

**KESADARAN BERBANGSA LINTAS GENERASI: STUDI
KOMPARASI GENERASI MILENIAL DAN GENERASI *POST-
MILLENNIAL* DI KOTA BEKASI**

DISERTASI

Diajukan untuk memenuhi sebagian syarat untuk memperoleh gelar Doktor
Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan



Oleh
Intan Maharani Ibrahim
NIM. 2104966

**PROGRAM STUDI PENDIDIKAN KEWARGANEGARAAN
PROGRAM DOKTORAL
FAKULTAS PENDIDIKAN ILMU PENGETAHUAN SOSIAL
UNIVERSITAS PENDIDIKAN INDONESIA
2024**

**KESADARAN BERBANGSA LINTAS GENERASI: STUDI
KOMPARASI GENERASI MILENIAL DAN GENERASI *POST-
MILLENNIAL* DI KOTA BEKASI**

Oleh :

Intan Maharani Ibrahim

NIM. 2104966

Sebuah disertasi yang diajukan untuk untuk memenuhi salah satu syarat
memperoleh gelar Doktor Pendidikan (Dr.) pada Program Studi Pendidikan
Kewarganegaraan Fakultas Pendidikan Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial

© Intan Maharani Ibrahim

Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia

Agustus, 2024

Hak Cipta Dilindungi melalui Undang-Undang

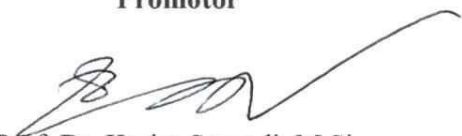
Disertasi ini tidak boleh diperbanyak seluruhnya atau sebagian dengan di cetak
ulang, di fotocopy, atau melalui cara lainnya tanpa seizin dari peneliti

LEMBAR PENGESAHAN DISERTASI

Intan Maharani Ibrahim
NIM. 2104966

**KESADARAN BERBANGSA LINTAS GENERASI: STUDI KOMPARASI
GENERASI MILENIAL DAN GENERASI *POST-MILLENNIAL* DI KOTA
BEKASI**

Menyetujui,
Promotor



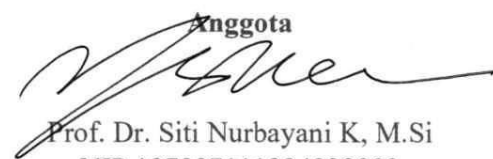
Prof. Dr. Karim Suryadi, M.Si.
NIP. 19700814 199402 1 001

Co-Promotor



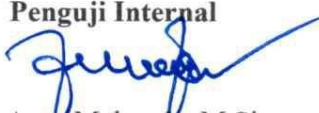
Prof. Dr. Cecep Darmawan, S.Pd., S.IP., S.H., MH., M.Si.
NIP. 19690929 199402 1001

Anggota



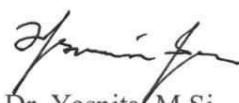
Prof. Dr. Siti Nurbayani K, M.Si
NIP.197007111994032002

Penguji Internal



Dr. Asep Mahpud, M.Si.
NIP. 19661108 199203 1 002

Penguji Eksternal



Dr. Yasnita, M.Si.
NIP. 19750303 200501 2 001

Mengetahui,

Ketua Program Studi Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan Program Magister dan Doktor
Fakultas Pendidikan Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia



Prof. Dr. Cecep Darmawan, S.I.P., S.A.P., S.Pd., S.H., M.H., M.Si.
NIP. 19690929 199402 1001

Pernyataan Keaslian Disertasi

Dengan ini saya menyatakan bahwa disertasi dengan judul “Kesadaran Berbangsa Lintas Generasi: Studi Komparasi Generasi Milenial dan Generasi Post-Millennial di Kota Bekasi” beserta seluruh isinya adalah benar-benar karya saya sendiri. Saya tidak melakukan penjiplakan atau pengutipan dengan cara-cara yang tidak sesuai dengan etika ilmu yang berlaku dalam masyarakat keilmuan. Atas pernyataan ini, saya siap menanggung risiko atau sanksi apabila dikemudian hari adanya pelanggaran etika keilmuan atau ada klaim dari pihak lain terhadap keaslian karya saya ini

Bandung, Agustus 2024

Intan Maharani Ibrahim

ABSTRAK

INTAN MAHARANI IBRAHIM (2104966). KESADARAN BERBANGSA LINTAS GENERASI: STUDI KOMPARASI GENERASI MILENIAL DAN GENERASI *POST-MILLENNIAL* DI KOTA BEKASI

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengukur tingkat kesadaran berbangsa di antara generasi milenial dan generasi *post-millennial* di Kota Bekasi, mengidentifikasi faktor-faktor yang mempengaruhi tingkat kesadaran tersebut, serta membandingkan kesadaran berbangsa antara kedua generasi. Metodologi yang digunakan adalah survei dengan desain *cross-sectional*, yang melibatkan pengumpulan data dari 800 responden yang mewakili kedua generasi. Analisis data dilakukan secara deskriptif untuk menggambarkan tingkat kesadaran berbangsa serta menggunakan uji statistik untuk mengidentifikasi perbedaan dan faktor-faktor yang mempengaruhi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa tingkat kesadaran berbangsa di antara generasi milenial dan *post-millennial* di Kota Bekasi sangat tinggi. Faktor pekerjaan, pendidikan, dan latar belakang suku bangsa ditemukan memiliki pengaruh signifikan terhadap tingkat kesadaran berbangsa. Generasi yang bekerja dalam bidang yang melibatkan interaksi sosial luas dan kebijakan publik memiliki kesadaran berbangsa yang lebih tinggi. Tingkat pendidikan yang lebih tinggi juga berkontribusi pada peningkatan kesadaran berbangsa melalui pemahaman dan internalisasi nilai-nilai kebangsaan. Latar belakang suku bangsa yang kuat dengan jaringan sosial yang erat turut memperkuat kesadaran berbangsa. Dan tidak terdapat perbedaan signifikan antara generasi milenial dan generasi *post-millennial*. Implikasi dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa program Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan dan kebijakan publik yang mendorong interaksi sosial dan pemahaman nilai-nilai kebangsaan perlu diperkuat. Selain itu, penting untuk memastikan akses pendidikan yang merata dan berkualitas agar semua generasi dapat mengembangkan kesadaran berbangsa yang kuat. Hasil ini memberikan dasar bagi pengembangan kebijakan yang lebih efektif dalam meningkatkan kesadaran berbangsa di kalangan generasi muda di Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: Kesadaran berbangsa, generasi milenial, generasi *post-millennial*.

ABSTRACT

INTAN MAHARANI IBRAHIM (2104966). NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS ACROSS GENERATIONS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF MILLENNIAL AND POST-MILLENNIAL GENERATIONS IN BEKASI CITY

This research aims to measure the level of national awareness among the millennial generation and post-millennial generation in Bekasi City, identify factors that influence this level of awareness, and compare national awareness between the two generations. The methodology used is a survey with a cross-sectional design, which involves collecting data from 800 respondents representing both generations. Data analysis was carried out descriptively to describe the level of national awareness and used statistical tests to identify differences and influencing factors. The research results show that the level of national awareness among the millennial and post-millennial generations in Bekasi City is very high. The factors of employment, education and ethnic background were found to have a significant influence on the level of national consciousness. The generation that works in fields that involve broad social interaction and public policy has a higher sense of nationhood. A higher level of education also contributes to increasing national awareness through understanding and internalizing national values. A strong ethnic background with close social networks also strengthens national consciousness. And there are no significant differences between the millennial generation and the post-millennial generation. The implications of this research indicate that Citizenship Education programs and public policies that encourage social interaction and understanding of national values need to be strengthened. In addition, it is important to ensure equal and quality access to education so that all generations can develop a strong sense of nationhood. These results provide a basis for developing more effective policies in increasing national awareness among the younger generation in Indonesia.

Keywords: *National consciousness, millennial generation, post-millennial generation*

DAFTAR ISI

LEMBAR PENGESAHAN	i
UCAPAN TERIMA KASIH	ii
Pernyataan Keaslian Disertasi.....	iv
ABSTRAK.....	v
ABSTRACT	vi
DAFTAR ISI	vii
DAFTAR TABEL.....	x
DAFTAR GAMBAR.....	xi
BAB I PENDAHULUAN	1
1.1. Latar Belakang Penelitian	1
1.2. Rumusan Masalah Penelitian	14
1.3. Tujuan Penelitian.....	14
1.4. Manfaat Penelitian	15
1.4.1. Dari segi Teoritis	15
1.4.2. Dari segi Praktis	15
1.4.3. Dari segi Isu dan Aksi Sosial	16
1.4.4. Dari segi Kebijakan	16
1.5. Struktur Organisasi Disertasi.....	16
BAB II KAJIAN PUSTAKA.....	19
2.1. Bangsa dan Nasionalisme: Landasan Teoretis Menuju Kesadaran Berbangsa.....	19
2.1.1. “Apa Itu Bangsa?” Perspektif dari Renan hingga Perdebatan Modern	19
2.1.2. Sejarah Perkembangan Nasionalisme.....	23
2.1.3. Dinamika Teori Nasionalisme: Dari Primordialisme hingga Kontemporer.....	39
2.2. Menggali Makna dan Dimensi Kesadaran Berbangsa	49
2.2.1. Kenangan Bersama.....	49
2.2.2. Keinginan untuk Hidup Bersama	55
2.2.3. Identitas Nasional dalam Pembentukan Kesadaran Berbangsa.....	57
2.2.4. Warisan Nasional dari Kenangan Bersama.....	70
2.3. <i>Civic Nationalism</i>	74
2.3.1. Kesadaran Berbangsa Perspektif Teori Kewarganegaraan Republikan	74
2.3.2. Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan: Mewariskan Nilai-Nilai Kebangsaan	76
2.4. Tantangan Kesadaran Berbangsa dalam Globalisasi	81
2.5. Kajian Teori Generasi	88
2.5.1. Teori Umum Generasi	88
2.5.2. Karakteristik Generasi	95
2.5.3. Nilai Kerja Generasi	97

2.6. Penelitian Terdahulu	99
2.7. Kerangka Pemikiran Penelitian	102
2.8. Hipotesis.....	106
BAB III METODE PENELITIAN	107
3.1. Desain Penelitian	107
3.1.1. Pendekatan Penelitian	107
3.1.2. Metode Penelitian	108
3.2. Populasi dan Sampel.....	109
3.2.1. Populasi.....	109
3.2.2. Sampel	110
3.3. Definisi Operasional Variabel	113
3.4. Teknik Pengumpulan Data dan Instrumen Penelitian.....	114
3.4.1. Teknik Pengumpulan Data.....	114
3.4.2. Instrumen Penelitian	115
3.5. Pengujian Instrumen Penelitian.....	117
3.5.1. Uji Validitas Data	117
3.5.2. Uji Reliabilitas.....	118
3.6. Analisis Data	119
3.6.1. Metode Uji Statistik.....	120
3.6.2. Uji Mann-Whitney U	120
3.6.3. Hipotesis Statistik.....	121
BAB IV TEMUAN DAN PEMBAHASAN.....	122
4.1. Deskripsi Lokasi Penelitian.....	122
4.1.1. SMPN 3 Bekasi	123
4.1.2. SMPN 12 Bekasi	125
4.1.3. SMPN 25 Bekasi	128
4.1.4. SMPN 52 Bekasi	130
4.2. Deskripsi Profil Responden.....	132
4.3. Temuan Penelitian	136
4.3.1. Kesadaran Berbangsa Generasi <i>Post-millennial</i> di Kota Bekasi....	136
4.3.2. Kesadaran Berbangsa Generasi <i>Millennial</i> di Kota Bekasi	141
4.3.3. Perbandingan Kesadaran Kebangsaan Generasi <i>Millennial</i> dan <i>Post-millennial</i>	147
4.3.4. Faktor yang mempengaruhi tingkat kesadaran berbangsa lintas generasi di Kota Bekasi	156
4.4. Pembahasan Penelitian.....	171
4.4.1. Kesadaran Berbangsa Generasi <i>Millennial</i> Dan Generasi <i>Post-Millennial</i> Di Kota Bekasi	171
4.4.2. Faktor yang mempengaruhi tingkat kesadaran berbangsa antara generasi milenial dan generasi <i>post-millennial</i> di Kota Bekasi	186
4.4.3. Perbedaan Tingkat Kesadaran Berbangsa Antara Generasi <i>Millennial</i> Dan Generasi <i>Post-Millennial</i> Di Kota Bekasi	193
4.4.4 Model Kesadaran Berbangsa.....	201

BAB V SIMPULAN, IMPLIKASI DAN REKOMENDASI	218
5.1. Simpulan	218
5.1.1. Simpulan Umum.....	218
5.1.2. Simpulan Khusus.....	218
5.2. Implikasi.....	220
5.2.1. Implikasi Teoritis.....	220
5.2.2. Implikasi Praktis.....	221
5.3. Rekomendasi	221
DAFTAR PUSTAKA	223
LAMPIRAN	244

DAFTAR TABEL

Tabel 2. 1 Indikator generasi selama periode pembentukan.....	93
Tabel 4. 1 Model Program Kesadaran Berbangsa untuk Generasi Milenial Sektor BUMN/ASN	202
Tabel 4. 2 Model Program Kesadaran Berbangsa untuk Generasi Millenial Sektor Swasta.....	206
Tabel 4. 3 Tabel Rencana Aksi Model Kesadaran Kebangsaan Generasi Milenial untuk Individu yang Tidak Bekerja.....	209
Tabel 4. 4 Model Program Kesadaran Berbangsa untuk Generasi Post- Millenial	211
Tabel 4. 5 Tabel Rencana Aksi Model Kesadaran Kebangsaan Generasi Post- Millenial	213

DAFTAR GAMBAR

Gambar 1. 1 Pembagian Usia dalam Lintas Generasi Tahun 2023	7
Gambar 1. 2 Gambar Klasifikasi Generasi Bangsa Indonesia Tahun 2020	11
Gambar 2. 1 Peta Perdebatan Tentang Element Bangsa	22
Gambar 2. 2 Kerangka Pemikiran.....	104
Gambar 3. 1 Jumlah Siswa SMP Negeri Kota Bekasi Tahun Pelajaran 2023-2024.....	109
Gambar 3. 2 Data Jumlah Siswa dan Ayah/Ibu/Wali Siswa SMP Negeri Kota Bekasi tahun pelajaran 2023-2024	110
Gambar 4. 1 Lokasi SMPN 3 Bekasi	123
Gambar 4. 2 Diskusi pelaksanaan penelitian dengan Bapak kepala SMPN 3 Kota Bekasi	124
Gambar 4. 3 Perkenalan dan pengambilan data penelitian di kelas IX.1	125
Gambar 4. 4 Lokasi SMPN 12 Bekasi	125
Gambar 4. 5 Diskusi pelaksanaan penelitian dengan Ibu kepala SMPN 12 Kota Bekasi	127
Gambar 4. 6 Perkenalan dan pengambilan data penelitian di kelas IX.....	127
Gambar 4. 7 Lokasi SMPN 25 Kota Bekasi.....	128
Gambar 4. 8 Dokumen setelah pelaksanaan pengambilan data di kelas IX.....	129
Gambar 4. 9 Pengujian instrumen kesadaran berbangsa.....	130
Gambar 4. 10 Lokasi SMP Negeri 52 Kota Bekasi	130
Gambar 4. 11 Pelaksanaan Penelitian di SMPN 52 Kota Bekasi	132
Gambar 4. 12 Profil responden millennial berdasarkan pekerjaan	133
Gambar 4. 13 Pendidikan terakhir responden generasi millennial	134
Gambar 4. 14 Suku Bangsa Responden Generasi Millennial.....	135
Gambar 4. 15 Boxplot Perbandingan Tingkat Kesadaran Berbangsa Generasi Millennial dan <i>Post-millennial</i>	154
Gambar 4. 16 Q-Q Plot Kesadaran Berbangsa Generasi Millennial.....	195
Gambar 4. 17 Q-Q Plot Kesadaran Berbangsa Generasi Post-Millennial.....	196
Gambar 4. 18 Model Kesadaran Berbangsa	201

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Abrams, D., & Hogg, M. A. (2006). *Social Identifications*. Routledge.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203135457>
- Adamson, M. A., Chen, H., Kackley, R., & Micheal, A. (2018). For The Love of The Game: Game Versus Lecture-Based Learning With Generation Z. *Journal of Psychosocial Nursing & Mental Health Services*, 56, 29–36.
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.3928/02793695-20171027-03>
- Adorno, T. V. (2000). *Problem filosofii morali*. Republic.
- Ahmad, Y. (2006). The Scope and Definitions of Heritage: From Tangible to Intangible. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 12(3), 292–300.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13527250600604639>
- Ahmed, G., & Rafiuddin, A. (2018). Cultural Dimensions of Economic Development: A Case of UAE. *Theoretical Economics Letters*, 08(11), 2479–2496. <https://doi.org/10.4236/tel.2018.811160>
- Akman, A. (2004). Modernist nationalism: Statism and national identity in Turkey. *Nationalities Papers*, 32(1), 23–51.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/0090599042000186214>
- Alexander, J. C. (2012). The Civil Sphere. *The Civil Sphere*, 35, 1–814.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195162509.001.0001>
- Allahar, A. L. (1996). Primordialism and ethnic political mobilisation in modern society. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 22(1), 5–21.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.1996.9976519>
- Alsop, R. (2008). *The trophy kods grow up: How the millennial generation is shaking up the workplace*. Jossey-Bass.
- Anderson, B. (2001). *Imagined communities: Komunitas-komunitas terbayang*. (Terj) (O. I. Naomi (trans.)). Pustaka Pelajar dan Insist.
- Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined Communities Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (2nd ed.). Typeset by Hwer Text UK Ltd.
- Anderson, B. (2008). *Imagined Communities*. INSIST Press.
- Antonsich, M. (2009). National identities in the age of globalisation: The case of Western Europe. *National Identities*, 11(3), 281–299.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14608940903081085>
- Ariely, G. (2011). Constitutional patriotism, liberal nationalism and membership in the nation: An empirical assessment. *Acta Politica*, 46(3), 294–319.
<https://doi.org/10.1057/ap.2011.10>
- Arnason, J. P. (2001). Nations and Nationalism: From general theory to comparative history. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 22(1), 79–89.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/07256860120037427>

- Ashforth, B.E., Harrison, S.H., & Corley, K. G. (2008). Identification in Organizations An Examination Of Four Fundamental Questions. *Journal of Management*, 34(3), 325–374.
- Bail, C. A. (2008). The configuration of symbolic boundaries against immigrants in Europe. *American Sociological Review*, 73(1), 37–59. <https://doi.org/10.1177/000312240807300103>
- Banks, J. A. (2020). *Diversity, Transformative Knowledge, and Civic Education*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003018360>
- Bauer, O. (1909). *National Question and Social Democracy*. St. Petersburg.
- Baydhowi, B., Purwono, U., Prathama Siswadi, A. G., Ali, M. M., Syahputra, W., & Iskandar, T. B. Z. (2023). Perception of threat and national identity: Investigation of the mediating role of collective self esteem. *Heliyon*, 9(6), e17207. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2023.e17207>
- Beazley, H. (2003). The Construction and Protection of Individual and Collective Identities by Street Children and Youth in Indonesia 1. *Children, Youth and Environments*, 13(1), 1–25.
- Beck, U. (1998). *Democracy without enemies*. Polity Press.
- Beck, U. (2000). *What is globalization?* Polity Press.
- Becker, H. A. (1992). *Generations and Their Opportunities*. Meulonhof.
- Bekhuis, H., Lubbers, M., & Verkuyten, M. (2014). How Education Moderates the Relation between Globalization and Nationalist Attitudes. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 26(4), 487–500. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ijpor/edt037>
- Bell, D. S. A. (2003). Mythscapes: Memory, mythology, and national identity. *British Journal of Sociology*, 54(1), 63–81. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0007131032000045905>
- Billig, M. (1995). *Banal Nationalism*. Verso.
- Billig, Michael. (2010). *Banal Nationalism*. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446221648>
- Black, A. (2010). Gen Y: Who they are and how they learn. *Educational Horizons*, 88(2), 92–101.
- Blank, T., & Schmidt, P. (2003). National identity in a United Germany: Nationalism or patriotism? An empirical test with representative data. *Political Psychology*, 24(2 SPEC.), 289–312. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0162-895x.00329>
- Bonikowski, B. (2016). Nationalism in Settled Times. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 42(May), 427–449. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-081715-074412>
- BPS. (2021). Sensus Penduduk tahun 2020. In *Badan Pusat Statistik*. <https://www.bps.go.id/id/infographic?id=561>

- Bransford, J. D., Brown, A. L., & Cocking, R. R. (1999). *How People Learn: Brain, Mind, Experience, and School*. National Academy Press.
- Branson, M. stimman. (2001). *Principles and practices of democracy in the education of social studies teachers. Civic learning in teacher education* (J. J. Patrick & R. S. Leming (eds.)). ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education. file:///C:/Users/Iqbal Ar/AppData/Local/Mendeley Ltd./Mendeley Desktop/Downloaded/Patrick, Vontz - 2001 - Component of Education for Democratic Citizenship in the Preparation of Social Studies Teachers.pdf
- Breuilly, J. (ed). (1996). *The formation of the First German Nation-State 1800-1871*. Macmillan.
- Brincker, B. (2020). One the Roles of Institutions and Agency in Nationalism and the Relations between Them: A Theoretical Enquiry into the Study of Nationalism, Its Present and Future. *Sage Journals*, 54, 1105–1121.
- Bromley, Y. V. (1983). *Ocherki teorii etnosa [Essays on the theory of ethnos*. Nauka.
- Brubaker, R. (1992). *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany*. Harvard University Press.
- Brubaker, R. (1996). Nationhood and the National Question in the Soviet Union and its Succesor States: An Institutional Account. *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe*, 23–54.
- Brubaker, R. (2004). In the name of the nation: reflections on nationalism and patriotism. *Citizenship Studies*, 8(2), 115–127.
- Bryant, L., O. (2005). Music Memory and Nostalgia: Collective Memories Of Cultural Revolution Song In Contemporary China. *The China Review*, 5(2), 151–175.
- BSKAP Kemendikbud. (2022). Capaian Pembelajaran Mata Pelajaran Pendidikan Pancasila Fase A - Fase F. *Capaian Pembelajaran Mata Pelajaran Pendidikan Pancasila Fase A- Fase F Untuk SD/MI/Program Paket A, SMP/MTs/Program Paket B, Dan SMA/MA/SMK/MAK/Program Paket C*, 1–21.
- Callan, E. (1997). *Creating Citizen: Political Education and Liberal Democracy*. Oxford University Press.
- Castelló, E., & Mihelj, S. (2017a). Selling and consuming the nation: Understanding consumer nationalism. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 146954051769057. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1469540517690570>
- Castelló, E., & Mihelj, S. (2017b). Selling and consuming the nation: Understanding consumer nationalism. *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 1469540517690570–1469540517690570. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1469540517690570>
- Castells, M. (1997). The Rise of the Network Society. *The Power of Identity*, 2.

- Cavallar, G. (2012). The Cosmopolitanism Reader. Edited by Garrett Wallace Brown and David Held. *The European Legacy*, 17(4), 539–539. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10848770.2012.686747>
- Chatterjee, P. (2020). *The Nation and Its Fragments*. Princeton University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvzgb88s>
- Cheah, P. (2006). Cosmopolitanism. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 23(2–3), 486–496. <https://doi.org/10.1177/026327640602300290>
- Cheery, K. (2022). Erikson's Stages of Development A Closer Look at the Eight Psychosocial Stages. In <https://www.verywellmind.com/https://www.verywellmind.com/erik-eriksons-stages-of-psychosocial-development-2795740>
- Chernilo, D. (2006). Social theory's methodological nationalism: Myth and reality. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 9(1), 5–22.
- Chernilo, D. (2007). *A social theory of the nation-state: the political forms of modernity beyond methodological nationalism*. Routledge.
- Chicca, J., & Shellenbarger, T. (2018a). Connecting with Generation Z: Approaches in Nursing Education. *Teaching and Learning in Nursing*, 13(3), 180–184. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.teln.2018.03.008>
- Chicca, J., & Shellenbarger, T. (2018b). Generation Z: Approaches and Teaching-Learning Practices for Nursing Professional Development Practitioners. *Journal for Nurses in Professional Development*, 34(5), 250–256. <https://doi.org/10.1097/NND.0000000000000478>
- Cogan, J., & Derricott, R. (Eds.). (1998). *Citizenship for the 21st century: an international perspective on education*. Kogan Page.
- Cogan, J. J. (1998). Citizenship Education for the 21st Century: setting the context. In J. J. Cogan & R. Derricott (Eds.), *Citizenship for the 21 st Century: An Introduction Perspectives on Education* (pp. 1–20).
- Collins, C. R. (2014). Transforming Individual Civic Engagement into Community Collective Efficacy: The Role of Bonding Social Capital. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 54(3), 328–336. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-014-9675-x>
- Collins, R. (2012). Time-bubbles of nationalism: Dynamics of solidarity ritual in lived time. *Nations and Nationalism*, 18(3), 383–397. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2011.00530.x>
- Connor, W. (1994). *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding*. Princeton University Press.
- Conversi, D. (2012). Modernism and nationalism. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 17(1), 13–34. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13569317.2012.644982>
- CONVERSI, D. (2007). Nations and Nationalism by Ernest Gellner. *Nations and Nationalism*, 13(2), 341–342. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469->

8129.2007.00290.x

- Costanza, D. P., Finkelstein, L. M. (2015). Generationally based differences in the work place: Is there a there there? *Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, 8(3), 308–323.
- Crenshaw, K. (2013). Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics. *Feminist Legal Theories*, 139, 23–51. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315051536-2>
- Dagger, R. (2014). Republican citizenship. *Handbook of Political Citizenship and Social Movements*, 45–59. <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781781954706.00010>
- Davidson, R., Poor, N., & Williams, A. (2009). Stratification and Global Elite Theory: A Cross-Cultural and Longitudinal Analysis of Public Opinion. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 21(2), 165–186. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ijpor/edp012>
- Dennis, D. (1998). Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed. *Culture & Agriculture*, 20(1), 41–43. <https://doi.org/10.1525/cag.1998.20.1.41>
- Dower, N. (2003). CITIZENSHIP IN A GLOBALISED WORLD. In *An Introduction to Global Citizenship* (pp. 35–50). Edinburgh University Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3366/j.ctvxcr9ph.7>
- Egerton, M. (2002). Higher education and civic engagement. *British Journal of Sociology*, 53(4), 603–620. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0007131022000021506>
- Eller, J. D., & Coughlan, R. M. (1993). The poverty of primordialism: The demystification of ethnic attachments. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 16(2), 183–202. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.1993.9993779>
- Enderson, T. (2002). *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life*. Berg.
- Erwin, K. (2017). *Teaching Millennials & Generation Z: Bridging The Generational Divide*. 23(1), 24–28.
- Escandell, X., & Ceobanu, A. M. (2010). Nationalisms and anti-immigrant sentiment in Spain. *South European Society and Politics*, 15(2), 157–179. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13608740903374486>
- Eskilson, A & Wiley, M. (1999). Solving for yhe X: Aspirations & expectations of college student. *Journal of Youth & Adolescence*, 28(1), 51–70.
- Eyerman, R. & T. (1998). Outline Of A Theory Of Generations. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 1(1), 91–106.
- Feinstein, Y. (2016). Rallying around the president: When and why do Americans close ranks behind their presidents during international crisis and war? *Social Science History*, 40(2), 305–338. <https://doi.org/10.1017/ssh.2016.5>
- Foster, J. D., & Twenge, J. M. (2003). Individual differences in narissism: Inflated

- self-views across the lifespan and around the world. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 37(6), 469–486.
- Foucault, M. (1995). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Vintage Books.
- Fox, J. ., & Miller, I. D. (2008). Everyday nationhood. *Ethnicities*, 8(4), 536–563.
- Fox, J. E. (2008). *The Crosses of Auschwitz: Nationalism and Religion in Post-Communist Poland* By Genevieve Zubrzycki University of Chicago Press. 2006. 280 pages. \$67.50 cloth, \$27.50 paper. *Social Forces*, 87(2), 1149–1150. <https://doi.org/10.1353/sof.0.0144>
- Freeden, M. (1996). *Ideologies and Political Theory: A Conceptual Approach*. Clarendon Press.
- Freeden, M. (1998). Is nationalism a distinct ideology? *Political Studies*, 46(3), 748–765.
- Frey, W. H. (2018). Analysis of US Census Bureau Population Estimates. In *Metropolitan Policy Program at Brookings*. [oogleg.com/search?q=Frey%2C+W.+H.+\(2018\).+Analysis+of+US+Census+Bureau+Population+Estimates.+Metropolitan+Policy+Program+at+Brookings.+Washington%2C+DC.&oeq=Frey%2C+W.+H.+\(2018\).+Analysis+of+US+Census+Bureau+Population+Estimates.+Metropolitan+Policy+Program](https://www.google.com/search?q=Frey%2C+W.+H.+(2018).+Analysis+of+US+Census+Bureau+Population+Estimates.+Metropolitan+Policy+Program+at+Brookings.+Washington%2C+DC.&oeq=Frey%2C+W.+H.+(2018).+Analysis+of+US+Census+Bureau+Population+Estimates.+Metropolitan+Policy+Program)
- Frey, W. H. (2020). *Analysis of Census Bureau Population Estimates*. <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/popest.html>
- Fry, R. (2015). Millennials surpass Gen Xers as the largest generation in U.S labor force. In www.pewresearch.org. <https://www.google.com/search?q=Millennials+surpass+Gen+Xers+as+the+largest+generation+in+U.S+labor+force&oeq=Millennials+surpass+Gen+Xers+as+the+largest+generation+in+U.S+labor+force&aqs=chrome..69i57.1598j0j9&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8>
- Fry, R. (2018). Millennials projected to overtake Baby Boomers as America's Largest Generation. In *Pew Research Center*. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/04/28/millennials-overtake-baby-boomers-as-americas-largest-generation/>
- Gat, A. (2013). *Nations: The Long History and Deep Roots of Political Ethnicity and Nationalism*. Cambridge University Press.
- Gayatri, D. (2004). *Mendesain instrumen pengukuran sikap*. 8(2), 76–80.
- Geboers, E., Geijsel, F., Admiraal, W., & ten Dam, G. (2013). Review of the effects of citizenship education. *Educational Research Review*, 9, 158–173. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.edurev.2012.02.001>
- Gellner, E. (1964). *Thought and Change*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Gellner, Ernest. (1983). *Nations & Nationalisme*. Cornell Univeristy Press.

- Gentile, B., Twenge, J.M & Campbell, W. K. (2001). Age & birth cohort differences in self esteem: A cross temporal meta-analysis. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 5(4), 321–344.
- Gentile, B., Twenge, J.M & Campbell, W. K. (2010). Birth cohort differences in self-esteem, 1988–2008: A Cross-temporal meta analysis. *Review of General Psychology*, 14(3), 261–268.
- Gerasymora, I., Makysmchuk, B., Bilozerova, M., Chernetska, Y., Matviichuk, T., Solovyov, V., & Maksymchuk, I. (2019). Forming professional mobility in future agricultural specialist: the sociohistorical context. *Revista Romaneasca Pentru Educatie Multidimensionala*, 11(4), 345–361.
- Ghozali, I. (2011). *Aplikasi Analisis Multivariate dengan Program SPSS*. Badan Penerbit Universitas Diponegoro.
- Giancola, F. (2006). The generation gap: more myth than reality. *Human Resources Planning*, 29(4), 32–37.
- Gidden, A. (2003). *Ustroenie abshchestva: ocherk teorii strukturatsii [The organization of society: an outline of the structuration theory]*. Akademicheskii proekt.
- Gilleard, C. (2004). Cohort and Generations in The Study of Social Change. *Social Theory and Health*, 2(1).
- Gilpin, R. (2016). The political economy of international relations. *The Political Economy of International Relations*, 1–449. <https://doi.org/10.2307/40202522>
- Giraud, M. (2000). Cultural Identity and Migrations. In *Politics of Identity*. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780333983393_4
- Green, E. (2010). Ethnicity and nationhood in precolonial Africa. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 16(1), 1–16.
- Green, E. (2013). Explaining African ethnic diversity. *International Political Science Review*, 34(3), 235–253.
- Green, E. (2020). Ethnicity, national identity and the state: Evidence from sub-Saharan Africa. *British Journal of Political Science*, 50(2), 757–779.
- Green, E. G. T., Sarrasin, O., Fasel, N., & Staerklé, C. (2011). Nationalism and patriotism as predictors of immigration attitudes in Switzerland: A municipality-level analysis. *Swiss Political Science Review*, 17(4), 369–393. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1662-6370.2011.02030.x>
- Greenfeld, L. (1992). *Nationalisme: Five Roads to Modernity*. Harvard University Press.
- Grigoryan, L. K., & Ponizovskiy, V. (2018). The three facets of national identity: Identity dynamics and attitudes toward immigrants in Russia. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 59(5–6), 403–427. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0020715218806037>

- Gross, R. E., & Zeleny. (1958). "Social Studies". In Charles W. Harris (ed). *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*. Macmillan.
- Guibernau, M. (2004). Anthony D. Smith on nations and national identity: A critical assessment. *Nations and Nationalism*, 10(1–2), 125–141. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1354-5078.2004.00159.x>
- Guilford, J. P. (1950). *Fundamental statistics in psychology and education*.
- Guttman, A. (1987). *Democratic Education*. Princeton University.
- Hacking, I. (1998). *Predstavlenie i Vmeshatelstvo. Vvedenie v filosofiui* [Presentation and intervention]. Logos.
- Halbwachs, M. (1980). *The Collective Memory*. Harper.
- Halikiopoulou, D., Mocks, S., & Vasilopoulou, S. (2013). The Civic Zeitgeist: Nationalism and liberal values in the European radical right. *Nations and Nationalism*, 19, 504–539.
- Hall, C. M. (1997). Dissonant heritage: The management of the past as a resource in conflict. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 24(2), 496–498. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383\(97\)80033-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(97)80033-3)
- Harmadi, M. B. R., Adiguna, A. J., Putri, D. C. S., Banuati, N., Pambudi, A. L., & Broto, L. S. W. (2022). Moral Education and Social Attitudes of the Young Generation: Challenges for Indonesia and the International Community. *Jurnal Panjar: Pengabdian Bidang Pembelajaran*, 4(2), 173–222. <https://journal.unnes.ac.id/sju/index.php/panjar/index>
- Harris, A. (2013). Unpacking Civic Engagement: The Sociopolitical Involvement of Same-Gender Loving Black Women. *Journal of Lesbian Studies*, 17(2), 195–207. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10894160.2012.711679>
- Herek, G. M. (1986). The instrumentality of attitudes: Toward a neofunctional theory. *Journal of Social Issues*, 42(2), 99–114. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1986.tb00227.x>
- Heywood, A. (2003). *Political ideologies: An introduction*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hjerm, M., & Schnabel, A. (2010). Mobilizing nationalist sentiments: Which factors affect nationalist sentiments in Europe? *Social Science Research*, 39(4), 527–539. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2010.03.006>
- Hobsbawm, E. (1990). *Nations and nationalisme since 1780*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hobsbawm, E. J. (1992). *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CCOL0521439612>
- Hobsbawm, E., & Ranger, T. (2012). *The Invention of Tradition* (Eric Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (Eds.)). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107295636>
- Hobsbawm, E., & Ranger T. (1983). *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge

University Press.

- Hoffmann, S., & Ignatieff, M. (1994). Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism. *Foreign Affairs*, 73(3), 148. <https://doi.org/10.2307/20046666>
- Holdbrook, M.B. & Schindler, R. M. (1989). Some Exploratory Findings On The Development Of Musical Tasted. *Journal of Comsumen Research*, 16(1), 119–124.
- Holdbrook, M.B. & Schindler, R. M. (1994). Age, Sex, and Attitude Toward The Past As Predictors Of Consumens Aesthetic Tastes For Cultural Product. *Journal Of Marketing Research*, 31(3), 412–422.
- Honohan, I. (2002). Civic republicanism. In *The Routledge Companion to Education*. British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203802243>
- Howe, N, & Strauss, W. (2009). *Millenials rising: The next greta generation*. Vintage Books.
- Howe, Neil. (2018). Are Homelander’s Overruled? In *Forbes*. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/neilhowe/2018/04/17/are-homelander-kids-overruled/?sh=46b22f2678b8>
- Howe, Neil, & Strauss, W. (1991). *Generations: The history of America’s Future, 1584 to 2069*. William Morrow & Company.
- Howe, Neil, & Strauss, W. (1997). *The Fourth Turning: What the Cycles of History Tell Us About America’s Next Rendezvous with Destiny*. Broadway Books.
- Huddy, L., & Khatib, N. (2007). American Patriotism, National Identity, and Political Involvement. *American Journal of Political Science*, 51(1), 63–77. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2007.00237.x>
- Hui-Chun, Y. & M. P. (2003). The generation gap and cultural influence: A Taiwan empirical investigation. *Cross Cultural Management*, 10(3), 23–41.
- Hui-Chun, Y. & M. P. (2005). Leadership Style: The X generation and Baby Boomers Compared indifferent cultural contexts. *Leadership & Organisation Development*, 26(1–2), 35–50.
- Hutchinson, J. (1994). *Modern nationalism*. Fontana.
- Jones, F. L., & Smith, P. (2001). Diversity and Commonality in National Identities: An Exploratory Analysis of Cross-National Patterns. *Journal of Sociology*, 37(1), 45–63. <https://doi.org/10.1177/144078301128756193>
- Joshi,A., Dencker,J.C., Franz, G. & Martocchio, J. J. (2010). Unpacking Generational Identities In Organizations. *Academy Of Management Review*, 35(3), 392–414.
- Julien, M., & Centeno, M. A. (2004). Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America. *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 45(3), 594. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3323095>

- JUNG, J. K. (2008). Growing supranational identities in a globalising world? A multilevel analysis of the World Values Surveys. *European Journal of Political Research*, 47(5), 578–609. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2008.00779.x>
- Jung, Y. (2015). A New Culture of Learning: Cultivating the Imagination for a World of Constant Change. *Studies in Art Education*, 56(3), 281–283. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00393541.2015.11518969>
- Kaldor, M. (2004). Nationalism and Globalisation. *Nations and Nationalism*, 10(1–2), 161–177. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1354-5078.2004.00161.x>
- Karashchuk, O. S., Mayorova, E. A., Nikishin, A. F., & Kornilova, O. V. (2020). The Method for Determining Time-Generation Range. *SAGE Open*, 10(4). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244020968082>
- Kaufmann, E. (2014). *Ethnic or Civic Nation ? : Theorizing the American Case* *ETHNIC OR CIVIC NATION ? : THEORIZING THE AMERICAN CASE*. January 2000.
- Kaviani, K. (Khodi). (2006). Influences on Social Studies Teachers' Issue-Selection for Classroom Discussion: Social Positioning and Media. *Social Studies Research and Practice*, 1(2), 201–222. <https://doi.org/10.1108/SSRP-02-2006-B0004>
- Kedourie, E. (1960). *Nationalisme*. Blackwell.
- Kedourie, E. (ed). (1971). *Nationalism in Asia and Africa*. Frank Cass.
- Kenrick, D. (2012). Six degrees of social influence: Science, application, and the psychology of Robert Cialdini. In D. T. Kenrick, N. J. Goldstein, & S. L. Braver (Eds.), *Six degrees of social influence: Science, application, and the psychology of Robert Cialdini*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:osobl/9780199743056.001.0001>
- Kideckel, D. A. (2007). Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town. By Rogers Brubaker, Margit Feischmidt, Jon Fox, and Liana Grancea. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006. xxiii, 439 pp. Appendixes. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Plates. Photographs. *Slavic Review*, 66(3), 509–512. <https://doi.org/10.2307/20060299>
- Kinnvall, C. (2004). Globalization and Religious Nationalism: Self, Identity, and the Search for Ontological Security. *Political Psychology*, 25(5), 741–767. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2004.00396.x>
- Kivimäki, T. (2009). Hobsbawm, Eric, 2007. Globalization, Democracy and Terrorism. London: Little, Brown. 192 pp. ISBN 9780316027823. *Journal of Peace Research*, 46(1), 150–151. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00223433090460010910>
- Kligler-Vilenchik, N., Tsifti, Y. & Meyers, O. (2014). Setting The Collective Memory Agenda: Examining Mainstream Media Influence on Individualis' Perceptions Of The Past. *Memory Studies*, 7(4), 484–499.

- Köse, A., & Yilmaz, M. (2012). Flagging Turkishness: The reproduction of banal nationalism in the Turkish press. *Nationalities Papers*, 40(6), 909–925. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00905992.2012.742495>
- Kose, T. (2013). Between nationalism, modernism and secularism: The ambivalent place of “Alevi identities.” *Middle Eastern Studies*, 49(4), 590–607. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00263206.2013.798309>
- KRIESI, H., GRANDE, E., LACHAT, R., DOLEZAL, M., BORNSCHIER, S., & FREY, T. (2006). Globalization and the transformation of the national political space: Six European countries compared. *European Journal of Political Research*, 45(6), 921–956. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.2006.00644.x>
- Kumar, D. V. (2010). Gellnerian Theory of Nation and Nationalism: A Critical Appraisal. *Sociological Bulletin*, 59(3), 136–150. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038022920100305>
- Kunovich, R. M. (2009). The sources and consequences of national identification. *American Sociological Review*, 74(4), 573–593. <https://doi.org/10.1177/000312240907400404>
- Kupperschmidt, B. (2006). Addressing multigenerational conflict: Mutual respect and carefronting as strategy. *Online Journal of Issues in Nursing*.
- Kymlicka, W. (1995). *Multicultural Citizenship*. Oxford University Press.
- LAWSON, S. (2007). Australia: Nation, Belonging, and Globalization by Anthony Moran. *Nations and Nationalism*, 13(1), 174–175. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2007.00274_12.x
- Leung, L. (2004). Next-generation attributes and seductive properties of the internet as predictors of online activities and internet. *Cyber Psychology and Behaviour*, 7(3), 333–348.
- Li, Q., & Brewer, M. B. (2004). What Does It Mean to Be an American? Patriotism, Nationalism, and American Identity After 9/11. *Political Psychology*, 25(5), 727–739. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2004.00395.x>
- Lub, X. D., Bal, M., Blomme, R. J., & Schalk, R. (2014). Why do generational difference in psychological contracts exist? In E. Parry (Ed). In *Routledge*.
- Lub, X. D., Bijvank, M. N., Bal, P. B., Blome, R., & Schalk, R. (2012). Different or a like? Exploring the psychological contract and commitment of different generations of hospitality workers. In *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management. In proceedings*.
- Lyons, S. T., Duxbury, L. E., & Higgins, C. A. (2006). A Comparison of the values and commitment of private sector, public sector and parapublic sector employees. *Public Administration Review*, 66(4), 605–618.
- Lyons, S. T., & Higgins, C. A. (2010). Work values: Development of a new three-dimensional structure based on confirmatory smallest space analysis. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 31(7), 969–1002.

- Majhanovich, S., & Malet, R. (2015). *Building Democracy through Education on Diversity* (S. Majhanovich & R. Malet (Eds.)). SensePublishers. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-6300-259-2>
- Malesevic, S. (2013). Siniša Malešević, Nation-States and Nationalisms: Organization, Ideology and Solidarity. In *Polity Press* (Vol. 40, Issue 1). <https://doi.org/10.29173/cjs24143>
- Malesevic, S. (2018). *Nations-States and Nationalism*. Polity Press.
- Malesevic, S. (2019). *Grounded Nationalism*. Cambridge University Press.
- Malešević, S. (2020). Grounded Nationalism and Cultural Diversity. *Religion and Neo-Nationalism in Europe*, 85–98. <https://doi.org/10.5771/9783748905059-85>
- Mannheim, K. (1952). The problem of generations. *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge: Collected Works*, 5, 276–322.
- MARGALIT, A. (2002). Front Matter. In *The Ethics of Memory* (pp. I–VI). Harvard University Press. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv1smjv21.1>
- Martono, M., Dewantara, J. A., Efriani, E., & Prasetyo, W. H. (2022). The national identity on the border: Indonesian language awareness and attitudes through multi-ethnic community involvement. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 50(1), 111–125. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.22505>
- MAU, S., MEWES, J., & ZIMMERMANN, A. (2008). Cosmopolitan attitudes through transnational social practices? *Global Networks*, 8(1), 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2008.00183.x>
- May, V., Byrne, B., Holmes, H., & Takhar, S. (2020). Introduction: Nationalism's Futures. *Sociology*, 54(6), 1055–1071. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038520969316>
- Mayo, P., Studies, E., Education, A. C., Education, I., Hickling-hudson, A., Darder, A., Studies, E. P., Borg, C., Baldacchino, J., Chan, J., Columbia, B., Fox, C., Gregoriou, Z., Tikly, L., & Brock-utne, B. (n.d.). *Palgrave Macmillan 's Postcolonial Studies in Education Series Editors : Editorial Advisory Board*.
- McMullin, J., Comeau, T& Jovic, E. (2007). Generational Affinities and Discourses of Differenc: A Case Study of Highly Skilled Information Technology Wokers. *British Journal of Political Science*, 58(2), 297–316.
- McCrae, R. R., Costa, P. T. J., Ostendorf, F., Angleitner, A., Hiebackova, M., Avia, M. D., & Saunders, P. R. (2000). Nature over nurture: Temperament, personality, and life span development. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 78(1), 173–186.
- McCrae, R. R., Costa, P. T. J., Ostendorf, F., Angleitner, A., Hiebackova, M., Avia, M. D., & Saunders, P. R. (2002). Personality trait development from age 12 to age 18: Longitudinal, cross-sectional and cross-cultural analyses. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 83(6), 1456–1468.

- McCrindle, M. (2008). The ABC of XYZ: Generational diversity at work. In *McCrindle Research Pty Ltd*.
- McNeill, D., & Tewdwr-Jones, M. (2003). Architecture, banal nationalism and re-territorialization. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27(3), 738–743. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.00479>
- Melnyk, N., Bidyuk, N., Kalenskyi, A., Maksymchuk, B., Bakhmat, N., Matviienko, O., Mathviichuk, T., Solovyov, V., Golub, N., & Maksymchuk, I. (2019). Models and organizational characteristic of preschool teacher's professional training in some EU countries and Ukraine. *Zbornik Instituta Za Pedagozka Istrazivanja*, 51(1), 46–93.
- Mijs, J. J. B., Bakhtiari, E., & Lamont, M. (2016). Neoliberalism and Symbolic Boundaries in Europe: Global Diffusion, Local Context, Regional Variation. *Socius*, 2, 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2378023116632538>
- Miller, D., & Ali, S. (2016). Testing the national identity argument. *European Political Science Review*, 6(2), 237–259.
- Miller, David. (2016). Citizenship and National Identity. In *Democracy* (pp. 447–449). Columbia University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7312/blau17412-095>
- Minto, R. (2009). *Pengaruh Nasionalisme dan Perubahan Sosial Terhadap Pergerakan Mahasiswa di Era Reformasi (Studi Kasus di Universitas Indonesia)*.
- Moreau, J. (2003). *Schoolbook Nation*. University of Michigan Press. <https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.17736>
- Morozova, L., Morozova, O., Drabovska, V., Hrechanovska, O., Martirosian, L., & Benera, V. (2021). Formation of National Culture and National Consciousness in the Postmodern Society. *Postmodern Openings*, 12(1Sup1), 257–270. <https://doi.org/10.18662/po/12.1sup1/283>
- Mosse, G. (1975). *The Nationalization of the Masses*. Howard Fertig.
- Mueller, D. J. (1992). *Mengukur Sikap Sosial Pegangan untuk Peneliti dan Praktisi*. Radar Jaya Offset.
- Nerubasska, A., & Maksymchuk, B. (2020). The demarkation of creativity, talent and genius in humans: a systemic aspect. *Postmodern Openings*, 11(2), 240–255.
- Ng, E S, & Burke, R. J. (2006). The next generation at work-business students' views, values and job search strategy: Implications for universities and employers. *Education + Training*, 48(7), 478–492.
- Ng, E S, & McGinnis, J. (2015). Millennials: Who are they, how are they different and why should we care. In *Edward Elgar Publishing*.
- Ng, Eddy S, & Parry, E. (2016). Multigenerational research in human resource management. *Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management*, 34, 1–41. <https://doi.org/10.1108/S0742-730120160000034008>

- No Title. (n.d.).
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199927371.001.0001>
- Nora, P. (2011). *Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire*. 26, 7–24.
- Nora, P., & Kritzman, L. D. (1996). Realms of memory : rethinking the French past. In *European perspectives TA - TT -*. Columbia University Press.
<https://doi.org/LK> - <https://worldcat.org/title/33819236>
- Norris, P. (2001). *Digital divide: Civic Engagement, Information Poverty, and the Internet Worldwide* (pp. 48–50).
https://www.academia.edu/2750047/Digital_divide_Civic_engagement_information_poverty_and_the_Internet_worldwide
- Norris, P. (2002). Democratic Phoenix. In *Democratic Phoenix* (Issue January). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511610073>
- Norris, P., & Inglehart, R. (2004). *Cultural Diversity in a Globalized World*.
- O’Learyz.ast, B. (1997). On the nature of nationalism: An appraisal of Ernest Gellner’s writings on nationalism. *British Journal of Political Science*, 27(2), 191–222. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0007123497000112>
- Olofsson, A., & Öhman, S. (2007). Cosmopolitans and Locals. *Current Sociology*, 55(6), 877–895. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392107081991>
- Olson, M. (1999). *Why We Evaluate* (G. R. Maio & J. M. Olson (Eds.)). Psychology Press. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781410602138>
- Ossewaarde, M. (2007). Cosmopolitanism and the society of strangers. *Current Sociology*, 55(3), 367–388. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392107076081>
- Ozkirimli, U. (2017). *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*,. Palgrave.
- Palmer, C. (2003). Touring Churchill’s England: Rituals of kinship and belonging. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 30(2), 426–445. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383\(02\)00100-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(02)00100-7)
- Parekh, B. (1993). A misconceived dicourse on political obligation. *Political Studies*, 41(2).
- Parekh, Bhikhu. (2008). *A New Politics of Identity* (p. 317). file:///C:/Users/Iqbal Ar/AppData/Local/Mendeley Ltd./Mendeley Desktop/Downloaded/Parekh - 2008 - A New Politics of Identity.pdf
- Park, H. yu. (2011). Shared national memory as intangible heritage: Re-imagining Two Koreas as One Nation. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38(2), 520–539. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2010.11.013>
- Park, R. (2011). *Izbrannyye ocherki*. INION RAN.
- Parker-Pope, T. (2010). An ugly toll of technology: Impatience and forgerfulness. In *New York Times*, 6 June.
- Parry, E & Urwin, P. (2011). Generational Differences In Work Values: A Review

- of Theory and Evidence. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 13(1), 79–96.
- Parsons, T. (1982). *Kritika teorii “sotsialnogo deistviia” [Criticism of the social action theory]*. INION AN SSSR.
- Pasker, B., & Chusmir, L. (1990). A generational and sex-based view of managerial work values. *Psychological Reports*, 66, 947–950.
- Pehrson, S., & Brown, R. (2009). *National Identification and Anti-Immigrant Prejudice* 25. 72(1), 24–38.
- Petrack, A. (2013). Learning “how society is and might and should be arranged.” In M. Print & D. Lange (Eds.), *Civic education and competences for engaging citizens in democracies*. Sense Publisher. file:///C:/Users/Iqbal Ar/AppData/Local/Mendeley Ltd./Mendeley Desktop/Downloaded/Print - 2013 - Competencies for democratic Citizenship in Europe.pdf
- Pettit, P. (1993). Liberalism and Republicanism. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 28(4), 162–189. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00323269308402274>
- Pew Research Center. (2018). Early Benchmarks Show “Post-millennials” on Track to Be Most Diverse, Best-Educated Generation Yet. In *Pew Research Center*. <https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2018/11/15/early-benchmarks-show-post-millennials-on-track-to-be-most-diverse-best-educated-generation-yet/>
- Phillips, A. (2000). Feminism and republicanism: is this a plausible alliance? *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 8(2), 279–293.
- Piwoni, E. (2019). Giving Back to the World, the Nation and the Family: Cosmopolitan Meaning-making and Notions of Solidarity Among Young Elite Students. *YOUNG*, 27(5), 520–536. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1103308818817633>
- Plamenatz, J. (1973). *Nationalism: The nature and Evolution of an idea*. Canberra University Press.
- Poole, R. (2012). *Nation and Identity*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203209158>
- Poole, Ro. (1999). *Nation and Identity*. Routledge.
- Prensky, M. (2014). Digital Natives, Digital Immigrants. *From Digital Natives to Digital Wisdom: Hopeful Essays for 21st Century Learning*, 67–85. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781483387765.n6>
- Putri, L. D., & Ahmad, N. D. (2024). Rayakan Ulang Tahun Ke-117, Orang Tertua di Dunia Hidup Sehat Tanpa Penyakit Kardiovaskular. In *Kompas.com*. [ompas.com/tren/read/2024/03/07/191500465/rayakan-ulang-tahun-ke-117-orang-tertua-di-dunia-hidup-sehat-tanpa-penyakit?page=all#:\\$~\\$:text=KOMPAS.com](https://kompas.com/tren/read/2024/03/07/191500465/rayakan-ulang-tahun-ke-117-orang-tertua-di-dunia-hidup-sehat-tanpa-penyakit?page=all#:$~$:text=KOMPAS.com)
- Pyszczynski, T., Greenberg, J., Solomon, S., Arndt, J., & Schimel, J. (2004). Why

- Do People Need Self-Esteem? A Theoretical and Empirical Review. *Psychological Bulletin*, 130(3), 435–468. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.130.3.435>
- Raijman, R., Davidov, E., Schmidt, P., & Hochman, O. (2008). What Does a Nation Owe Non-Citizens? *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 49(2–3), 195–220. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0020715208088912>
- Renan, E. (1994). *Apakah Bangsa Itu ?* (Sunario (Ed.)). Alumni.
- Rhodes, S. (1983). Age-related differences in work- attitudes and behaviours: A review and conceptual analysis. *Psychological Bulletin*, 93(2), 328–367.
- Roberto, K.J & Biggan, J. R. (2014). *Keen, Groovy, Wicked or Phat: Generational Stereotyping and Social Identity*. In E Parry (Ed).
- Robinson, A. (2014). National versus ethnic identification in Africa: Modernization, colonial legacy, and the origins of territorial nationalism. *World Politics*, 66(4), 709–746.
- Roudometof, V. (2014). Nationalism, globalization and glocalization. *Thesis Eleven*, 122(1), 18–33. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0725513614535700>
- Rousseau, D. M. (2001). Schema, promises and mutuality: The building block of the psychological contact. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 74(4), 511–542.
- Rudolph C, W. (2015). A note on the folly of cross-sectional operationalizations of generations. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, 8(3), 362–366.
- Ryder, N. (1965). The cohort as a concept in the study of social change. *American Sociological Review*, 6, 843–861.
- Sagoff, M. (2016). *Review : The Limits of Justice Author (s) : Mark Sagoff Review by : Mark Sagoff The Limits of Justice*. 92(6), 1065–1081. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.2307/796284>
- Sandel, M. (1996). *Discontent: America in Search of a Public Philosophy*. MA: Harvard University Press.
- Schatz, R. T., & Lavine, H. (2007). Waving the flag: National symbolism, social identity, and political engagement. *Political Psychology*, 28(3), 329–355. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2007.00571.x>
- Schildkraut, D. J. (2003). American identity and attitudes toward official-English policies. *Political Psychology*, 24(3), 469–499. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0162-895X.00337>
- Schuman, H. & Scott, J. (1989). Generations and Collective Memories. *American Sociological Review*, 54(3), 359–381.
- Scuman, H. & Corning, A. (2012). Generational Memory and The Critical Period: Evidence for National and Worlds Events. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 76(1), 1–31.

- Segura, G. M. (2005). Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity. *Perspectives on Politics*, 3(03). <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592705460259>
- Sekneg. (2003). *Undang-Undang No. 20 Tahun 2003 tentang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional*.
- Setiawan, J., Aman, & Wulandari, T. (2020). Understanding Indonesian history, interest in learning history and national insight with nationalism attitude. *International Journal of Evaluation and Research in Education*, 9(2), 364–373. <https://doi.org/10.11591/ijere.v9i2.20474>
- Shatto, B., & Erwin, K. (2016). Moving on from Millenials:Preparing For Generation Z. *The Journal of Continuing Education in Nursing*, 47, 253–254. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.3928/00220124-20160518-05>
- Sheralievich, B. N. (2022). *The Influence Of National Consciousness And Mentality On The Democracy Of Society*. 6(10), 4464–4474.
- Sheremet, M., Leniz, Z., Loboda, V., & Maksymchuk, B. (2019). The development level of smart information criterion for specialists' readiness for inclusion implementation in education. *Information Technologies and Learning Tools*, 72, 273–285.
- SHULMAN, S. (2002). Challenging the Civic/Ethnic and West/East Dichotomies in the Study of Nationalism. *Comparative Political Studies*, 35(5), 554–585. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414002035005003>
- SIMONSEN, K. B. (2016). Ripple effects: An exclusive host national context produces more perceived discrimination among immigrants. *European Journal of Political Research*, 55(2), 374–390. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.12131>
- Skey, M. (2011). National belonging and everyday life: The significance of nationhood in an uncertain world. In *National Belonging and Everyday Life: The Significance of Nationhood in an Uncertain World*. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230353893>
- Skitka, L. J. (2005). Patriotism or Nationalism? Understanding Post-September 11, 2001, Flag-Display Behavior1. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 35(10), 1995–2011. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2005.tb02206.x>
- Skrbis, Z. (2008). Book Review: *Cosmopolitan Vision* Ulrich Beck Cambridge, UK and Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2006, x +201 pp. (paperback). *Journal of Sociology*, 44(1), 102–104. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14407833080440010602>
- Slamet, A., Hidayat, D. R., Suryadi, K., & Aprilliani, D. S. (2020). *Millennial Generation in West Java Governor Election: Political Communication and Information Media*. 391, 28–32. <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.200108.006>
- Small, S. (2017). Artifacts and allegiances: how museums put the nation and the world on display. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 40(3), 565–567. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2016.1229497>

- Smith-Lovin, L. (2007). The Strength of Weak Identities: Social Structural Sources of Self, Situation and Emotional Experience. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 70(2), 106–124. <https://doi.org/10.1177/019027250707000203>
- Smith, A. (1991). *National Identity*. Penguin Books.
- Smith, A. (1992). National identity and The Idea of European Unity. *International Affairs*, 68(1), 55–76.
- Smith, A. (1995). Gastronomy or geology? the role of nationalism in the reconstruction of nations. *Nations and Nationalism*, 1(1), 3–23.
- Smith, A. (2008). *The cultural foundations of nations: Hierarchy, Covenant and the Republic*. Blackwell.
- Smith, A. (2010). *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History*. Polity.
- Smith, A. D. (1991). *National Identity*. University of Nevada Press.
- Smith, A. D. (2010). *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History*. Polity.
- Smith, Anthony D. (1994). The problem of national identity: Ancient, medieval and modern? *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 17(3), 375–399. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.1994.9993832>
- Smola, K. W. & Sutton, C. D. (2002). Generational differences: Revisiting generational work values for the new millennium. *Journal of Organizational Behaviour*, 23(4), 363–382.
- Sugito, N., Aulia, R., & Rukmana, L. (2021). *Pancasila as the Establishing Ideology of Nationalism Indonesian Young Generation*. 524(Icce 2020), 177–182. <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.210204.027>
- Sugiyono. (2003). *Metode Penelitian*. Alfabeta.
- Suharsimi, & Arikunto. (1998). *Prosedur Penelitian Suatu Pendekatan Praktek*. Rieneka Cipta.
- Surak, K. (2011). From Selling Tea to Selling Japaneseness: Symbolic Power and the Nationalization of Cultural Practices. *European Journal of Sociology*, 52(2), 175–208. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003975611000087>
- Suryadi, K. (1999). Demokratisasi Pendidikan Demokrasi. *Mimbar Pendidikan*, 1, 23.
- Swank, D. (2003). Globalization, the welfare state and right-wing populism in Western Europe. *Socio-Economic Review*, 1(2), 215–245. <https://doi.org/10.1093/soceco/1.2.215>
- Swidler, A. (1986). Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies. *American Sociological Review*, 51(2), 273. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2095521>
- Tajfel, H. (Ed). (1978). *Differentiation Between Social Groups: Studies In The Social Psychology Of Intergroup Relations Vol.XV*. Academic Press.
- Takei, M. (1998). Collective memory as the key to national and ethnic identity: The

- case of Cambodia. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 4(3), 59–78. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13537119808428538>
- Tamir, Y. (1995). *Liberal Nationalism*. Princenton University Press.
- Tamir, Y. (2018). *Why Nationalism*. Princenton University Press.
- Taylor, P., & Gao, G. (2014). Generation X: America's neglected "middle child." In *Pew Research Center*. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/06/05/generation-x-americas-neglected-middle-child/>
- Tevzadze, N. (1994). National identity and national consciousness. *History of European Ideas*, 19(1–3), 437–440. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0191-6599\(94\)90245-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/0191-6599(94)90245-3)
- Tilley, J., & Heath, A. (2007). The decline of British national pride 1. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 58(4), 661–678. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-4446.2007.00170.x>
- Tonge, J., Mycock, A., & Jeffery, B. (2012). Does Citizenship Education Make Young People Better-Engaged Citizens? *Political Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2011.00931.x>
- Turner. (1998). Ageing and Generational Conflict: A Reply to Sarah Irwin. *British Journal of Political Science*, 49(2), 299–304.
- Turner, J. C., & Reynolds, K. J. (2016). Self-Categorization Theory. In *Handbook of Theories of Social Psychology* (pp. 399–417). SAGE Publications Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781446249222.n46>
- Twenge, J.M, Konrath, S, Foster, J.D, Campbell, K.W & Bushman, B. J. (2008). Egos inflating overtime: A cross-temporal meta-analysis of the narcissistic personality inventory. *Journal of Personality*, 76(4), 875–902.
- Twenge, J.M., Campbell, S. M., Hoffman, B.J & Lane, C. E. (2010). Generational differences in work values: Leisure and extrinsic values increasing, social and intrinsic values decreasing. 2010, 36(5), 1117–1142.
- Twenge, J M. (2013). The evidence for generation me and against generation we. *Emerging Adulthood*, 1(1), 11–16.
- Twenge, J M, & Campbell, S. M. (2012). Who are the millennials? Empirical evidence for generational differences in work values, attitudes and personality. In *Edward Elgar Publishing*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Twenge, J M, & Campbell, W. K. (2009). *The narcissism epidemic: Living in the age of entitlement*. Simon and Schuster.
- Twenge, Jean.M. (2017). *iGen Why today's Super-Connected Kids Are Growing Up Less Rebellious, More Tolerant, Less Happy-and Completely Unprepared for Adulthood*. Atria Books.
- Urlick, M.J, Hollensbe, E. C. (2014). *Toward and Identity-Based Perspective of Generations In E. Parry (Ed). Generational Diversity At Work: New Research*

Perspectives Abingdon. Routledge.

- Urwin, P., Buscha, F. & Parry, E. (2014). *Back to basics: Is there a significant generational dimension and where does the "cut" lie?* In E. Parry (Ed). Routledge.
- van Loon, A., Goldberg, A., & Srivastava, S. B. (2024). Imagined otherness fuels blatant dehumanization of outgroups. *Communications Psychology*, 2(1). <https://doi.org/10.1038/s44271-024-00087-4>
- Wagner-Pacifi, R., & Schwartz, B. (1991). The Vietnam Veterans Memorial: Commemorating a Difficult Past. *American Journal of Sociology*, 97(2), 376–420. <https://doi.org/10.1086/229783>
- Wahab, A. A., & Sapriya. (2011). *Teori dan Landasan Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan*. Alfabeta CV.
- Westerman, J. W., Bergman, J. Z., Bergman, S. M., & Daly, J. P. (2011). Are universities creating millennial narcissistic employees? An empirical examination of narcissism in business students and its implications. *Journal of Management Education*, 36(1), 5–32.
- Wikipedia, (n.a). (n.d.). *Social constructionism*. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_constructionism
- Williamson, K., Bannister, M., & Sullivan, J. (2010). *The crossover generation : Baby boomers and the role of the public library*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0961000610368917>
- Wimmer, A. (2002). *Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflict: Shadows of Modernity*. Cambridge University Press.
- Wimmer, A. (2008a). Elementary strategies of ethnic boundary making. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 31(6), 1025–1055.
- Wimmer, A. (2008b). The making and unmaking of ethnic boundaries: A multi-level process theory. *American Journal of Sociology*, 113(4), 970–1122.
- Wimmer, A. (2013). *Waves of War: Nationalism, State Formation and Ethnic Exclusion in the Modern World*. Cambridge University Press.
- Wimmer, A. (2018). *Nation building: Why some countries come together while others fall apart*. Princeton University Press.
- Wojciechowska, M. (2023). Civic activity of librarians versus social engagement and individual social capital. *Journal of Librarianship and Information Science*, 55(2), 444–463. <https://doi.org/10.1177/09610006221090954>
- Woo, A. (2018). *The Forgotten Generation: Let's talk about generation X*. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/forbesagencycouncil/2018/11/14/the-forgotten-generation-lets-talk-about-generation-x/?sh=476a419e76d5>
- Wright, M. (2011). Diversity and the imagined community: Immigrant diversity and conceptions of national identity. *Political Psychology*, 32(5), 837–862. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2011.00843.x>

- Wright, M., & Citrin, J. (2011). Saved by the stars and stripes? images of protest, salience of threat, and immigration attitudes. *American Politics Research*, 39(2), 323–343. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1532673X10388140>
- Yakob, R. (2009). Grown Up Digital: How the Net Generation is Changing Your World. In *International Journal of Advertising* (Vol. 28, Issue 1). <https://doi.org/10.2501/s0265048709090490>
- Zajda, J., & Majhanovich, S. (2021). *Globalisation, Cultural Identity and Nation-Building* (J. Zajda & S. Majhanovich (Eds.); Vol. 23). Springer Netherlands. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-024-2014-2>
- Zhuojun, W., & Hualing, H. (2014). National Identity in the Era of Globalization: Crisis and Reconstruction. *Social Sciences in China*, 35(2), 139–154. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02529203.2014.900889>
- Zurn, M. (2001). Politic in der postnationalen konsellation:uber das elend des methodologischen nationalismus. *Koln:Wissenschaft Und Politic*, 181–203.
- Zytowski, D. G. (1970). The concept of work values. *Vocational Guidance Quarterly*, 18(3), 176–186.