonstrated that the shape, style, and architectural character of these public facilities, located in the category was strong enough in terms of nationality, cultural diversity, and pride as a nation.

D. CONCLUSION:

Nationality, Ethnicity, and Cosmopolitan

The research concludes that public buildings are produced since the Old Order's power until the New Order power, which provide strong or very strong expression for the younger generation in terms of nationality and national unity, cultural diversity of Indonesia, and gives pride of a Indonesia nation, are very few . Apparently it will be very different, compared with Malaysia which has such as the Petronas Twin Towers or Kota Baru Putra Jaya. Although not studied yet, may provide a very strong pride for the youth.

Reformation Order preoccupied with the political uproar, so the infrastructure and public facilities improvement by the government almost neglected. Meanwhile, private investments focusing on the development of commercial public facilities, like a malls, etc., which, unfortunately, not built with the future vision clear-like in Dubai-for example. Similarly, its very little attempt to explore Indonesia's cultural diversity and local character as the source of creativity, which combining between cosmopolitanism, globalization, and locality.

Architecture, is not a product that was born of independent living. The power or reformation order that are not entirely based in Jakarta, but spread to areas with the concept of regional autonomy, spread to various elements of society with the concept of civil society, it makes challenge and opportunity for urban designers and architects to explore the wealth of local culture. This cultural diversity can be expressed in works of architecture that not only carry the locality naive, but describes Indonesia as a one and at the same time with the cosmopolitan colour.

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