

The Idea of Nationalism in Indonesian History Textbooks (1975-2013)

Tri Yuniyanto¹, Nur Fatah Abidin*¹

*nurfatah@staff.uns.ac.id

¹Universitas Sebelas Maret

Abstract

Nationalism plays an essential role in nation-building and national integration in Indonesia. This research aims to scrutinize the change and the continuity of the idea of nationalism in Indonesia through discourse historical analysis of the Indonesian history textbooks from the New Order to the Post-reformation era. The question addressed in this research: Has Indonesian society 'reimagined' or 'recalibrated' the conception of nationalism along with the political transitions and transnational problems? Qualitative methods with the Discourse Historical Analysis approach were used to examine the history textbooks. Textbook analysis showed that the political transition from the Guided Democracy era to the New Order era in 1966 or the fall of the New Order era in 1998 did not significantly change the idea of nationalism. The primeval idea of nationalism remains the basic foundation of nationalistic discourse in history textbooks. Every political regime tends to impart or attach its political interest to nationalism. As a result, the primeval ideas of nationalism, developmental nationalism, and modern nationalism are intermingled. It tends to create a continuation and dynamic rather than changes in nationalism. As a result, the idea of nationalism in Indonesia, as represented in history textbooks, tends to be a political project rather than a collective one.

Received 22 November 2024

Revised 15 April 2025

Accepted 22 April 2025

pp. 134-144

Keywords

History Textbooks, Nationalism, School Historiography

To cite this article

Yuniyanto, T., Abidin, N. F. (2024). The Idea of Nationalism in Indonesian History Textbooks (1975-2013). *Diakronika* 24(2), 134-144.
<http://doi.org/10.24036/diakronika/vol24-iss2/452>.



This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International License

Introduction

Shortly after the fall of the New Order regime in May 1998, many political scientists gave their outlooks about the future of nationalism and its ability to solve national problems in Indonesia. In the historical sense, Benedict Anderson (1999) criticized the languishing of society in reimagining the idea of nationalism whilst facing the increase of social-political disintegration at that time. Based on his long work on Indonesian nationalism, Anderson stated that nationalism in Indonesia has to be reimagined based on the future project of the nation. Nationalism, in Anderson's eyes, is not a static conception of nation and state. It is more like a dynamic collective working project to imagine the nation-state's existence in the future continuously.

Meanwhile, (Aspinall, E., & Berger, 2001) argued the edge of Indonesia as a nation-state. They critically questioned the potency of disintegration in Indonesia and the limit of nationalism and nation-states under the discourse of decolonization. From their perspective, the Indonesian national integration would break up if the nation could not solve the issues of ethnonationalism and regionalism, which occurred at that time in Aceh and Papua. They believe the problems of decolonization in those areas would haunt the future of Indonesian nationalism.

History proves that Indonesia can maintain national integration during the hardest day of the Reformation era and still exists today. However, the nation's triumph is frequently being questioned because society still faces similar, or not to say inoculated, national problems. Several issues of the Post-reformation era, such as regionalism in West Papua and the trans-national movement, remained. From a historical perspective, these issues have a long historical root from the New Order era. In the case of West Papua, the problem of regionalism can be traced back to the socio-economic and human rights issues that ignited the spirit of regionalism in that area. The New Order tended to implement a centralized and military oppression strategy to manage the problems of West Papuan that mostly forged resistance and distrust of the government (Bell, I., Feith, H., & Hatley, 1986).

When the New Order political regime fell in May 1998, the problem of regionalism in Papua reignited along with issues of decentralization. In 2001 the Indonesian government issued a Special Autonomy Law for West Papua. It was expected to solve socio-political and economic problems in West Papua. Unfortunately, this law seems ineffective twenty years after its issuance, inheriting regionalism issues in West Papua today (Ruhyanto, 2016); (Budiatri, 2020). The strategy to implement autonomy and special law appears to be a temporary solution for West Papua (B. Anderson, 2015). Besides the problem of West Papua, another national issue that threatens nationalism is the global challenges that impact the formation of transnational interests, ideologies, and movements in Indonesia. At least two perspectives can be highlighted in terms of global challenges and nationalism in Indonesia: two economic powers and Western pressure to implement democratic government in the 2000s (Murphy, 1999); (Suryadinata, 2000) and the resurgence of trans-national ideology and movement that brought religious discourse (Menchik, 2014); (Liow, 2016); (Bourchier, 2019)). Economic power, Western pressure for democratization, and transnational ideology have impacted the sense of nationalism, making it more globalized and paradoxical. Global powers force the engagement of nationalism to be limber. On the other hand, the negative impact of these international powers is primarily generated by the transnational ideology that mostly stands against the existence of nationalism itself. Thus, it can be said that global power can destroy and change the idea and concept of nationalism in Indonesia (Kirsch, 2002).

Under those national problems, the question about the change and continuity of the idea of nationalism appears on the surface: Is the primeval notion of nationalism, which occurred in the early 20th century and mostly posited nationalism as the antithesis of colonial/imperialism, still relevant today? Does Indonesian society have to 'reimagine' or 'recalibrate' the conception of nationalism in facing internal and transnational problems in the 21st century? Is the idea of nationalism having been successfully reimagined in the Reformation era so that national integration can be maintained until nowadays? Is Indonesian society still stuck in the same old problems about the nation and national identity?

Previous literature has focused on the problem of nationalism in history textbooks. (Mulyana, 2021), analyzes the narrative of nationalism in the present history textbooks of Indonesia by mentioning the idea of nationalism that consists of myths of the past, glorification, ethnicity, diversity, and colonialism. Eddyono (2020) finds competing nationalism in Post-New Order Indonesia through stated-centered, citizen-centered, and *ummah*-centered narratives. These nationalisms emerge as the

nation-state narrative, including in the educational field. Unfortunately, an analysis of the continuity and change of nationalism in Indonesia, as represented in history textbooks, has not yet been appropriately examined (Eddyono, 2020).

This research aims to answer those questions by mainly emphasizing the analysis of the changing and continuity of ideas of nationalism from the New Order to the Reformation era. In answering this research question, history textbooks were posited as the primary source of observation of the changing and continuity of nationalism. As (Russen, 1994) and (Ahonen, 2001) pointed out, history textbooks, which are used for the educational process, are constructed by ideological and political terms. Thus, it can present and represent the idea of nationalism and its transformation. The change of narrative and discourse in history textbooks can indicate the changing concept of nationalism.

Research Methods

The discourse-historical Approach (DHA) was used to scrutinize the change or the continuity of the idea of nationalism in Indonesia through a critical discourse analysis of Indonesian history textbooks. Methodologically, DHA consists of three recursive phases of analysis: (1) topic identification, (2) the analysis of discursive strategy, and (3) the analysis of linguistic means by contextualizing the discourse. The focused analysis of DHA is the discursive strategies that can be divided into nine strategies: (1) nomination, (2) prediction, (3) argumentation, (4) framing or discourse representation, and (5) intensification or mitigation (Reisigl, 2017).

Eight history textbooks published from the New Order to the post-reformation era were examined:

1. *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia untuk SMA, Jilid 3* or Indonesian National History for Senior High School, Volume 3, published by the Department of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia in 1986 and republished in 1992. The head editors of the textbook were Nugroho Notosusanto and Yusmar Basri, two professional historians.
2. *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia untuk SMA dan Sekolah yang Sederajat* published by Grasindo, a private publisher in 1992. G. Moedjanto, Nani Sunarti, Chr wrote this book. Kristanto Dh. Anton Haryono, and A.A. Padi.
3. *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia dan Umum untuk kelas 3* for Curriculum 1994, written by (Badrika, 1994), published by Penerbit Erlangga, a private publisher.
4. *Sejarah Nasional dan Umum 3, untuk SMU kelas 3* for revised Curriculum 1994, written by (Waridah, S. Sukardi, J., and Sunarto, 2003) by Bumi Aksara, a private publisher.
5. *Sejarah MA/MA untuk kelas XI Semester 1 dan 2 Program Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial* for Curriculum KTSP published by the Department of National Education in 2009, written by (Tarunasena, 2009).
6. *The Department of National Education published Cakrawala Sejarah untuk SMA/MA Kelas XI (Program IPS)* in 2009 and written by (Wardaya, 2009).
7. *Sejarah Indonesia kelas XI semester 1 dan semester 2* for Curriculum 2013, published by the Ministry of Education and Culture in 2014, written by (Sardiman A.M. and Lestariningsih, 2014).
8. *Sejarah Indonesia Kelas XII* for Curriculum 2013 was published by The Ministry of Education and Culture in 2015 and was written by (Abdurakhman, Pradono, A., Sunarti, L., and Zuhdi, 2015).

The narratives of nationalism were written in the special chapter entitled National Movement, which consisted of a historical narrative of the early 20th century. Most history textbooks used the term 'National Awakening' to represent the history of the national movement in the 20th century.

As the form of historiography, history textbooks contain at least three substantive elements: historical facts, historical narratives, and logic of narratives. Historical facts refer to the evidence or the legacy of historical events accessible to historians. Historical narratives refer to the work of historians who narrate historical facts in a sequential narrative. Meanwhile, the logic of narrative means the framework of historians in narrating the past (Ankersmit, 1983). (White, 1990) gives a detailed explanation and categorization of historical narratives by explaining the elements of historical narratives. Historical narrative consists of discourse, narrative, and narrativity discourse. Discourse can be identified by the implicit or explicit presence of the subjectivity of the person who maintains the discourse. This is different from the narratives that represent the narrator's absence. Meanwhile, the narrativity discourse means that the events tell themselves without the narrator's presence.

From those theoretical frameworks, categorizing the elements in history textbooks becomes essential at the first stages of analysis. The analysis had been focused on the discourse of nationalism in history textbooks. In this research, the definition of discourse follows Reisigl's (2017) framework, which defines it as a context-dependent semiotic practice consisting of a claim of truth and normative validity involving social actors and social actions. Discourse consists of three elements, namely macro-topic-relatedness, puri-perspectivity, and argumentative. Discourse, text, and context are different concepts in the DHA. Text is part of the discourse and can be assigned to the genre. Meanwhile, context is a social situation when discourse is socially constituted and constitutive.

In this research, the DHA was conducted in three stages: analyzing nomination, analyzing predicative, and analyzing argument, framing, and intensification. The nomination was focused on answering how an actor is named or referred to linguistically in history textbooks. In this research, the nomination was conducted by finding words or terminology similar to nationalism through a scanning and skimming approach. Along with the nomination analysis, the authors also conducted a prediction analysis to reveal the attribution strategy to the social actor, object, and events that represent their features, characteristics, and qualities in history textbooks. In the predictive analysis, the authors focused on the moral and value judgment of the writer in presenting the idea of nationalism. The last stage was analyzing the argumentation, framing, and intensification of the concept of nationalism in history textbooks. Argumentation means a strategy to impart an argument in the discourse of history textbooks. Framing or discourse representation is related to the perspectivization from what the readers perceive the actors or events presented in the text. Intensification or mitigation refers to a strategy of how social actors are being intensified and mitigated by the repetition in the form of hyperbolic representation in the narrative of history textbooks. Argumentative, framing, and intensification analysis emphasized the macro text analysis where nationalism was presented.

Triangulation was held based on four triangulations: (1) the immediate triangulation that relates to the language or text-internal, (2) the intertextual and interdiscursive connection, (3) the extralinguistic triangulation that relates to the social variables and frame of the context of the situation, (4) the broader socio-political and historical context when discursive practices in history textbooks are embedded. DHA also analyzes intertextuality and interdiscursivity to bring the text into the macro analysis. Intertextuality means texts are connected and linked with other texts from the past or present. In this framework, texts from the past can be recontextualized or de-contextualized in the present frame. Interdiscursivity means that discourses are intermingled with each other in a macro context. It means discourse is constructed and connected with other discourse in various ways.

Result

The Primeval Idea of Nationalism

The traces of the primeval idea of nationalism in Indonesian history textbooks can be found in the chapter 'National Awakening' used to represent the history of the Indonesian national movement in the early 20th century. The textbooks from *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia untuk SMA* (used from 1975 to 1994), *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia untuk SMA dan Sekolah Sederajat* (1992), *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia dan Umum untuk Kelas 3* (1994), *Sejarah Nasional dan Umum 3* (2003), *Sejarah SMA/MA untuk Kelas XI Semester 1 dan 2 Program IPS* (2009), *Cakrawala Sejarah untuk SMA/MA Kelas XI (Program IPS)* (2009), *Sejarah Indonesia Kelas XI Semester 1 dan Semester 2 for Curriculum 2013* and *Sejarah Indonesia Kelas XII for Curriculum 2023* explained the narrative of nationalism in the chapter of National Awakening. This chapter describes the political struggle of the founding fathers in building nations and states under the pressure of colonialism.

Nationalism is nominated both explicitly and implicitly in all of the textbooks. "Nationalism" becomes the most articulated word that shows how it predominantly influences the discourse in history textbooks. Nationalism is predicated on the spirit of the nation's fight against colonialism and imperialism. It stands on the good side in contrast with colonialism. This word has become argumentative, framed, and intensified on the terms of national awakening. 'National Awakening' shows the red lines of nationalistic discourse spread from the early 20th century until the New Order Era political regime. This term had a semantic relation with the name of the Indonesian national day, The National Awakening Day, which was celebrated in 1948 to commemorate the establishment of Boedi Oetomo (Soekarno, 1952). Boedi Oetomo was appointed the first modern national organization

in Indonesia, established by young intellectuals, namely Soetomo, on 20th May 1908. This organization focused on educating people and strengthening Javanese culture (Nagazumi, 1972). Although this was an apolitical organization, Boedi Oetomo had been marked as the pioneer of Indonesian national organization because it provided a basic foundation for further nationalistic movements (Ki Hadjar Dewantara, 1952). Substantively, the term National Awakening had a political meaning that the national movement aroused in the early 20th century was not the starting point of Indonesian nationalism. Soekarno's plea in *Landraad* in 1929, when he was accused of revolt against the colonial government, entitled *Indonesia Menggugat*, represented a historical perspective that posited Sriwijaya and Majapahit as two national kingdoms that became the starting point of Indonesian nationalism (Soekarno, 1929). Then, the national movement in the early 20th century was merely the prolongation of these ancient splendid ancestors to create a nation.

The textbooks framed the national movement as a revelation of ancient political power that had been felt asleep during the colonial era. The 'National Awakening' appointment represents Indonesia's historical dimension of national integration. It is a socio-cultural strategy of national integration. Various ethnicities with different religious or political interests need everyday historical experiences to bind them together as a nation-state (Drake, 2019). Some historians knew the importance of shared historical experiences in integrating people. (Kartodirdjo, 187 C.E.), a historian who pioneered history based on Indonesian-centrism, emphasizes the integrative process in writing national history. According to Sartono, the embryo of national integration appeared in Indonesia since prehistoric times. Therefore, the historical processes led to national integration (Djono, D., Joebagio, H., & Abidin, 2020). Although, as criticized by (B. R. G. Anderson, 1999), the ancient ancestor of Indonesia certainly did not have a futuristic conception of the nation-state itself, the continuity of history becomes important in building a common historical experience of the people and legitimizing the existence of Indonesia as a nation-state. This means the primeval idea of the nation has been continuously preserved and maintained in the history textbooks. With this continuity, the primeval concept of nationalism became the basic foundation of nationalism in Indonesian history textbooks from the New Order era to the post-reformation era.

Developmentalist and Modern nationalism

Another idea found in the history textbooks is the developmentalist and modern nationalism. Based on the textbook analysis, it can be marked that the establishment of the New Order political regime in 1966 did not change the basic foundation of nationalistic discourse. Instead of changing the idea of a nation, the New Order government tends to impart an adjusted nationalistic discourse aligning with their political interests. Indonesian history textbooks published in the New Order Era (1966-1998) mainly attempted to impart the discourse of developmentalist nationalism in the basic foundation of nationalistic discourse. In the textbooks, developmental nationalism refers to the idea that socioeconomic development that emphasizes visible modernization is part of nationalism. New Order political regimes still defined nationalism as the antithesis of colonialism and imperialism. The textbooks tried to calibrate the primeval nationalistic discourse and the national interests of the New Order.

'Pembangunan nasional dalam jangka panjang yang dilaksanakan secara bertahap mulai Repelita itu pada hakikatnya adalah pembangunan bangsa atau nation building dalam arti yang luas. Pembangunan bangsa dalam arti yang luas adalah pembangunan nilai-nilai dasar yang vital, untuk menumbuhkan tata kehidupan masyarakat yang harmonis, mengembangkan bakat dan harkat manusia dan mengembangkan lembaga dan tata-cara yang kita pilih untuk hidup berbangsa dan ber-negara... Adapun hakikat Pancasila adalah keselarasan dan keseimbangan, antara Tuhan dengan manusia, antara manusia dengan manusia, antara individu dan masyarakat, antara Pusat dan Daerah, antara agama dengan agama, antara suku dengan suku, antara kemajuan lahir dan kesejahteraan batin. Demikianlah makna pembangunan bangsa seutuhnya, untuk menjangkau masa depan yang gemilang' (Sejarah Nasional Indonesia untuk SMA, (Moedjanto, G., Sunarti, N., Kristanto, Haryono, A. and Padi, 1992)).

Based on the above excerpt, the discourse of developmental nationalism had been imparted into the primeval idea of nationalism. The textbooks implicitly narrated the correlation between nationalism, Pancasila, and developmentalism. The development of socio-economic status can be categorized as the

articulation of nationalism. National development becomes essential in filling the nation-building process and creating harmony (Kaup, B. Z., & Gellert, 2017).

This continuation encounters (Barker, 2008) thesis about the transition from developmental to cultural nationalism in the political transition from Soekarno to Soeharto political regime. In Barker's eye, the developmental nationalism defined in the post-colonial term tends to mobilize the anti-imperialist movement and reduce dependence on other countries. Barker then assumed that developmental nationalism had transitioned to become a multi-cultural and developmental nationalism in 1966, shortly after the fall of the Guided Democracy political regime. The impairment of developmental nationalism in the primeval idea of nationalism within history textbooks means that there were no significant changes or even transformations of the concept of nationalism from the Guided Democracy era under President Soekarno (1959-1965) to the New Order era under President Soeharto (1966-1998). The viable transition, perhaps, occurred on the socio-economical stand from resource nationalism to becoming more neo-liberal nationalism, such as in the case of Bolivia (Gellert, 2015) and Eastern Europe (Cisar, 2000).

The idea of developmental nationalism in history textbooks aligned with the developmental ideology of the New Order political regime. The New Order tried to establish political stabilization in Indonesia to support its development trilogy with the specific economic development issue. The idea of development becomes a central point in the New Order's economic and political issues (Gellert, 2010). The New Order political government implemented a system called '*Ekonomi Pancasila*,' providing a space for economic development, liberalization, and cooperation (Islam, 1984); (Taubert, 1991). In this developmental framework, economic development played an important role in supporting stability and security, sustaining economic growth, enhancing the distribution, and reducing poverty (Kawamura, 2008). Therefore, the idea of developmentalist nationalism within history textbooks strongly correlated with the economic trajectory of the New Order.

Another essential aspect imparted in the history textbooks in the New Order and the Post-reformation era is the anti-communist discourse as part of national trauma and the militaristic discourse. As mentioned in the previous part, the anti-imperialist became the national trauma in the primeval idea of nationalism used by the Soekarno political regime. When the Soekarno fell after the 1965 tragedy, the national traumas had been transformed into internal political intrigue and violence between the Pancasilaist-nationalistic Parties and the Indonesian Communist Party. The New Order era underlined the national identity based on anti-communism, in which nationalism stood against it. The trauma of 1965 is continuously promoted as part of national integration discourse in the New Order and Post-reformation era (Kingston, 2016). Meanwhile, militaristic discourse was also imparted to the primeval idea of nationalism. The militaristic discourse emphasizes the role of military parties as a supporter of nationalism and national integration (McGregor, 2007); (Purwanta, 2017).

Discussion

In the case of Indonesia, the correlation between the idea of nationalism and the history textbook comes from long historical experiences. The initiation of writing a history textbook for educational purposes in Indonesia could not be separated from the political turmoil in the early period of Indonesian independence and the expectation to use history to strengthen the spirit of nationalism. From 1945 to 1965, Indonesian society had to defend its autonomy and unity against the Dutch military operations, regionalist rebellion, and the politics of disintegration. Under that political turbulence, history teaching in formal schools was expected to contribute more to the national building by nurturing nationalism for the younger generation. However, from 1945 to the 1960s, the majority of history teachers tended to refer to colonial textbooks, such as *Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch Indie* (Stapel, 1939) or *The History of Dutch East Indie*, as the primary sources to teach history in the classroom. Substantively, the book aimed to build the loyalty of Indonesian people to Dutch East Indie (Ali, 1965; (Notosusanto, 1965). The textbooks used a colonial perspective, which posits Indonesian people only as supporting actors in history. Consequently, the history of the Indonesian people started when the Dutch came and built a colony in some areas of the archipelago ((Kartodirdjo, 1966); (Purwanto, 2001). This perspective indeed confronts the spirit of Indonesian nationalism that arose in the mid-20th century.

In this situation, some historians and history teachers tried arranging history textbooks, but unfortunately, their work could not fulfill the expectation of providing a national perspective (Ali,

1965). The historians and history teachers failed to provide a national perspective in history textbooks because the colonial narrative and local identity still predominantly influenced their thoughts of history. Besides that, the local efforts to write history for educational purposes also generated a political problem. In the case of the school historiography in West Sumatra in the 1950s, the escalation of regionalism that was marked by the emergence of *Pemerintah Revolusioner Republik Indonesia* had been supported by local history in promoting the local identity at formal education. Batuah and Madjoindo, the local historians, published a book named *Tambo Minangkabau*, or The History of Minangkabau, that contains colonial discourses that posited West Sumatra and Java in the oppositional position ((Kahin, 1999); (Asnan, 2011)). This book could be seen as the local efforts to solve the lack of learning material at the local level. However, the content of the textbooks, which only emphasizes the role and perspective of the local figure with a colonial perspective, could threaten national integration.

In December 1957, the first Indonesian History Seminar was held at Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia—the seminar aimed to produce a national history for educational purposes. Historians, social scientists, and history teachers tried to discuss several issues of the writing of national history and the philosophical dimension of nationalism in history teaching. Unfortunately, the seminar failed to formulate a unity for Indonesian historiography. In later periods, the Indonesian government tried to reinstate the spirit to produce national history. In 1961, the government established a commission for writing national history. Still, they failed to progress due to the political turbulence at the end of Soekarno's political reign. The efforts to write national history were delayed due to political turmoil during the end of Soekarno's reign in Indonesia. After the 1965 tragedy, followed by the fall of Soekarno politically, the political stabilization in Indonesia was successfully maintained by the New Order under President Soeharto's authority. Historians successfully held the second Indonesian History Seminar in 1970 in the New Order Era. The result of this seminar was the publication of six volumes of *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia* (SNI) or the Indonesian National History. In 1976, the six volumes of SNI were simplified into three volumes and published as textbooks for senior and junior high schools in Indonesia. Since 1976, the SNI has been posited as the official history of Indonesia. It is widely cited by the authors of history textbooks thereafter as the grand narrative in history learning. Perceiving its influence, it can be assumed that the nationalistic discourse brought in the 1970s still can be found within Indonesian contemporary textbooks, and there is no significant change in the discourse of nationalism in Indonesian history textbooks from the New Order Era until the post-reformation era, except some enrichment of the narratives or the possibility of multiple-interpretation of the narrative. This stagnation of nationalistic discourse in Indonesian history textbooks, theoretical, will be problematic since many scholars perceive nationalism as a dynamic form of socio-political aspiration rather than stagnant political interest. Meanwhile, the political turbulence at the end of Soekarno's reign (1966-1965) or the political transition of 1998 has created a possibility of change in the nationalistic discourse in history textbooks (Notosusanto, N. & Basri, 1992).

The analysis of the Indonesian history textbooks from the New Order era to the Post-Reformation era has shown the continuity of the primeval idea of nationalism. The primeval idea of nationalism refers to the early conception of nation and nationalism in Indonesia in the early 20th century. Indonesian nationalism has a different nature and characteristics compared to the European conception of the late 17th century, which mostly took its idea based on ethnicity under the political consensus (Kohn, 1965). Indonesia's geographical landscape and historical legacy shaped nationalism not only based on ethnicity, religiosity, and social territory but also on people's cognitive awareness and collective consciousness to become a nation (B. Anderson, 2006). However, (Calhoun, 1993) pointed out that nationalism and ethnicity could not be disassociated. The local movements in some areas of Indonesia before the 20th century, which were triggered by primordial issues such as kinship, genealogy, and ethnicity, represented ethnonationalism in Indonesia (Leifer, 2002). In the context of Indonesia, the emergence of nationalist elites, the role of printed mass, and the establishment of the national organization become prominent factors in shaping the idea of nationalism against colonialism/imperialism (Shiraishi, 1990); (Van Miert, H., Satiman, S., & Sardjono-Soesman, 2003).

Indonesian nationalism was the antithesis of imperialism and colonialism. The presence of nationalism was triggered by the colonial education system, which led to the emergence of new intellectual groups (Karima et al., 2024). The intellectual groups had the vision to unify and free people to stand against colonialism. They criticized the colonial government and promoted the concept of a

nation-state beyond ethnonationalism. In this period, nationalism lived in a position against the memory of imperialism. The memory of imperialism ignited the flame of nationalism as the socio-political movement to strengthen the existence of a nation during the Cold War. In dealing with diversity, Indonesia perceives diverse cultures as their national identity, which is represented in the national motto, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, or Unity in Diversity. In the reign of Soekarno, the traumas of Dutch colonial imperialism were provoked to create anti-western and anti-neo-imperialist (Djono, D., & Joebagio, 2019). As a result, Soekarno succeeded in spreading the discourse of the ongoing domination and exploitation of imperialists. It means that national traumas contribute to shaping nationalism and national identity.

The fall of the New Order in 1998 did not terminate the discourse of developmentalist nationalism or the primeval idea of nationalism. The history textbook published after the Reformation brought 'modern nationalism' discourse with more accentuation on the global perspectives. The history textbooks narrated that the emergence of nationalism worldwide affected the birth of Indonesian nationalism in the 20th century. The nationalism of America, France, Russia, and China significantly impact the idea of nationalism in Indonesia. This tendency can be contextualized in the political-economic situation after the Reformation. In 1998, during the global economic crisis and before the fall of the New Order, the Indonesian government assigned a contract with the IMF (Dalrymple, 1998). This foreign intervention towards the Indonesian economy has become one of the critical points. This decision had to be legitimized to reduce the people's resistance and fulfill the demand of global powers (Boorman, J., & Hume, 2003). The trace of the legitimation of foreign intervention can be found in the narrative of the textbooks published in 2004. The history textbooks emphasize the connection between Indonesia and the global world. Indonesia, as a nation-state, cannot avoid global powers and connections (Robison, R., & Rosser, 1988).

This tendency of discourse has been proved to lead Indonesia in neo-liberal paths. In Gellert's (2014) perspective, about sixteen years after the fall of the New Order, this was the transition of Indonesian development from a state developmentalist to a neoliberal period. Gellert then explained the situation in the cosmopolitan neoliberal ideology based on nostalgic nationalism. In neoliberal cosmopolitanism, nationalism is aroused by issues such as the lack of development in remote areas and the life of the lower social classes that need to be improved not only in the sense of the anti-colonial and communist. Moreover, in the cosmopolitan term, nationalism had to align and be open to the globalized world. Within this path, Gellert also mentioned the existence of nostalgic nationalism in which Pancasila and shared historical experiences are still needed in terms of neo-liberal and cosmopolitan nationalism. History textbooks mentioned 'modern nationalism'.

That continuation tends to create layers of nationalism that consist of the intermingled ideas of primeval nationalism, developmental nationalism, and modern-globalized nationalism. The red lines of the primeval notion of nationalism became more complex when developmentalism, the modern concept of nationalism, and the anti-communism discourse had been imparted on it. The meaning and the form of nationalism are always dynamic and fluctuate along with the social-cultural and political contexts. However, nationalism in Indonesia should be contextualized rather than changed when facing political challenges. Consequently, nationalism in Indonesia cannot be easily defined by any concept of nationalism. The primeval ideas of nationalism, developmentalist nationalism, and modern nationalism are intermingled in the context of Indonesian nationalism. However, from the above analysis, it can be pointed out that state interests always determine the dynamic idea of nationalism in Indonesia. It does not represent or drive the collective project of the nation to reimagine nationalism along with the national needs and challenges. In this circumstance, the question that arose shortly after the fall of the New Order era about the power of nationalism in extending the limits of the nation-state is still relevant today. To a certain degree, it can generate several fundamental problems, especially in terms of national integration in the future (Ricklefs, 2008).

Conclusion

This research shows the change and the continuity of the discourse of nationalism in Indonesia. The analysis of the Indonesian history textbooks from the New Order era to the Post-Reformation era has shown the continuity of the primeval idea of nationalism. The primeval idea of nationalism refers to the early conception of nation and nationalism that occurred in Indonesia in the early 20th century and has been continuously preserved and maintained in the history textbooks from the New Order era

to the post-reformation era. The idea of nationalism as the antithesis of colonialism/imperialism led by the nationalist leaders to unify the political and social diversity into a nation-state becomes the basic foundation of the nationalistic discourse in the textbooks. In the New Order era, the discourse of developmentalist nationalism was imparted to the primeval idea. The fall of the New Order in 1998 did not terminate the discourse of developmentalist nationalism. A new discourse of 'modern nationalism' with a global perspective had been imparted in the textbooks published in the post-reformation era. This means that the political transition from the Guided Democracy era to the New Order era in 1966 or the fall of the New Order era in 1998 did not significantly change the idea of nationalism. That transition tends to create a matrix and layers in the concept of nationalism consisting of the primeval notion of nationalism, developmentalist nationalism, and modern-globalized nationalism. This shows continuity and the dynamic idea of nationalism in Indonesia. However, the dynamic concept of nationalism is determined by state interests. It does not represent the collective project of the nation to reimagine nationalism along with the national needs and challenges (Feith, 2006).

References

- Abdurakhman, Pradono, A., Sunarti, L., and Zuhdi, S. (2015). *Sejarah Indonesia Kelas XII for Curriculum 2013*.
- Ahonen, S. (2001). Politics of identity through history curriculum: Narratives of the past for social exclusion - or inclusion? *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 33:2, 179–194. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220270010011202>
- Ali, M. (1965). *Some Problem in Indonesian Historiography* (Soedjatmoko (Ed.) (ed.)). Cornell University Press.
- Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. Verso books.
- Anderson, B. (2015). *Papua's insecurity: state failure in the Indonesian periphery*. East-West Center.
- Anderson, B. R. G. (1999). *Indonesian nationalism today and in the future*. 1–11.
- Ankersmit, F. R. (1983). Narrative logic: A semantic analysis of the historian's language. *Nijhoff*, 7.
- Asnan, G. (2011). *Regionalisme, Historiografi, dan Pemetaan Wilayah: Sumatera Barat Tahun 1950-an* in van Bammelen, S and Raben, R. (2011). *Antara Daerah dan Negara: Indonesia tahun 1950-an, Pembongkaran Narasi besar Integrasi Bangsa*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia & KITLV-Jakarta.
- Aspinall, E., & Berger, M. T. (2001). The break-up of Indonesia? Nationalisms after decolonization and the limits of the nation-state in post-Cold War Southeast Asia. *Third World Quarterly*, 22(6), 1003–1024.
- Badrika, I. . (1994). *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia dan Umum untuk kelas 3 for Curriculum*. Erlangga.
- Barker, J. (2008). Beyond Bandung: developmental nationalism and (multi) cultural nationalism in Indonesia. *Third World Quarterly*, 29(3), 521–540.
- Bell, I., Feith, H., & Hatley, R. (1986).). The West Papuan Challenge to Indonesian Authority in Irian Jaya: Old Problems, New Possibilities. *Asian Survey*, 26(5), 539–556.
- Boorman, J., & Hume, A. R. (2003). *Life with the IMF: Indonesia's Choices for the Future*.
- Bourchier, D. M. (2019). Two Decades of Ideological Contestation in Indonesia: From Democratic Cosmopolitanism to Religious Nationalism. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 49(5), 713–733.
- Budiatri, A. . (2020). Revising the Special Autonomy Law for Papua: Challenges and Possibilities. *ISEAS Perspective*, 56 (Juni), 1–10.
- Calhoun, C. (1993). Nationalism and ethnicity. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 19(1), 211–239.
- Cisar, O. (2000). Developmentalists and Nationalists: On the Transformations in Eastern Europe. *Stredoevropske Politicke Studie*, 2(4).
- Dalrymple, R. (1998). Indonesia and the IMF: the evolving consequences of a reforming mission. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 52(3), 233–239.
- Djono, D., & Joebagio, H. (2019). Narration and Discourse of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika in Indonesian Revised History Textbook: A History Didactics Approach. *Paramita: Historical Studies Journal*, 29(1), 18–27.
- Djono, D., Joebagio, H., & Abidin, N. F. (2020). Gerak Sejarah Integratif-Multidimensional: Warisan Sartono Kartodirdjo Bagi Filosofi Pendidikan Sejarah Menuju Society 5.0. *Criksetra: Jurnal*

- Pendidikan Sejarah, 9(1), 32–46.
- Drake, C. (2019). *National integration in Indonesia: Patterns and policies*. University of Hawaii Press.
- Eddyono, S. (2020). Competing Nationalism in Post-New Order Indonesia. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 26(4).
- Feith, H. (2006). The decline of constitutional democracy in Indonesia. *Equinox Publishing*.
- Gellert, P. K. (2010). Extractive regimes: toward a better understanding of Indonesian development. *Rural Sociology*, 75(1), 28–57.
- Gellert, P. K. (2015). Optimism and education: The new ideology of development in Indonesia. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 45(3), 371–393.
- Islam, I. (1984). Socio-Economic Progress in Indonesia under the New Order: An Assessment. *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 137–150.
- Kahin, A. (1999). Rebellion to integration: West Sumatra and the Indonesian polity, 1926-1998. *Amster*.
- Karima, E. M., Nurlizawati, N., Firza, F., Abidin, N. F., & Ibrahim, Y. (2024). Reducing Cognitive Bias of Pre-Service History Teachers through Augmented Reality. *JOIV: International Journal on Informatics Visualization*, 8(1), 520-525. *dam University Press*.
- Kartodirdjo, S. (187 C.E.). *Pengantar sejarah Indonesia baru, 1500-1900: Dari emporium sampai imperium (Vol. 1)*. Gramedia.
- Kartodirdjo, S. (1966). *The peasants' revolt of Banten in 1888 (p. 392)*. Brill.
- Kaup, B. Z., & Gellert, P. K. (2017). Cycles of resource nationalism: Hegemonic struggle and the incorporation of Bolivia and Indonesia. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 58(4), 275–303.
- Kawamura, K. (2008). *Indonesia's Development Policy in Historical Perspective*. <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1742679>
- Ki Hadjar Dewantara. (1952). *Dari kebangkitan nasional sampai proklamasi kemerdekaan*. Endang.
- Kingston, J. (2016). *Nationalism in Asia: A history since 1945*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Kirsch, S. (2002). Rumour and other narratives of political violence in West Papua. Critique of Anthropology. *Critique of Anthropology*, 22(1), 53–79.
- Kohn, H. (1965). *Nationalism: Its Meaning and History*. Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company.
- Leifer, M. (2002). The changing temper of Indonesian nationalism. In *Routledge* (pp. 163–179).
- Liow, J. C. (2016). *Religion and nationalism in Southeast Asia*. Cambridge University Press.
- McGregor, K. E. (2007). *History in uniform: Military ideology and the construction of Indonesia's past*. NUS Press.
- Menchik, J. (2014). Productive intolerance: Godly nationalism in Indonesia. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 56(3), 591–621.
- Moedjanto, G., Sunarti, N., Kristanto, Haryono, A. and Padi, A. . (1992). *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia untuk SMA dan Sekolah yang Sederajat*. Grasindo.
- Mulyana, A. (2021). Narratives of Nationalism in Indonesia and Malaysia's History Textbooks. *Paramita: Historical Studies Journal*, 31(2).
- Murphy, A. M. (1999). Indonesia and globalization. *Asian Perspective*, 229–259.
- Nagazumi, A. (1972). The dawn of Indonesian nationalism: The early years of the Budi Utomo, 1908-1918 (Vol. 10). In *Institute of Developing Economies*.
- Notosusanto, N. & Basri, Y. (1992). Sejarah Nasional Indonesia untuk SMA, Jilid 3 or Indonesian National History for Senior High School, Volume 3. In *The Department of Education and Culture of Republic of Indonesia*.
- Notosusanto, N. (1965). Problems in the Study and Teaching of National History in Indonesia. *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, 6(1), 1–16.
- Purwanta, H. (2017). Militaristic Discourse in Secondary Education History Textbooks during and after the Soeharto Era. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society*, 9(1), 36–57.
- Purwanto, B. (2001). Historisme baru dan kesadaran dekonstruktif: kajian kritis terhadap historiografi Indonesiasentris. *Humaniora*, 13(1), 29–44.
- Reisigl, M. (2017). The discourse-historical approach. In *The Routledge Handbook of critical discourse studies (pp. 44-59)*. Routledge.
- Ricklefs, M. C. (2008). A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200. In *Macmillan International Higher Education*.

- Robison, R., & Rosser, A. (1988). Contesting reform: Indonesia's new order and the IMF. *World Development*, 26(8), 1593–1609.
- Ruhyanto, A. (2016). The Perils of Prosperity Approach in Papua. *Peace Review*, 28(4), 490–498.
- Russen, J. (1994). *Historisches Lernen*. Bohlau.
- Sardiman A.M. and Lestariningsih, A. . (2014). Sejarah Indonesia kelas XI semester 1 dan semester 2 for Curriculum 2013. In *The Ministry of Education and Culture*.
- Shiraishi, T. (1990). *An age in motion: Popular Radicalism in Java, 1912-1926*.
- Soekarno. (1929). *Indonesia Menggugat*.
- Soekarno. (1952). Be True to Your Source: President's speech. *Indonesian Affairs*, 2(2).
- Stapel, F. W. (1939). *Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch-Indie III*.
- Suryadinata, L. (2000). Nation-building and nation-destroying: The challenge of globalization in Indonesia. *Nationalism and Globalization: East and West*, 38–70.
- Tarunasena. (2009). *Sejarah MA/MA untuk kelas XI Semester 1 dan 2 Program Ilmu Pengetahuan Sosial for Curriculum KTSP*. The Department of National Education.
- Taubert, A. (1991). Liberalization, Co-operatives, and Ekonomi Pancasila. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 347–359.
- Van Miert, H., Satiman, S., & Sardjono-Soesman, M. F. (2003). *Dengan semangat berkobar: nasionalisme dan gerakan pemuda di Indonesia, 1918-1930*. KITLV.
- Wardaya. (2009). *Cakrawala Sejarah untuk SMA/MA Kelas XI (Program IPS)*. The Department of National Education.
- Waridah, S. Sukardi, J., and Sunarto, P. (2003). *Sejarah Nasional dan Umum 3, untuk SMU kelas 3 for revised Curriculum 1994*. Bumi Aksara.
- White, H. (1990). *The content of the form: Narrative discourse and historical representation*. JHU Press.