

Learning Indonesian History Based on Multiculturalism to Strengthen National Integration

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DOI: 10.14710/jmsni.v6i2.16666

Abstract

This article discusses the importance of learning Indonesian history based on multiculturalism to strengthen national integration. The post-Reformation era, which has opened the gate to broad democracy and regional autonomy on the one hand, has also opened the idea of national disintegration by several parties on the other side. This idea demonstrated by demands for secession in several regions in Indonesia, the idea of trans-national Islam, and horizontal conflicts. If this is not a concern, it will threaten the conception of the *Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia* (NKRI)/Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia in the future. Through the conception of multiculturalism, this article discusses three main things, namely the concept of multiculturalism in Indonesia, the plurality of Indonesian society as a necessity, and initiating learning Indonesian history through intellectual training and current problem-based learning strategies.

Received:
December 7, 2022

Revised:
January 25, 2023

Accepted:
January 25, 2023

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Keywords: Learning Indonesian History; Plurality; Multiculturalism; National Integration.

Introduction

Since the Islamic Defend Action 212 on 2 December 2016, there has been a strengthening of conservative attitudes among Islamic groups, starting from the rejection of non-Muslims in political positions to increasing support for the Islamic political agenda (Djuyandi and Ramadhani 2019, 457). This action has also marked the birth of identity politics in Indonesia, simultaneously opening up "identity awareness" and the idea of how one group sees another group (Hamudy 2018, 197). In the Indonesian context, in-group and out-group awareness is not new. Post-Reformation in Indonesia, marked by regional autonomy, has indeed given rise to two sides. On the one hand, the Reformation has opened up space for democracy by providing a space for regional autonomy.

On the other hand, Reformation has also provided space for the emergence of ideas of national disintegration caused by misunderstandings in regional autonomy (Syaukani, Gaffar, Rasyid 2002). It can be seen in the increasing spread of regionalism and the development of various horizontal conflicts, which clearly reflect the fragility of the social ties that bind relations between the socio-cultural elements of the Indonesian, whether originating from ethnicity, religion, race or groups. The fading of the national spirit can also be seen from the repertoire of Indonesian historiography when a number of historians abandoned the concept of "national history" (Sulistiyono 2016).

Various examples of horizontal conflicts that have occurred include conflicts between the Dayak and Madurese in Kalimantan (see Ruslikan 2001; Nadzifah 2022), conflicts with religious issues as happened in Poso and Ambon (see Schulze 2017; Schulze 2019), not yet again, there have been outbreaks of tension and conflict between social and racial groups related to the issue of an influx of illegal immigrants from China (Elisa and Utomo 2018). The national political situation and the way in which the elite campaigned for power also played a significant role in exacerbating various horizontal tensions. The emergence of the caliphate discourse campaigned by Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (Nurudin 2017), Moderate Islam vs Radical Islam (Ferbiansyah and el-Alami 2021), some

of the Arab descent who are considered provocateurs (Maulana 2020), also fosters the development of seeds of tension and conflict horizontally.

One of the key factors that makes it easy for people to get caught up in horizontal tensions and conflicts is the fading awareness of differences. Differences are increasingly being felt and are sometimes also deliberately used as drivers and causes of conflict, be it differences in ethnicity, race, economic level, and even political choices. There is a tendency for existing differences are used and exploited to generate division and conflict (Gartzke and Gleditsch 2005). Ironically, the exploitation of these differences is often carried out by political elites in order to attract the sympathy and voice of constituents in the democratic process. It is often felt that the actions of the political elite seem to ignore the impact of their political behaviour, which leads to polarization and sharpening of differences, leading to increasingly acute conflicts (Hierro and Gallego 2018). In this context, there has actually been a setback in the life of the nation and state because awareness of differences drove the agreement to form the Indonesian nation in the past. The Indonesian nation was formed primarily because there was an awareness of differences (plurality). Thus, if differences (plurality) become a reason for conflict, then it is a one-century setback in the life of the nation and state. A multicultural society that was aspired to and pioneered long ago by the founding fathers is in danger of retreating back into a mere plural society that harbors conflict. In fact, following Anderson's conception, "the nation" is something that is imagined, but not imaginary. For Anderson, the nation is a political community and is imagined as something that is both inherently limited and sovereign (Anderson 2001, 8).

If this situation continues, then all the energy and resources of the Indonesian will be sucked into overcoming this problem. Other areas of national life that are more important and substantial will be neglected. In fact, what's more, the state has to "finance" (perhaps with debt funds) competition and conflict whose benefits are not clear for society at large. If this happens then the people and the future generations will be sacrificed. Therefore, the chain of conflicts originating from mismanagement of plurality must be broken if the conception of the *Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia* (NKRI)/Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is to be continued. For this reason, understanding the values of multiculturalism is very important among the younger generation. Based on that, this article focuses on examining the potential of learning Indonesian history as a medium for instilling multicultural understanding among the younger generation. For this reason, this article discusses several issues, namely the concept of multiculturalism in Indonesia, the plurality of Indonesian society as a necessity, and initiating learning Indonesian history through intellectual training and current problem-based learning strategies.

The Concept of Multiculturalism in Indonesia

Over the last few decades, multiculturalism has become a very interesting topic of discussion in many circles, from the common people to the elite. This is mainly related to the fact that the emergence of various conflicts in the world, whether on a local, national, regional or international scale, originates from an unwillingness and inability to live side by side with mutual respect. In addition, the rise of discussion on multiculturalism cannot be separated from the trend that is happening globally where various developed countries are increasingly implementing the notion of multiculturalism which recognizes and respects plurality to live side by side in peaceful coexistence. Multiculturalism requires equality and its main meaning is to include other people. The aim is not to be biased and only to seek equal status among racial and ethnic groups (Ibrahim and El-Shoura 2017). Therefore, multiculturalism is often interpreted as an understanding that emphasizes acceptance of ethnic diversity, race, religion, culture, economy, customs, and political choices. To create a multicultural atmosphere, dialogue and tolerance are essential (Tilaar 2004). Multiculturalism is different from pluralism. Pluralism refers only to the phenomenon of diversity, meanwhile multiculturalism refers to diversity which is imbued and framed by the spirit of mutual recognition, tolerance and peaceful coexistence. In the Indonesian context, through Abdurrahman Wahid, Reformation has brought a new understanding of the importance of inter-ethnic and religious relations, from what was originally a pluralist reality to a multiculturalist understanding (Wasino 2013).

In Indonesia, the development and implementation of the concept of multiculturalism has received relatively positive responses from various elements of society. Several studies have discussed the importance of multicultural approaches and perspectives in the process of learning history (for example see Supriyadi, Pratama, Sheehan, and Riaziz 2020; Setiyonugroho, Umasih, and Kurniawati 2022). This concept is not only used as material for scientific study, but also used as a recipe for overcoming various actual problems of social tension that exist in society. This is easy to understand because the characteristics of Indonesian society are very plural, so there is a huge potential for tensions, conflicts and divisions to arise. Substantively, this multicultural concept has been formally recognized by the people of Indonesia since the 14th century when Mpu Tantular in his book entitled *Sutasoma* gave rise to the concept of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (*Bhinneka* means diversity, *Ika* means Unity. So, it also means Unity in diversity). It seems clear that this book was written from the perspective of Mahayana Buddhism (Hartaka and Suadnyana 2018). Nevertheless, as a common value, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* has become a kind of “national” consensus (Nurhayati, Setiyowati, Nurmalisa 2021). It is also known that during the Majapahit era, a plural society was formed when many foreign immigrants and traders began to settle in the Majapahit area and when this kingdom began to establish itself as a large cross-ethnic emporium. The Majapahit already has various races and ethnicities, various religious adherents (traditional beliefs, Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam with its various sects, and so on), social groups, and economic levels. Thus, it seems that the *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* does not only reflect the plural reality that existed in Majapahit society, but also multicultural ideals in order to achieve peace and Unity within the framework of Majapahit political authority. However, in the end, this Majapahit political experiment failed to realize *Ika* (Unity) in the political integration of the kingdom precisely because of friction and internal conflict among the elite groups. Finally, the *Bhinneka* (diversity/plurality) aspect continues to develop more than the *Ika* aspect. Majapahit as a “supra-ethnic state” experienced disintegration which gave rise to many smaller kingdoms that competed and fought each other (for more detail, see also Muljana 2012).

After the disintegration of Majapahit, political power in the Archipelago shifted from Hindu-Buddhist to Islamic kingdoms. In Java, after the Kingdom of Demak, the kingdoms of Cirebon, Banten, and other smaller Islamic kingdoms emerged (de Graaf 2019). In the following period, the pinnacle of Islamic political power in Java, namely the Islamic Mataram Kingdom, had to experience disintegration. Apart from being caused by internal problems, the disintegration was also the result of the divisive politics of the Dutch colonial (de Graaf 2020; de Graaf 2022). By taking advantage of the internal conflicts between various forces in the Archipelago, they were able to subdue and control the Archipelago. The subsequent time, the creation of a colonial society by the Dutch East Indies government further sharpened the potential for conflict in an increasingly pluralistic Indonesian society through colour-line politics. The management of the colonial government based on the paradigm of pitting one against the other was developed so that it did not allow for the emergence of massive resistance, which was the Unity of all elements of Indonesian society. The Dutch colonial government had proven that it wanted to create a plural society rather than a multicultural society, as had been pioneered by Majapahit. Colonial society is a plural society that is racial and hierarchical, which is very vulnerable to division and conflict.

Amid this fragility of colonial society, a new force emerged which became the antecedent of colonial society, namely the arrival of a wave of influence from the ideologies of nationalism, socialism and Pan-Islamism. This new ideology and awareness offered a new model of social relations in colonial society. This new ideology and awareness try to dismantle the building of a colonial society based on religious, racial, ethnic and inter-group sentiments, which in turn offers the establishment of new ties across these sentiments. These new ties based on the ideologies of nationalism, socialism and Pan-Islamism eventually converged in the formation of new bonds, namely Indonesian nationality or Indonesian nationalism. This new bond is not only a socio-cultural bond based on religious, racial, ethnic, and intergroup sentiments, but also includes political ties. This Indonesian national bond is a new bond that has been growing since the early 20th century and was formally formulated in 1928 in an event known as the *Sumpah Pemuda* (Youth Congress). At the congress, the youths agreed on three recognitions: one homeland, one nation, and one language, Indonesia (Ricklefs 2010, 399).

This new awareness confronts and clashes with the colonial order because of this aspect of political ties. With this new awareness, *Sumpah Pemuda* has become a momentum for the growth of national awareness (Wahyono 2018).

The colonial regime, which has become an established force, seeks to weaken this national consciousness again in various ways, such as intimidation and violence. It cannot be denied that the politics of the colonial government caused internal differences and conflicts among anti-colonial activists. Therefore, there is a lot of intense competition and conflict between activists of the national movement. Thus, amid a situation where the spirit of Indonesian nationalism was developing, competition and conflict also developed among elements within Indonesian society, especially those based on ideological conflicts and various cultural identities. It was in this situation that the Republic of Indonesia was born. This situation should be very complex “homework” for a new country that has not been appropriately resolved and seems to be increasingly worrying until now. Learning history without a multicultural approach and perspective will cause the failure of multiculturalism itself in Indonesia. Moreover, if this understanding is not in line with human rights (Kurniawan 2018).

The Role of Learning History

Indonesian history provides a broad field for learning the spirit of multiculturalism. However, the question is in what way and strategy are learning history carried out in order to evoke the spirit of multiculturalism. In this case, several ways and approaches must be considered in terms of historical substance and strategy. In terms of historical substance, it is necessary to emphasize the aspects of formation, interaction and social integration in Indonesian society. Meanwhile, from a strategic point of view, it is essential to develop historical learning strategies as intellectual training and current problem-based learning.

The substance of Indonesian History: Plurality as a Necessity

In an increasingly open era with very high mobility as a result of advances in transportation and communication technology, as it is today, contact, communication, and association with various social elements that have different ethnic, religious, racial, and intergroup backgrounds is a necessity. Therefore, students and the younger generation must be prepared to deal with this phenomenon. The unpreparedness of the younger generation in dealing with this situation will cause cultural shock. In such an open society, what is needed is the will and ability to tolerate and respect one another and coexist peacefully. However, the will and knowledge will not fall from the sky but need a process of learning and habituation. In this context, learning the substance of Indonesian history becomes very important. However, not all historical narratives are given to students. Still, it is necessary to focus on specific dimensions that can provide multicultural competence even though they are within the framework of the national spirit. This is where the substance of Indonesian history must provide lessons learned so that students have a multicultural spirit (which in Islamic terms is known as *ukhuwah basyariyah* or brotherhood in humanity) and at the same time, the spirit of nationalism (which in Islamic terms is known as *ukhuwah wathaniyah* or national brotherhood). The major historical narratives that need to be emphasized are aspects of inter-group relations in a plural society and the process of national integration towards the formation of the Indonesian society and nation.

Teachers need to explain to students that the diversity or plurality of Indonesian society is an inherent part of the long journey of the historical communities that inhabit the Archipelago (Cribb 2000). Diversity is a destiny for the Indonesian nation. Many studies have found that the Indonesian Archipelago, especially Java, has been inhabited by various early humans since about 1.8 million years ago and continued until the appearance of the Homo Sapien species around 100 thousand years ago (See Widiyanto and Noerwidi 2020). Paleontologists claim that they are an Australo-Melanesian people who are the ancestors of the Melanesian people in Papua, the Australian Aborigines and the small Negrito people on the Malay Peninsula and the Philippines. After the end of the last ice age, dating back about 17,000 years, they began to change from a hunting and gathering society to an agricultural society concentrated in the arid regions of the eastern Archipelago. They were able to develop agriculture to cultivate taro, sugar cane, and bananas (about Australo-Melanesian in Indonesia see Koesbardiati and Suriyanto 2007).

Meanwhile, the western and central parts of the Indonesian Archipelago were only inhabited by a more densely populated population when Austronesian-speaking people from southern China and Taiwan began to migrate south in large numbers from about 4000 BC. The Austronesians brought with them technologies such as the ability to make pottery, outrigger canoes, and bows and arrows, as well as domesticated pigs, poultry and dogs, and they cultivated rice and millet, taro, breadfruit, bananas, yams, sago, and coconut (Shaffer 2015).

It was from here that the plurality of the Indonesian people began to form. The wave of the Austronesian diaspora split in two on the coast of New Guinea. Some of them continued migrating into the eastern reaches of Fiji and Tonga around 1500 BC and continued to explore the Pacific to inhabit Polynesia covering vast areas stretching as far as New Zealand, Easter Island and Hawaii. The Austronesian diaspora westward eventually reached Java, Sumatra, Borneo and the Malay Peninsula and partially settled in mainland Southeast Asia and became the ancestors of the Champa in southern Vietnam. In the following period, a series of diaspora that began around the 5th century AD and ended in the 12th, Austronesians settled on the uninhabited island of Madagascar. The distribution of the Austronesian peoples spanning more than half the circumference of the earth and this is one of the most spectacular human diasporas before the modern era. At first, maybe the Austronesian diaspora in the Archipelago could speak one language. However, over the centuries they lost touch with each other so that in the process of history they developed their languages in different directions. Languages can change rapidly although emerging dialects can still easily understand one another in centuries. However, there is almost no record of the process of language change in the Archipelago prior to 1800. In modern Indonesia, there are around 200 Austronesian language families, and more than 150 Papuan (Melanesian) language families. So historical factors and geographical separation in the long term have led to the formation of a plurality of Indonesian society (see also Widiyanto and Noerwidi 2019).

During the Dutch colonial era, the diversity of ethnic and cultural groups in the Dutch East Indies was maintained. Even sentiments between ethnic groups were aroused and sharpened. This can be seen, among other things, from the division of administrative regions which are also based on ethnic cultural areas, such as the division of the provinces of West Java (Sundanese majority), Central Java (Kraton Java), and East Java (Java with strong coastal and Madurese influences). This way of thinking was unknowingly inherited by the Indonesian government. Even during this reformation period, the colonial way of thinking was flourishing again, which can be seen from the phenomenon of the division of provinces and districts based on the interests of certain ethnic groups. In addition, the politics of pitting the Dutch against each other also exacerbated inter-ethnic sentiment. This was clearly seen when the Dutch colonial government suppressed resistance in a certain ethnic area and recruited soldiers from other ethnic groups. An example is when the Dutch put down the resistance of the Acehnese people at the turn of the 20th century by using the best-trained, most modern, at the same time most ruthless army called the Marechaussee (Veer 1977, 295-210). This troop consisted mostly of Javanese and Ambonese. Perhaps a policy like this became one of the triggers for the Acehnese sentiment towards the Javanese. In fact, this continued until the Aceh conflict in the post-independence period. This *divide et impera* agenda was also applied by the colonial government in overcoming the problems of the Indonesian national movement in the early 20th century when all elements of the Dutch East Indies subjects tried to build a new nation, namely the Indonesian nation. So, in this way the plurality of Indonesian society apart from being a potential for uniqueness also has the potential for division. However, history shows that precisely because they were aware of plurality, the Indonesian elite at that time had the enthusiasm to build commitment as a nation.

Historically, the Indonesian nation was the result of an agreement and, at the same time, the result of engineering. However, the agreement certainly did not come suddenly but through a long process. The agreement occurred precisely because of the diversity that exists in Indonesian society, which originates from history. This historical development also made it possible for agreements to be made in the formation process of the Indonesian nation. The *Sumpah Pemuda*, which took place in October 1928, was one of the culminations of various relationships in a long-lasting shared life. One of the contents of the *Sumpah Pemuda* states to become one nation, namely the Indonesian nation.

The oath itself inherently proves that what was later referred to as the Indonesian nation formally did not yet exist, even though socio-culturally, the process of “becoming Indonesia” was already developing and 1928 was only its peak.

While political movements have achieved achievement and maturity with the pledge to become one nation, namely the Indonesian nation through *Sumpah Pemuda*, perhaps humanists have stepped forward. Perhaps it was difficult to categorize politicians and cultural figures at that time. Politicians usually also have broad cultural insights and vice versa. After experiencing difficult times due to the great depression in the early 1930s, humanists were moved to think about the future of Indonesian culture as aspired through the *Sumpah Pemuda* 1928. The figures of the national movement in the 1930s (both humanists and politicians) formulate various matters related to the Indonesian nation in the future, especially those related to Indonesian culture.

An agreement to become one nation, namely the Indonesian nation, was reached in 1928, but they had not yet formulated how Indonesia would look in the future. It was in this connection from the early 1930s that ideas began to emerge to construct Indonesia in the future. For colonial officials, perhaps the ideas of the leaders of the national movement were seen as utopia, but for the figures of the national movement themselves these ideas were an initial basis towards the Indonesia they aspired to be. This discourse is often referred to as *Polemik Kebudayaan* (cultural polemic). Several figures involved in the polemic included Sutan Takdir Alisyahbana, dr. Sutomo, and Ki Hajar Dewantara (Alisyahbana via Mihardja 1986, 13-21).

The *Polemik Kebudayaan* that developed in the 1930s became something monumental. This was not because the Indonesian people could enjoy the results at that time, but because the meaning of the polemic lay precisely in laying the foundation for dialogue in determining the image of Indonesian culture that aspired to in the future. Indonesian Culture or Indonesian National Culture in the future needs to be dialogue and this means that there needs to be a grand design to engineer Indonesian culture in the future. This is necessary precisely because of the very plural nature of the “basic ingredients” of Indonesian culture. The dynamic aspect of thinking about Indonesian culture also causes this cultural polemic to become a kind of “unfinished project”, to become an “eternal hope” and to place it as an imagined culture. However, the cultural polemic that developed in the 1930s had to stop with the outbreak of the Pacific War, which was followed by the defeat of the Netherlands and the occupation of the Dutch East Indies by Japanese troops from 1942 to 1945.

Teachers should emphasize to students the national commitment pioneered by the founding fathers, namely the shared desire to live together as a nation. In this context, the meaning of the nation here refers more to the political aspect because forming the Indonesian nation at its initial level was more of a political ideal than a cultural reality or ideal. Here political Unity as a nation living in a country is more important. The formation of the Indonesian nation was driven more by the desire to live together as a nation despite having many cultural differences. Precisely because of the differences and diversity that encourage them to come together as a nation. Logically, cultural diversity should be highly tolerated in Indonesia. So, it can be understood if there is a spirit that recognition as the Indonesian nation that is incorporated in a territorial area with the name *Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia* (NKRI)/The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia or is a fixed price. Thus, any regional cultural differences should still get space for movement and recognition in society and the national legal system as long as it does not conflict with the noble values of *Pancasila*. *Pancasila* are the five (*panca*) foundations (*sila*) of the Indonesian state which contain: belief in God, humanity, Unity, democracy and social justice.

Learning strategies

Intellectual training

Instilling multicultural values and enthusiasm in student concerns is not enough just to develop the cognitive domain but also needs to develop competence in the affective and psychomotor domains. In this case, learning history is not merely using narrative learning strategies but using historical learning strategies that treat history learning as intellectual training, not as indoctrination, as is the case with religious studies.

As an intellectual education, learning history not only provides an overview of the past but also provides critical thinking exercises starting from developing a critical attitude towards information sources, comparing one source of information with another, drawing conclusions, and drawing meaning and value from the events studied. Here students are also only trained to research history to drill their way of thinking and historical awareness. This intellectual training can be realized in learning methods in the form of group discussions and class discussions so that students are trained to express factual and argumentative opinions and at the same time respect the differences of opinion of others. Critical thinking exercises can be carried out by developing analytical discourse, for example, by asking “why” and “how” questions, not just “what”, “who”, “when” and “where” questions (Gunning 1978, 178-180). Thus, there is an aspect of moral education in history learning, namely the planting of values and the spirit of multiculturalism in a critical framework of nationalism, not as an indoctrination.

In the context of cultivating and developing multicultural values, learning history can function as moral education. However, it should be remembered that moral education in history learning is not doctrinal and manipulative in interpretation. In this case, the location of moral education in learning history is precisely its willingness to provide broad opportunities for students (of course, with teacher guidance) to practice drawing their own conclusions and looking for the meaning of the events being studied so that students can really appreciate what they have learned. In addition, elements of moral education in history learning can be carried out if history learning is oriented towards humanities education and social norms in the framework of forming democratic attitudes, not allergic to differences, has trust in other people and vice versa. Trusted and responsible for both himself and society. For this reason, in the process of learning history, teachers also need to have a democratic, open, dialogic attitude, respect students' opinions and be able to encourage students' interest in learning history. Only in this way can learning history at school function as a liberator of students' minds from the tyranny of past myths that shackles students' freedom of thought and they finally have an attitude of respect for differences and can coexist peacefully in an atmosphere of diversity.

Furthermore, what the teacher also needs to emphasize in the process of developing a multiculturalism attitude among the younger generation is about Indonesia, which can be likened to a shared home, a shelter from the rain and sun as implied in Pancasila as a noble consensus. In this case, even though the precept of *Persatuan Indonesia* (Indonesian Unity) are precepts number 3rd and the precept of *Keadilan Sosial bagi Seluruh Rakyat Indonesia* (Social Justice for all Indonesian people) as the 5th precept, these precepts should be used as a framework for all other precepts. This means that Indonesians are given the freedom to worship according to their religion and beliefs which are based on just and civilized human values and other precepts but still within the corridors of Unity and social justice for all Indonesian people. This is understandable considering that when certain religions and beliefs and ideologies are not framed in the Unity of Indonesia, it will have the potential to give rise to internationalism which of course will negate the existence of the Indonesian state and nation. An example is the movements that seek to establish a global caliphate.

Likewise, just and civilized human precepts without an Indonesian frame will also give birth to various issues regarding different standards between universal human values, which in fact, originate from liberal Western culture and local cultural values which are influenced by various elements of religion and belief. The implementation of the precepts of democracy (4th precept) without being based on an Indonesian frame and umbrella will also give birth to democracy that "goes too far" which can threaten the integration of the Indonesian nation and state, especially if democracy is not based on a commitment to maintain national Unity and to achieve prosperity and community justice. For example, if all regions were given freedom in the name of democracy and human rights to hold a referendum, the nation and state of Indonesia that had been inherited by the founding fathers would be destroyed. Thus, whatever the differences are in the social, cultural, or economic, as long as they are still in the corridor of the rules of the game imbued with Pancasila and are still within the framework and umbrella of Indonesia both as a nation and as a territorial unit of the *Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia* (NKRI)/Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, this must still be respected.

Likewise, teachers need to provide awareness to students about other actual problems that have historical roots that have arisen over the last few decades, namely the increasing prevalence of regional sentiments, issues about local sons, ethnicity, and religious conflicts, all of which are contrary to the multicultural spirit and also seem to be antecedent to the formation process of Indonesianness. During this reformation period there may have been countless cases of conflict ranging from conflicts between social and ethnic and religious groups to symptoms of ethnic cleansing (Elson 2009, 433-434). Of course, deductively, one can argue that such a social phenomenon is difficult to occur if justice, welfare and prosperity can be felt by the people and a sense of Indonesianness is shared by all elements of Indonesian society.

Thus, it can be underlined that some of the actual, crucial problems faced by the Indonesian people, among others, are that the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945 as a formal political unit has not been fully followed by the process of formation into a multiculturalism Indonesian community and nation so that the sense of Indonesianness is still a problem. Various incidents in the form of inter-ethnic conflicts, resistance and separatist movements show that a sense of Indonesianness (if it already exists) in certain situations and/or for certain interests is still being sacrificed for the sake of ethnicity, locality, primordialism, and various other types of interests. In addition, throughout Indonesia's history, the approach adopted by the central government to address socio-cultural and national disintegration has emphasized security and political approaches. The approach to security and repression will lead to the disintegration of the nation politically and "dis-Indonesianization" socially and culturally. In this case, it is time for the current government to put more emphasis on the welfare and justice approach in resolving conflicts and threats of disintegration and symptoms of "dis-Indonesianization".

Likewise, political and military emphasis and indoctrination in internalizing feelings of Indonesianness need to be replaced with welfare and socio-cultural approaches. In this case, learning national history in schools and in various other formal educational institutions is very important. The problem is what kind of history learning material can effectively develop Indonesian feelings because so far, students at school have received history lessons. Broadly speaking, history learning material for developing a sense of Indonesianness is material that describes the "process to become Indonesia," a long process which is an inevitable historical process that "requires" various social and ethnic groups to become a multicultural Indonesian nation, not other nations.

Current problem-based learning

In addition to using historical learning strategies as intellectual training, teachers must also equip them with a "current problem-based learning" approach. Every theme discussed in a meeting needs to be related to current situations and problems that students see and experience directly. The provision of a contemporary perspective is intended so that students do not get the impression that learning history is only talking about the past without any relation to current issues. On the other hand, awareness must be raised that learning history is one of the efforts to solve current problems. By applying the current problem-based learning approach, students will get the impression and belief that learning history has a present use and even a future use value. With such an impression, it is hoped that students' interest in learning history will also increase.

In the socialization and encultural context of the values of the spirit of multiculturalism, teachers can make entry points for various examples of current cases regarding multiculturalism, both examples of cases that are seen as negative or positive. Moving on from contemporary cases currently being experienced by Indonesian society, teachers can use a springboard to discuss historical developments with various processes of multiculturalism and national integration and as a basis for human integration.

Conclusion

Indonesian society is "destined" to become a plural society through a long historical process. In its historical development, there have been efforts to make a plural society a multicultural society in order to build Unity in diversity or *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* within the framework of a plural society that respects each other and lives together in peaceful (multicultural) coexistence. During the colonial

period, the diversity of Indonesian society was used and exploited for the benefit of domination in the context of colonialism so that conflicts that smelled of ethnicity, religion, race, and groups were increasingly sharpened. The national movement that emerged at the beginning of the 20th century has led to changes towards a multicultural society. However, on the other hand, ideological differences, political choices, and various interest groups also often become an antecedent to the spirit of multiculturalism and nationalism. In the era of the Industrial Revolution 4.0, learning Indonesian national history is a subject that can be used to instil and awaken the spirit of multiculturalism within the framework of Indonesian nationalism by emphasizing the substance of historical narratives that reflect relations between social elements within the framework of the formation of a multicultural Indonesian nation. Learning Indonesian national history needs to be developed through the development of learning strategies such as intellectual training and current problem-based learning.

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