CONTESTING INDONESIA IN CHILDREN'S FILMS: AN ANALYSIS OF LANGUAGE USE AND *MISE-EN-SCÈNE*

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Abstract

This research aims to investigate and interpret nationalism in Indonesian films for children with local settings. Four films for children –*Garuda Di Dadaku* (2009), *Di TimurMatahari* (2011), *Serdadu Kumbang* (2011), dan *Tanah Surga…katanya* (2012)- are analyzed with reference to the theoretical assumption of film as a form system covering its language use and *mise-en-scène* (Bordwell& Thomson, 2010). Employing a formal system analysis, aspects of nationalism were constructed and interpreted using Bhabha's (2000) *dissemination* theory and a seminal theory of ideology in children and teenagers' literary texts by Hollindale (1988). Results show that nationalism is presented 1) through the films' mise-en-scène which generates attachment to the Indonesian nation; 2) in abstract notions through the films interconnection with aspects of humanity, social justice, and unity; 3) the use of children characters' points of view. The presentation implied that, in the context of building nationalism, the constructed meanings from exposures on nationalism originated in local issues as well as socio-cultural issues have placed children in an instrumental role as the glue in the weaving of Indonesian nationalism. These findings generate three implications: (1) giving inputs about the kind of texts for children which focus on children's point of view; (2) encouraging the exposure of localities to raise the sense of nationalism; and (3) preparing practical ways to empower film as part of national character building in teaching children.

Keywords: Indonesian films for children, nationalism, identity, children character, children literature

In the globalized world like today, character building is one of the issues that Indonesian government and its people are concerned about. Many have shown concern regarding the diminishing values and traditions believed to be true such as *gotongroyong* –a concept of community collaboration,- tolerance, and respect for elders, particularly among Indonesian youth. These values are replaced by the more modern ideas such as individuality and even self-centredness. Therefore, many efforts have been taken recently on sustaining local wisdoms in the midst of globalization. Besides character education designed by the government, efforts are carried out by non-formal sectors, one of which is the rising production of films for children with didactic messages like respecting elders, sustaining nationalism. The trend becomes more pronounced with the emergence of the Reform Era after 1998.

Film is an effective medium to relay various messages –in this case, and among others, ideology. Film does not only give visual presentation to make it easer for the audience to understand the story, but also to enable the presented images stay longer in the audience's mind. It is not surprising that films are then made as a means of propaganda. For example during World War II films were produced in USA to raise the sympathy and patriotism of American people. Films are then utilized as a means of familiarizing new ideas. For example, pre-1970s Hollywood cowboy films were more often than not portrayed Indian Americans as villains and the white as heroes. However, in 1990s, starting *Dances with Wolves*, the cowboy films started to relay a new image of the Indian Americans. They were given a new different portrayal as the victims of the white American's cruelty (Pramaggiore & Wallis, 2008). In Indonesia, one of the examples of films as a means of propaganda can be traced in *Si Unyil,* a 1980s television series for children, which relayed the ideology of the New Order regime. These are some evidence of film utilization as a means to propagate ideas to children as well.

Therefore, there is a growing interest in doing research on films for children. This is because, in addition to the fact that films are a propaganda tool, theoretical propositions on texts (including film) for children and young adults believe that they are essentially didactic and function as a facility to form character and identity (see Hunt, 1994) and Ewers (2009). This seems to be widely acknowledged in the film industry as, many producers intentionally produce films which are not only entertaining but also relaying ideology which is also the case among Indonesian producers. There are producers who are noted for their recurrence production of films which take up nationalism as a backdrop for children films.

With the rising production of Indonesian films for children and the opportunity to nurture nationalism through film combined with the concern about the diminishing nationalism among today's young generation, this study aims to investigate nationalism in four Indonesian films for children: *Garuda di Dadaku* (2009), *Di Timur Matahari* (2011), *Serdadu Kumbang* (2011), dan *Tanah Surga…katanya* (2012). More specifically, the research was focused on the following guiding questions: (1) how nationalism is presented in four local-based Indonesian films for children, and (2) in the context of building nationalism, what possible meanings can be formed from the presentation?—.The questions will be answered by considering film as a multimodal text which can be analyzed from its various components one of which is language use. According to O' Halloran (n.d, 1) language is not confined to words, but also other means of communications of meanings within text. In his explanation, O'Halloran includes into language: gesture, gaze, proxemics, dress, visual and aural art, image-text relation and page layout, cinematographic and sound design and production resources etc. Therefore, this study is an examination into language use, which together with mise-en-scène, is also part of the cinematography aspect.

LITERATURE REVIEW
Nasionalism and Globalisation

Many people take it for granted that a nation is synonymous to a country. Although it applies to many cases, it is not entirely true. A person may live in a particular country without having a sense of belonging to that country. As such, according to Anderson (2006), a nation is an imagined community since all members of that nation who might not be acquainted to one another or might not be able to visit every part of the country have to accept the idea of being a member of the nation. They have to imagine themselves as part of the nation and to be interpellated –to be called, into a bigger community. With this definition a nation only exists when the members are 'called' to be part and participating in that community. The greater the sense of nationalism –the feeling of love, pride and patriotism towards the nation, the greater is the interpellation to achieve the same goal (Zetterberg-Pattersson, 2005). Bhabha (2000) proposed his theory on *DissemiNation*. He explains that nationalism can be disseminated in two ways: pedagogically and performatively. Pedagogically, nationalism must be purposefully taught; whereas, performative dissemination means that nationalism is something that need to be carried out, exexercised or practiced. The two ways, as implied from Bhabha, share the potential to implant and nurture nationalism in children.

However, globalization has made it possible for nations to interrelate and to share interdependencies in a constellation of global networks. Jang and Paik (2012) as well as Lewis and Docter (2011) assert that globalization creates a network of societies which, although clustered in nature, is interconnected to one another in a complex process of economics and politics regardless of place and distance. In other words, globalization convenes varieties of ideas which have shifted values in many places. Traditional values which were thought to be uniquely inherent in a culture are gradually replaced by universal values of democracy and liberalism (Ingelhart & Wezel, 2006, cited in Jang & Paik, 2012).This, in turn, has raised questions about nationalism as well as concerns about identity erosion which root in the competitions of unstable values that are sources of identity (Strinati, 2004).

As a consequence, globalization receives both positive and negative responses. In relation to this, Shim (2006) explains three views in perceiving globalization: as the extension of American capitalism; as the inevitable result of modernity which has caused neoliberalism and commercialism; and as a cultural paradox. According to Shim (2006), the third view results from the fact that globalization does not only embrace the individual and liberal West, but also opens up the opportunity for the return of and/or to local values. Hence, globalization creates cultures which are central and periptheral and thus generating power relation between the cultures. The relation of power means that values will be contested and negotiated among cultures amd membes of the cultures. Ingelhart and Wezel (2006, cited in Jang & Paik, 2012) believe that even though individual values will be more global, traditional values will leave their traces. This means that there will always be spaces where different values interact, compete, collaborate.

The third approach to globalization is made possible by the concept of hybrid culture offered by Bhabha. Bhabha (2004, in Yang, 2012) points out that hybrid culture is a mix of western and local cultures to create a new culture. One of the examples of contemporary hybrid culture is K-Pop (Korean Pop). K-Pop is an appropriation of western culture and Korean local culture: the lure of globalization is wrapped in a modern outward look which is western but it is appropriated by sustaining the Korean traditional attitude and behavior.

As a more heterogeneous nation than Korea, Indonesia embraces a multitude of local cultures which is geographically rooted. The multitude of local cultures is established as Indonesian national culture. The 1945 Constitution, Pancasila, and Bhinneka Tunggal Ika are formal national interpellation for Indonesian nationalism where these local cultures reside. Hatta Swasono (2009) believes that local cultures are assets for the formation of national culture. With local cultures as the bond of nationalism that cannot be ignored, she

continues to state that the nationalism to nurture should enable us to answer question such as "What kind of nation are we going to shape?" This means that nationalism in an Indonesian context is a nationalism which takes various localities as a constitutive aspect of the Indonesian identity. Nevertheless, in the porous era of globalization, constructing and maintaining nationalism means also facing the bombardment with information which might be counter-productive to the aforementioned construction and maintenance` Therefore, in the globalization era, raising awarenes on the significance of nationalism should be made possible and should be so constructed that it enriches and embraces the local cultures as its source of national identity as well.

Ideology in Children Literature

Ideology in the context of this study is a concept that roots in social studies concerning the aspects of social, power, and usage relations. Consequently, in this study, ideology (or perhaps ideologies) does not only refer to a dominant idea, behavior or value systems but also covers, as asserted by van Dijk (2000), *mental representations* which affect social group's knowledge and behavior. Furthermore, van Dijk believes that ideology is "the basic frameworks of social cognition, shared by members of social groups, constituted by relevant selections of sociocultural values, and organized by an ideological schema that represents the self-definition of a group" (1995: 248). Thus, ideology is present in social functions, frameworks of mind, discursive expressions and reproductions. These aspects are inter-related through the use of language in texts.

Therefore, ideology is assumed to be present in texts for children as well. This is evidenced in studies of children's literature which have found that ideology is present in children readings. Hollindale (1988) contends that there are three layers of ideology operated in children's literature. The first layer, explains Hollindale, is explicit ideology, which is the most obvious and constructed from social beliefs, political or moral belief of which the author wants to endorse to the children through her story. The second layer is passive ideology which, basically, consists of unexamined assumptions of the author; and the third layer is the ideology which comprises the world lived by the author and the readers. According to Hollindale (1988), the authors of children's stories do not only convey what they believe, but also what are believed by the world around them.

Studies on children's literature also found that ideology in texts for children is present unexplicitly, but it is implied in the use of language and pictures. McCallum and Stephens (2011) propose that ideology is presented through the interplay between creative imagination and stereotypes in the forms of texts and pictures relationship. For example, Coats

(2004) finds that *Charlotte's Web* uncovers the ideology of white supremacy which is evident from the presence of white-ness as a master signifier for many favorable signifieds such as kindness, being pretty, and affluence. *Tangerine*, on the other hand, flaunts white supremacy by offering new signifiers for marginalized signifieds: sports (soccer vs American football), lifestyle (organic vs non organic), main character (disabled vs athlete). Additionally, Sreenivas (11) discloses how a collection of children's stories in South India carries the ideology of the middle class. The stories are published for middle class readers with middle class values which in turns marginalize readers from lower class communities. The stories are published for middle class readers with middle class values which in turns marginalize readers from lower class communities. In addition, Noorman et al. (2013) find that there is implied ideologies in the texts of *Seri KKPK* (*Kecil-Kecil Punya Karya*) – a book series written by children in Indonesia. The series – despite its explicit Islamic presentations- turn out to present ideologies of materialism and capitalism which, if not critically attended to, may impact their readers in unfavorably. For example, a character is often described with materialistic goods attached to him/her, such as the car and the gadget she has, the kind of luxurious house she lives in and so forth; or the children characters refer to sophisticated, branded items –such as BMW cars, iphone or ipad- as if they were basic necessity available to everyone. As an illustration, the children character would say "Let's go in my BMW" rather than "Let's go in my car". Interestingly, most characters are muslims whose Islamic ideology is represented superficially in terms of names, greetings or illustrations of girls in hijabs. This indicates the different layers of ideology are at play in the text.

Film and Ideology

Film is a medium of conveying message –including ideology, effectively. Pramaggiore and Wallis (2008) propose that ideology in films is revealed through stereotypes of characters and beliefs. In addition, ideology can be manifested within the presentation of the film's cinematography and *mise-en-scène*. Cinematography –such as camera position and lighting- and mise-en-scène –such as the use of costumes and property- convey the values and principles taken by the director to be implicitly propagated to the film's audience. Kristanto (2004) also asserts that watching films is like watching the values and attitudes of Indonesian people. Furthermore, van Gorp (2011), for example, uncovers how film becomes ideological apparatus in the process of naturalizing values, beliefs, and national representations so that they become common sense. In van Gorp's study, Russia passed a government policy on film production as part of preserving national identity. For example, to

strengthen national political autonomy, Russian government promoted film productions with historical setting and/or adaptations from canonical works. On the other hand, films adaptations from folk tales and legends were produced for children with pedagogical aim, to nurture nationalism.

Another study about film as construction of national identity was carried out by Haltof (1993). In his study on Gallipoli, an Australian film production, Haltof (1993) finds that Australian nationalism is portrayed through friendship, anti authority, and competitive instinct. As a nation which tries to differentiate itself from the British, Australian films in general, however, have not been able to present this uniqueness.

Chow (2000) concludes that in films ideology is operated through *suture* –the interactions between film equipment and apparatus, actors performance and the subject of spectacle. Film viewers as the subject of spectacle will identify themselves with the actors in the film apparatus and are interpelated to attach the attributes used in the film in their actions. For instance, a viewer of *Laskar Pelangi* – a film which tells about a group of children in Belitung island deprived of education facilities- does not only learn about the characters Ikal and his friends, but also gets an exposure to the beauty of Belitung and develops the solidarity with the bittersweet experiences of the characters when they overcome the obstacles to pursue their study. Indirectly and unconsciously, the audiences emphatize, feel sympathy, and subscribe to what the film dictates. Some even trace the characters' story by going to Belitung and relive the characters' journey in the film.

Therefore, with reference to Bhabha's (2000) notion on the dissemination of nationalism, film is both pedagogic and performative media. Film which is purposefully produced to nurture nationalism disseminate the pedagogical aspect by maintaining values and symbols within its story and cinematography, and at the same time relays performative opportunity both for the actors and its subjects. In consequence, learning about how nationalism can be disseminated through film should contribute to the consciousness-raising that film might play a significant role in the formation of nationalism. In relation to that, it is also evidemt that film studies for children in our country has been long-neglected. Departing from the discussion, it can be inferred that film is an effective medium to tailor and bind ideology of nationalism.

METHOD

This study employed a qualitative approach to analyze film as texts. Belsey (2011) explains that textual analysis in studies of literature and culture should relate the text to its contexts of production and its reading. In terms of film analysis, this method enables associating the nature of film as a multimodal-text (verbal, visual, and non verbal/non visual) with its contexts. As such, the present study is a descriptive interpretative analysis under the framework of dissemination theory from Bhabha (2000) and theory of inherent ideology in children's literature from Hunt (1994), McCallum (2002), McCallum and Stephens (2011).

The four films the present study analyzed are as follow:

a. *Garuda Di Dadaku/'Garuda' on My Chest* (GDD) (2009)
   The film is located in Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia, and tells about Bayu, a boy who is passionate about soccer. Unfortunately, his grandfather does not want him to pursue his dream to be a soccer player because Bayu's father, his son, was a talented soccer player but could not live well economically. Helped by his best friend, Bayu joins an exclusive soccer club for children and later is selected to represent the children national team. Conflict is excallating as grandfather finds out about this and is too shock that he falls ill. Bayu then should choose to follow his grandfather's wish or his own dream.

b. *Di TimurMatahari/In the East of the Sun* (DTM) (2011)
   In this film which is located in Papua, Mazmur and his friends are eager to study although no teacher is available in their school. While waiting for the new teacher to come, they encounter social and economic conflicts faced by the adult characters. The conflict excalates as Mazmur's father is killed by Agnes' father in a dispute over counterfeit money. This murder leads the village into a local custom war. However, in the end, Mazmur, Agnes and the other children become the agents of peace by singing a religious song to stop the war.

c. *Serdadu Kumbang/The Bee Warriors*(SK) (2011)
   Serdadu Kumbang is located in Sumbawa Island. This film tells a story of Amek, a boy who is a skillful jockey. Amek did not graduate from Elementary School the previous year as he did not have motivation to graduate even though he is not a slow learner. Amek is actually a smart boy for he likes to watch news on TV. His neighbors and friends get the latest news about Indonesia through Amek's report. Amek wants to become a newsanchor, but poverty and his lip's deformity make him

unconfident to even have a dream. Amek's sister, the smart Minah, always tries to motivate him. It is her death that finally moves Amek to dare to dream.

d. *Tanah Surga . . . katanya / The Land of Heaven...it's said* (TSk) (2012).
The film is about Salman, a boy raised by his grandfather to love Indonesia. Salman lives in the border of Indonesia and Malaysia in West Kalimantan. Salman's father who tries his luck in Malaysia asks his children and his father to move to Malaysia as he can earn a better living there. However, grandfather refuses to move and so Salman decides to stay too. Through Salman's eyes, we can see how different the condition of the two countries is. The Indonesian territory where Salman lives is in a worse condition in terms of infrastructure and public facilities. It is the lack of medicine supply that leads to Salman's grandfather's death at the end of the film, leaving him alone.

For the analysis and discussion, each film will be referred to using its initials instead its full title. For example, *Tanah Surga...katanya* will be referred to Tsk.

Data were collected from transcript and cuts of film's scenes which were described, categorized, analyzed, and interpreted under the framework of dissemination theory from Bhabha (2000) and theory of ideology in children's literature from Hunt (1994) and McCallum & Stephens (2011).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

There are two parts under this section: the first part accounts for the answer to the first research question, which is how nationalism is presented in the selected films; the second part discusses the meaning derived from such construction, which is also the answer to the second research question.

Findings

To be able to answer how nationalism is presented in the four national films for children, the study categorizes aspects of nationalism into symbols, contexts, roles, and its relation to local and global cultures. The study found that nationalism is presented 1) through the films' *mise-en-scène which* generates attachment to Indonesian nation; 2) in abstract notions through the films interconnection with aspects of humanity, social justice, and unity; 3) the successful use of children's character's points of view. The analysis of the three findings is as follow:

Mise-en-scène to generate attachment to Indonesian nation

One of aspects in film studies is *mise-en-scène*. *Mise-en-scène* is a whole visual presentation of a scene, such as setting design, costume, and acting (Kydd, 2011; Pramaggiore & Wallis, 2008). The analysis of *mise-en-scène* does not only reveal how a film is communicated logically and aesthetically, but also is an ideological decision. In relation to this study, the analysis of *mise-en-scène* focuses more on the choice of setting design which includes location and property.

The choice of outdoor location in the four films contributed to the presentation of nationalism. Papua in *DTM* and West Kalimantan in TSk give added value for the natural beauty in both locations, which are visually attractive (see figure 1). Watching the virginal beauty of nature imparts admiration and appreciation for the blessing given to Indonesian people. Similarly, the savanna of Sumbawa and its horses (in SK) render unaffected, unpolluted nature so different from the hustle bustle of big cities. In addition, the austere condition such as Papuans wearing traditional outfits or the bad state of border road in TSk (figure 2) and skillful children-jockey who ride unsaddled horse in SK (figure 3) imply the real conditions of those places. On the other hand, the depiction of modern Jakarta with its skycrapers lie side by side with slums and even cemetery in GDD gives similar but different effect. It conveys the idea that this nation is on the par with other nations but for its haunting problems of poverty. The effect then is simply ironic. Therefore, as Kydd (2011) asserts, outdoor location is not just for visual craving, but also for building realism in the eyes of the audiences about the problems presented in the film.
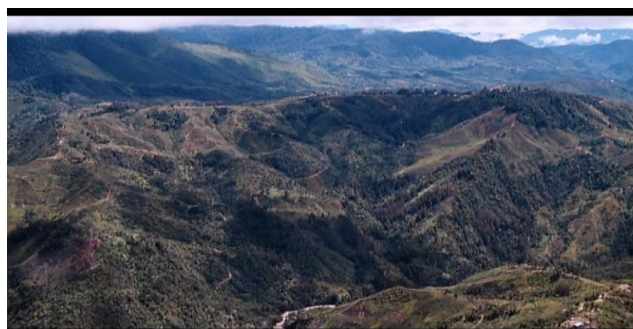

Figure 1. Papuan natural beauty in DTM

Figure 2. The contrasting road of border between Indonesia and Malaysia in TSk

Figure.3. The savanna dan children riding unsaddled horses in SK

Another element of *mise-en-scène* is the property which arouses nationalism. In three films – GDD, DTM, and TSk, the red-and-white flag (the national flag) often appears. The flag is seen in the school yard both in DTM (figure 4) and TSk and it is soaring by Red-and-White team's supporters in the soccer match in GDD (figure 5).

Figure 4.The Red-and-White flag in DTM

Figure. 5The Red-and-White flag di GDD

Nevertheless, there is an ironic scene when Salman was astounded seeing the flag worshipped by his grandfather does not incite the same respect in Malaysia (figure 6). In the following opportunity, Salman, who understands how sacred the national flag is in Indonesia, offers his new sarong for an exchange of the flag.

Another property used is *garuda*, the eagle.

Figure 6. The way Red-and-White flag is treated in Malaysia in TSk

This Indonesian symbol appears several times in GDD, such as over the entry gate to the national stadium and on the chest of the children's characters (figure 7). Meanwhile, in TSk, the symbol is hung on the wall of Mr Hasyim, Salman's grandfather (figure 8). Both the flag and the eagle are symbols of nationalism as they are recognized by the main characters in the film and the film viewers.

Figure 7. Garuda on the chest in GDD

Figure 8.. Garuda on the wall inTSk

More specifically, in TSk, the symbols are ironically presented. Many of the children in this film do not know the symbols well. The third graders are not able to draw the flag correctly since they never see the flag in their school and village. As a result, excepting for Salman, no child feels it necessary to pay respect for this flag. Likewise, garuda in Pak Hasyim's house is never shot clearly, taken in blur as a background, as if implying that it never really becomes a part of life in this simple kampong society.

Through the actors' performance, the four films show nationalism by the use of Bahasa Indonesia with various dialects. In GDD, the language takes the variation of city slickers, especially Jakartans. There is so little difference among dialects used by one role to another, except for a little different in vernaculars –there is Javanese or Sundanese vernaculars. In contrast, in the other three films, Bahasa Indonesia is used with distinct dialects. In DTM, the characters use Papuan dialects; in SK, there is Bima/Sumbawan dialect, while in TSk, the dialect used is Kalimantan's. Even though there are variations, the four films consistently represent that Bahasa Indonesia is the means of communication for everyday life and to some extent has taken over local languages. The local languages only appear in forms of address such as Mas, Meri ('uncle' in Sumbawan language), Bunda (for female teachers in Kalimantan) and so forth.

Abstract notions of nationalism in the forms of humanity, unity and social justice
As a form of narrative, the four films narrate conflicts faced by the children characters and their families. There are two main conflicts: the adult conflicts and the personal conflict of the child/children. These conflicts are related to the aspects of humanity, unity and social justice as part

of nationalism presented in the films.

The aspect of humanity is especially present in DTM. In this film, Mazmur, the child character, grows up in a profuse tradition of Papua. The Papuan tradition depicted in this film is the principle of penalty to solve a dispute. For example, when Mazmur was hit by a motorcycle, his family demanded Ucok, the one who hit Mazmur to pay the penalty. A disagreement on the amount of penalty may lead to a worse situation. When Mazmur's father was killed by Agnes' father who could not accept of being called a scoundrel, Mazmur's family demanded a three billion rupiah penalty. However, the demand was too expensive that Agnes' family could not afford it. This leads to a local customary war between the two families and separates the village into two sides. The children are confused as they see their families start to hate their friends and neighbors. In the meantime, some adult characters, especially the Non-Papuan as represented by the priest and the doctor, do not agree with the decision to go to war. This practice is unacceptable to humanity, and even Mazmur's uncle who has lived in Jakarta for years questions it. This aspect of humanity also opens the viewers' eyes about the horizontal conflict that probably is not known to Indonesian people who live in other parts of Indonesia.

Another aspect of humanity is also shown in two other films. In TSk, it relates to the context of Indonesian Dwikora –a conflict between Indonesia and Malaysia in 1960s, especially about a fighter who is not appreciated and lives in poverty. *Pak* (Mr) Hasyim is the Indonesian fighter who doesn't need a medal for what he did. He is proud to be an Indonesian and believes that its rich, natural resources will give prosperity to its people. He does not complain even though he lives so poor that he cannot afford to buy medicine for his heart problem. Meanwhile, in GDD, this aspect of humanity is present through the depiction of the cemetery caretaker's family who lives under the poverty line amidst the modern, affluent city. The daughter of the caretaker does not go to school anymore as her father is sick so he cannot afford to send his daughter to school. It is another irony because the other children characters have relatively good education and comfortable homes. On the other hand, in SK, this aspect of humanity takes another form. There is a question of discipline as enforced by a stern teacher. The teacher always punishes students who come late to school by making them doing push-ups. Although he argues that the measure is taken to prevent the students' habit to come late to school, some of his colleagues do not agree with him for it shows no concern for the children's rights.

Besides the aspect of humanity, three films present problems of social justice in forms of conflicts among the characters. In TSk, it is obvious

that there is inequal social justice between the Indonesians living in the border area and their Malaysian counterparts. The desire to be able to live more decently is the source of conflict between Pak Hasyim and his son. This inequality also triggers the more popular use of ringgit instead of rupiah as the means of trade. On the other hand, DTM shows this inequality in frames where the characters comment on the expensiveness of goods and scenes which depict limited, if not unavailable public facilities such as electricity and health care. On one hand, the Papuans still uphold traditional customs and values; on the other hand, they are aleo exposed to modern technology such as cellphones. Moreover, SK shows aspect of social justice aspect through the portrayal of Amek's family. Amek's mother cannot read, while the father has to get work in Malaysia and has been unable to come home for three years.

However, the theme of nationalism is put forward through aspect of unity as the main characters resolve the conflicts. In GDD, this aspect appears in cliché despite its effect of interpellation. It is a cliche because unity takes place when the national soccer team U-13 is formed from different ethnic groups as the materialization of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (unity in diversity). Yet, it creates an effect of interpellation since the formation is necessary to ensure the children have a sense of belonging. On the other hand, in DTM, the children are the stars for they become the agents of unity in the village's despute. While singing, the children go hand in hand so that the adults get stunned and cease the war.

Children characters' point of view
As a matter of fact, the construction of nationalism in *mise-en-scène* and the presentation of conflicts would be more successful if they had been depicted from the children characters' point of view. In other words, plot and story-wise, the children's points of view are not explored well.

In DTM, even though the symbols of nationalism are present, the children characters in the film do not seem to understand what it means to be Indonesia. Mazmur and his friends are trapped in the adult world's conflict. When the conflict takes place, the children are not given opportunities to express their thought, even if not verbally. For example, when Ucok is asked to pay penalty for almost riding over Mazmur, Mazmur is unconscious so he does not see the adults argue over his case. Another example is when the adults decide to go to war, the children are shot to observe the adults from afar. They do not speak at all and the put on blank expression. It might be the case of (bad) acting, but the scene is void from emotion: are the children afraid? Are they angry? With frames like these, it is difficult to convince that the film talks to children; instead, it narrates a story for adults. Regarding the issue of nationalism, the conflict is about unity. It

would have been better if the camera takes the children's point of view, showing how they reacted to the conflict more emotionally.

The other three films, nevertheless, are more successful in taking the children characters' point of view, not the adults' point of view. In SK, Amek, the main child character does not have any motivation to graduate for he does not have a dream he thinks he can achieve. He fails to understand why he has to go to school as he does not see the benefits. His acquaintance with nationalism –an awareness that he is part of a nation, is through the news he watches on television. Without realizing it, he nurtures his nationalism. Amek lets the whole village knows what is happening in other parts of this nation. He engages in the nation's pride and shame at the same time: being happy to know the successful event his counterpart has done and being ashamed or sad when a misery befalls to others.

Meanwhile, GDD and TSk present nationalism more explicitly and implicitly. In the former, the children characters have a desire to be part of the national children soccer team of Indonesia. They are proud to wear national attributes such as the national symbol of Garuda, the word 'Indonesia', and the red-and-white uniform. Even though Bayu, the main character, is only too keen to play soccer in the beginning, his passion of watching foreign soccer teams in international matches has given him the idea of nationalism. Bayu and his best friend are familiar with various professional and national teams in the world; therefore, they could imagine what it is like to be playing for a national team.

On the other hand, although nationalism is an irony for Salman in TSk, it still gets its way to Salman's soul. Salman, whose his grandfather teaches him to believe how great this nation is, has to face the opposite reality from time to time. His father does not get decent living in his own country so he has to move to another country, Malaysia, to earn money. Salman also sees with his own eyes how much better the neighbor's country is than his own. And finally, even his country turns its back when he needs it most to save his grandfather. When his grandfather was alive, Salman was loyal and could take all the shame as well as tried to correct it; yet, as he is now alone, will he be as loyal?

Hence, taking the children characters' point of view is to raise their subjectivity in the relation of intersubjectivity (McCallum, 2002). In case of GDD, for example, Bayu is made aware of his subjectivity in relations to his mother, grandfather and his own wish. His lying to his grandfather is an attempt to empower his agency, no matter how bad the result is. He then proves to be worthy of a place in national team, which in turns changes his grandfather's view of having a career in sports. By enabling the characters in film to see their position and even to empower their agency, the films could show more awareness of being part of and participating in building nationalism.

Discussion
In the context of nationalism building, the findings formed meanings that nationalism is local-based and specific, while at the same time problematic. As an imagined community, a nation has to share common ideals so that its people are united as the same group (Anderson, 2006). The four films have highlighted the significance of localities by juxtaposing local culture with cultures of wider scopes. Locality is interpellated into the discourse of a nation because it is perceived as an asset to the nation building. In an Indonesian context, locality is a necessary factor of performing nationalism. In these four films, interpellation of nationalism is necessitated from visual aspects of the *mise-en-scène*. Juxtapositions of conflicting concepts such as beauty and corruption which are represented in the choice of setting has raised the ironic sense of being part of a nation. The irony of owning natural resources without the power to manage them opens up room for questioning nationalism. In addition, the recognizable symbolic properties of the nation, including national language, are presented deliberately to highlight the element of nationalism. All of these are the *suture* which binds the characters and the viewers in creating the imagined community that is Indonesia. Furthermore, *mise-en-scène* has presented the workings of the film's ideology. It is in line with Chow's (2000) assertion that film viewers as a subject of spectacle will identify themselves with the actors in the film equipment and will be interpellated to adhere the attributes worn in the film in their actions. It is for the national symbols that the characters in a film move from local culture towards a common ideal as the Indonesian nation.

The construction of the common ideal by inserting local values and cultures has not come without questions. In GDD, the construction seems to be less problematic eas the film is set with a metropolitan background t. The metropolitan setting has lent itself a multicultural environment which makes it possible for people from different ethnic and social background to mix and create a concrete sense of unity in diversity. Conversely, in the other three films, the context of nationalism is built around its respective local social problems. In DTM and TSk, the problems of economy, education, and culture collide into one another, leaving behind a question whether nationalism is even possible. This triggers a more profound awareness on the urgency to raise an awareness about nationalism in areas such as borders and conflict areas. Whereas, in SK, it is the education problem that haunts nationalism. The National Examination which is the sign of being a part of nationalism fails to achieve its target

because none of the junior high school students in the village pass the exam.

Corresponding to Kydd (2011) who points out that national identity is present when a nation is under a crisis, the four films reveal the crises in Indonesia. Unlike national British and Australian cinema which show the crises when the respective nations have to fight against another nation's power (see Kydd, 2011 & Haltof, 1993), the four films illustrate crises confronted inside the nation. With each locality, there are economic, social, and education crises in DTM, SK, and TSk, besides crises of self-achievement in GDD. These problems which have not been solved are depicted quite clearly in these films. Moreover, the crisis also is apparent in the tug war between tradition and modernity, especially in DTM. Throughout the portrayal of poverty and lackness, there is an attempt to raise awareness of nationalism so that such things will not take place in the real life. It is a kind of criticism about the unfair state management.

However, the construction of nationalism like this can be more problematic if the film narration does not focus on its purpose. Hunt (1994) says that there is no free-value text, including texts of children's literature. Analogically, in films for children, there is a particular value embedded in the film text. The four films indicate attempts to convey the issue of nationalism. Unfortunately, such attempts are not always successful, especially when the narration does not take the children's point of view, as the target audience. McCallum and Stephens (2011) remind us that ideology should not be present explicitly, but implicitly in the use of language and images. The four films have not used the language of films effectively as they rely much on verbal language. For example, a local folktale told by adult character in SK does not have anything to do with the plot. It seems to be there to tell the children characters (and audience) that the setting is in Sumba. Similarly, the adult characters busy dealing with their own business, while the children observe them from afar without sufficient exploration of their emotion like DTM. In other words, they are *telling* instead of *showing* the (problems) of nationalism. Moreover, in doing so, it is easy to fall into leaving the children only as object, not the subject of the story.

In the local and global relationship today, it is important that attempts to interpret nationalism be able to build or strengthen national identity. What Bhabha (2000) believes as hybrid society is no longer avoidable. There will be a kind of hybrid culture between local and global in various texts, including text of film for children. The analysis of these four films also indicates this trend. The local culture, even if there is one, lacks exploration; while actually, it can be an added value for the understanding of nationalism. For example, in SK, the adult character tells a folktale of how the land was created. In another scene, implicitly there is news about the current issue in this country. Both ways can be taken as means to impart the sense of pride and belonging to a greater community without having to preach too much. Meanwhile, presenting global atmosphere such as in GDD gives an impression of positioning one's nation among the others. These approaches should be developed to enable the characters to understand their positions, and if it is possible, to criticize it.

Having said this, in line with Jang and Paik (2012) who assert that it is necessary to take different position in response to globalization, the production of Indonesian films for children is on the right track. By inserting local content in the narration, it has two birds in one hand. One, it endeavors to reclaim national identity; and two, it creates difference where local is an alternative way to combat globalization, which is often accused to be uniformity around the globe. Nevertheless, as the findings show, positioning self should also be accompanied with the awareness of the purpose and target of why a film for children is produced.

CONCLUSION

The language use and the construction of *mise-en-scène* and conflicts have implied that the idea of nationalism in the four films are continuously being contested. Locally specific but problematic narrations resulted in questions about the meanings of embracing nationalism for Indonesians, both young and adults. The construction is local in nature, but the symbols and narration give an emotional, meaningful binding towards Indonesian nation. On the other hand, it seems that taking children's point of view is a necessary element that could help the nurturance of nationalism more successful.

Departing from the findings of the study, there are at least three things to be followed up. First, from the development of film text (film script), the point of view should be centered on the children's characters. Although it is inevitable that film for children –similar to other children's texts, has pedagogical aspect, it cannot be carried out explicitly. The values imparted only when they are inherent in the context of the main character's narration. It will be helpful to explore conflicts which develop characterization, be it adult or children's characters; yet, the children should be always the main focus, not the background.

Secondly, from the context of the narration, local setting gives a deeper nuance of Indonesianess. Unfortunately, local color is not explored sufficiently. It will be better to raise local folktale or local wisdom in which it touches the character's life. It will be beneficial both for the children in the world of text and viewers in real life to engage in locality to understand more about national identity.

Finally, from a practical side, this study recommends the use of film as part of value education. Indonesian films for children with local content can be used as a source of interesting discussion in the classroom. It is through discussion and sharing that film incites critical thinking skills to regain and refine values constructed from film and the sharing of it.

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