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# Love of The Homeland Discourse in Nationalism Framework: A Study of Indonesia's History Textbooks in Reformation Era<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract.** Nationalism as a part of character building education has been developed by the government that is resembled in the narration of textbooks, including for history subject. The problem here is whether the nationalism-love of the homeland discourses is already included in the history textbooks narrations or not and how the construction of it needs to be studied further. The problem was investigated through content analysis methods by combining quantitative and qualitative approaches to narrative structure in high school history textbooks. Based on the results of this study, it can be explained that the historical narrative has a strategic meaning in the formation of a sense of nationality that pushes love of the homeland value as its core. The construction of patriotic discourses in history textbooks are ranging from the pre-historic civilization as the beginning of the nation up to the Reformation era in 21<sup>st</sup> century. Sense of national pride of Indonesia's strategic geographical location in relation to global community is also discussed in high school history textbooks that are part of the nationalism-love of the homeland value.

## 1. Introduction

Textbook as material guidance is an important tool that support the learning process at school. Tarigan and Tarigan [1] stated that textbooks prepared by experts can be the main and additional source in achieving learning objectives. Sjamsuddin [2] explains that textbooks are generally interpreted as guideline in the learning and teaching process so that they can facilitate it for students. As the main source, a textbook should have teaching objectives as its goal to achieve. Here, the standardization of textbooks took place that is usually in line with government vision as it exists in national education standards.

To achieve a standard textbook, the government controls the publication of textbooks at least check it up regularly. One of the standards that must appear in textbooks must be in accordance with the objectives of national education set out in the National Education System Act. One aspect of this goal must be to foster a sense of love of the homeland – love for the motherland as part of the development of nationalism. Purwanta [3] said that it was the responsibility of the textbook authors to instill the values of nationalism. Likewise, Utami [4] explained that history textbooks as historiographical works are arranged in accordance with the state ideology contained in the national education system.

Policies on textbooks standardization have also occurred in other countries such as in Japan. The Japanese government controls authentication of textbook drafts in accordance with the national policies. These textbooks are filtered, selected, and approved by a body called a text screening committee consisting of the education department officer, teachers, and scholars appointed to ensure that the contents of the text and its language form meet the guidelines that have been set. This process is also much more similar in Taiwan.

Hee [5] who discusses the history education curriculum in Korea explains that history contains community activities aimed to form a positive attitude towards the development of Korea. Maposa [6] describes how history as a compulsory subject in Zimbabwe contains a narrative of nationalism

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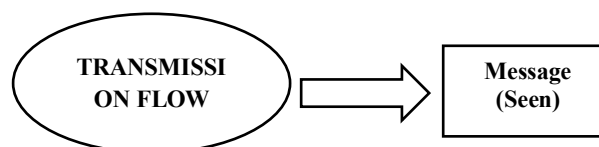
to build African patriotic values. Meanwhile, Oyeranmi [7] said that in Nigeria it is well known that historical education is forming the national future and the identity of a country. Likewise, Nygren [8] reinforces that historical education is a contributing factor in obtaining a better future. Aktekin [9] who researched historical education in Turkey said the main purpose of Turkish national education was to rebuild national awareness, promote citizenship and love of the homeland which was realized in the subjects of history. Examples of textbooks according to what is expected by various countries reflect that textbooks contain national ideals or in other words seek to instill a sense of nationalism among their citizens.

The review above provide reinforcement that textbooks as a medium of history subject can be a potential reference in strengthening the identity of a country, including Indonesia. The problem is, how the form of instilling nationalism-love of the homeland is narrated in history textbooks in Indonesia, especially during the Reformation era, which is full of unstable political, social and economic changes? For example, there were several regions that broke up from Indonesia during the Reformation, such as the province of East Timor. The islands of Sipadan and Ligitan later became neighboring Malaysia's territory after Indonesia lose at International Arbitration Court. Some other regions are trying to separate from Indonesia with their movements, such as in Aceh, Maluku, and Papua. Is the problem caused by the lack of love of the homeland, including the historical writing of each region within the scope of Indonesia's national history?

This paper will assess the problem above based on the result of research conducted on the contents of history textbooks used in high schools published in accordance with the 2006 and 2013 curriculum.

## 2. Methods

The research method used in this study is a quantitative content analysis method which is intended to determine the characteristics of the contents and draw inference from the contents. Riffe [10] explains that content analysis is a systematic and replicable test of communication symbols given numerical values based on valid measurements, meanwhile content analysis uses statistical methods to describe the contents of communication, draw conclusions, and provide context. Eriyanto [11] explains the purpose of content analysis is to understand what is contained in the document content, both print and visual. The quantitative content analysis procedure is carried out by measuring or calculating aspects of the content and presenting it quantitatively. What is seen (read) is the contents of the message conveyed explicitly in the document (high school history textbooks). Because the message is something that is visible, this research follows the flow of transmission which is basically counting or measuring aspects of the message that are seen directly. This is as seen below.



**Figure 1.** Transmission Flow (Eriyanto [11])

Figure 1 above shows communication as a form of sending messages linearly from sender to recipient, in this case from the author of textbook to the reader (students). This study measures and counts aspects seen in high school history textbooks on nationalism, love of the homeland. However, the researcher also conducted a content analysis technique using the production flow and the exchange of meaning that emphasizes interpretation or meaning. The subject of the study in this study was a history textbook for senior high schools (SMA) published in 2008-2015 in accordance with the 2006 and 2013 Curriculum. Data collection techniques were carried out in obtaining data sources, such as literature and document/ archive studies.

## 3. Results and Discussion

Following the content discourse analysis method, researchers view history textbooks as a historical reality formed by the ruling authority. The narrative that is built will inseparable from the goals

expected by it. Furthermore, by referring to the framework of discourse analysis at the level of text structure between macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure, the material narration in the textbooks express nationalism promotion, especially in patriotic tone that enforced the spirit of loving motherland. According to Steven [12] the concept of motherland combines identification towards place of residence and territorial bound that attached to it. For this reason, the idea of a motherland is found in all historical periods and civilizations that can identify the nation existence. The description of a certain region of the motherland can be an individual's self-understanding, which in turn recognizes itself to be related to those whose territories are their native land. Therefore, the relational category was expanded to include classification and evaluation as a consequence of the recognition of family ancestry from a certain region.

Looking at the content of history textbooks based on two curricula, the 2006 and 2013 Curriculum, they have something in common on the material theme. This theme refers to the periodization of Indonesia history starting from the pre-historic society, the influence of Hindu-Buddhism, the development of Islamic religion and culture, the Western colonialism and imperialism, the national movement, the war of independence and the struggle to maintain it (Physical Revolution), the Old Order government, the New Order government, and the Reformation government. Below is the structure of the narrative that appears in the narrative text of high school history textbooks expressing nationalism-love of the homeland mode.

### 3.1. *Love of the Homeland in Nation's Formation*

The material of the nation's formation in history textbooks has been taught since the beginning under the pre-historic society development title. The emergence of early human life in the area become an important account of the national formation. Steven [12] sees that all nations have a history that occurred before the modern time, whether tribes, city states, or kingdoms. For this reason, each nation has its own understanding of the past which is delivered through stories, myths, and history. These memories contribute to understand the present that distinguishes one nation from another. The following are the titles of chapters and sub-chapters that discuss the initial development of Indonesian society as motherland aspects as presented below.

**Table 1.** Early Development of Indonesian Society

No.	Curriculum	Description
1.	2006	"Early life of the Indonesian society" with the subjects of discussion: the early existence of humans on earth, the beginning of social, economic, and cultural life in Indonesia, the Dongson, Sahuyinh, and Indian cultures (Tarunasena) [13].
2.	2013	"Tracing Early Civilizations in the Indonesian Archipelago" with a the subjects of discussion: pre-historic (pre-literate) civilization, the formation of Indonesian Archipelago, early humans, the origins of ancestry/ human dispersal, life patterns of pre-literate communities, and technological developments (Gunawan et al) [14].

*Source: Research, 2019*

If we look the table above, it seems that the initial narrative expression of the formation of Indonesia is coherent with what Steven [12] stated that all nations have a history that occurred before, whether tribes, city states, or kingdoms as an important component in nation formation. For this reason, it is common that the history of the origins or human dispersal of Indonesian ancestors which shows motherland aspects has become the main topic in any discussion of the material in history textbooks. The following table are the results of the percentage of history textbook discourse concerning chapter of "Early Formation of the Nation" in which shows the number of nationalism education indicators that have been established.

**Table 2.** Early Aspects of Indonesia's National Formation in History Textbooks

No.	Indicator	Curriculum		%
		2006	2013	
1.	Proud of the origins of ancestors stories, myths, and histories, human dispersal in Indonesia	3	11	28
2.	Proud of Indonesia's ethnic and cultural diversity	20	13	66
3.	Proud of Indonesia's strategic geographical location and its importances in the global affairs	1	2	6
Total		24	26	
%		48	52	100

*Source: Research, 2019*

### 3.2. Love of the homeland on Nation's Past Glory

The sense of greatness and consciousness towards it has been resembled by stressing its advance achievement of classic kingdoms across the archipelago in the history textbooks narration. According to Sukarno the nation needs to promote the historical greatness of the kingdoms that once existed as an effort of historical legitimacy for Indonesian nationalism in countering colonialism and Western imperialism (Purwanto) [15]. Soekarno's desire was very reasonable by Smith to see "the role of the past" in the creation of "the present". From this point, Smith concludes that nationalists have a vital role in constructing the nation as political archeologists, they reduce and reinterpret communal traditions in order to re-establish the national community (Smith) [16]. Sukarno tried to promote the glory of Indonesia's past as that had existed since the Srivijaya and the Majapahit kingdom because it was supposed to be a symbol of sovereignty and maintained regional hegemony. The establishment of old powers as a legacy of ancestors cannot be separated from the history of the Indonesian people. For this reason, the narration express the glory of the past was explained in the material development of the Hindu-Buddhist and Islamic kingdoms in the history textbooks for high schools. The following table shows the percentage of "Indonesia's Past Glory" in high school history textbooks.

**Table 3.** Indonesia's Past Glory in History Textbook Narations

No.	Indicator	Curriculum		%
		2006	2013	
1.	Acknowledge the existance of glorious nations in the past	7	11	47
2.	Political consciousness that occured in the formation of monarchy	10	10	53
Total		17	21	
%		45	56	100

*Source: Research, 2019*

Based on the table above there is a prove that each textbook of high school history subje has constructed the nation as political archeologists, rediscovered, and reinterpreted the past glory of Indonesia in order to re-establish the nation community. Recognizing the nation's glory in the past by discussing the kingdom of Srivijaya and Majapahit is a strategy to install collective memory of every Indonesian today. This narrative shows the government vision to the next generation in promoting sense of pride as a nation that had triumphed in the past. Meanwhile, the discussion of Hindu-Budhhist and Islamic kingdoms to build a sense of common political consciousness also appears in the textbooks. This is consistent with what was expressed by Gardiner [17] that the kingdoms are one part of the nation's political history in which there are organizations and activities of power. The following is the narration of a history textbook containing the acknowledgment of the

nation past glory, represented by the kingdoms of Srivijaya and Majapahit, as inculcating tools of the nationalism-love of the homeland values in table below.

**Table 4.** Narrations of Indonesia’s Past Glory in History Textbook

No.	Curriculum	Description
1.	2006	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. In the history of Indonesia there are two ancient kingdoms that well known as a glorious and prosperous (<i>megah dan jaya</i>) nation, that symbolizes the glory and prosper past of Indonesia, the Kingdom of Srivijaya and Majapahit.</li> <li>2. The Kingdom of Srivijaya was not merely known in Indonesia, but also popular among other nations and states beyond the archipelago.</li> <li>3. Srivijaya succesfully controlled Malacca and Sunda Strait brought the kingdom to become the sole ruler of global trading route in Southeast Asia.</li> <li>4. Srivijaya fleet was strong and able to secure sailing and trade route from any threat.</li> <li>5. The Srivijaya was a maritime kingdom that had brought the name of nation proudly beyond Indonesia.</li> <li>6. In the history of Indonesia the Majapahit kingdom was a great and respected by foreign nations.</li> <li>7. Gadjah Mada took the Palapa Oath (<i>Tan Amukti Palapa</i>) which stated that he wouldn’t enjoy any kind of luxury until the archipelago is successfully united under the Majapahit realm.</li> </ol>
2.	2013	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Srivijaya was a prominent kingdom that has relations with the international world through its trade and maritime networks.</li> <li>2. Of the three kingdoms (Tulangbawang, Malay and Sriwijaya), it was the Srivijaya kingdom that succeeded in developing and achieving its glory.</li> <li>3. In its peak, Srivijaya's territory was quite extensive.</li> <li>4. Muhammad Yamin called Srivijaya as the first national state.</li> <li>5. Srivijaya controls national and international trade in the Malacca and Sunda Strait, as well as the Java Sea.</li> <li>6. Srivijaya became the center of Mahayana Buddhism throughout the Southeast Asia.</li> <li>7. Majapahit was once a vast kingdom and had cooperated with kingdoms beyond the Indonesian archipelago.</li> <li>8. Mohammad Yamin called the Majapahit kingdom as the second national state.</li> <li>9. Be imagined the figures of Patih Gajah Mada and King Hayam Wuruk who managed to unite the Archipelago.</li> <li>10. During the reign of King Hayam Wuruk and Patih Gajah mada, Majapahit territory was very large, even exceeding the vast territory of the present Republic of Indonesia.</li> <li>11. Gajah Mada swears that he will not rest (<i>Amukti Palapa</i>) before he can unite the entire archipelago (under Majapahit rule). The oath is known as the Palapa Oath.</li> </ol>

*Source: Research, 2019*

The above shows interpreted words and sentences that embody the value of nationalism-love of the homeland education in Indonesian past successes, represented by the Srivijaya and the Majapahit Kingdoms. Frequent words that promote such nationalistic education can boast of nationality, among others: "Controlling trade and sailing route, the Palapa Oath, the Nusantara’s politics of the united

archipelago, a strong fleet, a Buddhist center in the region, a strong monarch, a power dominant, an empire, splendid, prosperous, the sole ruler of straits and sea, a global player, guaranteeing sailing and trade security, maritime empire, a great and respected empire, its trade and maritime networks, the first national state, a might and ideal government, and the second national state".

On the similar tone, some indicators of past glorifying and early national consciousness is also promoted in explaining early Islamic influences period. Its idealistic view as well as great achievement are the main pattern in stressing its importances as an integral part of Indonesia nation. Some Islamic kingdoms narrated by this way include Samudra Pasai Kingdom, Malacca Kingdom, Aceh Kingdom, Demak Kingdom, Banten Kingdom, Mataram Kingdom, Gowa and Tallo Kingdom, and Banjar Kingdom.

### 3.3. Love of the homeland on Resistances against Colonial Powers

The concept of nationalism has become an inseparable part of the writing tradition of general history in the world. According to Utomo [18], nations in Asia and Africa, including Indonesia, the concept of nationalism, as well as love of the homeland cannot be separated from the development of Western colonial and imperial rule. Minogue [19] said the birth of nationalism emerged in an atmosphere of cosmopolitan hatred of a nation against other nations which undermined others (exploitation one through other) by marginalized freedom and sovereignty of the vast majority of population inhabited an area. This was also explained by Purwanto [15] that "Indonesian nationalism is a value deliberately formulated as an antithesis to the domination of Dutch colonialism by a group of people who initially had their separate identities". The antithesis of colonized and colonizer by Muljana also explained that:

*Kepentingan pihak terjajah yang ingin melepaskan diri dari penjajahan berlawanan dengan kepentingan pihak penjajah yang berusaha mempertahankan dan mengabdikan kekuasaan di bumi Indonesia. Demikianlah, nasionalisme Indonesia merupakan antitesis mutlak dari kolonialisme Belanda. Antitesis pada dasarnya tidak dapat dipersatukan. Oleh karena itu, dalam usaha memperjuangkan kepentingan masing-masing selalu timbul bentrok antara pihak nasionalis dan pihak yang berkuasa. Itulah secara singkat wujud nasionalisme pada zaman penjajahan (Muljana, 2008: 5).*

The interest of colonized party who wanted to free themselves from colonialism contradict to the interests of colonizer which sought to maintain and preserve power over Indonesia (its land and people). Thus, Indonesian nationalism is an absolute antithesis of Dutch colonialism. Antithesis basically cannot be united. Therefore, in an effort to fight for the interests of each other there is always a clash between the nationalist party and the authority. That is a brief of nationalism form in the colonial era (Muljana) [20].

Based on the description above, the emergence of the spirit of Indonesian nationalism can be understood as a political identity due to Western colonialism. Steven GR [12] reveals that nationalism often views other countries as an uncompromising opponent of their nation and instills hatred for what is perceived as a foreign party. The following is the narrative of nationalism-love of the homeland, viewed from the aspect of resistance to colonialism and imperialism that appears in high school history textbooks.

**Table 5.** The Resistances towards Colonialism and Imperialism

No.	Indicator	Curriculum		%
		2006	2013	
1.	Commitment to fight and resist against colonialism	40	96	87
2.	A faith in expelling or ending colonialism	2	3	3
3.	Antagonism of Eastern and Western values	1	4	3
4.	General consciousness on self-reliance, independency, and sovereignty right	4	7	7
<b>Total</b>		47	110	

%	30	70	100
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*Source: Research, 2019*

Based on the narration of high school history textbooks that express nationalism-love of the homeland in the material against the presence of colonialism and imperialism in Indonesia as shown in the table it clear that indicators that often appear are commitments to fight and resist against colonialism in the form of physical resistance or war against Dutch colonialism which reached 87%. This figure can be seen as a whole of the history textbooks of the Reformation period which discusses popular resistance against Dutch colonialism in a special chapter, including the resistance of the Moluccans, the Paderi War, the Diponegoro War, the Balinese resistance, the Banjar War, the Aceh War, and the Batak resistance. Resistance to foreign domination was also discussed before 1800 including resistance to the Portuguese by Dipati Unus from the Demak Kingdom, Sultan Iskandar Muda from the Kingdom of Aceh, Sultan Khaerun and Sultan Baabullah from Maluku. For this reason, it is not surprising that the material with the indicator "Commitment to fight and resist against colonialism" is often appears in narratives of history textbooks as part of the nationalism education of patriotic values taught among the student.

The description above reflects the installation of nationalism in view towards the Dutch as a foreigner and totally different from that of Indonesia as an undisputed opponent so that there was opposition to oust the Dutch. Looking at this event, Abdullah [21] explains that Dutch colonial oppression pushed toward a nationalist movement reinforced by a sense of equality of fate (fraternity), a united vision and strong sense of belonging as an objective factor. It developed a sense of nationalism, which created a sense of love for the nation and its homeland, due to the pressure of the colonists.

#### 4. Conclusion

History textbooks narrations that developed in Indonesia is inseparable from the standard or guideline that have been set by the government. These standards are intended to achieve the objectives of national education as specified in the National Education System Act. Following the goals, love of the homeland and nationalism values are one of government concern and duty to educate, install, and spread among the people. The narration is set up as a hard fact even though the event was anachronic. One example of this anachronism is national formation process that taken out back to pre-historic era based on relations with foreign powers. The value here is that the author guided by government demand had set stories, myths and historical events into a narration of long-temporal national existence together with its ancient glory. A similar attitude toward the emergence and development of classic kingdoms became representation of state formation as an unbreakable chain of political might. For this reason, the colonial powers had face a national resistance as it challenged the existing native ruling. The narrative is a reflection of nationalism and love of the homeland values that government tries to establish and spread among its people.

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