

Social Change in Indonesian Society: The Role of Communication and Public Administration from Colonialism to Globalization

Cut Nurul Khiyarah^{1*}, Mursyidatul Khairah Subja², Alyuna³

¹²³Syiah Kuala University

Correspondence Email: cutkhiyarah@gmail.com*

Abstract:

This article is a literature review that aims to analyze and synthesize social change in Indonesian society during the transition period, from the colonial era to post-independence and globalization. This study utilizes five primary sources: Wertheim (1999) on nationalism and globalization, Musliati et al. (2023) on social development during the colonial period, the Journal of Social Studies Education on Ethical Politics and nationalism, and the Journal of Social Sciences on Indonesian postcolonialism. The results of this study indicate that social change in Indonesia is multidimensional and cannot be understood from a single perspective. Colonialism inherited a hierarchical social structure that continues to reproduce inequality, while the Ethical Policy paradoxically gave rise to an educated class that became the driving force of nationalism. Post-independence, nationalism suffered degradation due to ethnic and religious conflicts and multidimensional crises, while postcolonialism emerged in new, more subtle forms that still hampered popular emancipation.

Keywords: Social Change, Societal Transition, Colonialism, Nationalism, Postcolonialism

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is one of the nations that has experienced one of the longest and most complex social transitions in history. It was colonized by the Dutch for years, then

Submitted	: 13 November 2025
Revised	: 26 Desember 2025
Acceptance	: 01 January 2026

subjected to Japanese occupation, and then achieved independence on August 17, 1945. It now faces the challenges of globalization, which continues to transform the social fabric of society. All of this is a series of never-ending and never-simple processes of change. Social change in Indonesian society cannot be understood in a concise manner. Rather, it is viewed as a long process, with each period inheriting both burdens and opportunities for the next. The legacy of colonialism led to independence, and independence opened the door to modernization. Modernization ushered in globalization. And globalization has once again posed a threat to national identity and unity, a seemingly endless cycle.

Amidst this complexity, W.F. Wertheim's thinking in **Indonesian Society in Transition: A Study of Social Change** (1999) remains one of the most comprehensive analytical frameworks. Wertheim does not simply describe change but develops a sociological perspective that shows how social forces compete to shape the face of Indonesian society over time. His thinking should be read alongside other academic studies that address specific aspects of Indonesian social change to gain a more complete and comprehensive understanding.

THEORETICAL STUDY

This research utilizes several theoretical foundations as an analytical framework, including the theories of social change, colonialism, nationalism, and postcolonialism. Social change theory states that society is always changing. These changes occur in social structures, values, and behavior. Martono (2012) emphasized that social change can occur due to factors from within society itself (internal) as well as external factors (external), such as the influence of colonialism, globalization, and modernization. Dutch colonialism in Indonesia had a significant impact on the Indonesian people, including psychological impacts due to pressure from the Dutch. The Dutch not only controlled territory and natural resources but also created an unequal social structure. Musliati et al. (2023) explain that Dutch colonialism in Indonesia created a rigid social stratification system based on race, religion, and social status. This system placed Europeans at the top of the social hierarchy, followed by the Foreign Oriental group, and placed indigenous people at the bottom with the most limited access to resources and opportunities. This stratification system was not simply an administrative division but also created deep and structural social inequalities. This situation then gave rise to nationalism as a form of resistance against colonialism. Nationalism was marked by a collective awareness of national identity and the emergence of movement organizations such as Budi Utomo, Sarekat Islam, and Indische Partij. Postcolonial theory states that colonial influences persisted after

independence. This influence is evident in social inequality, foreign economic domination, a centralized bureaucratic system, and a hierarchical mindset that persists in Indonesian society.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study employed a qualitative research approach with a literature review. This research was conducted by collecting, identifying, reading, analyzing, and synthesizing various relevant scientific literature on social change in Indonesian society from the colonial period to the era of globalization. According to Mestika Zed (2003), a literature review is a series of activities related to data collection techniques through library materials, which include reading, recording, and processing information obtained from various written sources. In this context, the data used is not obtained through direct field observation, but through the stages of in-depth reading of sources, identifying main themes and arguments, then comparing findings between sources, and compiling a synthesis in the form of a systematic narrative to gain a comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon being studied. The research process was carried out through several systematic stages. First, the source collection and identification stage, namely compiling various scientific literature relevant to the research topic. Second, the in-depth reading stage of each source to understand the main arguments and findings put forward by each author. Third, the analysis stage, namely identifying main themes, similarities, and differences in views between sources. Fourth, the synthesis stage, namely compiling findings from various sources into a systematic and comprehensive narrative to gain a complete understanding of the phenomenon being studied.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

1. The Impact of Dutch Colonialism on Social, Economic, and Political Structures

Musliati et al. (2023), in their research on social development during the colonial era, clearly revealed how years of Dutch colonial rule fundamentally changed the social structure of Indonesian society. The Dutch introduced a social stratification system that divided the population into several groups based on race, religion, and social strata. This system placed Europeans at the top of the hierarchy, followed by the Foreign Orientals, and placed indigenous people at the bottom with the most limited access.

Fariz Aditya et al. (2024) reinforced these findings by stating that colonial policies established power relations that placed the colonial

government as the dominant actor in resource control, economic distribution, and control of social life. This structure not only functioned as an instrument of exploitation but also generated institutional and ongoing inequality, the effects of which can still be traced in various development issues in Indonesia in the post-independence period.

In the economic sphere, colonialism was manifested through policies oriented towards extracting economic surplus from the colonies to meet the needs of the international market and the fiscal interests of the Dutch government. One of the policies that most exemplified this orientation was the implementation of the forced cultivation system (*Cultuurstelsel*). According to Wulan Sondarika, this system required communities to cultivate export commodities such as coffee, sugar cane, and indigo, thus diverting a large portion of productive land from food production to the production of trade commodities. This shift in production orientation led to a decline in the community's ability to meet food needs, increased vulnerability to food crises, and worsened the welfare of indigenous communities due to the loss of control over their production resources.

2. Ethical Politics as a Paradox and the Birth of the Educated

A study in the *Social Studies Education Journal* (*Journal of Social Studies Education*) states that Ethical Politics is one of the most interesting paradoxes in Indonesian history. The policies designed by the Dutch colonial government to strengthen colonial power actually gave rise to forces that would later destroy colonialism itself. The Ethical Politics was implemented through three main programs: irrigation, emigration (transmigration), and education. Initially, these programs were aimed at improving the welfare of the indigenous population while providing an educated workforce for the colonial administration. However, the educational programs had impacts unforeseen and unforeseen by the colonial government. Through Western education, Indonesian society began to experience a shift in thinking. They became more critical of social injustice and began to question the legitimacy of colonial rule. From colonial schools emerged an educated class, or Indonesian intelligentsia, possessing intellectual abilities comparable to those of Westerners, yet also possessing a national consciousness and a spirit of fighting for independence. The emergence of the educated class also spurred the growth of newspapers in Malay and regional languages.

This group of intellectuals subsequently played a crucial role in the institutionalization of nationalism through the formation of movement organizations, such as Budi Utomo, Sarekat Islam, and Indische Vereeniging. These organizations served not only as vehicles for political struggle but also as spaces for the production of nationalist ideas, enabling the transformation of local identities into a more inclusive national identity. Through interaction, political education, and the dissemination of the idea of unity, these movement organizations succeeded in building solidarity across ethnicities, religions, and regions, thereby strengthening societal integration around a collective ideal of achieving Indonesian independence. Thus, Indonesian nationalism developed through a social process that transformed diversity into an integrative force in the formation of the nation-state.

The emergence of this educated group was a crucial factor in the development of Indonesian nationalism. They founded and mobilized various national movement organizations that became the embryo of independence, including Budi Utomo, founded in 1908, Sarekat Islam, which grew into the largest mass organization of its time, and the Indische Partij, which openly voiced demands for independence. This is the power of emancipation, in Wertheim's terminology, born from within the colonial system itself, a historical irony that demonstrates that oppression always contains the seeds of its own resistance. Rosmaida Sinaga et al. (2025) explain that this policy was a colonial strategy to create more efficient governance without changing the existing structures of domination. However, the implementation of the education policy actually resulted in social dynamics that were outside the original goals of the colonial governme.

3. The Degradation of Nationalism Post-Independence and the Challenges of Globalization

Supardan (2011), in his study of the challenges of Indonesian nationalism in the era of globalization, found that Indonesian nationalism experienced serious degradation after independence. The multidimensional crisis that culminated in 1997–2000 was not only an economic crisis, but also a profound crisis of trust and national identity. Furthermore, from a postcolonial perspective, colonialism has not completely ended, but has instead transformed into a more subtle form of domination through economics, culture, and knowledge. Supardan points out that the nationalism built during the Old and New Orders was authoritarian and top-down, thus thwarting the

free expression of ethnic and cultural groups. When authoritarian rule collapsed, pent-up discontent exploded in the form of inter-ethnic and inter-religious conflict. Furthermore, globalization through digital media has accelerated the influx of foreign cultural influences, potentially weakening national identity. Therefore, Indonesia's current challenge is not only to maintain political sovereignty, but also to build economic independence, social justice, equitable development, and strengthen a national identity that is able to be critical of global influences.

4. Postcolonialism: The Colonial Legacy in a New Face

Research in social science journals on postcolonialism shows that colonialism did not truly end after independence, but rather transformed into a more subtle and covert form of domination. While during the colonial period, control was exercised directly through military force, administration, and territorial control, in the postcolonial era, domination is evident through less pro-people economic policies, the sale of state assets to foreign interests, and international economic policies that have resulted in increased poverty and unemployment in Indonesia.

Furthermore, the inequality between the central and regional governments, including the gap between Java and the outer islands, is a colonial legacy that has not been fully resolved. During the Dutch colonial period, the process of control over Indonesian territory took place over a long period and gave rise to a hierarchical structure that placed Java, particularly Batavia, as the center of political and economic power. After Indonesian independence, this pattern of inequality did not immediately disappear; in fact, it tended to continue and be reinforced during the New Order era through a highly centralized government system. As a result, some regions still experience development delays, limited access to resources, and inequality in welfare.

Edward Said (1978), in his book *Orientalism*, explains that colonialism was not only built through military power and territorial control, but also through the construction of knowledge that portrayed Eastern societies as irrational, backward, passive, and in need of Western guidance. This representation served as an instrument of legitimacy, justifying colonial practices while positioning the West as the center of civilization, rationality, and progress. In Said's perspective, colonial domination operated through the production of discourses that shaped perspectives on the identity, culture, and

capabilities of Eastern societies. In the context of museums, Orientalism was translated through exhibitions that portrayed Eastern culture as "other" and "backward." Spivak (1988) also emphasized the silence of subaltern voices, those marginalized and powerless to narrate their own histories, often within museum discourse.

5. Decolonization of Knowledge and New Domination from a Postcolonial Perspective

Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin (2002) found that postcolonial societies need to decolonize the ways of thinking, knowledge systems, and cultural practices inherited from colonialism. Decolonization in this context does not mean a rejection of modernity or global development, but rather a critical effort to build an independent national identity through reinterpreting history, strengthening local culture, and developing development paradigms that are appropriate to the needs and characteristics of local communities. Ania Loomba (2015) emphasized that colonialism does not completely end when a country gains political independence. According to Loomba, colonial structures transform into various new forms of domination that operate through international economic relations, foreign investment, global trade, and dependence on technology, capital, and resources from developed countries. In this context, political independence is often not accompanied by adequate economic independence, resulting in developing countries remaining subordinate in the global economic system.

The new dominance emerging today includes epistemic dominance, a condition in which Western knowledge remains the primary center for producing theories and concepts used worldwide. This creates an imbalance between "colonizers of theory" (Western countries that produce theory) and "objects of theory" (colonized countries that merely serve as subjects of study). Furthermore, this new dominance includes sectarianism and identity-based political supremacy, as well as the hegemony of knowledge centered on Europe. The primary goal of decolonizing knowledge is to destroy intellectual hegemony and colonialism in order to create equality in knowledge. This effort also opens up studies involving diverse cultures and perspectives, thus enabling solidarity between diverse groups. Decolonization also restores ethical values to the process of knowledge production.

Decolonization does not mean rejecting Western science entirely, but rather adapting all sources of knowledge to achieve the autonomy of

knowledge for previously unrecognized traditions. For Indonesia, the decolonization of knowledge is crucial because Indonesia experienced two forms of colonization: political colonization through military power and knowledge-based colonization, which peaked in the 19th century. Decolonization of knowledge is necessary to create equal intercultural communication and to promote social sciences that are appropriate to the local Indonesian context. This indigenized social science can liberate society from the dominant power that is still colonial. Thus, decolonization of knowledge is a liberation project that simultaneously critiques the Western paradigm and develops a new model of knowledge to address the domination that continues even though the political form of colonialism has ended.

Discussion

1. Colonialism as the Root of Ongoing Structural Inequality

Findings from Musliati et al. (2023) and Aditya et al. (2024) consistently demonstrate that the race-based social stratification system established by Dutch colonialism was not merely an administrative division, but rather an institutional mechanism that systematically maintained colonial domination through restrictions on social mobility. This aligns with Wertheim's (1999) view that social forces within Indonesian society cannot be understood apart from its colonial historical context.

Ellen Christy Sihotang et al. (2025) and Aditya et al. (2024) both emphasize that various contemporary issues such as socio-economic inequality, inter-regional development disparities, and structural poverty are linked to institutional structures established during the colonial period. This demonstrates that colonialism left not only material impacts but also institutional, cultural, and structural impacts, thus continuing to influence the direction of national development and social relations within society. In this perspective, colonialism is understood as a historical process that results in the reproduction of long-term inequalities that remain influential even after colonial power has ended politically.

It is understandable that postcolonialism, as a critical perspective, explains that the end of formal colonialism does not automatically eliminate all forms of domination inherited from colonialism. Instead, various forms of economic dependence, cultural subordination, and knowledge hegemony continue to be reproduced in new configurations through the mechanisms of globalization and contemporary international relations. Therefore, the main

challenge for the Indonesian nation in the postcolonial era lies not only in maintaining political sovereignty, but also in the ability to realize economic independence, development justice, strengthening national identity, and developing a development paradigm oriented towards the nation's own interests. From this perspective, postcolonialism is not merely a historical study of the impact of colonialism, but also an important analytical framework for understanding and formulating strategies to deal with various new forms of domination in an increasingly complex global era.

2. The Paradox of Ethical Politics and the Dynamics of Indonesian Nationalism

Findings from the Social Studies Education Journal on Ethical Politics reveal one of the greatest ironies in Indonesian history: policies designed to strengthen colonial power actually gave rise to forces that destroyed it. This demonstrates that social change does not always proceed according to the wishes of those who dominate. Contrasting Wertheim's (1999) argument about the power of emancipation, the educated class born of the colonial education system is a clear example of the power that emerged from within the system itself to challenge it.

However, it is important to note that the nationalism born of this process also contained its own problematic seeds. Supardan's (2011) findings indicate that during the Old and New Order eras, both tended to implement authoritarian and mythical nationalism, namely a top-down unity that did not provide sufficient space for ethnic and cultural groups to freely express their identities within an inclusive national framework. When this authoritarian rule collapsed, various pent-up social discontents and wounds finally emerged in the form of open conflict. This analysis shows the need to build an inclusive and democratic nationalism, not just a symbolic unity imposed from above.

3. Implementation of the Ethical Policy

The implementation of the Ethical Policy by the Dutch colonial government since 1901 was a significant milestone in the history of education in Indonesia. This policy emerged as a form of Dutch moral responsibility for the suffering of the indigenous people due to the long-standing forced cultivation system. The Ethical Policy focused on three main programs: irrigation, emigration, and education, with education being the sector with the greatest influence on social and political change in the Dutch East Indies.

First, the implementation of educational policies with the objectives of the Ethical Policy had a dual nature. On the one hand, this policy brought progress by introducing a modern education system to the indigenous population through the establishment of various types of schools such as *Volkschool*, *Hollandsch-Inlandsche School (HIS)*, *Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs (MULO)*, and *Algemeene Middelbare School (AMS)*. However, on the other hand, colonial education remained discriminatory because only certain groups, particularly the *priyayi* (*priyayi*) and government officials, had access to it. Thus, the primary goal of education during the Ethical Policy era was not to educate all levels of society, but rather to meet the need for an educated workforce to support the colonial administrative system.

Second, in practice, education policies during the colonial era faced various obstacles, including structural, socio-cultural, economic, and political ones. Limited funding from the colonial government, a shortage of qualified teachers, and a controlled curriculum made it difficult to achieve equal education. Furthermore, some indigenous communities still viewed Western education with suspicion, believing it conflicted with religious values and customs. The hierarchical social system and racial discrimination implemented by the colonial government also widened the educational gap between ordinary people and elite groups.

Third, the impact of this education policy was contradictory. Although designed to strengthen colonial domination, education actually paved the way for the emergence of intellectual awareness among indigenous communities. This gave rise to an educated class that would later become pioneers of the national movement and the struggle for independence, such as Ki Hajar Dewantara, Dr. Soetomo, and Mohammad Hatta. Education, originally intended as a tool of colonial control, instead became a means for indigenous communities to understand the concepts of nationhood, justice, and independence.

Fourth, the legacy of the Ethics Policy's educational policies remains palpable today. The school hierarchy, formal education system, and curriculum introduced by the Dutch formed the foundation of Indonesia's national education system. However, the unequal access to education that has developed since the colonial era still leaves its mark in the form of disparities in quality and opportunity between regions. Therefore, the Ethics Policy can be seen as a transitional period between elitist colonial education and a more open and inclusive national education system.

Therefore, it can be emphasized that the Ethics Policy was a colonial policy full of paradoxes: on the one hand, it functioned as a tool of colonization that maintained the colonial social structure, but on the other, it fostered national consciousness and a spirit of struggle through education. From this experience, the Indonesian people learned that education is not only a means of acquiring knowledge, but also a means of fighting for independence, justice, and social freedom.

4. Postcolonialism, Globalization, and the Challenges of Indonesian Social Emancipation

A synthesis of the findings of the Journal of Social Sciences on postcolonialism, Supardan's (2011) study on globalization, and Wertheim's (1999) framework yields the understanding that Indonesia faces a new, more complex form of colonialism. While old colonialism was direct and physical, postcolonialism and globalization operate through more subtle mechanisms: economic dependence, cultural hegemony, and knowledge dominance.

On the other hand, globalization brings positive opportunities such as broader access to knowledge, technological advancement, and improved human resource quality. However, globalization also brings increasingly complex challenges, such as the rapid influx of external influences through digital media, social media, and technology. As a result, national boundaries are increasingly blurred in everyday life as people directly receive information, culture, and ideas from various countries. Through the development of digital media and communication technology, Indonesians can access a variety of global values, lifestyles, and cultures quickly and without boundaries. So globalization has the potential to weaken national identity if society does not have the ability to carry out critical cultural selection and adaptation.

In this context, Indonesian nationalism faces challenges that no longer take the form of physical occupation as in the colonial era, but rather ideological competition, adherence to global culture, a foreign-controlled economy, and a mindset that is perpetuated through various modern instruments. Therefore, nationalism needs to be understood more contextually and relevantly to current developments. Nationalism is not only interpreted as loyalty to national symbols, but must also be realized through the active participation of citizens in strengthening democracy, preserving diversity, increasing national competitiveness, and building economic and technological independence amidst global competition.

Ania Loomba's (2015) view that political independence is often not followed by economic independence is relevant to explaining Indonesia's current situation, where various strategic resources are still controlled by foreigners. Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin (2002) emphasize the need to decolonize ways of thinking, knowledge systems, and cultural practices. This is a particularly relevant challenge in the era of digital globalization, where the flow of information and culture from outside enters rapidly without adequate filtering. When combined with Supardan's (2011) findings on the weakening of national values due to individualism and pragmatism, Indonesia's future challenges are not only about maintaining political sovereignty, but also building economic independence, social justice, and strengthening a national identity that is critical of global influences. From this perspective, Wertheim's thesis that social change in Indonesia is a never-ending process remains relevant today.

CONCLUSION

Based on several sources used in this article, we can conclude that social change in Indonesian society is a long, multi-layered, and still unfinished process. Dutch colonialism, as analyzed by Musliati et al. (2023), left a hierarchical and exploitative social structure that continued to create inequality even after official independence. Social stratification based on race, trade monopolies, and the practice of forced cultivation had a profound impact on the social and economic aspects of Indonesian society. On the other hand, research from the Social Studies Education Journal (*Jurnal Pendidikan IPS*) reveals an interesting paradox of the Ethical Policy policy, where colonial education initiatives initially designed for the benefit of the colonizers actually produced an educated generation that became the driving force of nationalism and the struggle for Indonesian independence. This proves that every system of oppression inevitably contains the seeds of resistance.

However, the achievement of independence did not automatically resolve more fundamental social problems. Supardan (2011) shows that Indonesian nationalism actually experienced serious degradation after independence, due to the authoritarian nature of the development of unity that did not allow for diverse ethnic and cultural identities. The inter-ethnic and inter-religious conflicts that erupted after the 1998 reforms were the result of accumulated dissatisfaction that had been suppressed. Furthermore, from a postcolonial perspective, colonialism has not completely ended, but has instead transformed into a more subtle form of domination through economics, culture, and knowledge. Therefore, Indonesia's current challenge is not

only to maintain political sovereignty, but also to build economic independence, social justice, equitable development, and strengthen a national identity capable of responding critically to global influences.

The social transformation that has occurred in Indonesian society is a multidimensional, continuous historical phenomenon, and the process continues to this day. Based on sociological analysis from various literature, the dynamics of this change can be summarized in several crucial points: the legacy of colonial structural inequality, the racially based social stratification system, economic exploitation through the forced cultivation system (*Cultuurstelsel*), and trade monopolies during the Dutch colonial era, which have deeply ingrained structural inequality. The impact of this discrimination did not disappear immediately and continued to fuel socio-economic disparities even after the proclamation of independence. After liberation from colonial rule, national unity faced a severe test. The national integration model implemented during the Old and New Orders tended to be centralized and authoritarian (top-down). Consequently, the silencing of diverse local identities fueled the accumulation of ethnic and religious-based social conflicts after the 1998 Reformation.

In the modern era, colonialism is no longer present in physical form, but has mutated into a more subtle hegemony through global economic domination, the penetration of foreign cultures through digital media, and knowledge dependence. Therefore, the current urgency of nationalism must be contextually redefined. The future challenge is not merely maintaining territorial sovereignty, but rather achieving economic independence, equitable development, and building a critical and selective national identity in response to the currents of globalization. Broadly speaking, the social journey of the Indonesian nation is a dynamic cycle of transition. Each chapter in history creates opportunities for liberation from colonialism while simultaneously raising new challenges that require adaptive solutions.

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- Aditya, F., Pratama, R. S., Siagian, S. Z., Daely, V. G., & Yunita, S. (2024). Pengaruh kolonialisme terhadap struktur sosial dan ekonomi Indonesia. *Jurnal Pendidikan Tambusai*, 8(2), 24402–24407.
- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., & Tiffin, H. (2002). *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures*. London: Routledge.
- Boeke, J.H. (1953). *Economics and Economic Policy of Dual Societies*. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations.

- Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora. *Memutus Kuasa Postkolonial di Indonesia*. Diakses dari <https://media.neliti.com/media/publications/349005>
- Jurnal Pendidikan IPS. *Politik Etis, Nasionalisme, dan Perubahan Sosial di Indonesia*. Jurnal Pendidikan IPS, Vol. 16 No. 2. Diakses dari <https://ejournal.tsb.ac.id/index.php/jpi>
- Loomba, A. (2003). *Kolonialisme/Pascakolonialisme*. Yogyakarta: Bentara Budaya
- Lorenz, E. (1993). *The Essence of Chaos*. London: University College London Press
- Musliati, M., Aulia, C., & Erwinsyah, E. (2023). *Perkembangan sosial masyarakat pada masa penjajahan*. TIPS: Jurnal Riset, Pendidikan dan Ilmu Sosial, 1(2), 104–116.
- Nasionalisme Indonesia dalam perubahan masa reformasi dan tantangan globalisasi. (2024). *MOZAIK: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Sosial dan Humaniora*, 14(2), 196–208. <https://doi.org/10.21831/mozaik.v14i2.65836>
- Philpot, Simon (2003) *Meruntuhkan Indonesia: Politik Postkolonial dan Otoritarianisme*. (Nuruddin dkk., Penerjemah). Yogyakarta: LKIS.
- Spivak, G.C. 1988. *Can the subaltern speak?* In C. Nelson & L. Grossberg (Eds.), *Marxism and the interpretation of culture* (pp. 271–313). University of Illinois Press
- Supardan, Dadang. (2011). *Tantangan Nasionalisme Indonesia dalam Era Globalisasi*. Lentera: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Sejarah, Budaya dan Sosial, Vol. 2 No. 04, hlm. 37–72. Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia.
- Wertheim, W. F. (1999). *Masyarakat Indonesia dalam Transisi: Studi Perubahan Sosial*. (M. Z. Ellizabeth, Penerjemah; A. F. Husein, Amirudin, & I. Rosyidi, Penyunting). Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana.
- Widiyanta, D., & Miftahuddin. (2023). *Nasionalisme Indonesia dalam perubahan masa reformasi dan tantangan globalisasi*. *Cakrawala Pendidikan*, 14(2), 196-209.