The Historical Narrative for Indonesia as A Multiethnic State: A Methodological Exploration

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Abstract: This study aims to analyze Indonesian historiography for education from a methodological perspective. The main problem raised was what historical narratives are suitable for the Indonesia as a multiethnic state? This research analyzes the historiography for education published along the New Order period (1967-1998) to the Reformation era (1998-now). The approach used was hermeneutic developed by Heidegger and Gadamer. They view that an audience is a crucial person in interpreting historical narrative. The historiographical study results indicate that the historical narrative developed did not represent objective, deterministic, and monolithic. This study not only criticized the Indonesian history narrative that was published but also offered the use of Inter-Ethnics Relations and 'History from within' approach as the solution. The Inter-Ethnics Relations approach highlights the intensity of positive interactions between ethnics to eliminate prejudice and conflict. On the other hand, history from within approach makes historical events understood as representations of the socio-cultural system. Historical action is interpreted and understood as an effort to realize the ideal life order under historical actors' values and culture. Through these two approaches, the historical narrative makes sense for people from all ethnicities as citizens of the Indonesia.


INTRODUCTION
History from an ontological perspective is the study of events that occurred in the past. The results of historians' studies are referred to as historiography, which can be grouped into two, namely reconstruction and construction (Aymard, 2004). Recon-
struction to mention if narrative history is in the form of description. On the other hand, construction is a term for narrative history in the form of explanation or analysis (Munslow, 1997). From this point of view, historical reconstruction attempts to answer how a historical event occurred. Two essential elements in the formation of narratives in the form of historical reconstruction are chronology and process. Chronology is the sequence of events based on the time they appeared. On the other hand, the process is a series of events that occur across time (Forber & Griffith, 2011).

Meanwhile, construction in history focuses more on finding the cause of an event. Every historical event is a complex social reality or multidimensional social reality. Therefore, to explain a historical phenomenon, social theories as auxiliary sciences are needed (Kartodirdjo, 1992). The task of theory and concepts from the social sciences is to provide an analytical framework for historians to understand historical phenomena in greater depth.

From an epistemological perspective, the two types of work of historians, namely reconstruction and construction, can be accounted for academically. The problem that arises is in the perspective of axiology, namely its usefulness for the community, especially in developing countries, like Indonesia. Of the various ideas about the accountability of historians to the results of the reconstruction as stated in the recent days, it seems that there is no standard and agreed upon by Indonesian historians on the criteria that can be used to measure it. Purwanto (2005) provides the elements of humanity, easy to understand, fun, and meaningful as criteria for the results of an excellent historical reconstruction. However, when discussing various weaknesses contained in Indonesian historiography, he did not use these criteria as a measurement tool. From his criticism that Indonesia’s historiography is trapped in the simplification of historical phenomena and is getting away from objective history (Purwanto, 2006), it seems that objectivity is used as a measure to assess whether a result of historical reconstruction is good, unfavorable or bad (Purwanto & Adam, 2005).

In contrast to Bambang Purwanto, Asvi Warman Adam (2007; Purwanto & Adam, 2005) criticized Indonesia’s historiography, especially narratives in national history as monolithic and only contained explanations of the winner. Therefore, he proposes to place diversity and balance as the main criteria of good historiography. Diversity in this context is that Indonesia’s national history should reflect the various ethnicities and forces that exist in Indonesia. In his criticism, Asvi pointed out that Chinese people as a group of Indonesian people contributed significantly to Indonesian civilization, but were not included in national history. In addition to diversity, balance is also proposed as a criterion. In this context, the “victims’ history” that they are involved in is an alternative to balance the explanation of national history.

From the two historians who lately discussed a lot of the blurring of Indonesian history, both have different stands in analyzing Indonesian historiography. Purwanto (2006) questioned the level of truth of explanation, while Asvi highlighted the aspect of completeness of explanation as a form of professional historian’s responsibility. This difference is valid because there are no agreed criteria for evaluation among Indonesian historians. Historians’ absence of standards agreed upon professionally makes it impossible for anyone to evaluate with the results of an assessment that can be accepted by the public rationally. Although perhaps among national historians, there are similarities in the view that the face of Indonesian history is in disarray, the reasons for each will inevitably have considerable differences, not to say the opposite.

The absence of criteria on the axiological aspects of history has caused a crisis in history education. Ontologically history education has the responsibility to instill historical consciousness and develop historical thinking skills (Luis & Rapanta, 2020; Purwanta, 2019; Rüsen, 2004; Seixas & Peck, 2004), but at the level of praxis, there is no agreement. The crisis culminated in the 2013 curriculum that excluded one of the goals of history education: the cultivation of historical consciousness.

There is no agreement among historians and history education experts, for example, on how to deal with Indonesia as a multiethnic state. Indonesia comprises more than sixteen ethnicities with Javanese as the largest. All ethnic and sub-ethnicities develop specific traditions and cultures which are called local cultures. From a religious viewpoint, there are six formal religions and many indigenous religions or beliefs. If left unattended, ethnicity will divide Indonesia. Research has found that ethnicity is the most important factor in horizontal conflict (Widyastuti, 2019), especially race, tradition, language, and religion (Coakley, 2009). The conflicts in Ambon, Poso, and Sampit (Schulze, 2017a, 2019) show that military forces cannot maintain long-lasting integration.

Historical education has a potential to make a significant contribution in strengthening national integration, namely by constructing historical nar-
narratives with an inter-ethnic relationship approach. In this approach, national integration is the result of centuries of inter-ethnic interactions, both in the economic, social, cultural, and political fields. Thus, the students will have the awareness that national integration is not only a gentlemen's agreement between several leaders of the national movement in Jakarta but also an agreement of all ethnicities in Indonesia.

In addition to using an inter-ethnic relationship approach, historical education also needs to develop history from within. Nordholt (2004) strongly criticized that the history of Indonesia is the history without people. It means that the narratives constructed by historians and textbooks writers are not able to express the ideal life order that people wanted to realize through historical actions. Therefore, the history from within approach is urgent to apply. It views every historical event as a people's effort to realize their values. Through that approach, historical narrative can give insight and inspiration to the young generation that every single historical event is a valuable step to realize the ideal type of life.

Triggered by the absence of agreement on historical narrative criteria, this study aims to develop approaches for better history education. The research questions raised are: (1) What is the historical narrative in Indonesia? What is the historical narrative for better education in Indonesia?

METHOD

Based on UNESCO's recommendations for historiographic research for education, this study used a hermeneutic approach (Pingel, 2010). Usually, the hermeneutic approach used to obtain a grammatical and intuitive understanding of the text (Schleiermacher, 1998) with a primary focus on understanding the author's message. In contrast to the common use of hermeneutics, this study is concerned with the position of readers because the main focus of education is the development of the young generation's ability as historical narrative audiences.

The hermeneutical approach from the perspective of the reader was developed by the German philosopher Martin Heidegger. He explained that the importance of a narrative is not only determined by the content of the reading but mainly determined by the reader's perspectives. The meaningfulness of reading is mainly determined by how much the reader can find and develop his or her potential to become an idealized person (Heidegger, 1996, p. 135). From this point of view, the young generation reads historical narratives not to understand the meaning of the dead contents of the text. Instead, reading is an activity to open up various opportunities provided by the text to have a better understanding of the reader's existence (Ricoeur, 2009, p. 78).

The discovery and development of self-potential are determined primarily by the reader's initial understanding. According to Heidegger (1996, p. 214), presuppositions contain three things: fore-having, fore-sight, and fore-conception. Thus, the audience brings their pre-understanding to obtain the stimulus provided by reading to enrich their "fore having, fore-sight, and fore conception" (Smith, 2007) and develop themselves to have a strong personality (Sein, opposite of Dasein) (Horrigan-Kelly et al., 2016).

In line with Heidegger's perspective, Gadamer explained that historical interpretations depart from presuppositions of the present. From this viewpoint, present conditions are the basis for a historical understanding (Palmer, 1969). Nevertheless, it needs to be understood that the present conditions are closely related to the past. Gadamer even explained that the present was influenced by the past, which he called the "history of effect" (Gadamer, 2006).

From philosophical thoughts about hermeneutics developed by Heidegger and Gadamer, it can be taken into account that the meaning of historical narratives is determined primarily by readers who, in this study, are students as the young generation of Indonesia. To provide young people in developing their personalities, historical narratives need to be packaged according to the socio-cultural conditions of the Indonesian people today. Historical narratives must highlight the cultural links between events and figures of the past and present generations of young people. In other words, events and figures must be studied as symbolic actions of Indonesia's socio-cultural conditions (Nagazumi, 1968; Smail, 1961), so that historical narratives make sense for today's young generation.

FINDINGS

Indonesia experienced Dutch colonialism for more than a century. During the colonial period, three kinds of historical narratives developed, namely colonial, oral-traditional, and written-traditional. Colonial historiography narrated Dutch colonialists as the main characters and Indonesian society as objects. It was explained in a colonial history textbook that the Dutch occupation of Indonesia bene-
fited the indigenous people. They were before the enforcement of that power treated arbitrarily by their regional heads (kings). However, the Dutch colonial government guaranteed the safety of the population and paid attention to their interests (Ali, 2005, p. 150).

On the other hand, written-traditional historiography, which has developed since before the arrival of Western nations, contains narratives about the activities of kings and nobles. Traditional historiography is written in the form of babad, hikayat (tale), and chronic (Bisyarda, 2016; Mu’jizah, 2018). Meanwhile, traditional oral historiography is a historical narrative that is transmitted from generation to generation by word of mouth. The contents of oral historiography are the origin of an area, values, and norms that apply in an ethnicity. Traditional-oral historiography is narrated in the form of folklore and legend (Desy et al., 2020; Tanti, 2013).

After Indonesia proclaimed independence on August 17, 1945, one of the problems that received attention was the reconstruction of Indonesian history. During this period, nationalistic historical narratives emerged, such as Armin Pane, who wrote about the archipelago trade, Sanusi Pane, who wrote about politics and culture, and Mohammad Ali, who discussed feudal life. The image of the Indonesian past is further enriched by writing G.J. Resink, who examined the power of the VOC from the standpoint of international law (Klooster, 1985). The development of nationalistic history writing culminated in the first National History Seminar in Yogyakarta, 1957. At the seminar, there was a debate between Mohamad Yamin, whose thoughts represented nationalistic history and Soedjatmoko, whose thoughts represented academic history (Curaming, 2003).

The national leadership from Sukarno to Suharto was changed in 1967. The event was not only a marker of political change but also an ideology. Under President Sukarno’s leadership, Indonesia applied Marxist ideology and anti-Western, which was stamped as capitalist and imperialist. On the other hand, under President Suharto’s administration, Indonesia tended to implement a capitalistic economy and pro-Western (Dhakidae, 2003). The change of national leadership influenced the historians. The idea of imitating the West developed, and the opinions dominated the second National History Seminar in 1970. The seminar ended the period of nationalistic history and marked the emergence of professional historians, namely historians who were educated through tertiary institutions. The education that was passed made professional historians have methodological skills so that the results of their studies could be academically justified. Professional historians are usually opposed to amateur historians who write historical events as a hobby and do not have methodological skills to conduct research (Kartodirdjo, 1982).

Although professional historians dominate the grand narration, nationalistic history written by amateur historians is not immediately lost. Klooster (1985) notes that the historian Minangkabau M.D. Mansoer criticized that Indonesian historians had been influenced by changing times, thus spreading colonial ideologies. Besides, the nationalistic history that portrays colonialism as a force that destroys colonized society still emerges, although it is infrequent (Klooster, 1985; Wirjosuparto, 1958).

Since professional historians dominate the writing of history in Indonesia, the Covering Law Model, known as the social sciences approach, gained a remarkable position (Kartodirdjo, 1992). One of the impressive results achieved was the publication of six volumes of the Indonesian National History book in 1975. The approach of the social sciences also made history in Indonesia successful in developing specialties, such as cultural history using an anthropological approach, social history with the science of sociology, and political history with borrow concepts and theories from political science (Burke, 1993).

During the New Order government, professional historians can be grouped into two, called Modern Professional Historians (MPH) and Military Historians. Nevertheless, this study will focus on MPH, who master the grand narrative of history in Indonesia. MPH in this study is referred to as historians who ideologically embrace Modernism. The characteristic of this group is putting modern Western culture as the ideal type. They aspire to change the nation of Indonesia to become modern in the sense of Western culture (Sutherland, 2008). At the level of thought, the briefing of Indonesian history to support Modernism was represented in the lecture of Soedjatmoko (1973), which stated that historical awareness of continuity, but also awareness of the possibility of discontinuity in development efforts.

Discontinuity in history, better known as change (change) in practice, is no longer a possibility but developed into the focus of attention on historical narratives produced by MPH. Borrowing the term development economist Rostow (1990), every society will develop or change linearly from traditional to high mass consumption. From this point
of view, Indonesia's history is understood as a socio-cultural change in society from one stage to another and finally give birth to Indonesia as an industrial country. The prominence of change in the Indonesian National History book is represented through the development of pre-literate societies (Volume I) towards Hindu-Buddhism (Volume II), then changing to Islam (Volume III), and during the colonial period (Volume IV) turning into Western culture (Volume V), primarily through Ethical Politics, and finally culminated in the formation of an industrial state during the New Order (Volume VI).

One Indonesian historian whose thought influences younger historians nationally, namely Sartono Kartodirjo, wrote that Ethical Politics was possible to emerge by a new direction in the colonial politics of the Dutch parties; This new direction is usually called by the name of colonial politics rather than moral education. It was further explained that in Ethical Politics, the colonial task was no longer seen as politics seeking profit, but as a cultural mission that was moral. The ideal goal is to include the Indonesian people in the cultural orbit of the colonizers, namely the Netherlands, to absorb and possess Western culture (Kartodirjo, 2014). Sartono Kartodirjo’s views are reminiscent of the thought of a controversial national movement figure, Sutan Takdir Alisyahbana, whom polemic against many other movements figures as Ki Hadjar Dewantara, Sanusi Pane and Soetomo. Alisyahbana considers that the Indonesian people must absorb the spirit of Western culture, which has proven superior (Kartamihardja, 1977).

Critics that arise against the historiography of MPH’s work can be grouped into three groups, namely ideological, methodological, and narrative content. Ideologically, Modernism makes Indonesian history fragmented and disconnected from one part to another. The reader cannot find any connection between the pre-literate period and the Hindu-Buddhist period and afterward. Borrowing the views of White (2008), history ideologically separates the present generation from their past. When the current generation reads historiography, it not only aims to understand historical events that occur, but also the opportunities provided by the text to find and develop themselves according to their ideal types (Heidegger, 1996, p. 135). The result of the fractured historiography is the birth of history without society and society without history (Nordholt, 2004). Their lives become very easily swayed, so it is natural that they are then exposed to transnational ideologies (Azzam & Dianti, 2017; Wallach, 2002) or become consumptive humans who place ownership of objects representations of existence (Fromm, 1961).

From a methodological perspective, the criticism that arises is the failure of Indonesian historiography in developing an Indonesian-centric history, so that the narratives are arranged differently from objective reality (Purwanto, 2006). Philosophically, the truth of historical reconstruction is not placed on the aspect of objectivity in the sense of similarity between explanation and events (Tamm, 2014). Philosophical studies show that objectivity cannot be used as a measure in the science of history, because the events studied by historians are lost and impossible to be brought back. Comparison between the object under study and the results of the study cannot be made. The impossibility of measuring the objectivity of historical explanation does not mean that there are no tools to measure the truth of explanation in the science of history. Measurement of historical truth is not done by comparing between explanations and historical events, but through measurements on aspects of coherence and correspondence (Ankersmit, 1987). Explanation of history is considered correct if the description is coherent with truths that have been agreed upon by the public, especially the results of academic studies. According to the theory of correspondence, the truth of historical explanation is determined by the suitability of historical explanation with reality (Newman, 2002).

Criticism of Indonesian historiography from the perspective of content is monolithic and only contains the explanation of the winner (Adam, 2007). Therefore, Adam (2005) proposes to place diversity and balance as the main criteria of Indonesian historiography. Diversity in this context is that Indonesia's national history should reflect the various ethnicities and forces that exist in Indonesia. One of them is the ethnic Chinese as an Indonesian community group who made a significant contribution to Indonesian civilization (Heidhues, 2017) but were not included in national history. The same thing applies to the Hadrami ethnicity (Hasyim, 2020; Jacobsen, 2009). If there is no strong reason to exclude them, the two ethnic groups need to be given an adequate portion of Indonesia’s national history, so that their respective roles in Indonesian history can be understood each other.

On the other hand, equilibrium is a historical explanation containing the perspectives of various interested parties. So far, history has only been seen from the side of the authorities and the central gov-
ernment. The regional upheaval that occurred in the early days of independence, such as Darul Islam, Madiun affair, West Sumatra Revolt, and the South Maluku Republic, was only seen from the interests of the central government in quelling the rebellion. The views, disappointments, and unrest of the local people have never been examined and included in the narrative of national history. The same pattern applies to the upheavals that followed later, such as the G30S in 1965, the Free Aceh Movement and the Free Papua Movement.

**Inter-ethnic relations approach**

Each nation has unique characteristics and distinguishes from other nations. Therefore, history must take into account that uniqueness as the foundation of the narrative that was compiled. Indonesia is one of the most populous countries and has more than 300 ethnic groups. From this point of view, historical narratives need to be directed to use an inter-ethnic relations approach to maintain and develop inter-ethnic integration. The study of interactions between ethnic groups shows that the main obstacles to cooperation are differences in language, tradition, ethnicity, race, and religion. These differences give birth to prejudice, mutual suspicion, and horizontal conflict.

Theoretically, conflict involves two groups of people known to have different cultural identities, namely exclusivity, and insecurity (Massey & Miller, 2018). Identity exclusivity is a characteristic of a community or ethnic group representing prejudice between group members, high commitment and loyalty to the group, and discriminatory attitudes towards other groups or ethnicities. The term indigenous, native people, Islam is a vocabulary that is often used to show people’s exclusivity when conflicting with another group. In contrast, insecurity identity is a characteristic of community groups or ethnic minorities who feel anxious, threatened, discriminated against, victimized, and ignored (Jetten et al., 2002).

Horizontal conflicts often occur in Indonesia (Coppel, 2006), especially between sub-ethnic groups. At the ethnic level, one of the major conflicts is between the Dayak and Madura ethnic groups that occurred in 2001 in West Kalimantan (Schulze, 2017b). As a result of the conflict, thousands of migrants from Madura had to leave Kalimantan. Meanwhile, another chronic problem is the ethnic Chinese who have always been victims of socio-political discrimination since the New Order came to power. Often, ethnic Chinese also become victims of riots that occurred in big cities in Indonesia, such as in Jakarta and Solo in 1998 (Zha, 2000).

Conflicts also happened among followers of religions, especially between hardline Muslims and people of other religions, such as Christians, Catholics, and Buddhists (Schulze, 2019). The annual report on freedom of religion and belief between 2016 and 2018 shows that conflicts caused by religion are still quite high, namely 2016: 204; 2017: 213; and 2018: 192 (Azhari & Ferdhi, 2019).

In modern society, national integration is one representation of nationalism, and it requires a commitment to accept other groups or ethnicities as fellow citizens in the spirit of assimilationism, pluralism, and integrationism (Kim, 2007). From this point of view, history needs to take an active role in managing diversity and developing national integration by instilling awareness in the young generation as citizens of a multiethnic Indonesian nation. Sartono Kartodirdjo, a prominent Indonesian historian, explained that history must be understood teleologically as the interaction of various ethnic groups towards the creation of national integration (Mulyana & Darmiasti, 2009).

The inter-ethnic relations approach can reconstruct the history of Indonesia, both remote past and modern periods. Various historical sources, both primary and secondary, clearly illustrate the interaction of trade between islands in Indonesia that takes place at a remote past. Tom Pires (1944) made detailed accounts of inter-island and international trade when he stayed in Indonesia from 1512 to 1515. Similarly, Duarte Barbosa (Barbosa, 1921a, 1921b) who came to Indonesia in 1518. Barbosa described the bustle of the trade from Java and Malacca to the eastern regions of Indonesia, such as Maluku and Timor. The merchants sailed east carrying merchandise such as axes, swords, knives, cloth, porcelain, tin, and silver. Meanwhile, from the Maluku and Timor regions, they brought cloves, sandalwood, honey, candles, slaves, and pepper (Barbosa, 1921a, pp. 199-204).

These economic activities result in interaction, assimilation, and cultural acculturation. Even Meilink-Roelofs (1962, p. 95) notes that bird feathers on the heads of nobles in Turkey and Persia were imported from Indonesia. At the regional level, cultural interactions give birth to equality and cultural equality among the various ethnic South-east Asian islands. All ethnic groups share a culture of respect for parents in Indonesia with a variety of representations, such as the tradition of respect for ancestors and a social system based on seniority. The interaction between ethnics also gave birth to a
pluralistic view, as revealed from the saying that wherever the earth rests, the sky is held in high esteem. The phrase shows that Indonesian people who wander in other areas will be respectful of local customs.

**History from within Approach**

Since the New Order came to power, the grand narration in Indonesian history has placed foreigners as a determinant power. A foreign power is described as the main factor of the changes or developments in Indonesian society. In explaining the entry of Indonesian people into the literacy period marked by the use of written language, the Indians were placed as a determinant factor that introduced Pallava (Gunawan et al., 2017). The Arabs became a determinant factor in introducing Islam. Even the desire to develop an Indonesian state is expressed in Indonesian historiography as a result of Western education developed by the Dutch colonialists.

Historical narratives that position foreign power as a determinant factor can be academically justified. However, the socio-cultural narrative will give birth to a new generation of inferiority and dependence. Borrowing the views of Fujioka Nobukatsu (Nozaki, 2008), the narrative that discredits the nation itself is a masochistic history gaining satisfaction by hurting oneself. The new generation, as the audience, will be ashamed as part of the Indonesian nation and instead try to follow a different cultural identity.

Deterministic historical construction develops because of the behavioristic thinking; namely, historical events occur because historical actors respond to stimuli that come from outside themselves. From this point of view, the stimulus is seen as a determinant factor in the response by historical actors. Therefore, to overcome the negative influence of deterministic narratives, the construction of history needs to shift the focus of the study to historical actors within themselves.

Changes in the perspective of studies in history from within bring the consequences of changes in research methods used. In general, historians collect facts and then assemble using theories from social sciences into an explanation. Borrowing the views of Collingwood (1994), historians who work like that are said to use the ‘scissors-and-paste’ historical method. In contrast to the historical methods that have been used so far, history from within views facts left by historical events as indications of other facts that can be analogous to the iceberg’s underwater seas (Burman, 2012). The events and traces they leave behind are placed as symbolic actions of historical actors. Boesch (2001) explains that there are three concepts related to symbolic actions; namely, culture is a referral system, individual actions are in the cultural field, and actions aim to realize a desired condition in the future. Sociologically, symbolic actions can be assessed through four types of action rationality developed by Max Weber (Kalberg, 1980), especially value rationality (Etzrodt, 2005).

By using a historical perspective from within the narrative, the emergence of a national movement history is no longer narrated only depends on the Dutch colonial government’s policy in the expansion of the Western education system. Historical narratives will lead to the culture used by young people at that time as a reference in establishing movement organizations. From this viewpoint, the actions of the young people in the early 20th century to realize an ideal life following their socio-cultural system.

Today’s young generation as audiences will view historical narratives constructed using the perspective of history from within as make sense. That view can emerge because the current young generation of Indonesians is the national movement generation’s cultural heirs, so they have similarities in the values they wish to realize. Furthermore, the similarity of values will make the young generation can understand the narrative of history from within as their past. From this point of view, historical problems without a society that occur in the narrative compiled by the historian MPH will not be repeated.

**CONCLUSION**

The historical narrative from an educational perspective is not only a matter of reconstruction and construction of past events but mainly to guide the young generation. They use history as a reference to deal with various problems in the present and design a better future. The deterministic approach used in compiling historical narrative provides an understanding for the young generation of the dependence of the Indonesian people on foreign nations. They become inferior and ashamed to be part of the Indonesian nation.

History must change itself to make a positive contribution to Indonesia’s young generation. One that needs to be taken is to change the approach used in preparing historical narrative, namely inter-ethnic relations and history from within. Both approaches make the historical narrative a sense for young people. Besides, the historical narrative is essential for the young generation because it is the
primary reference for dealing with current problems and designing a better future.

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Paramita: Historical Studies Journal, 32(1), 2022


