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Political Geography of Indonesian Nationalism and Ethno Nationalism: A Reflective Study From Indonesian Generation Z

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ABSTRAK

Debates on nationalism and ethno nationalism have intensely developed during the early decade of political reformation in Indonesia, that is, in the early 2000s. At that point, the demand for segregation from the Republic of Indonesia emerged from several districts, such as Riau and Papua. In this era, the sentiment to decentralised from the Republic of Indonesia has been well suppressed, particularly in some areas, Aceh included. On the other side of the coin, the process of welfare distribution is going well. It is supported by the balance of power between the central and local authorities, which has successfully reduced this sentiment. These observations were conducted through a qualitative method by conducting interviews with Generation Z, which were divided into two clusters: based on gender and the respondent's status either as a student or a fresh graduate. This paper investigates the extent of understanding the nationalism and ethno nationalism among Generation Z in Indonesia. In-depth interviews were reflectively conducted in which the research participants were asked to answer some questions and share their views and understanding of this discussion. This study concludes that Generation Z Indonesian proved to have a comprehensive understanding of nationalism. They viewed that modules about nationalism should be officially included in elementary and high school curricula; thus, the students will be exposed and have a solid understanding of nationalism from an early age.

ABSTRAK

Perdebatan mengenai nasionalisme dan etno nasionalisme telah berkembang secara intens sejak dekade awal reformasi politik di Indonesia, yaitu pada awal 2000-an. Pada masa tersebut, tuntutan insurgensi muncul dari beberapa daerah , seperti Riau dan Papua. Di era sekarang, sentimen memisahkan diri dari NKRI berhasil diredam, terutama pada beberapa daerah, termasuk Aceh. Di sisi lain, proses distribusi kesejahteraan berjalan dengan baik. Hal tersebut didukung oleh perimbangan kekuasaan antara pemerintah pusat dan daerah yang secara politik berhasil meredam sentimn tersebut. Pnelitian ini dilakukan melalui metode kualitatif dengan melakukan wawancara terhadap Generasi Z, yang terbagi menjadi dua kluster: berdasarkan jenis kelamin dan status informan baik sebagai mahasiswa atau lulusan baru (fresh graduate). Penelitian ini mengkaji sejauh mana pemahaman nasionalisme dan etno nasionalisme di kalangan Generasi Z di Indonesia. Wawancara mendalam dilakukan secara reflektif di mana informan diminta untuk menjawab beberapa pertanyaan dan berbagi pandangan dan pemahaman mereka tentang diskusi ini. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa Generasi Z Indonesia memiliki secara meyakinkan memiliki pemahaman akan konsep nasionalisme yang baik. Mereka mengusulkan modul yang mengkaji nasionalisme harus secara resmi dimasukkan dalam kurikulum sekolah dasar dan menengah; Dengan demikian, para siswa akan memiliki pemahaman yang baik mengenai nasionalisme sejak usia dini.

Introduction

In the early period of independence, national disintegration has become a problem for newly independent countries such as Indonesia. In 1998, when the New Order regime under Suharto (Indonesian second president) was overthrown by civil society, the public demand for decentralisation from the unitary state has increasingly become a phenomenon frequently heard during the current Reformation Era.

Nationalism in Indonesia had emerged due to the presence of support coming from the local authorities from various districts in Indonesia to achieve independence from the Dutch in eraly twenty century. Similar fates have prompted and motivated several Indonesian districts to pursue independence, which has echoed throughout the Indonesian archipelago. The elites and educated Indonesians were the ones who first proposed and were primarily responsible for the decision to seek independence. At that time, their precious goal is to gain independence from the Dutch coloniser.

From the arising passions of Indonesian nationalism, the momentum of *Sumpah Pemuda* in 1928 became the turning point. *Sumpah Pemuda* movement was formed by a group of young people from several regions within Indonesia, such as Java, Sumatra, Bugis, and others. They had pledged to have a '*Satu Bangsa, Satu Tanah Air serta Satu Bahasa*' (One Nation, One Homeland and One Language). This momentum has later become a new era for the emergence of Indonesian nationalism.

In the subsequent developments, the nationalism type in the New Order era, under Suharto's (Indonesian second president) sovereignty, was designed to focus more on economic matters. The Suharto regime, which was indeed an authoritarian regime, has constructed a new policy that is defined only to economic developments. This designation has a significant impact on Indonesian nationalism in general; the positioning of nationalism based on the economy alone,

however, does not comply with the local policies as the priority in the national economy. This state of affairs has led to inequality between indigenous and non-indigenous people and between local and central governments, which became the factor in the surge of reformation due to unequal state assets distribution, adding to other problematic issues such as corruption and collusion by the state administrators.

Due to the economic crisis in 1998, Indonesian nationalism was in jeopardy. The economic crisis has devolved into mass chaos in several parts of Indonesia, resulting in ethnic conflict. The new order government concept of nationalism which was initially constituted only on the economy, begins to be thrown into disarray. This turn of events caused the state finances to collapse, and debts began to pile up ramification from unpaid loans. This condition has resulted in insurgency movement in some regions fighting for their independence. For example, *Gerakan Aceh Merdeka* (The Free Aceh Movement) demanded freedom for Aceh province and *Organisasi Papua Merdeka* (Papua Merdeka Organisation), which clamoured for liberation in Papua territory.

In the current reformation era, especially in the early year of political reform (in the 2000s), there was the emergence of the sentiment of regionalism which is popularly known as ethno nationalism. This regional devotion has appeared in various places in Indonesia. Moreover, raised issues of the *Putera Daerah* (literally means Son of the Region) concerns, Primordialism, and other ethno nationalism matters have been raised, thus, challenging Indonesian nationalism.

Rather than looking at this study from the perspective of ordinary people or experts, this study tries to look at Indonesian nationalism from a different perspective than previous similar research that has been done. This study examines the development of Indonesian nationalism from the perspective of Generation Z. This research is essential for two reasons. First, studies that try to reveal Indonesian nationalism from the

perspective of Generation Z are still very limited in the record; thus, this study offers a research novelty, especially on studies related to nationalism in Indonesia. Second, after more than a decade of political reform, this research is significant. It is essential to see on the ground the development progress of Indonesian nationalism, especially from the perspective of the Generation Z. Finally, this paper aims to see the extent of Generation Z's understanding of nationalism and the symptoms of ethno nationalism in Indonesia, including Generation Z's understanding of their views on what defines being an Indonesian.

Several literatures have explained about nationalism and ethno nationalism. Gellner (1983) has stated that Nationalism is the fundamental principle in politics. Hence, it denotes that it must be in unity between the politics and the national units. Moreover, according to Gellner, from the context of nationalism definition, we can further conclude that the factors of nationalism do have a significant role in a nation's development. In another frame of view, Gellner (1983, p. 1) disclosed that "Nationalism is a theory of political legitimacy, which requires that ethnic boundaries should not cut across political ones, and, in particular, that ethnic boundaries within a given state- a contingency already formally excluded by the principle in its general formulation- should not separate the power holder from the rest". Alter (1994) argued that there is still an ongoing exchange of views to define nationalism so that all academic communities can accept it. A similar situation also can be observed in the efforts to elucidate the concepts of 'nation' and 'nationality'.

In addition, Alter (1994) had also discussed that Nationalism has agencies of constituents units. For example, having an awareness of a community's unique characteristics by recognising and showing respect to its diverse ethnics, language, religious differences and having the empathy to establish friendly associations in cultural behaviour, social and historical. Further, in the context of Indonesia, Barker (2008: 521) has explained that:

> "The Indonesian case is characterised by at least two important variations on the thesis of a transition from developmental to cultural nationalism. First, the transition took place with the establishment in 1966 of Soeharto's New Order, much earlier than in most other

countries, and was associated less with neoliberal policies than with a pronounced capitalist bias which could be combined either with statist or economically liberal policies. Second, the variants of cultural nationalism that have been most openly adopted by Indonesia's postcolonial state have been multicultural rather than exclusionary in orientation"

Furthermore, the phrase ethno nationalism denotes nationalism that grows from the dedication of ethnicity or the idea of regionalism. Regional nationalism is equivalently termed with the word primordialism. Ethno nationalism is a theory formed mainly grounded on ethnicity and nationalism. Simply put, this theory studies the impact of the formation of nationalism based on ethnicity, which may apply to a multi-ethnic country.

Table 1. Differences between Nationalism, Ethno Nationalism and Regionalism

	Nationalism	Ethno nationalism	Regionalism
Movement Issues	It is about nations	It is about ethnicity (a particular ethnic sentiment)	Issue is about ethnicity and regionalism
Movement Scope	Bigger territory involving some regions	Limited or restricted territories within country's borders.	Vast territories with exceeding the country's borders.

Source: Author Analysis (2022)

Looking into another context, we can also discuss the concept of sub-state nationalism and regionalism's terminology. Sub-state nationalism is defined as nationalism based on the spirit of regionalism, an attitude of seeing that its territory is superior to other regions. Primordialism is related more to this concept. In other studies, regionalism is viewed slightly different from sub-nationalism. The salient point that we need to understand in studying ethno nationalism is how we perceive the movement method and the limited scope of this concept. The movement

method discussed in ethno nationalism pressed more about ethnicity issues, while the scope in ethno nationalism is very much limited and confined within a nation's borders. The concept of ethno nationalism and regionalism are in contrast with each other. The significant difference from the former idea is that regionalism is much broader, covering a more comprehensive range and beyond the nation's boundaries (See table 1).

Research Method

This study is qualitative research based on the results gathered from interviews with several participants. In-depth interviews were conducted with several people representing Generation Z; in this case, students and former student of the University of Lampung, Indonesia. Participants were selected by purposive sampling method, which was chosen to represent the age range of Generation Z, and also active in college and student activities. The interview technique was done by the reflective method. Participants were given several questions and asked to answer those questions by doing reflective thinking. In this context, a qualitative research approach is more appropriate to answer research questions in this study because this study wants to see the reflection of each participant on the research questions that the researcher has prepared. The data in this study obtained came from 2 (two) data sources, namely Primary Data Sources and Secondary Data Sources. First, the main data came from the analysis of in-depth interviews with several informants. In this case, the informants amounted to eight Generation Z participants who were selected based on several considerations and then the participants were divided into 2 (two) clusters. The first cluster is Generation Z, who are still in college (college student), while the second cluster is graduated Generation Z. Participants were also divided into gender groups between men and women. The secondary data in this study is from the result of the intellectual work of others in the form of books and journal articles, which are related to this study as a source of supporting data. Thus, this study utilised books and other relevant sources such as journals and newspapers to discover this study. This reflective qualitative study uses concept drawn theory as the basis of data analysis.

Research Finding

The discussion section is divided into three sections. The first section analysed Generation Z's perspectives on nationalism in the new order and subsequently followed by the same analysis of nationalism in the new era in the second section. The last section of this paper will reveal and confer on the challenges to nationalism in Indonesia.

Nationalism in New Order Era

In the Indonesia context, maintaining the integrity of nationalism, which spans more than 17,000 islands (Goebel, 2013) and is home to a diverse range of ethnicities, religions, and cultures; can be a challenging task, particularly for the government acting as an institution that receives a mandate from the people to do so. Meanwhile, in the New Order context, the negative impression of ethno nationalism on nationalism was successfully suppressed by using militarisation and forced state ideology.

These two concepts became the New Order's keywords in preventing ethno nationalism from arising. In this sense, Gayatri (2010: 190) argued that "During the New Order period, with strong support from the military, the government suppressed any attempt inspired by ethnic sentiment that could cause social or political fissures […] the government took strong measures to counter any opinions and actions that might be seen to be against the state's official interpretation of 'nationhood'. Under these conditions, primordial sentiments tended to atrophy".

Ideologisation is implemented by instituting Pancasila as the sole principle of the state and aligning the military bureaucracy's structure and position so that it is equated with the Indonesian civil bureaucracy. One of the approaches the new order regime exercises control over political stability and security is by making the civil bureaucracy integrated and structurally similar to the military bureaucracy. Thus, it exerts control over political stability and security on both sides. The action stifled the insurgency movement and was effectively suppressed by the authorities of that time. Nevertheless, through the agency of ideologisation and militarisation and by designing the military structure alongside the civil bureaucracy structure, the New Order Indonesian government managed to maintain the integrity of the nation from the threat of disintegration that

challenged the Indonesian nationalism (see table 2).

Table 2. New Order Structure Design of Bureaucracy between Civil and Military to maintain National Integration

Territory	Civil	Military
Village	Head Village	Village Military Head *(Babinsa)*
Sub-District	Sub-District Chief	Sub-Distirct Military Head *(Koramil)*
District	District Head	District Military Head *(Kodim)*
Province	Governor	Provincial Military Head *(Korem)*
Central	President	Inter Provincial Military Head *(Pangdam)* Indonesian National Army

The key success of the New Order in maintaining the integrity of nationalism is by using the means of militarisation and ideology. The better the influence of the state and the government positively felt by their people, the more satisfied the people are; thus, the stronger they pledged and committed their loyalty and identity to the state. By contrast, the weaker their influence on the people, the more fragile the peoples' trust and identity in their authorities. In another context in the New Order, the discourse of ethno nationalism did not rise to the surface. The failure was from the ideological and militarised patterns the regime had carried out to prevent this voicing of aspirations from happening. Implementing a very centralised development pattern between Java and outside of Java has resulted in social inequality, triggering ethnic conflicts. This ethnic conflict, where the root of the cause was already sprouting since the Suharto era, is considered the beginning of ethnic awareness that prompted the growth of ethno nationalism in the current reform era.

Several participants have shared their views on this matter. Some remarks worth quoting from the interview are that some students stated that one of the products of the new order that should be continued was the issue of upgrading the P-4 (The Guidelines for Practice of Pancasila Values). One of the respondents said, "I think the P-4 program can be used again to uplift the nationalism motivation. This is an excellent programme that should be continued in the reform era" (INT1). The respondents' responses on this topic are intriguing enough to be discussed further in this paper. Until recently, experts have argued that the P-4 program was a part of the ideologisation policy that was carried out by Suharto's government at, with their aim to become politically stable and promote national integration.

On the other hand, Generation Z participants' polemics contradict society's arguments. The Generation Z participants of this research had laid out their stand on this case, and it was found to be contradictory to the society's undertake on this matter. These responses can be interpreted that programmes such as P-4 may be re-implemented in Indonesia but with a different take on methods and learning modules. Developing new methods and learning modules that are inclined and more aligned with democratic and more engaging to Generation Z thus may significantly impact nationalism development in Indonesia. Furthermore, another respondent argued that it was also necessary to integrate the nationalism curriculum from an early age (*Pendidikan Usia Dini*). "In my view, the solution to instilling nationalism should be done from an early age, such as the having national understanding and patriotism. Children's early childhood education must be equipped not only restricted to teaching how to read, religious studies and mathematics (arithmetic) only," (INT3) as quoted by one of the research participants.

Furthermore, ethnic and religious conflicts are the main reason for the emergence of ethno nationalism in several locations in Indonesia and have long been a significant issue since the beginning of independence. For instance, the riots that occurred were initiated by social inequality towards the Indonesian-Chinese, had happened many times and reached the peak in May 1998 chaos. Therefore, Generation Z believes that a tolerant and inclusive Indonesian civilisation is necessary. Several respondents expressed an inclusive viewpoint, stating that the use of ethnic, religious, and racial issues in social and political relations should be avoided by all means. For example, one of the respondents even suggested that the meaning of *Putera Daerah* (Son of the

Region) should be made more inclusive; in other words, the term *Putera Daerah* should be referred to anyone who originated from that region, regardless of their ethnicity or religion. Adding to that, a respondent stated that using "ethnocentrism or promoting each other's culture is not productive for (nationality) especially when it comes to promote a sentiment that one culture is better than other" (INT2).

Reformation Era

In 1998, the pro-democracy movement and students staged a resistance against the Suharto government. At that time, a group of students had staged a demonstration demanding Suharto to step down. Unfortunately, several students killed in the open fire, this tragedy is known as the Semanggi Tragedy 1998. Moreover, the nationalism development in the reform era gave a different nuance compared to in the new order era. In the present context, the reform era nationalism provides more freedom to its citizens and does not build any nationalism sentiment based on ideology and militarisation doctrines as in the Soeharto era. As discussed in this paper, the New Order governing system has adhered to a set of state stability logic based on three crucial pillars: Military, *Golongan Karya*, and Bureaucracy (Liddle and Mujani, 2013; Haris, 2004). This could be realised as the political system of the New Order was based on the principle of authoritarianism. However, the democratisation process has resulted in Indonesia's current political system being more democratic and open society. There is a constitutional guarantee for every citizen to express the freedom of speech and engage in any social activities, which has previously been hindered by the interests of the New Order's government.

Moreover, the regime's conditioning at the time was using the unitary concept as the forced ideology and maximising military roles in every aspect of the country's political life. Because political participation is not effectively accommodated in the performance of its political system, the principles represented in democracy cannot well developed, and the application of civil society as a balancing factor for the state does not carry out its tasks. Furthermore, the designation of ethno nationalism that emerged in the reform era is influenced by the suppression of the local interest of the previous regime. However, the phenomenon of ethno nationalism has become more prominent in the reform in line with the democratisation as the consequence of political reform. Local communities in the reform era were more daring to express their dissatisfaction with the central government. The Dayak conflict, Poso, and Maluku are some examples of this phenomenon. The people's obedience to the law has weakened, and it can be nearly argued that the legitimacy of the law is decreasing. But, the current situation has shown a different phenomenon as the central government can work well, especially when it comes to the issue of balancing the development infrastructure project between Java and outside Java, for example.

According to Generation Z Indonesian, one of the factors that triggered the ethno nationalism movement is the lack of tolerance between religions and ethnic. This was revealed by two participants in this study, who both stated that the issue of anti-tolerance will result in the growth of ethno nationalism in Indonesia. Aside from the issue of anti-ethnic and religious tolerance, another issue that could be a severe threat to the development of ethno nationalism is the conflicts that happen in various regions, such as the armed conflict in Papua. One of the respondents expressed her opinion in another section, "In my opinion, ethnic and religious differences are not a problem for national integration and nationalism, as long it is supported by an attitude of tolerance" (INT7). Taking the same stance, another participant added, "In my view, there is no problem with tolerance in Indonesia, I suppose. I have experience when attending a big day (celebration) of another religion, and my friend still provides specially cooked food for Muslims (Halal food)" (INT8).

The participant further explained, "To be precise, what is now a little disturbing to the nationalism is the economic issue. Because, in my opinion, if we have economic problems, it will have an impact on nationalism as well. Not to mention today we face the COVID-19 pandemic" (INT8). The participants also agreed that using local products is an integral part of nationalism.

A critical issue on how to be a proud Indonesian is genuinely enjoying the local products and valuing the work of the nation's citizens. At least, that is what is stated by the research participants. The participants said that "I think the nationalism sentiment across the Indonesian youth are currently facing a huge challenge. They tend to

buy and wear imported goods rather than local products, at least, that is what I see from many of my friends" (INT6). Another participant has expressed a similar view, "I think young Indonesian love to use or wear import product, they love import brand" (INT5). Another participant shared that "We lack a role model. We need a role model who loves and teaches us how to love our local product" (INT2).

In this context, the government must immediately implement policies that support local products. Such policies then must be supported by the state leaders. One of the participants had expressed their take on this matter, "I think I am a nationalist. I am involved in many political events and never abstain (always partake in) any election. But I see there is a problem when the political elites themselves are not consistent in using any local products. I think they are inconsistent in this matter (INT7)". Another participant added, "Indeed, I have to realise that some of the imported goods are better than the local products" (INT8).

In this regard, these views from two Generation Z participants conveyed two important messages for this study. First, there is a discrepancy between the related policies as endorsed by the elites compared to the day-to-day behaviours of the elites themselves. Second, there are concerns with the quality of the local products. In this case, the government should consider creating a grand design of the local products that will be more profitable in the market and have greater competition in the future. Another thing the government can do is launch a global campaign that encourages more people to be proud of using local products. India and South Korea are successful examples of this initiative.

Contrary, the participants of this study believed that Javanese-centric policies during the Suharto era led to ethno nationalism and frequently challenged national integration. The participants unanimously agreed that ethnic sentiment must be reduced (INT4). This issue should not be politicised in specific contexts, particularly for temporary interests such as for *Pilkada* (local election). Suppose to suppress the raised issue, one of the respondents stated, "Issue on *Putra Daerah* where the individual does not necessarily have to be a native of the particular region" (INT6). These two views from the participants are essential in understanding the current state of

Indonesian nationalism. Clearly, regional autonomy presents an excellent opportunity for Indonesian nationalism to be repositioned. Providing democratic decentralisation will reduce the upheaval in regional sentiment experienced at the beginning of the political reforms.

Challenges of Nationalism in Indonesia

Aspinall (2016: 74-75) has argued that "three main arenas in which nationalist mobilisation and policy-making have played out" […] Those are "territorial nationalism" related to "A consistent concern of nationalists in the Post-Soeharto era has been maintaining Indonesia's territorial integrity in the face of alleged external aggression and internal separatism", "economic nationalism" it means that "Nationalist policies designed to protect domestic producers or markets against foreign competition have a long history in Indonesia" and "cultural nationalism". In this sense, we can see that the Indonesian government has well-prepared a grand design of nationalism-based policies. For example, nationalism can be used as the central concept to support public policies and politics of the country, sustaining the argument advanced by Aspinall above. The next question is, what is Indonesian nationalism's main challenge today? According to this study, there are three main challenges directed at nationalism in Indonesia.

First, general election competition causes political divisions. Indonesia's democratisation has made general elections more dynamic and contentious. The political elites frequently use religious and ehnicity issues to gain support in this case. Political transactions between voters and candidates are mediated using ethnic and religious issues. Past case studies of Jakarta's local elections had demonstrated these symptoms, exhibiting how ethnic and religious issues can be used efficiently to mobilise the electorate (Burhani, 2017; Mujani, 2020; Hamid, 2019; Setijadi, 2017). Following the 2017 Jakarta local election, the political split becomes more dynamic, with former opposing groups forming a political coalition. "The success of Prabowo in marrying his nativist brand of authoritarian populism with Islamist sectarianism, helping to facilitate a new conservative religious nationalism, has created a new dynamic in Indonesian politics," (Bourchier, 2019: 730). The political coalition between President Jokowi and his contender, Prabowo, after 2019 presidential election, has resulted in a shift in the mode of

Indonesian nationalism. The Indonesian political dynamics are currently dominated by a new conservative religious nationalism group and play a significant part in politics. In theory, one of the considerable challenges of nationalism in Indonesia is the division of society based on ethnic and religious differences. This trend must be reduced to at least the use of religious and racial issues in public spaces. While these issues cannot be eliminated entirely because they are "given" as part of the group's identity, they can be limited reasonably. In this sense, Bertrand (2004) has argued that relying on widespread tribal sentiments could lead to ethnic conflict and destabilise Indonesian nationalism. *Second*, societal economic problems, such as uncontrolled food staples and rising unemployment, will pose a future challenge to Indonesian nationalism. The history of the Soviet Union demonstrates that the openness of the political system without a solid economic foundation will make national integration fragile and lead to the nation's disintegration. *Third*, there are external factors to contend with. External factors such as globalisation's challenges, information technology's development, and artificial intelligence (AI) that simultaneously replace humans as workers can also be a massive challenge to Indonesian nationalism.

Conclusion

Indonesian nationalism and its challenges are a complex and dynamic topic to discuss. Indonesian nationalism has gone through ups and downs as an independent nation based on various ethnicities and religions. In terms of history, Indonesian nationalism serves as a valuable lesson as a powerful weapon for driving out Dutch colonialists. However, the challenge of nationalism in Indonesia today is complicated by internal and external factors. Internal circumstances, including some political events such as the Presidential Election or local elections, provide opportunities for elites to exploit ethnicity and religious sentiments in order to gain votes, which has an impact on social harmony, particularly the spirit of nationalism.

On the other hand, the development of the symptoms of ethno nationalism itself, according to Generation Z, is expected to occur if there is political and economic inequality between various regions in Indonesia. However, in their opinion, ethno nationalism in Indonesia is still at a reasonable and tolerable level. Further, this study concluded that granting regional autonomy or special autonomy to various regions simultaneously successfully reduced the ethno nationalism sentiment. Although there is potential for political openness vis-à-vis democratisation, it is also a fertile ground for developing ethnic sentiment that may disrupt nationalism in Indonesia (Gayatri,2010). Furthermore, all participants agreed that Indonesian nationalism is still on the right track. They also recognised that there are some challenges to Indonesian nationalism but that these challenges do not have the potential to disrupt Indonesian nationalism in general. Generation Z Indonesians claims that there is a need for consistency in attitudes between nationalist policies and political elites' lifestyles, such as when it comes to the use of domestic products. In general, Generation Z Indonesians have a clear understanding of nationalism, and some of the participants even suggested that nationalism values should be imparted as part of the formal curriculum in primary and secondary schools.

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