

Pseudo-Nasionalisme in Indonesian's Independence Day Celebrations: A Critical Analysis from an Islamic Perspective

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ABSTRACT

The celebration of Indonesia's Independence Day is deeply intertwined with nationalist symbolism. However, in practice, pseudo-nationalism often emerges, reducing independence to mere ceremonial displays rather than a commitment to justice, social progress, and societal harmony. This pseudo-nationalism manifests through symbolic rituals and formalistic observances that lack substantive engagement with national development. This issue is crucial in broader discussions on nationalism and social development, as it affects social cohesion and the realization of fundamental human rights. This study critically examines pseudo-nationalism in Indonesia's independence celebrations through an Islamic lens, emphasizing principles of justice, welfare, and humanity. Using a critical analysis approach, it reviews literature on Islam, nationalist theories, and Indonesian nationalist practices to explore how Islamic perspectives can address the shortcomings of pseudo-nationalism. Preliminary findings suggest that these celebrations often prioritize performative aspects over meaningful reflection on national values. Therefore, a deeper reinterpretation of Independence Day is necessary to align it with principles that foster genuine social progress, justice, and collective welfare.

Keywords: Pseudo-nationalism, Indonesian Independence Day, Islamic nationalism, social justice, symbolism, social transformation.

INTRODUCTION

Every year, Indonesia commemorates Independence Day with parades, flag ceremonies and cultural activities to strengthen national identity and unity (Hairiyah, 2022). However, pseudo-nationalism often emerges, where patriotism is ritualistic rather than transformative (Cornelia et al., 2024). High community participation is not always accompanied by real changes in social and economic life (Gramsci, 1996). Economic stagnation, corruption and social injustice remain unresolved structural challenges (Archive, 2025). For many citizens, the principles of independence—justice, prosperity, and national sovereignty—are still aspirations (Daffa Fittaktahta Putra et al., 2024). The contradiction between the euphoria of the celebration and social reality shows that this commemoration does not reflect concrete efforts to overcome the national crisis (Nabillah & Nisa, 2024). Celebrations often create the illusion of unity without real steps towards inclusive prosperity. Therefore, critical reflection is needed so that Independence Day is not only ceremonial, but also becomes a catalyst for substantial social transformation (Nah et al., 2013).

Nationalism has become a widespread study in politics and sociology. Benedict Anderson (1983) describes it as an “imagined community,” where a collective identity is formed even without direct relationships between individuals (Wilson & Anderson, 1985). Ernest Gellner (1983) sees nationalism as a result of socio-political transformation, not just ethnic or cultural ties (Gellner, 1983). In Islam, Ali Shariati (1979) and Syed Naquib al-

Attas (1993) emphasize nationalism based on moral responsibility and social justice (Abedi, 1986). However, studies on pseudo-nationalism in Indonesia are still limited. This phenomenon reflects a more ritualistic expression of nationalism without a substantive commitment to welfare (Lim, 2017). Many studies see nationalism as a political tool, but do not highlight its socio-religious aspects (Setiawan et al., 2020). This research fills this gap by analyzing pseudo-nationalism in the celebration of Indonesian Independence Day and its conformity with Islamic ethical principles, such as justice (al-'adl), prosperity (maslahah), and collective responsibility (mas'uliyah) (Hanafi & Thoriquattyas, 2019).

This research analyzes the phenomenon of pseudo-nationalism in the celebration of Indonesian Independence Day from an Islamic perspective (Moten, 1996). Specifically, this study explores whether these celebrations reflect authentic nationalism or are simply ceremonial rituals. Nationalism in Indonesia is often manifested in symbolism without real action to overcome poverty, corruption and social inequality (Jafari Nia et al., 2023). This research also examines how Islamic ethics can be a conceptual framework for interpreting nationalism in more depth (Sidani & Al Ariss, 2015). By integrating Islamic perspectives into the discourse of nationalism, this study expands understanding of how religious principles strengthen national identity and social justice (Lai et al., 2021). Furthermore, this research offers recommendations for reforming Independence Day celebrations to make them more meaningful, emphasizing national integrity, collective responsibility and equitable development (Imawan, 2022). Thus, this analysis bridges the gap between symbolic nationalism and the real implementation of the ideals of independence.

This study hypothesizes that Indonesian Independence Day celebrations are dominated by pseudo-nationalism, where patriotic expressions are more ceremonial than substantive (Lilla, 2024). The country emphasizes grandiose patriotic displays, while policies to address socio-economic disparities and promote national progress have not been effective (Setia Negara et al., 2024). As a result, nationalism is perceived more as an annual tradition than an ongoing commitment to development and social justice (In'ami et al., 2023). In an Islamic perspective, nationalism must be rooted in ethical governance, social justice and collective responsibility, not just a symbolic expression (Jazuli et al., 2022). If these principles are not integrated into national celebrations, the unity created will only be superficial, while social challenges remain insurmountable (Elson, 2010). Therefore, this study emphasizes the importance of reformulating independence celebrations by prioritizing meaningful civic engagement, social welfare policies, and nationalism that are in harmony with ethical and religious values so that they reflect the ideals of independence.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Nationalism and the Concept of Pseudo-Nationalism

Nationalism is often understood as an emotional and cultural attachment to the nation, expressed through cultural symbols, historical narratives, and patriotic rituals (Kuru, 2009). Benedict Anderson (1983) calls it an "imagined community," in which individuals feel part of a national identity despite not knowing their fellow citizens (Anderson, 2006). Ernest Gellner (1983) emphasized that nationalism is not a natural ethnic bond, but rather a social construction that develops through political and economic modernization (Gellner, 1983). However, nationalism is not always positive; it can amount to pseudo-nationalism, emphasizing symbolism rather than substantive commitment to the nation's progress (Bratton, 2018). Pseudo-nationalism relies on flags, anthems and slogans without real action to address socio-political issues (Elson, 2010). Governments often use it to strengthen legitimacy, while ignoring issues of justice, governance and economic inequality (Frønes et al., 2021). This phenomenon is global, where patriotic rituals replace real efforts to address corruption and inequality.

Pseudo-nationalism manifests in performative patriotism, where national identity is emphasized ceremonially but not realized in concrete action (Jukari et al., 2023). A clear example is Independence Day celebrations, which involve parades, flag ceremonies, and speeches glorifying the country's achievements (Tandaju et al., 2021). Although they create a temporary sense of unity, these activities often avoid critical discussions about national challenges. Politicians exploit it to build a nationalist image, even though their policies often conflict with principles of justice and equality (Smart & Sturm, 2013). The media also strengthens pseudo-nationalism by highlighting patriotic narratives while ignoring issues such as economic inequality and corruption (Jakimow, 2018). As a result, nationalism becomes just a ritual without a real commitment to change. In Indonesia, schools and government institutions are active in these celebrations, but this involvement does not always have an impact on strengthening national integrity or solutions to systemic challenges facing the nation (van Dijk, 2005).

The prevalence of pseudo-nationalism is influenced by political motives, media and social dynamics (Tschersich & Kok, 2022). Governments often promote symbolic nationalism to create social cohesion while diverting attention from pressing socio-economic problems (Suniehin, 2022). This strategy maintains control by emphasizing loyalty to the state rather than encouraging civic engagement or critical discourse. The commercialization of nationalism increasingly blurs its meaning, where national celebrations turn into consumerist

spectacles, exploited by business for economic interests (Dodds, 2014). The media also strengthens this phenomenon by presenting national identity without criticizing the responsibilities that accompany it (Wijaya et al., 2019). As a result, nationalism resembles a brand more than a collective commitment. The danger of pseudo-nationalism lies in the illusion of progress it creates, where citizens feel they are contributing simply by attending official events, while structural problems such as injustice and corruption remain untouched, hindering the nation's real development (Adiyanta, 2019).

The Role of Islam in Conceptualizing Nationalism

Islam offers a unique perspective on nationalism that is based on moral integrity, justice, and collective welfare (Kuru, 2023). In contrast to secular nationalism which is often based on territorial and political boundaries, Islamic nationalism is rooted in ethical and spiritual principles (Turner, 2011). Ali Shariati (1979) emphasized that nationalism is not just an attribute of the state, but also a moral commitment to social progress and just government (Zaidi, 2004). Syed Naquib al-Attas (1993) added that national identity in Islam must be based on knowledge, ethics and truth (Arif, 2011). This view challenges conventional understanding which often emphasizes territorial-based national pridenation (Hady, 2022). Islam does not eliminate national identity, but instead strengthens it by building a nationalism that is harmonious, inclusive, and based on moral principles, not just political symbolism (Abdillah, 2022).

Islamiya nationalism is fundamentally different from pseudo-nationalism in its view of the relationship between government and society (Ma, 2006). The history of Islamic government shows that justice and accountability of rulers towards the people are the main principles in overcoming social problems (Alfarisi et al., 2024). The Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) and his companions exemplified this by prioritizing the welfare of the community above political interests (Cammack, 2007). In contrast, modern pseudo-nationalism tends to focus on propagating national identity, while social issues are often neglected (Mohamed, 1996). Muslim-majority countries, such as Indonesia, try to balance national development with Islamic principles, but the practice of nationalism is often ceremonial without touching socio-political issues in depth (Morrow, 2016). Manifestations of nationalism in public celebrations can strengthen the legitimacy of the state, but do not always emphasize the values of justice and equality (Ibrahim, 2016). Islamiya nationalism offers a more substantive approach based on moral principles and collective welfare.

Integrating Islamic principles in nationalism is crucial for building a stronger and fairer national identity (Saiya, 2016). Islamic nationalism emphasizes societal welfare, moral leadership, and community service, more than patriotic symbols (Rasyid et al., 2022). By redefining nationalism within an Islamic framework, we can fight pseudo-nationalism and build a more substantial and values-oriented society. National celebrations can be used for social initiatives, policy discussions, and educational programs that shape critical thinking and collective awareness (Sayogo et al., 2020). Rather than just being an annual ritual, this moment can be an occasion for reflection and real action. This study confirms that Islamic-based nationalism remains relevant as a force for social transformation and sustainable development, beyond purely symbolic or ceremonial approaches.

Independence Day Celebrations and Their Socio-Political Impact

Independence Day celebrations, as traditionally observed, serve to strengthen national identity and pride and remind people of time, money and accomplishments (Alam et al., 2023). By encouraging people to support their country, these events foster a sense of patriotism and national pride (Anderson, 2006). Some scholars argue that such celebrations are important for fostering national unity because they create cooperative relationships that strengthen the country's emotional and cultural ties (Tirivangasi et al., 2023). In general, these events include flag raising, military parades, official speeches, and cultural performances that support national development (Daffa Fittaktahta Putra et al., 2024). Although these activities generate enthusiasm, their effectiveness in promoting nationalism is often questioned. In many cases, national holidays reinforce an existing sense of identity without triggering deeper reflection on contemporary social and political issues (Derbesh, 2023). The focus of these celebrations tends to be more on symbolism than an in-depth discussion of the social challenges facing society.

The way Independence Day is celebrated influences national unity and civic engagement. In countries that link nationalism to civic responsibility, celebrations include public discussion, historical reflection, and social action (Hairiyah, 2022). For example, some countries use national holidays for community service projects, policy discussions, and educational initiative (Buana, 2020). In contrast, in Indonesia, celebrations focus more on performances, competitions and patriotic symbolism, such as flag ceremonies and parades (Sekaringtias et al., 2023). Although they create temporary euphoria, these activities rarely encourage solutions to socio-political issues such as poverty and corruption (Sun et al., 2024). If nationalism is only symbolic, it risks becoming a tool of state propaganda, rather than a force for progress (Reid, 2005). More substantive celebrations should integrate civic

education, policy discussions, and community programs to address social issues, thereby truly strengthening national identity and meaningful civic engagement (Zahrah & Habibah, 2022).

If national celebrations are only symbolic, they risk becoming empty traditions that reinforce pseudo-nationalism, not true patriotism (Rahmatunnair, 2012). Focusing on rituals and performances without involving active participation fails to inspire real contribution in the country's development (Dimyati et al., 2021). This creates a gap between patriotic expressions and concrete efforts to improve governance, social justice, and economic stability (Pranadji, 2017). To give it more meaning, Independence Day celebrations need to be restructured to emphasize civic responsibility, social justice and national progress (Safrizal Rambe & Zulkarnain, 2022). Islamic principles offer a framework for achieving this transformation, with a focus on ethical governance, accountability, and the collective obligation to uphold justice (Siregar, 2023). A true celebration should encourage active participation in shaping the nation's future through educational programs, public discussions, and service initiatives (Abdullah, 2017). By redefining this celebration from the perspective of Islamic ethics, the event can become a platform for reform, dialogue and collective action.

METHOD

This research analyzes the phenomenon of pseudo-nationalism in the celebration of Indonesian Independence Day from an Islamic perspective (Elson, 2010). The material objects include celebratory elements such as flag ceremonies, state speeches, competitions, as well as the use of national symbols in the media and government (L. Nasution, 2020). This study focuses on symbolic expressions of nationalism in celebrations and whether these expressions reflect a commitment to nation building. In addition, this research explores Islamic perspectives on pseudo-nationalism, specifically whether expressions of nationalism are only ceremonial (Elson, 2010). This study also examines the relationship between pseudo-nationalism and identity politics and its impact on community involvement in social development. This research aims to offer an Islam-based approach to building nationalism that is more meaningful, just, and encourages social accountability and good governance (Umar, 2013).

This research uses qualitative methods with a descriptive-analytical and critical approach (Mayring, 2022). A descriptive-analytical approach is used to understand pseudo-nationalism in Indonesian Independence Day celebrations, including developing patterns, characteristics and dynamics (Creswell, 2014). Meanwhile, a critical approach evaluates ceremonial nationalism by highlighting its impact on political awareness and social participation (Sayogo et al., 2020). This method not only explains the phenomenon, but also criticizes it from an Islamic perspective, especially regarding social ethics, justice and collective responsibility. With this design, the research provides new insights into the relationship between nationalism and religion and how Islam can offer a solution to pseudo-nationalism that is reinforced through public policy and mass media.

The data sources in this research consist of primary and secondary data (Miles, 1994). Primary data was collected through interviews with academics, ulama and practitioners who have expertise in the study of nationalism and Islamic thought. In addition, direct observations of Independence Day celebrations were carried out to identify how pseudo-nationalism was represented through various ceremonial activities. Secondary data includes academic literature, journal articles, books, and reports from government institutions and social organizations that discuss nationalism in Indonesia. Print and online media analysis is used to understand public discourse regarding independence celebrations and expressions of nationalism in society. By combining primary and secondary data, this research builds a comprehensive understanding of pseudo-nationalism and its relevance to Islamic principles, especially regarding social responsibility and the role of the state in forming a meaningful national identity that is oriented towards sustainable development.

Data collection was carried out through various techniques, including in-depth interviews, participant observation, and documentation studies. Interviews were conducted using a semi-structured approach in order to explore the interviewees' perspectives in depth regarding nationalism and Islam. Participatory observation was carried out by directly observing the implementation of Independence Day celebrations, both on a national and community scale, to see how pseudo-nationalism manifests itself in social practices. Meanwhile, documentation studies include text analysis from various written sources, including government policies, academic literature, and media reports related to nationalism and identity politics. With this technique, research not only obtains descriptive data but is also able to analyze the social construction of pseudo-nationalism. In addition, this approach allows a comparison between ritualistic expressions of nationalism and nationalism based on substantive values such as justice, participation and concern for social problems.

Data analysis in this research uses critical discourse analysis methods and a thematic approach (Bodó, 2021). Critical discourse analysis is used to understand how pseudo-nationalism is reproduced through symbols, narratives and policies in Independence Day celebrations. This approach examines the role of the media, state institutions, and social groups in shaping ceremonial nationalism. Meanwhile, the thematic approach identifies patterns from interviews and observations in order to obtain a conceptual mapping of pseudo-nationalism (Niam, 2008). In this

way, the research explores the relationship between ceremonial expressions of nationalism and the socio-political conditions of society. It is hoped that the results of this analysis will provide recommendations to make Independence Day celebrations more meaningful, in accordance with Islamic principles of social justice, accountability and collective responsibility.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Domination of Symbolism in Independence Celebrations without Substantive Commitment

Celebrating Indonesia's Independence Day has become an annual tradition full of symbolism, with rituals such as flag ceremonies, traditional competitions and military parades (Zulkarnaini et al., 2022). Even though it creates the impression of patriotism, this expression of nationalism is often limited to symbolic forms without deep reflection on the condition of the nation (Fox & Menchik, 2023). Flag ceremonies and state speeches tend to highlight the heroism of the past without connecting it to current socio-political challenges (Sekaringtias et al., 2023). Community competitions create togetherness, but do not foster critical awareness about the role of citizens in development. Military parades display the state's symbolic power rather than encourage substantive discussions about sovereignty and the welfare of the people (Sivakumar & Baskaran, 2014). As a result, independence celebrations risk becoming a festive annual ritual that does not encourage real community involvement in sustainable development (van Dijk, 2005).

Figure 1. Visualization of symbolism

Pictures and sources	
	figure a https://www.detik.com/jabar/jabar-gaskeun/d-7494274/link-live-upacara-hut-ke-79-ri-tahun-2024-di-ikn-dan-rangkaian-acaranya
	figure b https://kaltim.kemendikbud.go.id/berita-utama/warnai-euforia-hut-ri-ke-79-kumham-kaltim-ramaikan-dengan-keseruan-lomba-tradisional https://koransulindo.com/menjaga-keselamatan-dalam-euforia-lomba-17-agustus/ https://www.inilah.com/euforia-hari-kemerdekaan-cinta-tanah-air-di-tengah-himpitan-ekonomi
	figure c https://kopasgat.tni-au.mil.id/berita/prajurit-terbaik-hardha-dedali-tergabung-dalam-pasukan-parade-kontingen-tni-au-pada-upacara-hari-kemerdekaan-ke-78-di-istana-merdeka
	figure d https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T63v87dLU6I
	Figure e https://www.merdeka.com/jatim/resep-tumpeng-hut-ri-lengkap-ala-rumahan-cantik-menggugah-selera-174232-mvk.html
	figure f https://kumparan.com/kumparanbisnis/anggaran-hut-ri-di-ikn-rp-87-miliar-dinilai-pemborosan-masih-ada-prioritas-lain-23K8FFWgW5Y
	figure g https://fraksi.pks.id/2024/08/13/pemerintah-gelontorkan-biaya-besar-untuk-hut-kemerdekaan-ri-ke-79-di-ikn-aleg-pks-minta-lebih-bijak/

On the 79th anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia on August 17 2024, the first state ceremony was held in the capital city of the archipelago (IKN), East Kalimantan, marking a new chapter in Indonesian history (Retno Mulyaningrum, 2023). The ceremony led by President Joko Widodo carried the theme "New Archipelago, Advanced Indonesia" and was attended by ministers, high-ranking state officials and representatives of the local community (Absor et al., 2023). Apart from official ceremonies, traditional competitions such as tug-of-war, sack run and terompah also enliven the atmosphere, involving the community and government agencies (Firdaus, 2022). This excitement was felt not only at IKN, but also in various regions, with competitions held to liven up the celebration of independence (Prianggodo, 2023). However, amidst this euphoria, it is important to emphasize the substance and meaning of independence, especially in facing the nation's economic challenges (Jazuli et al., 2022). The commemoration of the Republic of Indonesia's 79th anniversary is a momentum for reflection and new enthusiasm to realize the ideals of a more just, advanced and prosperous Indonesia.

There are three main patterns in celebrating the 79th anniversary of the Republic of Indonesia. First, the centralization of state symbols in official ceremonies in the Indonesian Capital City (IKN), marking the transition to the new center of government (Fadillah, 2022). Presence of president and theme "*New Archipelago, Advanced Indonesia*" strengthening national identity through formal ceremonies. Second, community participation in traditional competitions creates togetherness, even though it is more for entertainment than a reflection of the meaning of independence. Third, a shift in the meaning of celebrations towards a reflection of socio-economic challenges, with increasing awareness of community welfare (Benia & Nabilah, 2022). These three patterns show the dominance of symbolism without critical reflection. Islam emphasizes that nationalism must be realized through real action, not just rituals and symbols (Najib, 2021).

Lack of Critical Awareness of Social and Political Challenges

Celebrations of the Independence Day of the Republic of Indonesia are often filled with euphoria, but this is often not accompanied by critical awareness of the nation's socio-political challenges (Safrizal Rambe & Zulkarnain, 2022). Ceremonies, traditional competitions, and military parades focus more on symbolic celebration and pride in the progress that has been achieved (Lawton et al., 2024). However, little attention is paid to socio-political issues that require serious treatment, such as economic inequality, human rights, and corruption (Purnama et al., 2021). This causes the celebration of independence to be superficial, without reflecting the extent to which the values of independence are applied in everyday life (Sun et al., 2024). The meaning of independence should not only be seen from rituals, but also from concrete efforts to overcome these challenges (Hadiz & Robison, 2017). Therefore, the celebration of independence must be a moment of reflection to reassess the goals of independence and the contribution of individuals and countries in making it happen (Tandaju et al., 2021).

Table 1. Portrait of Critical Consciousness

Aspects of the Festival and resources	Activity Indicator	Relationship with Socio-Political Critical Awareness	Critical Appraisal
Flag ceremony https://chatgpt.com/c/679b5864-d224-800d-bdb3-d180c3ab2080#:~:text=Sumber%3A-Kompas,-Menunjukkan%20bagaimana%20upa cara	Flag raising, reading of the text of the Proclamation	Focuses on state symbolism and historical struggles without relating contemporary issues	There is no discussion or reflection on social inequality, corruption, or the development challenges that the nation still faces.
Traditional Competition https://chatgpt.com/c/679b5864-d224-800d-bdb3-d180c3ab2080#:~:text=Sumber%3A-Detik,-Lomba%20lomba%20tradisional	Areca climbing competitions, tug of war, sack races	Activities are oriented towards entertainment and excitement, without prioritizing critical reflection	Although they build a spirit of togetherness, these competitions do not lead to discussion of socio-political issues or active participation in the country's development
Military Parade https://chatgpt.com/c/679b5864-d224-800d-bdb3-d180c3ab2080#:~:text=Sumber%3A-Kumparan,-Parade%20militer%20sering	Defile of troops and war vehicles	Showing military power as a symbol of pride, without encouraging discussions about security and social peace	There is no reflection on the military's role in safeguarding human rights, democracy, or more just social sustainability
State of the Nation Address https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-45638757	President's speech about independence	Focus on achievements and future hopes without discussing real	The speech contains more rhetoric without discussing concrete steps to overcome

	and the country's ideals	challenges such as social and economic inequality	poverty, inequality or deeper political issues
Use of the State Budget https://chatgpt.com/c/679b5864-d224-800d-bdb3-d180c3ab2080#:~:text=Sumber%3A-The%20Jakarta%20Post,-Penggunaan%20anggaran%20negara	National production for the celebration of independence	Large budgets are used for celebration events, while social problems such as poverty and education have not been resolved	The large state expenditure for celebrations is not commensurate with the allocation of funds for sectors that directly affect people's welfare.

The table 1 shows that Indonesian Independence Day is always celebrated with symbolic events, such as flag ceremonies, traditional competitions and military parades (Sivakumar & Baskaran, 2014). Although these events create pride and togetherness, they are often not accompanied by critical reflection on the social, economic and political challenges that the nation still faces (Weinrib, 1980). The flag ceremony at the Merdeka Palace, for example, emphasized respect for the history of the struggle rather than raising actual issues such as poverty and social inequality (Crouch, 2023). Traditional competitions are more focused on fun and a spirit of togetherness, not community empowerment (Sulistianingsih et al., 2019). Military parades function as a symbol of state power without paying attention to the role of the military in ensuring human rights and social justice (ANTONCHENKO, 2022). Likewise state speeches, which highlight past achievements and hopes for the future, but rarely discuss critical problems facing society (Satriawan & Mokhtar, 2015). This shows that the celebration of Indonesian independence did not raise critical awareness.

From the table 1, three main patterns can be identified. First, symbolism takes precedence over critical reflection. Indonesian Independence Day celebrations focus on symbolic events such as flag ceremonies, military parades and traditional competitions that commemorate history and foster national pride, but are rarely followed by in-depth discussions about current social, political and economic issues. Second, community involvement without critical direction. Activities such as traditional competitions involve the community, but emphasize entertainment rather than raising awareness of social issues. Third, limited discussion of actual social and political problems. State of the Union addresses and ceremonial events often ignore important social and political challenges, focusing more on past achievements than critical issues (Hersinta & Sofia, 2022). In Islam, nationalism should be related to *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*, which demands active involvement in improving social conditions, not just participation in superficial celebrations islam (Tanuwidjaja, 2010).

Opportunities for Reformulating Nationalism Based on Islamic Values

The opportunity for reformulation of Indonesian nationalism based on Islamic values is very relevant in the context of independence celebrations which often emphasize symbolism without critical reflection on social and political challenges (Reid, 2009). Islam, with its teachings about social justice, just government, and responsibility towards society, provides a strong basis for building a more meaningful nationalism (Sayogo et al., 2024). Islamic values such as *tawhid* (unity of God), *adl* (justice), and *ihsan* (improvement) can create nationalism that is not only ceremonial, but also encourages real change (Rohman, 2019). This reformulation is important so that the celebration of independence does not only focus on symbolism, but also fosters deep social and political awareness (Hidayat et al., 2023). Nationalism can be understood as a moral call to build a more just and prosperous society, making the celebration of independence a forum for reflection and real action to overcome socio-political problems (Setiawan et al., 2020).

Table 2. Opportunities for reformulating nationalism based on relevant Islamic concepts

Islamic Concepts and Sources	Explanation	Application in the Reformulation of Nationalism
Wataniyah Fellowship https://ui.adsabs.harvard.edu/abs/2021E%26ES..716a2098Z/abstract https://kumparan.com/berita-hari-ini/pengertian-ukhuwah-islamiyah-wathaniyah-dan-insaniyah-dalam-islam-1uP0i8GeyI6 https://blog.aksiamal.com/ukhuwah-wathaniyah-konsep-persaudaraan-yang-tak-mengenal-perbedaan-keyakinan-dan-ras/	National brotherhood which emphasizes national unity, regardless of ethnicity, religion and race	Building solidarity between citizens with a spirit of togetherness to achieve common goals in developing the country. Can overcome divisions that occur due to social differences
Maqashid al-Shariah https://jurnal.usk.ac.id/kanun/article/download/7968/7278 https://media.neliti.com/media/publications/220106-	The main purpose of Islamic shariah is to achieve the benefit of	Reformulation of nationalism that focuses on shared prosperity by prioritizing the principles of social

none.pdf https://muslim.sg/articles/what-you-need-to-know-about-maqasid-al-shariah?utm_source=chatgpt.com https://jurnalfebi.uinkhas.ac.id/index.php/JIEP/article/download/58/47?utm_source=chatgpt.com	mankind, including the protection of religion, soul, intellect, wealth, and honor	and economic justice, as well as the protection of basic human rights.
Al-Wala wa Al-Bara https://islamqa.info/en/answers/337640/the-concept-of-loyalty-and-disavowal-al-wala-wal-bara-and-its-importance?utm_source=chatgpt.com https://www.kalamullah.com/Books/alWalaawalBaraa1.pdf?utm_source=chatgpt.com	Love for good and hatred for evil, including in the context of relationships between people	Forming nationalism that prioritizes loyalty to the country and fights for the common good, while avoiding all forms of behavior that could damage social harmony.
Al-Adah Muhakkamah (Tarbiyyah Shariyyah) https://ejournal.uinsatu.ac.id/index.php/ahkam/article/view/793 https://media.neliti.com/media/publications/56622-ID-al-adah-muhakkamah.pdf	Traditions and customs accepted by society, with rules that lead to goodness according to sharia.	Ensure that the culture and habits existing in society are in accordance with Islamic principles which are oriented towards good moral and social development
Al-Wasaail Laha Ahkam Al-Maqashid https://al-wasatiyah.uinjambi.ac.id/index.php/jrm/article/download/3/2/29 https://rumaysho.com/10130-kaedah-fikih-18-hukum-perantara-sama-dengan-hukum-tujuan.html?utm_source=chatgpt.com	Tools or means used to achieve sharia goals, which must comply with sharia principles	Encourage the use of appropriate means to achieve the goals of nationalism based on Islamic values, such as education based on Islamic values, educational media, and fair policies.
Al-Adalah wal Ihsan https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ihsan?utm_source=chatgpt.com https://tafsirweb.com/4438-surat-an-nahl-ayat-90.html	Justice and kindness done comprehensively in all aspects of life	Reformulation of nationalism based on social and economic justice and supporting community welfare through policies that are fair and oriented towards shared prosperity

Reformulation of Indonesian nationalism based on Islamic values can be carried out by utilizing relevant Islamic concepts to create substantial and responsible nationalism (Akhtar, 2010). Ukhuwah Wataniyah strengthens national solidarity without distinction of ethnicity, religion or race (Fata & Najib, 2014). Maqashid al-Syariah promotes welfare and social justice by protecting religion, life, reason, property and honor (AUDA, 2019). The concept of Al-Wala wa Al-Bara emphasizes loyalty to the country and the common good. Al-Adah Muhakkamah (Tarbiyyah Syariyyah) builds national morality in accordance with Islamic values. Al-Wasaail Laha Ahkam Al-Maqashid emphasizes sharia-compliant means, such as educational policies and educational media. Finally, Al-Adalah wal Ihsan emphasized justice and goodness as the basis of state policy for social welfare. The integration of these concepts will strengthen Indonesian nationalism (K. . Nasution, 2022).

From the table above, three main trends can be identified. First, National Solidarity and Unity Based on Islamic Values. The application of the concepts of Ukhuwah Wataniyah and Al-Wala wa Al-Bara emphasizes the importance of building solidarity regardless of ethnicity, religion or race, creating inclusive nationalism that prioritizes togetherness. Second, Social Justice and Welfare as the Main Goal. The concepts of Maqashid al-Syariah and Al-Adalah wal Ihsan underlie nationalism with a focus on fair social welfare and the protection of individual rights. Third, the importance of using facilities that are in line with Islamic values. The Al-Wasaail Laha Ahkam Al-Maqashid concept emphasizes the use of sharia-compliant means, such as education and media policies that prioritize morality. The reformulation of nationalism based on Islamic values can make the celebration of independence a momentum for reflection and real action for collective welfare and social justice (Frønes et al., 2021).

This research reveals that Indonesian Independence Day celebrations are dominated by symbolism without substantive commitment to social and political challenges (Ridwan, 2018). Activities such as ceremonies, competitions and parades emphasize the ceremonial aspect rather than critical reflection. As a result, the nationalism that is formed tends to be shallow and does not contribute to social change. By integrating Islamic values such as Ukhuwah Wataniyah, Maqashid al-Syariah, Al-Wala wa Al-Bara, and Al-Adalah wal Ihsan, nationalism can have stronger moral and social dimensions. These concepts emphasize unity, justice and social responsibility, making the celebration of independence a momentum for national reflection that encourages real action for the welfare of the people. The reformulation of Islamic-based nationalism can transform celebrations into educational and inspirational platforms, oriented towards social improvement (Saiya, 2016).

The research results show that the dominance of symbolism in independence celebrations occurs because there is minimal space for discussion regarding social and political challenges (Mutawali, 2021). Flag ceremonies, parades and competitions strengthen national identity but are often not accompanied by critical reflection. In Islam, *Wataniyah Fellowship* emphasizes morally based unity, while *Maqashid al-Shariah* teaches that nationalism must protect the basic rights of society. *Al-Wala wa Al-Bara* emphasizes state loyalty as well as space for criticism of unfair policies. *Al-Adalah wal Ihsan* prioritize justice and social welfare. By applying this concept, nationalism is not just an identity, but also social responsibility and justice, creating a more substantive celebration of independence.

If the reformulation of nationalism based on Islamic values is implemented, the celebration of Independence Day will have a broader impact on nation building (Zoelva, 2012). Currently, the dominant symbolism tends to create temporary patriotism without encouraging active participation in social development. By applying the *Al-Wasaail Laha Ahkam Al-Maqashid* principle, the means used to build nationalism must be in line with sharia goals, such as political education that builds social awareness. This means that the media, educational curriculum and public policy must prioritize the values of justice, responsibility and active community participation (Deni et al., 2023). This reformulation also has the potential to improve the quality of democracy by encouraging citizens to be more critical and active in monitoring government policies (Setiyono, 2014). In this way, commemoration of independence is not only an annual ritual, but also a forum that encourages people to understand the nation's problems and contribute to finding solutions (Hersinta & Sofia, 2022).

Compared to other countries, Islamic-based nationalism has been implemented in various forms in the Muslim world. Malaysia, for example, developed the *Wasatiyyah* concept which balances national identity with Islamic values in public policy, so that nationalism is not just symbolism but is also linked to social responsibility (Roy, 2020). Meanwhile, in Türkiye, nationalism developed in the dynamics between Islam and secularism, resulting in different forms of citizen involvement in politics and national development (Saepullah, 2020). In Indonesia, nationalism still tends to be fragmented between symbolic and substantive forms (Murdan, 2016). By adopting an Islam-based approach, Indonesian nationalism can develop in a direction that is more inclusive and oriented towards the welfare of the people (Sari & Rahim, 2023). This reformulation allows nationalism not only to become an expression of pride, but also as a tool to build solidarity, social justice and stronger political participation in a pluralistic society (Anggraeni, 2023).

Reformulating Islamic-based nationalism does not mean turning the country into a theocracy, but rather making Islamic principles the moral foundation in state life (Siregar, 2023). *Al-Adah Muhakkamah* emphasized that useful traditions can be made into law, so that nationalism, which has previously been ceremonial in nature, can be strengthened with elements of reflection and social involvement. If nationalism is only realized in ritual form, society will lose critical awareness of the nation's challenges, such as social inequality, corruption and injustice (Amrullah, 2022). Therefore, with an Islam-based approach, the anniversary of independence can function as a momentum for social change (Lance Bennett & Segerberg, 2015). The concept of *Al-Adalah wal Ihsan* also emphasizes that ideal nationalism is oriented towards justice and prosperity, not just symbolism without meaning (Parkinson & Mansbridge, 2012). This reformulation has the potential to reduce risk *pseudo-nationalism*, where patriotism is only a ritual without a real contribution to sustainable national development (Elson, 2010).

To implement this reformulation, several strategic steps need to be taken. First, citizenship education must integrate the principles of *Maqashid al-Syariah* so that students have social and political awareness. Second, the media must increase public insight with information that builds critical awareness of the nation's condition. Third, the government needs to support social activities that strengthen substantive nationalism, such as discussion forums and community service. Fourth, in public policy, the principle of *Al-Adalah wal Ihsan* must be applied to ensure the rights and welfare of every citizen. With these steps, the celebration of independence can become a moment of real reflection and action, strengthening national unity and improving the quality of life in society as a whole (Rambe & Mayasari, 2021).

CONCLUSION

This research found that Indonesian Independence Day celebrations were dominated by symbolism without commitment to social and political challenges. Activities such as ceremonies, competitions and parades emphasize the ceremonial aspect rather than critical reflection. As a result, growing nationalism tends to be shallow and does not contribute to social change. By integrating Islamic values such as *Ukhuwah Wataniyah* and *Maqashid al-Syariah*, the celebration of independence can become a momentum for reflection and real action. The application of the *Al-Adalah wal Ihsan* principle in nationalism can build collective awareness of the nation's challenges, making the reformulation of Islam-based nationalism a potential solution for creating meaningful patriotism oriented towards the welfare of society.

The main contribution of this research is to offer a new perspective in the reformulation of nationalism based on Islamic values. By combining relevant Islamic concepts, this research shows that nationalism not only functions

as a symbolic identity, but also as a tool to increase social awareness, justice and societal welfare. This approach provides a conceptual model that can be applied in countries with significant Muslim populations, such as Indonesia. This research puts forward the idea that nationalism must be a means of social transformation, not just a ritual. The concept of Al-Wasaail Laha Ahkam al-Maqaashid supports this idea of improving the welfare of the people, making nationalism more substantial and inclusive.

This study focuses on conceptual analysis, and does not include data regarding society's response to the reformulation of Islamic-based nationalism. This research also has not measured the effectiveness of applying Islamic concepts in designing a more meaningful independence celebration. Although the theoretical approach provides new insights, further studies are needed to test the extent to which the Islamic-based model of nationalism can be applied in societal policies and practices. Further research is needed to explore the implementation of Islamic principles in public policy and public acceptance of the idea of Islamic-based nationalism, as well as testing its effectiveness in creating nationalism oriented towards social development and justice.

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