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Timor Leste to its independence gained a series of impacts from the economic crisis

Lee Kim Wee

Universitas Teknologi Nanyang, 50 Nanyang Ave, Singapore

Benjamin Tang Cheong

Universitas Teknologi Nanyang, 50 Nanyang Ave, Singapore

Abstract--Several regions in Indonesia demand independence. However, only East Timor won the referendum and finally gained independence. The turmoil that occurred in Timor Leste to its independence gained a series of impacts from the economic crisis that led to the collapse of the New Order government. In 1998, the separatist movement was not exclusively in East Timor. In this research, it is known that these students consider nationalism and awareness as citizens are shown by good social behavior every day. Among the people who crossed national borders and became Indonesians, some of them remained in the territory of the island of Timor which was quite close to the border of Timor Leste. The separation of Timor Leste made many of its citizens who remained pro-Indonesia decides to conduct an exodus and remain as an Indonesian citizen. One of the young countries that gained their independence at the end of the 21st century is Timor Leste. Previously, this country was the 27th province of Indonesia until the referendum in 1999. Some of the people who moved when they were children have now grown to become students and are educating outside the city and even outside the island. This movement and choice remain as Indonesian citizens they choose to make these students have a different perspective on the concepts of nationalism and citizenship.

Keywords--Referendum, 21st Century, Independence, Turmoil.

Introduction

The periods of integration of East Timor into Timor Leste cannot be said to be truly safe and comfortable. The upheaval that took place in Timor Leste actually

did not only begin in 1998. Long ago even since 1975, East Timor's resistance to Indonesia had taken place. The periods of integration of Timor Leste into East Timor cannot be said to be truly safe and comfortable. Even so, not all of the impressions Indonesia has made on the people of Timor Leste are bad. In general, two groups were quite visible to the people of East Timor at that time. Namely, those who are pro-integration with Indonesia and who are pro-independence after the referendum, the people who were pro-integration with Indonesia decided to leave the country when Timor Leste separated from Indonesia. They mostly live in the west of the island of Timor, but there is also a cross and switch to several other regions in Indonesia. The series of upheavals, especially between Timor Leste and Indonesia, only declined when the country became independent on May 20th, 2002. Before becoming Timor Leste and East Timor, this area was better known as Portuguese Timor. Since becoming the 27th province in Indonesia in 1975 until officially disengaging in 2002, the turmoil in Timor Leste or East Timor when it was joined with Indonesia, never ended the turmoil that occurred in Timor Leste to its independence gained a series of impacts from the economic crisis that led to the collapse of the New Order government. In 1998, the separatist movement was not exclusively in East Timor. Several other regions in Indonesia also demand independence. However, only East Timor won the referendum and finally gained independence. This movement's aim is not exclusively to improve citizens' rights; this movement is mostly aimed at increasing local control over central government subsidies. Several separatist movements then led to the decentralization followed by regional autonomy in all regions in Indonesia. At the end of 1998, many regions outside Java demanded their autonomy. This was also accompanied by separatist movements such as those in East Timor, Aceh, and Papua (Van Klinken, 2018). This movement was initiated by the local community in the area. This encourages political strengthening at a very local level and changes political conditions so that regional heads and members of the DPR are directly elected by the community. This movement specifically strengthens the status of citizens in the political field because they have greater control over the state and government than before.

Meanwhile, citizenship already has a much longer history. The concept of nationalism was actually born in the modern era since the formation of a political institution called the state. The choice to leave East Timor made them remain as Indonesian citizens. But of course, the relationship they had with Timor Leste was not just broken. The presence of relatives and a fairly strong relationship with Timor Leste makes those who move still have closeness. Not to mention that there is an element of closeness to Timor Leste due to family and relatives in the country making their views on nationalism and citizenship interesting to study. This continued relationship and bond with East Timor are experienced not only by the older generation but also by the younger generation who were still toddlers when they left East Timor. Several toddlers who had left East Timor have now become students studying in various regions of Indonesia, including the city of Malang. At this age as a student, the way students look at things has naturally matured and increasingly honed. One is because of nationalism and citizenship. The processes of displacement due to the Timor Leste referendum and the condition of their hometowns that are now close to the border area make these students have different experiences. The concept of nationalism was born from World War I, especially in Europe. This view has begun to spread beyond Europe

since World War II. The overthrow of several colonizers in Southeast Asia provided an opportunity for this nationalism to grow in the region and several countries gained their independence (Tarling, 2014). This nationalism has a very close relationship with the identity of an individual or group of people. Identity could be making significant contributions to strengthen and weaken our relations with other parties, such as neighbors, members of the same community, fellow citizens, or followers of the same religion (Sen, 2006). The different views of nationalism that may be possessed by these students allow different views in interacting between themselves and the state. (Robert and Boli Tobi, 2014) explain that citizenship is generally understood in the context of relations between individuals and the state. TH Marshall explained that citizenship can be understood as full and equal membership in a political community which in this case means the state. Research on the ex-East Timorese community was previously conducted by (Moh Soehadha, 2019). In his research, Soehadha examined the strengthening of social identity and segregation in the former East Timor refugee community. The research conducted in Belu and Sukabitetek East Nusa Tenggara revealed the lack of attention and stuttering of the Indonesian government in managing ex-East Timor refugees. He said this even made the refugees split into class groups, ethnicities, and minority stigma. More specifically the research only limited the East Timorese refugees in their holding area. These students' views on nationalism and citizenship are certainly very interesting to look at because they have been and are still in a position that can make them move countries. How they translate nationalism into daily life is the focus of this research.

Research Methods

The qualitative approach is a research method that emphasizes the perspective of the research object in obtaining the object of research findings (Wiyono, 2007). From the initial sources obtained by the researchers, then other sources were sought for those who also had the same conditions. This study uses a qualitative method. The choice of using this approach is intending to see clearly the views of nationalism and citizenship of ex-East Timor students in the city of Malang. This research was conducted on ex-East Timor who studies at Malang. The selection of informants is done by selecting specifically those who are already known to be ex-East Timor. Furthermore, the informants will look for other sources with the same conditions. Informants from this study were drawn from former East Timor students in Malang. At the beginning of this study, researchers looked for students who had lived in the province of East Timor. Specifically, these students must also have a residence in the border area or remain in the territory of the island of Timor. In general, in this study, the researchers found three students with the conditions as required, which had lived in East Timor before the referendum and currently has a hometown on the island of Timor.

The interview is an oral question-and-answer conversation between two or more people who are sitting face to face physical and directed at a particular problem. Interviews do not use guidelines systematically so that the interview process runs as it is but is still in the context of the themes raised in this study. Data collection in this study was conducted through interviews, observations, and documentation of selected informants. Primary data sources in this study are direct data from

sources studied, through the process of interviews, observations, and documentation of the research informants directly. Furthermore, the interview technique in this study is to use unstructured interview techniques so that during the interview the atmosphere can be relaxed and natural (Sugiyono, 2010).

Observation can be explained as a deliberate and systematic study of social phenomena and natural phenomena by observation and recording (Kartono Kartini in Idrus, 2009). In this study, observations were made to see whether the concepts and views described by the students were actually applied in their daily lives. This is to strengthen the evidence regarding the views of nationalism held by students. In this study, interviews are the main data collection tools used by researchers. Interviews were used in this study to explore the views of nationalism, the behaviors they considered to be following these views, as well as relations with Timor Leste. Documentation is a data collection technique by recording data sourced from notes, agendas, books/libraries, written regulations, and recording matters relating to research problems. In this study, the source of documentation is the monograph data available at the research location or documentation data in the form of images and other documents. The method is used for: (1) Adding completeness of data, (2) Knowing a very complex situation, (3) Considering our limited ability, (4) Knowing the authenticity of data (Arikunto, 2000) there are three steps undertaken in the data analysis process, including data reduction, data display, and data verification/conclusion (Miles & Huberman, 1984). Data obtained from this research will be analyzed through these three processes.

Results and Discussion

3.1 Security and Education

All informants acknowledged that their sense of nationalism arose because of two main things that Indonesia could provide. Both are education and security. These two things have indeed become a complicated problem that is often experienced by Timor Leste since before the independence period until now. East Timor's history is full of upheaval and change of power. During the Japanese occupation, Portuguese Timor did not become an occupied part because it did not belong to the Dutch territories. In addition, at that time, Portugal was a neutral country so that Japan did not force it to occupy the region. Although finally occupied by Japan for some time, Portuguese Timor returned to being part of Portugal's power after Japan lost the Second World War. In 1976, the Portuguese East began to be included as part of Indonesia. At that time, among other ASEAN member countries, only Singapore expressed its disapproval (Tarling, 2017). The lack of educational facilities in Timor Leste is partly due to the damage that occurred during the exodus due to a referendum. Several teachers who had previously served in Timor Leste were also drawn to other regions at that time. It is estimated that in 1999, 80 percent of junior high school teachers and 20 percent of elementary school teachers came from Indonesia, so this withdrawal was a severe blow to Timor Leste's education. This period of Indonesian occupation in East Timor occurred until the fall of the New Order.

During BJ Habibie's leadership, as one of Indonesia's turbulent regions, East Timor was allowed to determine its opinion through a referendum. But the outcome of this referendum was unexpected because the people decided to break away from Indonesia. The dissatisfaction experienced and the oppression and violations of human rights caused East Timor to finally choose to escape from the grip of Indonesia. Human Rights Violations that experienced by the people of East Timor is the case in all aspects of life and including the loss of a job and a place to stay, repression of traditional culture including language and religion; lack of access to basic needs including health; and loss of housing and property (CAVR, 2005). During the referendum, problems in the field of education became more severe. Furthermore, most of the staff and employees in the Department of Education who were in Timor Leste also came from Indonesia so that the exodus that occurred greatly affected the education of Timor Leste (Bucher, et.al, 2015). After choosing to become independent in 1999, Timor Leste faced many trials.

In addition to damage on all fronts and lack of human resources in the country, poverty is also a problem that must be faced. With a population of fewer than one million and half of them children, Timor Leste is the poorest country in the world. Nearly 50 percent of the population is illiterate, many adults lack skills, and unemployment is high. For most East Timorese people, health services, clothing, education and transportation are not affordable. Children are in a vulnerable condition with 1 in 10 dying under the age of 1 year, nearly half are stunted, and about one third cannot go to school (Stanley, 2009). After Timor Leste decided to secede from Indonesia, a number of pro-Indonesian communities decided to exodus. P there at the time, East Timorese refugees placed by the Indonesian government in Belu and North Central Timor and the other islands in the East. Some were even stationed as far away as Papua and Sulawesi, depending on the availability of ships from Timor at the time. In September 1999, according to the NTT Provincial Government, there were 259,268 that had left NTT. Many families volunteered to move to West Timor, especially business people, civil servants, as well as around 6000 members of the TNI and police. The riots and chaos that resulted from this disintegration caused many families to be separated and thousands of husbands to lose their children and wives. Refugees with the least apparent fate were experienced by refugees who were evacuated using Indonesian Air Force aircraft.

Limited space makes them unable to carry many things and some even have to sleep in the open. The large number of refugees causes NTT as one of the poorest provinces to become even worse (Achmad, 2003). Although the East Timorese people considered the Indonesian occupation to be quite painful, in the moments after the territorial detachment, almost no turmoil occurred. This is in the form of turmoil between countries or within each of these countries. After disintegration with Indonesia, although there were still a number of pro-Indonesian parties, there was never a national movement for Timor Leste to rejoin Indonesia. Even since before the integration, there had never actually been a claim of nationalism against Timor Leste from Indonesia (Leifer, 2000). Despite having a long and ugly history, after the referendum, Timor Leste has a fairly friendly relationship with Indonesia. In fact, Indonesia actively fosters the development and economic diversification of a number of Indonesians in Timor Leste. During the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono administration, Indonesia even actively encouraged Timor

Leste to become a member of ASEAN (Hägerdal & Berlie, 2018). After independence Timor Leste's condition also did not necessarily become safe. The series of violence also continues to be experienced by the people there. This conflict occurs for various reasons. For example, in April-May 2006, there were clashes between the police, the military and East Timorese youth, which resulted in 37 fatalities. The 2007 elections in Timor Leste also caused clashes which claimed lives. In February 2008 there was even an attempted attack on the President and Prime Minister of Timor Leste (Rimmer: 2013). Although security in Indonesia's territory cannot be called the safest place in the world, some still consider the security guarantees to be better than those in Timor Leste.

The absence of security threats means that in most regions Indonesia is considered safer at present conditions in Timor Leste have indeed improved more than in the post-referendum period. However, the security and educational conditions there still cannot encourage many Indonesians on the border to cross. The choice of security is a matter that indeed underlies many people in choosing the status of citizens. (Anderson, 2003) even assumes that some people will view their country as supporting individual freedom while some are willing to lose it for the sake of security. The state of security provided by this country is an important thing that is desirable especially for those who have experienced conflict conditions such as for students who have experienced this East Timor referendum. Especially when conflict is still possible in that country Therefore, these students considered that being in Indonesia would be safer for them.

3.2 Becoming an Indonesian Citizen

The chaos that occurred in East Timor itself has been remembered since 1999. His childhood memories of the process of separation were quite frightening. This was expressed by the recognition that his family's house was abandoned. The referendum on East Timor's independence began in 1999 in the era of BJ Habibie's administration. However, the recognition of East Timor's sovereignty internationally only really took place on May 20, 2002. During the period since the referendum for independence, several events occurred in East Timor. For the interviewees in this study, the referendum and separation of East Timor was part of their childhood history. In this study, researchers used the terms East Timor and Timor Leste interchangeably according to the timeline. The term East Timor will be used before 2002 and the term Timor Leste will be used to discuss the present condition. Exceptions to the writing will be made to the interview transcript from the source. At the time of the East Timor separation process, all informants were under the age of five. Even so, the process of separation and changes that occur in their lives is quite an imprint and they still remember. One of the informants, DT admitted that he recalled his move from East Timor in 2000.

At the time of the referendum, he was practically a baby. But the process of moving to Indonesia became a story that he remembered enough from his parents. JA's parents are actually not native to East Timor. The father came from Belu, while the mother came from Melaka. The exodus made by the DT family to Indonesia is also quite sacrificial. Previously, DT's father worked for an insurance company and was quite well-established at that time. When deciding to move to

Indonesia, the jobs and homes that are owned must be abandoned. One of the reasons that made the DT family decide to move to Indonesia was security. The condition that occurred in East Timor at that time was recognized to make his father worried so he decided to the exodus to Indonesia. The second informant was JA who was born in 1999. At the time of the referendum, he was practically a baby.

But the process of moving to Indonesia became a story that he remembered enough from his parents. JA's parents are actually not native to East Timor. The father came from Belu, while the mother came from Melaka. His family lives in East Timor because his father attends school and ends up working there. JA's family decided to move to Indonesia when he was a baby. He revealed that his family moved in 2000. Just like DT, the move to Indonesia also forced the family to abandon several things they had. The status as a civil servant owned by the father of JA at least makes this family actually in a stable condition when in East Timor. The choice of exodus made by the JA family was also motivated by security reasons. Family safety and security mentioned by JA became the priority of his parents at that time.

The third informant is AD who was born in Dili in 1995. Older age than other sources made him at least remember those days. The movement of the family he lived at that time was not directly like other sources, but gradually. The relationship AD has with East Timor is deeper than other sources because its grandmother is from Dili and there are many relatives there. In terms of economic and employment conditions, parents from AD can also be said to be quite well established at the time. It's just that the conditions he has are far more dangerous to live in East Timor because of his father's work. Like other informants, AD also left the house they owned. It's just that his family was fortunate enough because there were many relatives in East Timor the house was inhabited by relatives. As mentioned earlier, AD's father works as a police officer. Therefore, his condition was quite dangerous at that time. This was the reason his family finally chose the exodus from East Timor. This work owned by his father even prevented him from visiting Timor Leste until now. The young age when the separation of East Timor from Indonesia occurred led the interviewees to follow their families for an exodus. The main factor that drove them out of East Timor was the security conditions that were no longer guaranteed. This makes their families willing to leave their property and even work in East Timor to seek safety for the family.

3.3 Relationship with Timor Leste

One informant, DT, admitted that he had been to Timor Leste several times. In addition, he also still often visits Timor Leste, especially during holidays. Furthermore, related to this relationship, DT also did not mention that this happened to the family only. In border communities such as their families, the use or distribution of objects from one country to another is common. The relations and links that the informants have with East Timor or Timor Leste are currently unbroken even though they have moved. Kinship and cultural and social roots embedded in Timor Leste make them still in a relationship. In some sources, this family relationship even made them offered to return and work in

the country. Relations between the two countries are getting closer, especially to the people who live in the border region.

The strong kinship ties possessed by the JA family are related to the cultural roots they have. One of these beliefs is the family's obligation to come to the traditional house and if a family dies. This trust is the cause of the strong ties of kinship that are forged. The separation that occurred by Timor Leste often became material for contemplation for DT. He regretted the occurrence of this because it separated his family. The kinship ties and strong cultural roots of the people of the island of Timor are the cause of this close relationship. DT said that people in their area have beliefs related to springs and traditional houses that all people who are still related and have cultural roots from their area need to be followed. The number of families still in Timor Leste was also shared by the second informant, JA. He said that his uncle was currently a teacher and lived in Timor Leste as a citizen there. The existence of a relative who works and lives in East Timor makes visiting the country also carried out several times by JA. He also admitted that his parents visited the country quite often. The existence of close kinship with several relatives living in East Timor makes JA think that separation is a pity. Even so, this is also called a joke.

The strong cultural ties and kinship that bind Timorese people are also explained by AD. This makes both Timorese and Indonesian citizens still have to obey them and come to the traditional house especially when there is an event. Cultural relationships and elements of kinship are things that cause the informants to have a deep connection with Timor Leste. This is the main cause and is stronger than the reason for the country as their birthplace. This strong kinship has led to the separation of Timor Leste which was quite unfortunate for the informants because it made their families separate. As people who live in the border area, the informants also claimed to have visited Timor Leste several times. The third informant, AD, has quite a several families living in East Timor, specifically Dili. In fact, the maternal grandmother from the mother's side came from Dili. This caused when the exodus, the house left by his family was not abandoned and remained occupied by relatives. It's just that, until now, because of the work he had, AD's father could not visit Timor Leste. Although his father could not visit Timor Leste, AD admitted that he often visited the country. This opportunity he could get because of relatives who are soldiers in the country.

3.4 Nationalism in Ex-East Timor Student

In its broadest definition, nationalism is simple self-identification with groups that have a common history, language, region, culture, or a combination of these various things (Searle-White, 2001). The resettlement that occurs to students born in East Timor causes that the view of nationalism on them may differ from the majority of people born and raised in Indonesia the informant at least underwent a transition from living in East Timor, which was their birthplace as a part of Indonesia, to now Timor Leste as a sovereign state. Although only lived in a fairly fast period, East Timor was their home village. The relationship they have with East Timor certainly cannot be broken just like that. From this angle, it is very interesting to understand the view of nationalism that they have. In this study, the main focus under study is the way the ex-East Timorese students look

at nationalism. For the students who lived on the border with the state of Timor Leste and had lived there when they were still in Indonesian territory, their views on nationalism were quite interesting to study.

The employment status has made AD's parents known as pro-Indonesia, so living in East Timor is not possible. This then made his family move to Indonesia leaving home in East Timor. AD claimed several times had been offered to work in East Timor. This also does not rule out the temptation to change citizenship, especially because there are still many relatives there. Even so, AD claimed that being a citizen remained his choice. The choice of a DT family to move to become an Indonesian citizen may have deeper considerations than others. If the father of JA and AD is a state servant, DT's father has a freer status, so choosing to become an Indonesian citizen is not a thing to do but to make. DT mentioned that besides the safety factor, a guarantee of a better future was also the reason for his father in making this decision. In the second informant, JA, her parents have jobs as civil servants, more precisely teachers. JA admitted that he had a deep love for Indonesia. Love and pride towards Indonesia are actually not easy things to have. Because JA considers that life in Timor Leste that exists today is better than in Indonesia. The third informant, AD has a father who works as a police officer. DT, first informant viewed nationalism as not merely geographical and state boundaries. For him, nationalism is also different from the love of the motherland. He considers that the love of the motherland can encourage the emergence of chauvinist behavior while nationalism in its form of attitudes must be shown to be able to treat others well. The form of nationalism shown can be in the form of everyday things such as greeting frequently, living together, or showing a sense of community with others.

This is what happens in daily activities or banal activities that are often not realized. In DT, this nationalism can be realized with a social life that tends to be ordinary. The view of nationalism that emerged in this DT could occur because of the history he had. Nationalism as a manifestation of state awareness grows in an independent state. Indeed, it is precisely in an independent country that nationalism can develop freely according to the ability and willingness of its own citizens without experiencing pressure from other parties. The way of national thinking has special characteristics, in the form of objective norms; prioritizing the interests of national life (Mulyana, 2008). With such a perspective, the form of prioritizing unity and harmony in daily life as practiced by DT can be called a form of nationalism. The view of nationalism that is simple and does not depend on things that are too large is in line with the banal nationalism view of (Billig 1995). Nationalism can appear not only in the form of war, revolution, and national holidays, but also in everyday life such as sports, travel, mass media, and even at home. According to Billig, identification of a person with his country not only arises when nationalism is at its hottest but also when conditions are cool.

In addition, conditions in this suburb may make JA withdraw and draw tight boundaries with the country on the other side. The citizenship owned by JA is forced to make it draw borders with neighboring countries and instead associate them and strengthen their identity as Indonesian citizens (Wilson & Donnan, 1998). What is quite interesting from this DT view is the emergence of differing

views on what nationalism and patriotism are. The second informant, JA, has a perspective on nationalism that is almost similar to DT, only in a slightly different form. JA considers that the nationalism shown by him is in the form of his love for Indonesia. He admitted that this form of nationalism was in the form of refusal to work in Timor Leste even though economically, the income he could achieve in that country could be greater. This difference was previously discussed by Anderson (2003) who considers that many people who use the term nationalism as a synonym of a nation or state are wrong. In fact, nationalism refers to a set way of thinking or beliefs about the country. For JA, even though they live in the border area, this national border is an important thing and is related to Nationalism. JA belongs view of nationalism can be understood as nationalism that is based on the difference, the manufacture of the border, identification with others in the group, a view that surrounded him, and how it affects the shape of a person's identity (Bieber, 2018).

The strengthening of nationalism and citizenship experienced by JA further strengthens its status as an Indonesian citizen. Citizenship is generally understood in the context of relations between individuals and the state (Robert and Boli Tobi, 2014). TH Marshall explained that citizenship can be understood as full and equal membership in a political community which in this case means the state. The strong relationship between JA and Indonesian citizenship status can occur because of the association he made with Indonesia. Simply put, when someone connects themselves with a particular national group and becomes a part of it, it makes this national group real. Someone makes a connection between themselves and the whole national group. Historically, this relationship does not have to be real, but psychologically, it must feel real (Searle-White, 2001). In the JA case, he made a very real connection with Indonesian citizenship status and withdrew from neighboring Timor Leste. The diversity of Indonesia was considered by the third informant, AD, not as an obstacle, but as a matter that bound his sense of nationalism. AD does not limit the view of nationalism to symbols and national borders. In the view of AD, this nationalism can occur when everyone can exchange ideas and respect differences that arise even under different conditions and cultures. The view of nationalism held by AD is not fixed on the identity differences of members of a country. As discussed earlier, this view of nationalism is psychological in nature and requires a link between a person and the country he lives in. This makes an individual not consider himself higher than other people (Sen., 2006) explains that the flavor and identity could be making significant contributions to our relations with other parties, such as neighbors, members of the same community, fellow citizens, or followers of the same religion. In a variety of different ways, identifying yourself with other parties can be very important for community life. This view of nationalism which cannot be comprehended singularly has previously been discussed by (Gans, 2003) which distinguishes it from static nationalism and cultural nationalism. In static nationalism, for the sake of the state to be able to realize political values such as economic welfare and justice equally, citizens must have a uniform national culture. It must be understood that other existing values do not deviate from national culture. The second type is cultural nationalism in which members of a group share the same history and cultural values of the community have a significant moral basis and interest in culture and pass it on to the next generation.

The same moral and cultural values in the sense of the perspective of diversity become one of the markers of nationalism as revealed by AD. The absence of a uniform national culture which he considers important makes moral values and culture as one of the factors driving the strength of existing nationalism ties. As a third world country that gained independence in the 20th century and had high diversity, nationalist views in Indonesia can indeed be quite diverse. The structure of nationalism can also be divided into two strong components which are equal in the traditional data base, such as race, language, literature, tradition, and territoriality and egalitarian ideology in the form of freedom, equality and brotherhood. The existence of traditional data is unique to the nationalism of third world countries such as Indonesia, whereas in western countries it is characterized by egalitarian politics. Even so, in reality contemporary nationalism in third world countries is a mixture of modern and traditional components such as public awareness related to national identity that provides dynamics for national unity, a set of value systems to guide and motivate political action, pan-ethnic movements to mobilize social forces that needed for national unity and independence, and foreign policy which is centered on the concept of national goals (Norbu, 1992).

3.5 Banal nationalism in ex-Timor Leste students

This is what happens in daily activities or banal activities that are often not realized relations with the national team sportsman or singer with Indonesian citizenship is considered as a normal thing when this is understood as banal nationalism (Billig, 1995). Banal nationalism is a view that was sparked by Michael Billig in his book entitled *Banal Nationalism*. In this concept, Billig considers that Nationalism can appear not only in the form of war, revolution, and national holidays, but also in daily life such as sports, travel, mass media, and even at home. According to Billig, identification of a person with his country not only arises when nationalism is at its hottest but also when conditions cool. Conceptually, these students have quite diverse perceptions and views. Even so, the three of them understood nationalism in a similar form. They consider that being actively involved in maintaining order in society is a form of nationalism. The emergence of the view of maintaining order as a form of nationalism centered on community participation is a very characteristic thing of modernity. In modernity today, the tendency is for democracies to politicize citizenship by expanding their understanding of the above conditions of passive nationalism (Delanty & O'Mahony, 2002). Nationalism as a concept can also be understood as a form of maintaining a country or consolidating with existing authorities (Tarling, 2005).

The increasing nationalism as a result of this competition is something that is indeed typical and has become a form of media success. In addition to maintaining order, another thing that these students consider to be a form of nationalism is in the form of the use of state symbols and support for national teams, especially in the field of competing football. The existence of the dominant media and the increasing popularity of modern sports as unity has become the main thing in uniting in a national framework to raise the attention of many people and create national sentiment (Hobsbawm 1990; Poulton 2004; Topic and Coakley 2010). In the three informants, their active involvement in society and the

use of state resources became one of the forms of nationalism that they showed to Indonesia. At DT, this is done in the form of being involved in various youth organizations and activities. In JA, this is done by maintaining order and security around the residence. Active involvement in cooperation activities around the neighborhood is also considered by AD as a form of love for the country it does.

Nationalism can be formed before the state or in this formation effort. However, this can also happen when a country is formed. These two possibilities can happen. The use and ownership of state symbols such as state symbols or the use of red and white colors are also considered by all informants to be an indication of their nationalism. In particular, the involvement of students in maintaining the order and integrity of Indonesia is a way that they deem appropriate in showing nationalism. The views of these informants are in line with (Smith's, 1999) thought about nationalism as an ideological movement to achieve and maintain the identity, unity, and autonomy of social groups whose members consider it to form a potential or actual state.

Meanwhile, nationalism is more focused on the political value of citizenship (Yack, 2012: 39-40). In general, the various actions exhibited by these informants are often misunderstood as nationalism, but in reality, this attitude is patriotism. This makes them even though the concept of assuming their nationalism is not confined by boundaries and merely shows and more on the ideal value of community life becomes trapped again in patriotism which is trapped in symbol and love for institutions alone. The love possessed by the informants with various symbols and state representatives makes their nationalism often confused with patriotism. There are no truly fundamental differences regarding nationalism and patriotism. Although nationalism is often mistaken for patriotism, there are substantive differences between the two. Patriotism is more focused on the love of institutions and ways of life that maintain one's general freedom.

Furthermore, sports media play an important role in increasing national sentiment among sports fans. The existence of television has also led to an increase in nationalism because of this sport drastically (Tamir, 2014). As sports permeation in modern society today and the many theories that link it with nationalism, it is not surprising that when an athlete is successful, national identity and pride also increase (Seippel, 2017). In other words, national sentiment due to this soccer match is actually not a strange thing and is a common form of banal nationalism. In other forms of support for the national team, especially football which is competing as a form of nationalism is a lot that has happened and researched before. This makes national sentiments that can strengthen one's national identity while spreading competition or negative sentiments with other countries that are opponents.

Conclusion

Security conditions that have not been guaranteed and inadequate education in Timor Leste make the informants feel confident with the status of Indonesian citizens they have. Order in the surrounding environment is one form of nationalism that is very typical in today's modern world. This form of nationalism can be realized or reflected in everyday life or commonly referred to as banal

nationalism. This made them confident in rejecting offers to work and live in East Timor. The view of nationalism shared by these participants is not limited to historical similarities or racial elements.

Nationalism is considered to be able to emerge because of differences in the community itself; therefore it is necessary for community involvement in maintaining this. Four things that were considered by the interviewees to be a form of nationalism that could be shown were maintaining order, being actively involved in community activities, using and having the country's symbol, and supporting the national team that competed. Of these four things, only the use of state symbols can be recognized as a form of nationalism as previously understood. The rest is a form that can be done and appears in everyday life. Support for the national team, especially in the field of football is a very typical thing at this time. This can give rise to strong nationalism sentiment mainly due to the strong use of the media today. In the view of nationalism, these students consider that this can be obtained and maintained in their daily actions and live. The interviewees had a very young age when East Timor became Timor Leste and separated from Indonesia.

At that time, the research informants were toddlers and followed their families to flee out of Timor Leste. Conditions of family security that are not guaranteed to make the informants eventually move to Indonesia. The same reason also makes them reluctant to stay and become citizens of Timor Leste. When evacuating, the family of interviewees must be willing to leave the property and even work in East Timor to seek safety for the family. Although they have long left Timor Leste, these informants still have cultural and kinship links that still make them related in various ways to Timor Leste. This strong kinship caused East Timor's secession to be quite unfortunate for the informants because it made their families separate. As people who live in the border area, the informants also claimed to have visited Timor Leste several times. In general, all informants acknowledged that their sense of nationalism arose because of two main things that Indonesia could provide. Both are education and security.

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