
New Narrative of Islam and Patriotism: Initiation of Stability of National Life within the Framework of Public Ethics

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Abstract

The existence of patriotism is an important pillar for the continuity of the state and nation. Historically, patriotism has played a crucial role in achieving Indonesian sovereignty. In this context, patriotism faces challenges, making its actualization necessary. This is particularly significant as globalization leads to cross-culturalism, which can potentially result in soft imperialism. This study employs a qualitative approach with a literature study design, presented in a narrative-descriptive manner. It focuses on the idea of patriotism in the Indonesian context, patriotism in Islamic literature (the Qur'an and Hadith), and the relevance of patriotism in the modern context. The discourse of patriotism emerges as a blend of local aspects and global hegemony. Regarding patriotism in Islamic literature, it can be found in several verses of the Qur'an, such as QS. al-Qasas: 85, QS. al-Baqarah: 126, and QS. Maryam: 31, as well as in the Hadiths of the Prophet Muhammad by Imam Ibn Hibban, Imam Bukhari, and Imam Muslim. For actualization, the concept of public ethics offers an alternative for fostering a new sense of patriotism, especially since the existence of patriotism in Indonesia is closely tied to religious discourse.

Keywords: Socio-Cultural Approach, Asbāb Wurūd al-Hadis, Indonesia, Cultural Context.

1. Introduction

Patriotism holds a crucial position in the sustainability of a community. Without patriotic values, it would be impossible for a community to protect and care for its homeland. In the current Indonesian context, it must be acknowledged that these patriotic values face significant challenges. A series of studies indicate similar concerns regarding issues of loyalty and love for the homeland. For example, the problem of patriotism can be traced in Yudi Latif's research (Latif, n.d.), which highlights the strategic issue of developing Pancasila, including the strengthening of social polarization and fragmentation, the politicization of identities rooted in ethnicity, religion, and race, and the weakening of civic culture.

At a practical level, Yudi Latif's research aligns with the actions taken by the Ministry of Communication and Information, which has addressed 3,640 instances of content containing hatred or hostility based on ethnicity, religion, race, and intergroup (SARA) in the digital space (Kominfo, 2021). Similarly, research conducted by the Center for International Governance Innovation (CIGI) and Ipsos shows that 58% of respondents in Indonesia agree that the presence of social media increases polarization in society (Kata-data, 2019). This is further compounded by various instances of identity politics and a series of horizontal conflicts. In short, commitment to national values faces significant challenges.

Apart from the internal factors mentioned above, it must be acknowledged that there are also external factors contributing to the degradation of patriotism. Quoting Subaryana (Subaryana, n.d.), the development of science and technology, which promotes internationalization and globalization, has also led to a decline in the spirit of patriotism. Ambarwati, 2020 notes that the unfiltered influx of foreign cultures has gradually shaped "new humans" with a diminishing sense of national identity, including a loss of values that the Indonesian people have long held dear. In this context, phenomena such as the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) community or radical movements affiliated with transnational Islamic networks can serve as examples of foreign influences that have a significant impact on national life.

The emergence of the LGBT phenomenon and radical movements, along with their massive campaigns in the country, indicates that the intersection of cultures within the framework of globalization can also bring negative consequences. Globalization, which facilitates the exchange of diverse viewpoints, leads to mutual influence among cultures. However, the challenge is that these encounters often occur unevenly, allowing foreign cultures to easily permeate the lives of the nation's youth. The inevitability of globalization needs to be addressed positively so that it also strengthens loyalty and national ties.

In the current context, patriotism no longer revolves around the struggle to take up arms, as it did during the era of physical revolution. Instead, patriotism finds its expression in a commitment to upholding ideology and values, and manifests itself through positive contributions to maintaining the stability of national life. This article aims to examine patriotism from an Islamic perspective, beginning with an analysis of patriotism as an intersection between locality and global hegemony. This is followed by an exploration of the Qur'anic content in QS. Al-Qasas: 85, which addresses human nature and the innate love for the homeland, as well as QS. Al-Baqarah: 126 and QS. Maryam: 31, which

emphasize positive contributions to the homeland, including a study of relevant hadiths. At a practical level, the public ethics framework could offer a renewed model of patriotism that properly positions the relationship between religion and the state, considering that examples of patriotism in the Indonesian context are closely tied to elements of religiosity derived from religion.

2. Methods

This research uses a qualitative approach, focusing on: 1) Understanding patriotism in the Indonesian context; 2) Exploring the concept of patriotism in Islamic teachings (al-Qur'an and Hadith); and 3) Actualizing and measuring the relationship between Islam and patriotism after the physical revolution. The research design is based on a library research (literature review) approach, with the following stages: 1) Collecting library sources, both primary and secondary; 2) Classifying the data; 3) Processing the data; and 4) Analyzing the data and drawing conclusions.

The literature sources in question include works on patriotism, such as books, journals, papers, research findings, and tafsir and hadith literature, particularly for studying patriotism within Islamic studies. Regarding data analysis techniques, this research employs the Miles and Huberman analysis pattern, which is implemented both during data collection and after all data has been collected. Specifically, once the data is obtained, the process involves data reduction, data display, analysis, and drawing conclusions (Sugiyono, 2012). This flow will facilitate researchers in mapping and discussing the objects of their study. More details can be seen in the following scheme:

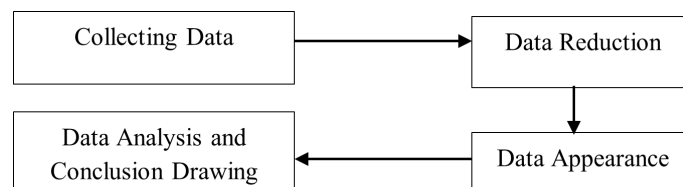


Figure 1. Data analysis scheme

The collected data will be classified according to the focus of the study: specifically, patriotism in the Indonesian context; patriotism in reference to the Al-Qur'an and Hadith; and the actuality of post-physical revolution patriotism. The classified data will then be arranged systematically to enhance understanding, and analysis will be conducted using various theoretical frameworks, particularly the frameworks of Hegemony and Public Ethics. The analysis of the data will ultimately lead to the drawing of conclusions.

3. Results and Discussion

The existence of patriotism is an important element in the journey of a nation and state. Interestingly, in the Indonesian context, the discourse on patriotism is often intertwined with religious teachings. On one occasion, Soekarno emphasized that Islam had strengthened the feeling and direction of love for the homeland (Pureklolon, 2017). Similarly, as Clifford Geertz noted, when Dutch imperialism increasingly expanded its

colonies, they encountered a group of people who viewed religion as a motive for resistance against the Dutch (Sitompul, 2010). Even Dutch scholars, such as Snouck Hurgronje and Hazeu, regarded Islam as a national symbol for the people of Hindia-Belanda (Indonesia) (Baso, 2015).

The juxtaposition between the spirit of love for the homeland and religious teachings is a distinctive characteristic that needs to be actualized in the current context, especially given the various challenges. Several factors contribute to this, including internal issues such as symptoms of polarization and SARA-based hate speech, as well as external factors like globalization, which leads to cultural encounters and cross-cultural relations. These factors impact the feeling of love for the homeland, which is increasingly diminishing. In this context, the role of religion cannot be overlooked in the national struggle, as religion plays a crucial role in shaping and developing the concept of love for the homeland (Hilmy, 2014).

3.1. Patriotism: The Intersection of Locality and Global Hegemony

In its most basic meaning, patriotism is defined as “the degree of love for and pride in one’s nation” (Coleman and Harris, 2018). According to Maharani A. Putri and Eko Meinarno (Putri and Meinarno, 2016), patriotism involves prioritizing the interests of the nation over individual and group interests while fostering a sense of unity for the nation. They further explain that when this patriotism manifests as loyalty, it reflects an attitude of citizenship characterized by a firm commitment to obligations toward the state. Historical examples illustrate that in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the heroic spirit of sacrificing for the homeland was exemplified extraordinarily by earlier generations. For instance, Peter Carey in *Discretion* records the efforts of Prince Diponegoro in Java, who fought against Dutch imperialism to the last drop of blood. This national spirit animated the struggle of Prince Diponegoro and the Javanese people during that time (Carey, 2014).

In the notes of Yogyakarta resident Frans Geraldus Valck, as quoted by Carey, he recounted that the resistance of the Javanese people against the Dutch was inspired by a spirit of nationalism. Valck wrote, “[My] service for almost 20 years in various presidential governments has taught me that the spirit of a Javanese is mostly against us [...] inspired by a kind of feeling of nationality” (ibid.). The sense of locality and nationality accumulated by the Javanese people became capital in their fight against the hegemony of Dutch imperialism. During the Java War, Prince Diponegoro, along with Kiai Mojo and the Islamic boarding school students, adopted the slogan: “For the benefit of all of God’s servants, as well as for the well-being of the country and the preservation of the Islamic religion” (Fighting for the benefit of God’s servants, for the well-being of the country, and for the benefit of Islam) (Baso, 2015).

Carey interprets Prince Diponegoro’s actions as a mobilization of locality-based forces in response to Dutch attacks. The Prince’s followers equipped themselves with local weapons such as catapults, maces, spears, and sharpened bamboo. The involvement of religious circles also played an important role in shaping Prince Diponegoro’s patriotic spirit. As Carey noted, students from various Islamic boarding schools, both men and women, joined Diponegoro, including Kiai Mojo, Sheikh Abdul Ahmad bin Abdullah al-Anshari, Syarif Hasan Munadi, Raden Ayu Serang, and Raden Ayu Yudokusumo (Carey, 2014).

Meanwhile, in West Sumatra, Tuanku Imam Bonjol directly led the people's resistance movement against the Dutch. On the slopes of Mount Tandikat, the indigenous people and the Padri reached an agreement to simultaneously attack the Dutch. The Alahan Panjang, Manggopoh, and Sipisang areas witnessed the struggle of Tuanku Imam Bonjol. In Subroto's notes, the guerrilla attacks by Tuanku Imam Bonjol's troops, which employed the tactic of "suddenly attacking and suddenly disappearing," inflicted heavy losses on the Dutch (Subroto, 2015). Not to mention the long history of Muslims fighting against Portuguese, British, Dutch, and Japanese imperialism (Sunyoto, 2017).

Without wanting to oversimplify, if in the 19th century in Java, patriotism was reflected in the movements of Prince Diponegoro and Tuanku Imam Bonjol, then in the 21st century, there are many historical records of heroes who were more organized. The Muhammadiyah Association was formed in Yogyakarta on the initiative of Kiai Ahmad Dahlan. In Surabaya, as noted by Ahmad Baso, Kiai Wahab Hasbullah, after returning from Mecca, organized a force that was then welcomed by Kiai Mas Mansur, H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto, Raden Panji Soeroso, Soendjoto, and Kiai Abdul Kahar, leading to the founding of Nahdlatul Wathan in 1916. This was followed by the establishment of Nahdlatul Ulama in 1926 under the leadership of Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari, and in 1928, the Youth Pledge was born. Meanwhile, in Bone, South Sulawesi, a patriotic movement emerged due to the contributions of the King of Bone, Andi Mappanyuki, in 1932. A few years later, in 1945, a proclamation was issued by Soekarno (Baso, 2015).

The movements of these predecessors can be understood when viewed through the lens of their struggle as servants of God on the path of jihad. In QS. Al-Taubah: 41, Allah says:

انْفِرُوا خِفَافًا وَثِقَالًا وَجَاهِدُوا بِأَمْوَالِكُمْ وَأَنْفُسِكُمْ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ ذَلِكُمْ خَيْرٌ
لَّكُمْ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تَعْلَمُونَ

Depart whether you feel light or heavy, and strive with your wealth and soul in the way of Allah. That would be better for you if you knew.

Wahbah al-Zuhayli (al-Zuhayli, 2015) in Tafsir al-Wasit provides information that this verse commands Muslims to fight under any circumstances, whether they are in normal conditions or difficult ones, healthy or sick, rich or poor. Allah also gives great appreciation to Muslims who are willing to fight in His path. This information confirms that it is not strange regarding the actions of our predecessors who fought wholeheartedly against the invaders. On the other hand, the explanation of the struggles of the predecessors above also shows that there are localities facing global hegemony in the form of classic hegemony, characterized by physical combat. Meanwhile, in the 21st century, as global hegemony manifests in neo-imperialism with its various softer forms, a new reading model is required to address the degradation of patriotism mentioned above. The global hegemony of the 21st century still demands the presence of patriotism because the homeland is at stake.

The current pattern of hegemony, characterized by globalization and internationalization, can be analyzed through Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony as a form of soft imperialism. This form of hegemony is continuously implanted to produce domination and influence at both intellectual and moral levels. This indicates that there are

interests operating in the form of ideological, political, or material interests, which are not value-free. Based on Gramsci's narrative, it is not an exaggeration to suggest that hegemony, in turn, has shaped reality (Rahardjo, 2005).

In Gramsci's construction of hegemony, it is explained that there is an instillation of new values to produce a form of domination, which is continuously carried out through language. Regarding language, Michael Foucault stated explicitly that "language as discourse is never neutral" (ibid.). This Gramsci-style hegemony is further explained by Douglas Litowitz as a manifestation of the supremacy of certain groups over others, which operates through two mechanisms: intellectual and moral domination and leadership. These two mechanisms then develop to give rise to dominance and leadership in other areas, including the cultural sphere of the community (Hatmoko, n.d.).

The study above can serve as a starting point for understanding the moments of intersection between cultures in the context of globalization. The inevitability of contact between cultures leads to hegemony, as manifested in LGBT and transnational Islamic movements, which receive sympathy from some members of the nation. Additionally, internal conflicts can easily arise due to political, economic, or other factors. In connection with the explanation above, at least two conclusions can be drawn. First, patriotism in the Indonesian context is currently faced with global hegemony and potential conflict at the local level. Second, history shows that Islamic teachings occupy a central position in patriotism, including the awakening of the spirit of heroism and dedication. In this research, these two points will be elaborated to properly position patriotism from an Islamic perspective.

3.2. Narrative of Patriotism in the Qur'an and Hadith

The study of patriotism from an Islamic perspective will begin with the origins of the concept of homeland, followed by an exploration of the narrative of patriotism in the Al-Qur'an and hadith. In Arabic-Islamic literature, the term for homeland (what) only emerged around the nineteenth century, when the Islamic world began to come into contact with Western-style discourses of nationalism. The concept of homeland has its roots in the word *what an*. Al-Jurjani defines homeland as *al-watan al-asli*, meaning "the birthplace of a person and the land where he resides" (Pesantren Manuscript Team, 2019, p. 26). In searching the referential Al-Qur'an and Hadith, one can find the significance of locality or homeland elements alongside Islamic teachings. Specifically, QS. Al-Qasas: 85 provides information about humans possessing a character of love for their country, while QS. Al-Baqarah: 146 and QS. Maryam: 31 highlight positive contributions to the homeland. In QS. Al-Qasas: 85, Allah says:

إِنَّ الَّذِي فَرَضَ عَلَيْكَ الْقُرْآنَ لَرَادُّكَ إِلَىٰ مَعَادٍ قُلْ رَبِّيَ أَعْلَمُ مَن جَاءَ بِالْهُدَىٰ
وَمَنْ هُوَ فِي ضَلَالٍ مُّبِينٍ

Indeed, (Allah) who requires you (Muhammad) to (implement the laws of) the Qur'an, will truly return you to your place of return. Say (Muhammad), "My Lord knows those who bring guidance and those who are in obvious error.

The focus of the study of the verse above is on the editorial *laʔ radduʔto seeʔ ma'aʔd* which confirms the human nature of loving his homeland. al-Sawy, 2018 said, if

this verse came down when one night the Prophet Muhammad came out of the cave and followed a hidden path until he reached Juhfah; a location between Mecca and Medina. Then the Prophet Muhammad looked towards Mecca until the Prophet told him about his birthplace. Not long after, the angel Gabriel came and asked the Prophet Muhammad, do you miss your homeland? Prophet Muhammad answered, yes. Then Jibril said, verily Allah has spoken *inna alladzi farada alayka al-qur'ana laç radduça ilaça ma'aça* namely the city of Mecca.

In the commentary by *ibid.*, the term (maād) in QS. Al-Qasas: 85 is also interpreted as "balad," which means country or homeland. Furthermore, al-Shawy emphasized that it is characteristic of humans to leave their country and eventually return home. Therefore, it is advisable for someone who is traveling to recite this verse with the hope of safely returning to their homeland. Scholars argue that this verse conveys a message about the traits of people who truly love their country. Even Ismail al-Haqqi mentions that love of one's country is part of faith (Tim Naskah Pesantren, 2019). On the other hand, Yusuf al-Qardawi also emphatically stated that the feeling of love and longing for one's homeland is a natural sentiment, experienced by both believers and non-believers, regardless of whether they are Arab or non-Arab, black or white (*ibid.*).

The explanation of QS. Al-Qasas: 85 becomes even more interesting when we consider love for the homeland as it manifests in positive contributions to that homeland, as Allah states in QS. Al-Baqarah: 126:

وَإِذْ قَالَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ رَبِّ اجْعَلْ هَذَا بَلَدًا آمِنًا وَارْزُقْ أَهْلَهُ مِنَ الثَّمَرَاتِ مَنْ آمَنَ مِنْهُمْ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ
الْآخِرِ قَالَ وَمَنْ كَفَرَ فَأُمَتِّعُهُ قَلِيلًا ثُمَّ أَضْطَرُّهُ إِلَىٰ عَذَابِ النَّارِ وَبِئْسَ الْمَصِيرُ

And (remember) when Ibrahim prayed, "O my Lord, make this (the state of Mecca) a safe land and give sustenance in the form of fruits to its inhabitants, that is among those who believe in God and the Last Day," He (God) said, "And to the unbeliever I will give temporary pleasure, then I will force him into the punishment of hell and that is the worst place to return.

Prophet Ibrahim, as a resident of Makkah, prayed for his homeland to be protected from enemy raids, aridity, drought, and hunger (al-Sawy, 2018). This prayer underscores the responsibility of a Muslim toward their country, as the concept of Islam recognizes the world (including the homeland) as playing an essential role in strengthening the religion (al-Jawy, 2014). In this verse, Prophet Ibrahim also prayed for the fertility of Makkah, asking for the provision of fruits (*warzuq ahlahu min al-samarati*). Allah granted Prophet Ibrahim's prayer, making Mecca a fertile land where fruits were available even outside their usual seasons of spring, summer, and autumn (*ibid.*).

Regarding QS. Al-Baqarah: 126, Kiai Said Aqil Siraj stated that when Prophet Ibrahim first prayed for peace in Makkah, he followed it with a request for the city to receive an abundance of good fortune. Citing Imam Fakhruddin al-Razi, Kiai Said emphasized the importance of state peace for the sustainability and benefit of a region. He noted, "Without peace in the country, the benefit of the world and the hereafter will be difficult to achieve" (Tim Naskah Pesantren, 2019). The attitude of Prophet Ibrahim, who prayed for the land of Mecca, serves as a reference for Muslims to contribute positively to their homeland. This positive contribution aligns with the statement of Shaykh Izzuddin

bin Abdissalam (n.d., p. 173) regarding the verses of the Qur'an in QS. Maryam: 31, which reads:

وَجَعَلَنِي مُبْرَكًا أَيْنَ مَا كُنْتُ وَأَوْصَانِي بِالصَّلَاةِ وَالزَّكَاةِ مَا دُمْتُ حَيًّا

And He made me a blessed person wherever I was, and He ordered me to (perform) prayer and (pay) zakat as long as I live;

In the narration of Izzuddin bin Abdissalam, based on QS. Maryam: 31, every Muslim is called to be a source of benefit (naf'un) in every region (al-bilad), contributing positively to their surroundings. This highlights the responsibility of each Muslim to create a positive impact, especially in their own communities. In the context of nation and state, Muslims should act as initiators of goodness, with their contributions benefiting society at large. The concept of naf'un in every al-bilad serves as a reminder that every Muslim must embody a commitment to environmental safety. In other words, the presence of Muslims guarantees safety for others, which can be manifested through a spirit of patriotism, heroism, and love for the homeland.

When examined further, examples of patriotism also appear in the life of the Prophet Muhammad. There are at least three hadiths—namely, the narration of Imam Ibn Majah, the narration of Imam Bukhari, and the narration of both Bukhari and Muslim—that demonstrate the Prophet Muhammad's love for the lands of Makkah and Medina. Ibn Majah (Ibn Majah, 2008) narrates that the Prophet once expressed his love for Makkah by saying:

مَا أَطْيَبَكِ مِنْ بَلَدَةٍ وَأَحْبَبُ إِلَيَّ وَلَوْلَا أَنَّ قَوْمِي أَخْرَجُونِي مِنْكَ مَا سَكَنْتُ غَيْرَكَ (رواه ابن حبان)

For God's sake. Indeed you (Makkah) are the best country and the country I love the most. By Allah, if my people had not expelled me from you, I would not have gone (HR. Ibn Hibban).

In another narration, Companion Anas Ibn Malik stated that the Prophet Muhammad truly loved his homeland. Imam Ibn Hajar even cited the hadith below as a guiding principle regarding the law of love for one's country. Anas' friend narrated (Tim Naskah Pesantren, 2019):

كَانَ إِذَا قَدِمَ مِنْ سَفَرٍ فَتَنَظَرَ إِلَى جُدْرَانِ الْمَدِينَةِ أَوْضَعَ رَأْسَهُ وَأَنْ كَانَ عَلَى دَابَّةٍ
(رواه البخاري) حَرَكَهَا مِنْ حَبَّهَا

when the Messenger of Allah came from traveling and saw the walls (boundaries) of Medina, he tied his mount. And when he rides a horse, he moves, because of his love for Medina (HR. Bukhari).

In the histories of Bukhari and Muslim, it is recorded that the Prophet Muhammad once suffered from a high fever and delirium. In such a condition, the Prophet Muhammad prayed (ibid.):

اللَّهُمَّ حَبِّبْ إِلَيْنَا الْمَدِينَةَ كَحُبِّنَا مَكَّةَ أَوْ أَشَدَّ (متفق عليه)

O Allah, give me a love for Medina, like my love for Makkah, or beyond it (Muttafaq Alayh).

Based on the explanation above, a question arises regarding how to translate the teachings of patriotism into the concrete realm of the XXI century. A study is needed to establish that patriotism must be placed as the foundation of national and state life. In the author's view, the Islamic perspective on patriotism can be realized in practice through the construction of public ethics. This construction can serve as an embodiment of patriotism after the physical revolution. Public ethics provides a framework for patriotism infused with religious meaning that can operate in the public domain. Within this framework, patriotism becomes an alternative embodiment of a new narrative of Islam and patriotism.

3.3. Public Ethics and New Narratives of Patriotism

As explained at the beginning of this article, the challenges to patriotism in the XXI century are increasingly non-physical, manifesting as hegemony and potential conflict rooted in narratives of hatred. Hegemony, in the form of globalization, along with these narratives of hatred, represents significant discourse issues. Responding to this reality, it is necessary to formulate a new narrative of patriotism that is more grounded and aligned with the challenges faced by society. Considering the characteristics of Indonesian patriotism, which places loyalty to the country alongside Islamic teachings, a public ethical framework can be adopted in formulating this renewed patriotism.

Theoretically, the concept of public ethics was introduced by Chafid Wahyudi, inspired by ideas of civil religion. This concept emphasizes the key notion that there is a transformation of religious morality from the private to the public realm. In this context, religion does not merely represent an acknowledgment of spiritual values; it is positioned as an ethic that plays out in the public domain (Wahyudi, 2013). Of course, ethics essentially stems from religious teachings. The construction of public ethics is designed to bridge the relationship between religion and the state. This implies that a country requiring loyalty must involve religious elements, rather than exclude them. Conversely, religious circles do not necessarily subordinate the state to religious control.

In order to bridge the two elements mentioned above namely, the state and religion, it is necessary to formulate alternative public ethics by appropriately positioning both. This narrative departs from historical aspects, reflecting the tensions between religion and the state that often arise. This tension is not something new; it can be traced back to the Renaissance, which had a profound impact on human life. The emergence of the Renaissance, built on the foundations of positivism, prioritized rationality, anthropocentrism, and the construction of secularism, often leading to the exclusion of religion from the public sphere. This means that modern phenomena direct loyalty to the state as a whole without being based on any religious elements (ibid.).

As an effort to confirm this, the construction of public ethics is particularly relevant, as the birth of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia cannot be separated from nationalist and religious circles. This indicates a form of synergy between religious and state narratives. The synergy of religious and state narratives can be seen in Soekarno's statement made long before Indonesia became independent in 1926, to be

precise. Soekarno wrote that nationalists, religionists, and Marxists were "the spirit of movements in Asia. Rochnja is also a movement in our Indonesia" (Siswo, 2014). Regarding the relationship between religion and the state, Masykuri Abdullah stated that there are "religious aspects that are included in the state, and there are also aspects of the state that require religious legitimacy" (Abdillah, 2013).

To formulate a new narrative of patriotism, public ethics can be employed to encourage the revival of a patriotic spirit based on religion. As Chafid Wahyudi states, public ethics will present "religion at the level of moral and ethical values to realize general meaning in the life of the nation and state" (Wahyudi, 2013). This involves the transformation of religious teachings, which manifest in theological narratives from the "primordial private area to the open and rational public area" (ibid.). These religious teachings also play a significant role in the public domain, encompassing social, economic, and political-national aspects. Religion can have a broader presence by recognizing not only spiritual, private, and transcendental matters. This mirrors the virtues of the Qur'an, which synergizes vertical-ritual commitment with horizontal-social action commitment (Hidayat, 2019).

Public ethics serves as a middle ground, acknowledging that Indonesian society places religion as an important element in daily life. Positioning public ethics in this way is an effort to affirm that patriotism, as stated in the Al-Qur'an and hadith, is a significant value deeply embedded in Islamic teachings. This understanding will help minimize the challenges surrounding patriotism by instilling a patriotic spirit as a form of practicing religious teachings. In other words, patriotism in the XXI century, which no longer focuses on physical revolution-style struggles but rather emphasizes a commitment to maintaining national stability, has become a medium for embodying the teachings of Islam as mandated by the Qur'an and hadith. Of course, the commitment to maintaining stability can take various forms. For example, it can involve minimizing the seeds of conflict that could lead to SARA-based hatred or providing a strict selection of cultural intersections in the realm of globalization, especially cultural varieties that do not align with the character of the Indonesian nation. In short, hate speech, social polarization, and the neglect of national identity - issues that pose challenges today - are also enemies of religion. Ultimately, the stability of national life is a vital element in the continuity of religion. In this context, the narrative of patriotism within the framework of public ethics will help maintain the existence of both religion and the state simultaneously, without subordinating one to the other.

In conclusion, strategic steps must be taken to formulate a new narrative that balances religious teachings with patriotism. This effort requires understanding from all parties, both the government and society, recognizing that the current challenges to patriotism are non-physical, manifesting as discourse that either promotes narratives of hatred or reflects hegemony in the context of globalization. Therefore, the response to these challenges must also be non-physical, taking the form of a counter-discourse. This counter-discourse involves framing patriotism within the context of public ethics.

At a practical level, this counter-discourse can be implemented through several steps. First, education on patriotism and national defense should be prioritized. This education can be delivered through seminars and forums involving community, religious organizations, and educational institutions. Second, the promotion of the unique aspects of Indonesian patriotism specifically, the elements of locality and their relationship with

religion, should be disseminated widely via social media. These two steps represent concrete actions to propagate the overarching idea of the relationship between religion and the state, thereby serving as a counter-discourse to the narratives of hatred and hegemony that currently challenge patriotism.

4. Conclusions

The issue of patriotism highlights the necessity for a new model that incorporates religion within the public sphere. Religious teachings can play a significant role in awakening the patriotic spirit. In this context, these teachings can be framed within a public ethics framework, effectively bridging the positions of religion and the state while ensuring both are appropriately positioned. Public ethics will address various challenges that require loyalty to the homeland by fostering a commitment to maintaining national stability. Given the contemporary context and its unique challenges, patriotism must be articulated through a new narrative that aligns loyalty to the country with religious teachings.

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