The Dynamics of Nationalism and Global Citizenship in the Development of the Pancasila Campus Tourism Model

Deni Zein Tarsidi
Pusat Studi Pengamalan Pancasila, Universitas Sebelas Maret, Surakarta, Central Java, Indonesia
Email: denizein@staff.uns.ac.id

Abstract

Experiential civic education models rooted in symbolic spaces within university campuses have rarely been systematically examined, despite their significant potential to bridge national values and global consciousness. This study aims to construct an educational tourism model at the Pancasila Fortress Campus (Kampus Benteng Pancasila) of Universitas Sebelas Maret as a site for dialectical engagement between nationalism and global citizenship. Employing a qualitative phenomenological approach, data were collected through in-depth interviews, participatory observation, and visual documentation across symbolic sites such as the interfaith worship complex, the UNS Museum, and the Javanology Center. The findings reveal that these spaces function as reflective mediums through which academic communities experience nationalism not as rigid doctrine but as a dynamic awareness open to universal values. Four essential components emerged in the construction of the model: symbolic spaces, dialogical narratives, reflective engagement, and institutional support. These findings offer an alternative concept of civic education that is affective, participatory, and contextual, while also demonstrating that the values of Pancasila can serve as a bridge between patriotism and cosmopolitanism within an increasingly transnational higher education landscape

Keywords: Nationalism, Global Citizenship, Pancasila, Civic Education

INTRODUCTION

In the midst of a hyper-globalized era marked by transnational information exchange, technological advancement, and shifting geopolitical power, discourses on nationalism and global citizenship have undergone increasingly complex and paradoxical transformations. Nationalism, originally conceived as a unifying collective identity and a legitimizing force for nation-states, is being challenged by the rise of global citizenship, which calls for openness, cross-border solidarity, and a moral commitment to transnational issues such as climate change, migration, and global inequality (Appiah, 2006; Freeman et al., 1996; Unesco, 2015). Ernest Renan's (1882) conception of the nation as a "daily plebiscite" grounded in collective will and shared memory provides the foundation for civic nationalism (Renan, 1994). Similarly, Benedict Anderson (1991) frames nations as "imagined communities" shaped by symbolic narratives, language, and media that produce collective consciousness. These perspectives reinforce nationalism as a socially constructed phenomenon, rooted in historical narratives and spaces of representation. However, in today's fluid global context, nationalism is no longer confined within territorial boundaries, but must negotiate with the universalist principles of cosmopolitanism.

On the other hand, global citizenship emphasizes human belonging to a worldwide community, coupled with a moral responsibility toward others regardless of national boundaries. Martha Nussbaum (1996) advocates for an education system that cultivates individuals not only as national citizens but also as global citizens committed to justice and humanity. This vision is operationalized through UNESCO's (2015) framework on Global Citizenship Education (GCED), which highlights three core dimensions: global knowledge,

social-emotional awareness, and civic engagement. Nevertheless, significant epistemological tensions persist. While nationalism is often regarded as a cohesive force preserving identity, it also risks becoming exclusionary, conservative, or even xenophobic. Conversely, global citizenship opens space for universal tolerance and justice, yet is sometimes criticized for diluting local identities and weakening national cohesion (Torres, 2017). This theoretical tension raises a fundamental pedagogical question: is it possible to reconcile nationalism and global citizenship within a unified educational praxis?

Indonesia possesses Pancasila as an open and inclusive ideological foundation. Numerous studies suggest that Pancasila holds strong potential to bridge national and cosmopolitan values, promoting divinity, humanity, unity, democracy, and social justice. However, its implementation tends to be symbolic or administrative in nature, lacking meaningful engagement with students' civic consciousness in everyday life. Tarsidi (2023) notes critically that civic education in Indonesia remains trapped in normative approaches, failing to address the digital and transnational dimensions of youth civic identity. To address the challenges of the 21st century, Tarsidi (2023) argues that civic education must transform from indoctrinative forms into reflective and dialogical spaces, allowing citizens—particularly digital natives—to negotiate their identities at the intersection of local and global values. Within this framework, it is essential to explore alternative pedagogical spaces outside the classroom that offer experiential, symbolic, and reflective encounters with citizenship.

One such alternative space is the development of campus-based educational tourism. The university is not merely an academic site, but also a symbolic arena where national values are constructed and communicated socially. In this context, Universitas Sebelas Maret (UNS), through its Pancasila Fortress Campus (Kampus Benteng Pancasila) initiative, seeks to ground Pancasila values via symbolic infrastructures such as six interfaith worship sites, the UNS Museum, the Javanology Center, and other public spaces. This initiative serves not merely as institutional branding but holds promise as a participatory and dialogical form of civic education. Despite this potential, few studies have systematically explored how campus-based educational tourism could serve as a dialectical arena between nationalism and global citizenship. Existing research on educational tourism remains focused on cultural tourism, destination branding, or the creative economy (Rifai et al., 2022; Shofi Elmia, 2023), while the pedagogical dimension and subjective experiences of campus communities regarding national and global values remain largely underexplored.

Against this backdrop, the present study assumes that campus-based educational tourism has not yet been fully conceptualized as a systematic model capable of bridging nationalism and global citizenship within a coherent pedagogical framework. In the case of Universitas Sebelas Maret as the Pancasila Fortress Campus, symbolic elements such as interfaith worship houses, the UNS Museum, and other campus public spaces have been used sporadically as educational tools, but have yet to be integrated into a reflective and contextual civic education tourism model. Accordingly, this study is guided by the following research question: how can the development process of the Pancasila Fortress Campus tourism model be constructed as a site of dialectical engagement between nationalism and global citizenship, and what are its implications for fostering reflective and contextual civic education in higher education, particularly within the distinctive character of Universitas Sebelas Maret as a Pancasila Fortress Campus?

RESEARCH METHODS
This study employed a qualitative approach with a phenomenological research design. This approach was chosen because the primary objective was to explore, in depth, the

subjective experiences of members of the academic community and campus visitors in interpreting national symbols and global citizenship values embedded in the educational tourism spaces at the Pancasila Fortress Campus of Universitas Sebelas Maret. A phenomenological framework enables the researcher to capture the meanings embedded in participants' lived experiences in a reflective and contextual manner (Snelson, 2016). The research was conducted within the Universitas Sebelas Maret campus, particularly at symbolic sites that have been designated as part of the Pancasila Fortress Campus educational tourism route, such as the interfaith worship complex, the UNS Museum, the Javanology Center, and various campus public spaces. Participants included lecturers, students, and campus facility managers. Informants were selected using purposive sampling based on their involvement in, and experience with, educational tourism and national value engagement.

Data collection was carried out through in-depth interviews, participatory observations of interactions in symbolic spaces, and visual and narrative documentation to support interpretative analysis. All data were analyzed using the phenomenological analysis technique developed by Creswell (2015), which involves the following steps: (1) repeated reading of all interview transcripts, (2) extracting significant statements related to the phenomenon, (3) formulating meanings, (4) organizing meanings into thematic clusters, (5) constructing textual and structural descriptions, and (6) identifying the essence of participants' experiences. Data validity was ensured through triangulation of sources and methods, member checking, and ongoing critical reflection by the researcher throughout the data collection and analysis process. Ethical considerations were observed by providing participants with informed consent forms, securing their voluntary agreement, and maintaining the confidentiality of their identities. Through this phenomenological approach, the study aims to provide a deep and reflective understanding of how the Pancasila Fortress Campus tourism model is constructed, and how such educational spaces serve as arenas for dialectical engagement between nationalism and global citizenship within a contextual civic education framework in higher education settings..

RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
Research Result

This study reveals that the experiences of the academic community and visitors engaging with the educational tourism initiative at the Pancasila Fortress Campus of Universitas Sebelas Maret carry reflective and multidimensional meanings related to nationalism and global citizenship. Based on interviews and observations, symbolic spaces such as the interfaith worship complex, UNS Museum, Javanology Center, and campus public areas were not merely perceived as institutional ornaments but as reflective arenas that foster national consciousness among participants. A student from the Faculty of Teacher Training and Education, identified as MA (20 years old), initially viewed the interfaith worship houses as mere symbols of diversity. However, after participating in an interfaith dialogue event, her perspective shifted. "At first, I thought it was just a symbol of diversity, but after joining the interfaith activities there, I felt proud to be an Indonesian citizen. I don't think many campuses abroad have something like this," she reflected. Similarly, YA, a lecturer from the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, stated that these symbols are not merely displays of tolerance but serve as "spaces for civic spirituality that awaken students' awareness of the meaning of unity in diversity." These findings affirm that nationalism is not imposed normatively but emerges through symbolic interactions that nurture a sense of belonging to national values.

Furthermore, the research indicates that values of global citizenship—such as tolerance, universal humanity, and solidarity—are deeply interpreted through educational tourism

activities. FN (20), a student from the Faculty of Economics and Business, stated that a campus tour involving international students made her realize that Pancasila contains globally relevant values. "I learned that Pancasila is not just Indonesia's. Its humanitarian values are truly universal. Especially during the tour with international students, we shared stories and realized we have the same concerns about global issues," she explained. YA added that Pancasila can act as a bridge between local identity and cosmopolitanism. "It's a mistake to think of Pancasila as purely local. In fact, its values can serve as a meeting point between nationalism and global ideals such as justice and humanity," he noted.

This dialectical process between nationalism and global citizenship also appeared in informants' narratives of identity negotiation. AK (20), a student from the Faculty of Economics and Business, admitted being skeptical of global citizenship. But after joining intercultural programs on campus, his perspective evolved: "I used to be very nationalistic and quite skeptical of global citizenship, but after participating in campus activities and training with international students, I realized the two are not contradictory—they actually complement each other," he said. MR, a lecturer, confirmed this by describing the campus as a microcosm of the global world: "Our students engage with global networks, yet remain rooted in local values. That's our strength as a Pancasila-based campus," he affirmed. From these narratives, the researcher identified four key elements forming the initial framework of the Pancasila Fortress Campus educational tourism model: (1) the presence of meaningful symbolic spaces such as interfaith houses, museums, and cultural centers; (2) living narratives delivered through dialogical formats; (3) reflective engagement by students and visitors in interpreting space; and (4) institutional support that enables the integration of national and global values into campus-based educational programs. Student SY (20) encapsulated her experience powerfully: "This campus feels like a citizenship laboratory. We learn to become citizens with roots, but also with wings to reach the world.".

Discussion

Symbolic spaces within a university setting cannot be understood merely as architectural constructs. They carry narratives, interpretations, and negotiations of meanings that transcend their physical forms—representing ideology, culture, and national identity. In this regard, Universitas Sebelas Maret, through its Pancasila Fortress Campus initiative, has constructed a unique symbolic landscape that includes interfaith worship houses, the UNS Museum, the Javanology Center, and public parks. These are not merely physical structures but signifiers and reminders of the institution's commitment to the foundational values of Pancasila. Yet the question remains: are these symbols merely decorative, or have they transformed into educational spaces capable of awakening civic consciousness? This highlights the importance of examining not just what is seen, but what is interpreted. MA, a 20-year-old student from the Faculty of Teacher Training and Education, initially viewed the interfaith worship houses as merely administrative symbols. However, her experience participating in interfaith activities triggered a new awareness: "At first, I thought it was just a symbol of diversity, but after joining the interfaith events there, I felt proud to be an Indonesian citizen." This statement illustrates that symbolic campus spaces are not neutral—they come alive with meaning when experienced subjectively. This is echoed by YA, a lecturer in the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, who described the space as a form of "national spirituality"—a place that subtly but profoundly touches students' awareness of the importance of unity amidst diversity.

The idea of space as a site of meaning production is not new. Herndl (1991) reminds us that space is never empty; it is always socially produced and imbued with power relations, memory, and ideology. When campus public spaces are filled with national symbols that can be

affectively and reflectively experienced, they cease to be static. They become a meeting ground between individuals and the core values of nationhood. Anderson (2001)described the nation as an "imagined community," one formed through narrative and symbol. Anderson may not have imagined that such narratives now extend beyond text or mass media, into physical structures absorbed as lived experiences on campus. These experiences construct nationalism not as doctrine, but as awareness—an emotional engagement that emerges from the ground up. However, critical notes are necessary. Tarsidi (2023a) pointed out that the implementation of Pancasila values in universities often falls into administrative formalism—present in official speeches, building names, or ceremonies—yet seldom reaching the reasoning and conscience of students. Interestingly, this study presents an exception: when symbols are activated through subjective experiences, they become reflective media that reproduce national meaning more profoundly.

Spaces such as the UNS Museum and the Javanology Center do not merely display historical artifacts; they offer narratives that bridge history and collective identity. For students and visitors, these spaces present a kind of "tangible nationalism." They do not just see—they experience. Herein lies the power of civic education that is not didactic but dialogical; not memorized values, but lived encounters. Thus, it can be stated that the representation of nationalism in UNS's symbolic campus spaces is not normative but appears as a living, reflective process. The campus becomes a space where national values are articulated—not locked in formality but allowed to grow through experience, interpretation, and dialogue. This is a new form of nationalism—not instructive, but inspiring; not demanding obedience, but nurturing awareness. The campus space no longer serves merely as an academic setting but as a social arena for negotiating the identities of its academic citizens. In this study, the experience of FN (20, FEB), who felt the universality of Pancasila values after touring with international students, reflects the idea of cosmopolitan nationalism (Yemini et al., 2024)—nationalism enriched by cosmopolitanism. This supports Nussbaum's (1996) vision of global citizens with local roots, as well as critical cosmopolitanism that emphasizes social justice and global empathy (Ferguson, 2005; Hou, 2020). Empirical findings reveal that national and global identities do not exist as mutually exclusive binaries but as creative dialectics. AK (20, FEB) described a transformation from skepticism to synthesis: "Those two things are not in conflict—they complement each other." This aligns with DeWitt (1996) concept of third space—a negotiation zone where national and global identities interpenetrate. Recent literature also highlights potential conflicts in multi-loyalty identity cohesion in Indonesia (Yunita et al., 2024) and the need for emotionally resonant, dialogical civic education (Janmaat, 2008; Kahne, 2016).

From the field data, four key components of a civic education model emerge: symbolic spaces, dialogical narratives, reflective engagement, and institutional support. This model follows Dewey's (Sikandar, 2016) theory of experience-based education and is reinforced by Pashby et al., (2021) and González-Valencia et al., (2022), who advocate for critical GCE practices in higher education. These affirm the importance of informal settings—museums, interfaith houses—as mediums for reflective and contextual civic learning. These spaces support internalization of national and global responsibilities through direct experience, value dialogue, and institutional narrative—a civic education model long overlooked. This study affirms the potential of campus tourism-based civic learning: inclusive, reflective, and participatory. Yet challenges persist, especially institutional fragmentation between curriculum and informal learning practices. This echoes findings by Starkey (2022) and Akçay et al., (2024) on the gap between GCE values in policy and implementation. Institutional integration is recommended through: (1) incorporating Pancasila-based campus tours into the syllabus of Civics and Pancasila Education courses, (2) training campus tour guides to facilitate critical

reflection, and (3) building global networks with partner campuses to enable experience exchange and global perspectives.

This analysis concludes that the development of the Pancasila Fortress Campus tourism model materializes the dialectic between nationalism and global citizenship. The model comprises symbolic representation, value interaction, collective reflection, and institutional practice. The campus becomes a medium for experiential civic education, enabling the shaping of hybrid democratic identities. These findings concretize theoretical trends—critical GCE, cosmopolitan nationalism, third space, and civic pedagogy—within lived subject experiences. In conclusion, campus educational tourism is not mere institutional branding. It has proven to be an alternative medium for reflective and contextual civic education, aligning with UNS's unique character as the Pancasila Fortress Campus. This model may serve as a strategic reference for integrating national and global values into higher education in the post-pandemic and globalized era..

CONCLUSION

Based on the overall findings and analysis, it can be concluded that the development of the Pancasila Fortress Campus tourism model at Universitas Sebelas Maret represents an active dialectic between nationalism and global citizenship. The university's symbolic spaces—such as the interfaith worship complex, the UNS Museum, and the Javanology Center—serve not merely as institutional ornaments but have been intentionally constructed as reflective, participatory, and contextual civic learning arenas. The interaction between the academic community and these spaces fosters new interpretations that integrate national identity with global awareness, demonstrating that Pancasila values can serve as a meaningful bridge between patriotism and cosmopolitanism. Accordingly, this campus-based educational tourism model may be offered as an alternative form of civic education grounded in lived experience, enriching conventional approaches that have tended to be normative and textual in nature. However, this study is limited by its relatively small number of informants and its focus on a single institutional context. As such, the findings may not fully represent similar dynamics in other university settings. Future research is encouraged to involve cross-institutional participation, both nationally and internationally, in order to test the adaptability and institutional sustainability of this model across different socio-cultural contexts. Furthermore, this model provides a conceptual basis for the development of new theoretical frameworks in civic education practices rooted in symbolic space—combining affective, reflective, and global dimensions within higher education..

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