

# Narratives of Nationalism in Indonesia and Malaysia's History Textbooks

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## Article history

Received : 2021-04-26

Accepted : 2021-08-30

Published : 2021-09-30

## Keywords

History textbook,  
Nationalism,  
Myths of past glory,  
Ethnicity and diversity,  
Colonialism

**Abstract:** History textbooks are historical writings that have a function in developing educational values, including nationalism. Indonesia has a historical background colonized by the West, so that history textbooks will create nationalism's value. This study aims to see how nationalism is described in the history textbooks of the two countries through historical events. The method used in this research is content analysis, namely analyzing the textbook's narrative based on the indicators of the theory of nationalism. The findings of this study are indicators of the idea of nationalism, which includes myths of past glory, ethnicity and diversity, and colonialism in the description of historical events. This study concludes that the indicators of nationalism in history textbooks in Indonesia and Malaysia narrate in an indoctrinating language by placing nationalism as an ideology.

**Abstrak:** Buku teks sejarah adalah tulisan sejarah yang memiliki fungsi dalam mengembangkan nilai-nilai pendidikan, termasuk nasionalisme. Indonesia memiliki latar belakang sejarah yang dijajah oleh Barat, sehingga buku teks sejarah akan melahirkan nilai nasionalisme. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk melihat bagaimana nasionalisme digambarkan dalam buku teks sejarah kedua negara melalui peristiwa sejarah. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah analisis isi, yaitu menganalisis narasi buku teks berdasarkan indikator teori nasionalisme. Temuan penelitian ini adalah indikator gagasan nasionalisme, yang meliputi mitos kejayaan masa lalu, etnisitas dan keragaman, dan kolonialisme dalam deskripsi peristiwa sejarah. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa indikator nasionalisme dalam buku teks sejarah di Indonesia dan Malaysia dinarasikan dalam bahasa yang indoktrinasi dengan menempatkan nasionalisme sebagai ideologi.

**Cite this article:** Mulyana, A. (2021). Utilizing the Enrichment Triad Model in History Learning: a Conceptual Framework Narratives of Nationalism in Indonesia and Malaysia's History Textbooks. *Paramita: Historical Studies Journal*, 31(2), 291-301. <http://dx.doi.org/10.15294/paramita.v31i2.31428>

## INTRODUCTION

History textbooks are books that are used for learning purposes in schools (Sjamsuddin, 2007, p. 195). As typical textbooks, the textbook contains a description of the subject matter of history. The material in history lessons generally describes historical events in chronological order. As described in textbooks, historical facts are the result of interpretations aimed at the interests of historical education. History in education must have a meaning following the education's goal (Mulyana, 2012, p. iv). Thus, history textbooks provide knowledge about historical facts and lessons regarding the importance of historical events.

The history constructed in textbooks is national history, in which there is a narrative of the nation's journey that aims to instill a sense of nationalism (May, 2021). The state will construct nationalism into an ideology implanted by the state by indoctrination through history textbooks as a political interest or power (Zavatti, 2020). National historical narratives written in textbooks will contain the nation's history, which is usually written in a periodized manner starting from the nation's existence until now.



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The textbooks study concerning nationalism becomes an interesting one. There are various factors in the history of a nation that forms the basis for the birth of nationalism. Religion is one of the foundations for the emergence of nationalism that must be internalized in students as a unifier for forming a state, as happened in Iran's history. As Soleimani and Osmanzadeh (2021) study, see how history textbooks in Iran that place Shia religion are a unifying factor above ethnic and linguistic diversity to form nationalism in Iran.

The study of history textbooks in China, as Hao and Cherng (2020), which examines the ideology of the Chinese Communist Party, forms nationalism behind the past glory and the vastness of China's territory. The party's political ideology that controls the government is one of the factors taught in history textbooks to instill nationalism. The communist ideology is implanted as an ideology that determines which areas are united and which areas are rebellious. The textbook states that Taiwan is a dissident territory because historically, it was part of China's territory.

The existence of colonization or colonialism is a factor that often occurs in many countries to the birth of nationalism, mainly the colonization of Western nations in Asia. Textbooks usually present significant events during the colonial period, becoming symbols of the rise of nationalism. Textbook studies related to colonialism, namely the study of Ghuci (2019), Sari (2019), Sudarmaji (2019), and Wardhana (2019), a common factor in several countries regarding the birth of nationalism.

Ghuci (2019) examines nationalism in the Indonesian History textbook for grade XI in High School. The study carried out is looking at nationalism, according to Ernest Gellner. His research findings are firstly politics for prosperity and glory, secondly political youth, and thirdly revolutionary nationalism.

Sari (2019) examines nationalism in the 2013 curriculum of Indonesian history High School textbook, the 2nd revised edition of 2017 in grade XI based on the theory of Anthony D, Smith. The study was carried out specifically about the Youth Pledge Event. The research results showed that the condition of the Indonesian people in 1928 had the aspiration to unite even under the pressure of Dutch colonialism. The love of the people gave birth to the youth oath containing elements of unity, nationality, love for the homeland, and recognizing identity as the Indonesian nation. Thus the requirements in forming a nation in the view of Anthony D Smith implemented in the youth oath have

been appropriate.

Sudarmaji (2019) conducted a study on the Indonesian History textbook for grade XI Senior High School. The focus of the study was carried out using the theory of EJ Hobsbawm. The findings of this study are that nationalism emerged as a response to Dutch colonialism and imperialism. An enlightened local elite emerged as a result of the ethical politics of the early 20th century. Many movement organizations were formed, including the Indische Partij, which provided the essential foundation for the idea of Indonesia as the inspiration for the emergence of the conception of modern Indonesian national consciousness in 1928.

Wardhana (2019) examines this study to analyze nationalism in history textbooks at the high school level. The focus of the study is to look at nationalism according to Hans Kohn's theory. His research findings show that the influence of nationalism is powerful in writing the sample of history textbooks studied. This influence is seen from the cultivation of nationalism as a form of government obligation to shape the nation's character and personality. In addition, this was conducted to strengthen nationalism through education.

Nationalism as an ideology has a relationship with multiculturalism to form a national identity. A study of nationalism regarding multiculturalism's relationship conducted by Fauzan (2021) in a history textbook in Indonesia. Multiculturalism is a manifestation of the socio-historical diversity of the Indonesian nation. Narratives in history textbooks must provide students with an understanding to place nationalism and multiculturalism as a unit to form a national identity.

The roots of nationalism can grow from past myths, the homogeneity of language and culture that has been formed in the nation. Tanabe (2021) examines nationalism in Japan with a sociological approach. Japanese as a homogeneous language, past myths, and culture that Japan has owned is essential in forming nationalism in Japan.

Nationalism can also be formed through traumatic events such as massacres against an ethnic group, and these events are commemorated and written in textbooks to be remembered by students. A study about this was carried out by Chinnathambi (2020) about the birth of nationalism in India by presenting the events of the massacre of the ethnic Tamil Nadu. This tribe has similarities with Indian nationalism so that when it is described the massacre of the Tamils, the nationalism of students in India will emerge.

Ethnicity can be the basis for the formation

of a nation on a nationalist basis. The basis of ethnicity is the basis for the birth of nationalism, and it can be based on conflicts with other ethnicities to give birth to a state. Studies such as in the case of the birth of the Serbian State which broke away from Yugoslavia as studied by Jovanovic (2021). This conflict can be passed on to the next generation through the narrative of history textbooks.

The involvement of other countries in a conflict event so that the country feels politically advantaged is one of the factors for the formation of nationalism. Studies like this one were written by Bartoli (2020). History textbooks in South Korea highly praise the involvement of the United States in the Korean War. America's involvement is very politically beneficial for South Korea because, with this involvement, the State of South Korea was formed. South Korea is a country whose economy is stable and has become democratic because of the United States' role.

In addition to historical events, the history textbooks also display pictures that can be used as symbols to instill the values of nationalism. A study conducted by Kyriazi1 and vom Hau (2020) on the presentation of stamps to countries in Latin America, namely Peru, Argentina and Mexico. Image stamps can build national consolidation.

The inculcation of nationalist values is not only in history textbooks but is also displayed in narrative materials in other subjects, namely English. There are several studies on English textbooks that contain nationalism's values. Suryatiningsih (2020) examines how teachers transfer and negotiate nationalist values through national and national narratives in English classrooms, and how students reproduce and reflect these values. The results showed that the values of nationalism that were carried out in the two textbooks prominently were citizens/characters, culture, cities and architecture, historical events, geographical features and local performance. The reproduction of the nationalism values of English students shows their locality. During teaching, teachers transfer and negotiate the values of nationalism by using nation and national narratives that support student's learning, and at the same time instill the spirit of nationalism. In addition, nation and national narratives help to develop students' English skills, especially speaking skills, and increase nationalism awareness through depictions of architecture, nature, history, people, landscapes, and culture.

Yumarnamto (2020) examines English textbooks with the theory of nationalism as an imagined community expressed by Ben Anderson. This

study found that in English subject matter, the diversity of the Indonesian people is explained in terms of ethnicity, culture, religion, between groups, even gender, and age. Diversity is described as the identity of the Indonesian nation and as a community that is imagined to form nationalism.

A study on English lessons in South Korea concerning nationalism formation was carried out by Kim and Lee (2021). The themes studied in the textbook were identity formation, nomenclature conventions, national independence, controversial territorial disputes, and repatriation. From the results, it was found that the discourse was constructed to present opportunities to promote the inculcation of the Korean language of students related to the dominant ideology and contemporary issues of identity while increasing their awareness in positioning themselves as competent members in the global community through learning English.

As the literature review discussed above, this research will look at nationalism from indicators, namely the myth of past glory, ethnicity and diversity, and colonialism. This study aims to see how the narrative of nationalism is displayed in history textbooks in Indonesia and Malaysia. These two nations have similarities as Malays and have both been colonized by the West. However, in terms of colonialism, there are differences, Malaysia was colonized by the British while the Dutch colonized Indonesia. These two nations have different colonial policies so that the historical narrative of colonialism can be different.

In contrast to previous studies, which focus solely on one book published by one country and only examine one theory and aspect of nationalism indicators, this study will look at history textbooks published by two countries, namely Indonesia and Malaysia. Both countries were colonized by the West, where Malaysia was by the British and Indonesia by the Dutch. The analysis carried out several indicators, namely nationalism, the myth of past glory, ethnicity and diversity, and colonialism.

## **METHOD**

The research method used in this research is content analysis. This method departs from the basic assumption of the social sciences that the study of the process and communication content is the basis of the study of the social sciences (Bungin, 2003, p. 84). The process and content of the communication referred to in this study is the product of the narrative or text described in the textbook. The author of the book, in this case, communicates his ideas and thoughts regarding the description of history sub-

ject matter into textbooks.

The data sources used were history textbooks studied, namely Indonesia entitled “Sejarah Indonesia Kelas XI” and Malaysian history textbooks entitled “Sejarah Tingkatan 5 Buku Teks “. The data used are in the form of text or historical narratives in textbooks. The “History of Indonesia Grade XI” book is divided into four chapters: Between Colonialism and Imperialism, War Against Colonialism and Imperialism, Impact of the Development of Colonialism and Imperialism, and the Pledge of Youth and Indonesian Identity. Meanwhile, the material description for “History of Level 5” book, published by the Malaysia Government is divided into ten chapters which consist of Sovereignty, Alliance Institutionalization, Kings Institutionalization, and Parliamentary Democracy, Alliance System, Formation of Malaysia, Challenges After the formation of Malaysia, Fostering the state welfare, Fostering the State Prosperity, Malaysia’s Outer Fundamentals, and Malaysia’s Brilliance in the World Persada.

The steps used in the content analysis are classifying symbols used in communication using criteria in classification, and using specific analytical techniques in making predictions (Bungin, 2003, p. 84). In this study, the symbols referred to in this study are how researchers read carefully the descriptions of historical material in textbooks and then marked them based on the classification in the theory of nationalism. Researchers set criteria or indicators about nationalism, namely myths of past glory, ethnicity and diversity, and colonialism. The authors use these indicators in reading the narrative of history textbooks. Based on these indicators, the author determines which part of the narrative belongs to the nationalism category. In that determination, the author gives meaning to the narrative of the textbook as research data. As usual in qualitative research, the analysis used by giving meaning to the data is based on the researcher’s symbols. Because the ultimate goal of qualitative research is to understand the social phenomena under study (Faisal, 2003, p. 66). The phenomenon referred to in this study is a narrative or description of the material contained in a textbook that has its meaning. In addition, to understand the text, the researcher also used hermeneutics as an analytical technique. Hermeneutics has two meanings: texts are interpreted, and actions are explained. In the first sense, we see unity or coherence in a text, while in the second sense, we give an answer to the question, why a historical actor did this (Ankersmit, 1987, p. 156).

This study understood hermeneutics in terms

of interpreted texts. Researchers try to understand the context of the description of the material in its entirety between one description and another. For example, the understanding regarding the Dutch East Indies Government’s Ethical Political Policy towards the natives produced educated people. Then the educated people have a nationalism attitude as a reaction against colonialism. The meaning will be easily given by connecting one description to another. The hermeneutic process is carried out by researchers aimed to enter into the text, which then gives meaning.

#### **THE MYTH OF THE GLORY OF THE PAST**

The past’s picture of Indonesia and Malaysia is always depicted as an area whose life shows an interesting life situation in terms of economic, political, and socio-cultural aspects. The following is a part of the picture in Indonesia in the past before the arrival of the Western invaders.

The Goa Kingdom is one of the most famous kingdoms in the archipelago. The center of government is in Soma Opu, as well as the port of the kingdom of Goa. Somba Opu is always open to anyone. Many foreign merchants lived in the city. Namely English, Danish, Portuguese and Dutch. They were allowed to build a lodge in the city. Goa is anti-monopoly on trade. The people of Goa want to live independently and be friendly to anyone without special privileges. The people of Goa always adhere to the principle of living following the words “My land is open to all nations.” (Sardiman & Amurwani, 2014, p 77)

Sultan Agung is the most famous king of the Mataram Kingdom. During the reign of Sultan Agung, Mataram reached a golden age. The ideals of Sultan Agung, among others: (1) Unite all the land of Java and (2) expel foreign powers from the archipelago. Related to this ideal, Sultan Agung strongly opposed VOC power in Java (Sardiman & Amurwani, 2014, p. 72).

The picture of Malaysia’s past glory is almost the same as the picture in Indonesia, namely the picture of the kingdom before the arrival of the Western colonizers as described below.

Before the arrival of the Portuguese, the Malay Sultanate of Melaka practiced the Fourfold Enlargement System and this became a follow-up to most Malay countries. However, the Portuguese conquest of Melaka had undermined the institution of the king in Melaka. During the reign of the Netherlands, the institution of this king continued to be erased. Later during British rule, Melaka, Pulau Pinang, and Singapore were merged into the Straits country known as Negeri-

**Table 1.** An Overview Aspects from Myth of the Past of Indonesia and Malaysia Textbooks

No	Aspect	Indonesia	Malaysia
1.	Period	The Kingdom period before the arrival of the West, for example, the Kingdom of Goa and Mataram Islam	The period of the kingdom before the arrival of the Westerners, namely the Malay Kingdom
2.	Prominent Figure	There are figures depicted such as Sultan Hasanudin and Sultan Agung	Past figures is not mentioned
3.	An Explanation Source	Not mentioned	Sourced from Malay History Sulalatus Salatin
4.	The Collapse of the Past	Unspecified Western colonizers such as the Dutch overthrow kingdom	Western Nations, specifically the Dutch, eliminate the kingdom, yet British unite the kingdoms
5.	Advancement Sector	Politic, economy, and trade	Politic, economy, and trade

Negeri Selat (NNS). The governor is the highest government of the NNS, and he is assisted by the resident counselor for the three countries. The administration at the village level by the penghulu is perpetuated. (Adam, 2018, p. 12)

The Malay Sultanate in the 15th century was the foundation of the development of our country and nation. This kingdom's civilization and state regulations are recorded in the Malay History or Sulalatus Salatin by Tun Seri Lanang, the most important historiographical document. The Malay Sultanate of Melaka already has an organized, regulated society and has its own political and administrative system (Adam, 2018, p. 74).

The description of the past glory in Indonesia and Malaysia has something in common, namely the first described the situation before the arrival of the Western invaders and the second described the Goa and Mataram kingdoms. However, in Indonesia, the number of kingdoms is vast. The kingdoms of Goa and Mataram were powerful in the archipelago, and these two kingdoms had political and trade networks both within the archipelago and areas in other countries outside the archipelago. In addition, the two kingdoms were kingdoms in the archipelago that faced directly and fought with the Dutch colonialists.

The past glory that the writer took was the Malay Sultanate of Melaka. In textbook descriptions, the Malay Sultanate of Melaka is described as a great Sultanate before the arrival of the West, especially before being conquered by the Portuguese. The Malay Sultanate of Melaka had a high civilization and became a reference for other Malay kingdoms. The greatness of the Malay Kingdom of Melaka is described in the traditional historiographical text, namely History of Melayu or Sulalatus Salatin by Tun Seri Lanang.

Theoretically, the description of the myth of past glory as stated by Jensen (2016, p. 13) that the understanding of the formation of nationalism as a national identity is carried out through historical stages. The history stages are broadly divided into two, namely the traditional or premodern period and the modern period. The myth of past glory is a traditional period or a premodern period because the formation of nationalism that formed a country in history was born in the modern period, which took place in the 19th century. Even the myth of past glory becomes a collective memory of history claimed as historical truth and will give legality to today's nationalism in the formation of the state and become a national identity (Abizadeh, 2004). Thus, the construction of past myths and nationalism has an interdependent relationship in spreading and expanding national ideology (Michael, 2010). The description of the past glory of the Kingdom of Goa and the Kingdom of Mataram in the history textbooks of Indonesia and the Malay Kingdoms of Malacca in history textbooks in Malaysia has a function to build past myths as an effort to build collective historical memory for students in both countries in order to build nationalism as an ideology national. Describe the differences and similarities about the Myths of Past Glory as table 1.

#### ETHNICITY AND DIVERSITY

Ethnicity or ethnicity owned by the Indonesian nation is very much so that it shows diversity. Ethnic diversity also reflects linguistic and cultural diversity. Even within one tribe, there are more sub-tribes. The description of ethnic diversity in Indonesia is as described below:

Batak is the name of the region and, at the same time, the name of the tribe, the Batak tribe. There are several Batak groups, for example the Toba Batak, Karo Batak, Simalungun Batak, Mandailing Batak and Pakpak Batak. Now the Batak peo-

ple are scattered in various regions in Indonesia. (Sardiman & Amurwani, 2014, p. 130).

The Indonesian state was indeed formed through a long process based on agreement and awareness of the nationalism of the youth and educated at that time. They did not only come from one ethnic group, but they also came from the ethnic groups that existed in the Dutch East Indies at that time. (Sardiman & Amurwani, 2014, p. 139).

The ethnicity's description in Malaysia's history textbooks only describes the diversity of languages, cultures, and beliefs. The description of ethnicity in Malaysia is as follows:

The Malaysian nation consists of several people with different languages, cultures, beliefs, and opinions about the world. The Malaysian nation has been formed through the use of one national language and the practice of national culture and the pillars of the state in every field of life. (Adam, 2018, p. 67)

The state of Malaysia consists of the union of Tanah Melayu, Sarawak, and Sabah. The state is an area that has a population, borders, and authoritative government. The state also refers to a structured governmental institution responsible for making and implementing political decisions and enforcing royal laws and regulations (Adam, 2018, p. 73).

Ethnicity and diversity, both described in history textbooks in Indonesia and Malaysia, provide a diversity indicator of the formation of nationalism. If we talk about ethnicity, we will talk about ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity. The researcher cites ethnicity and diversity with a description of the Batak Tribe, which has other sub-tribes. The Batak tribe inhabits the northern part of Sumatra, or administratively, the government is in North Sumatra Province. There are many tribes in Indonesia, not only the Batak.

In contrast to Indonesia, ethnicity in Malaysia is not as much as in Indonesia. While the description of ethnicity and diversity in Malaysia only describes the Malays as the majority in Malaysia. In today's reality, the ethnic groups in Malaysia include Malay, Chinese and Indian.

Ethnicity and diversity both in Indonesia and Malaysia historically became the basis for the formation of nationalism to transform into a State. In the history of Indonesia, ethnic diversity has become a unity in the Youth Pledge. In this event, young people unite in declaring the oath of Indonesian unity even though they are of different ethnic

groups. Diversity based on differences does not become a potential conflict in building nationalism.

In the context of nationalism, ethnicity and diversity are the aspects of culture and become the roots of the formation of nationalism (Jensen, 2016, p. 17). Culture contains aspects of language, traditions, and rituals that live uniquely. The uniqueness can be in the form of living history in a society that has traditions. An understanding of the description of the Batak tribe in Indonesian history and the Malay ethnicity in Malaysian history will study the uniqueness of the culture in it and become the basis for the formation of nationalism both in Indonesia and in Malaysia.

### **COLONIALISM**

The colonialism's description in Indonesia begins with the arrival of the West, the background, the actions taken by the colonizers against the indigenous population, and the reaction of the resistance carried out by the indigenous population against the invaders. The beginning of the arrival of the Western colonialists in Indonesia began with the arrival of Portugal as described below:

The Portuguese have also paved the way for the Archipelago as a spice-producing area. Then followed the Netherlands and England. Their goal is not solely seek profit through the spice trade (Sardiman & Amurwani, 2014, p.1).

The initial arrival of the Portuguese was motivated by the motive of hunting for wealth or trade, glory, and spreading Christianity. However, in subsequent developments, the motive for trade was more dominant so that the Portuguese interacted and traded with other nations and visited and controlled trading centers, as described below:

They interacted and competed with each other in gaining trade profits. Portuguese merchants or trading companies competed with Dutch traders, competed with Spanish traders, competed with English traders, etc. Even between nations, between groups, or trade partnerships, they compete within one nation. Therefore, to strengthen its position in the East, each trading company of a country formed a joint trade alliance. For example, in 1600, England formed a trading partnership called the East Indian Company (EIC). (Sardiman & Amurwani, 2014, p. 22).

After the arrival of the Portuguese, the next Western nation to colonize Indonesia was the Dutch. Like the Portuguese, the arrival of the Dutch was motivated by trade, by visiting the bustling trading ports in the archipelago. The beginning of the arrival of the Dutch is described as follows:

By looking at the strategic port of Banten and the presence of spices in the region. Cornelis de Houtman's ambition is to monopolize trade in Banten. With arrogance and sometimes rudeness, the Dutch enforced their will. This is unacceptable to the people and rulers of Banten. Therefore, the people began to hate and even expel the Dutch people. Cornelis de Houtman and his fleet soon left Banten and eventually returned to the Netherlands (Sardiman & Amurwani, 2014, p. 17).

Like the Portuguese, the Dutch were initially looking for trade goods and then wanted to colonize and to control the archipelago. To strengthen their colonies in the archipelago and be well organized in political and economic management, Dutch traders were legally and politically supported by the Dutch parliament and government, a trading organization called *Verenigde Oost Indische Compagnie* (VOC) was formed. The description of the VOC is as follows:

The VOC, a trading partnership, started from a profit-seeking business and then was able to instill influence and even power in the archipelago. This phenomenon also occurred in trading partnerships belonging to other European nations. That is, in order to strengthen monopoly action and increase its profits, the Europeans had to increase the area under their control (the area of their colonies). (Sardiman & Amurwani, 2014, p. 29)

The VOC carried out various policies and actions like an invader who wanted to control the colony. The actions taken are coercive to the natives and carry out acts of violence that harm the natives. The description of the VOC's actions is as follows:

In 1619, the Governor General of the VOC Laurens Reael was replaced by the Governor General Jan Pieterzoon Coen (JP Coen). JP Coen was known as a brave, cruel and ambitious Governor-general. (Sardiman & Amurwani, 2014, p. 25)

One of the VOC's actions to gain an economic advantage in colonizing was with a trade monopoly as described below:

The VOC was increasingly greedy and eager to dominate this spice-rich archipelago. Political intervention against the kingdoms in the archipelago and the imposition of trade monopoly continued to be carried out. The politics of *divide et impera* and various tricks are also carried out in order to gain maximum power and profit. (Sardiman & Amurwani, 2014, p. 27)

After the VOC disbanded, colonialism in the archipelago was taken directly by the government of the Netherlands, and the colonies of the archipel-

ago became a government led by a Governor-General as was the case during the VOC. The policies carried out by the VOC were continued by carrying out policies that could benefit the colonialists economically. This policy is known as the *Forced Cultivation System* as described below:

Van Der Capellen's policy developed towards land rent by removing the role of traditional rulers (regents and local rulers). Then Van Der Capellen also continued to collect taxes which were very burdensome for the people. There were many protests and encouraged resistance. Then he was recalled and replaced by Du Bus Gisignies (Sardiman & Amurwani, 2014, p. 471).

Under the conditions in the colonized country, planting was carried out by force. They use the concept of the colony as a place to take advantage of the parent country. As Baud put it, Java is "the Cork on which the Netherlands floats." Thus, in other words, Java is seen as a cash cow (Sardiman & Amurwani, 2014, p. 48).

Colonization by both the Portuguese and the Dutch led to resistance from the natives, both led by the people and the king. Resistance occurred in almost all regions in Indonesia. Some examples of resistance were carried out as described below:

In 1565 there was resistance from the people of Ternate under the leadership of Sultan Khaerun/Hairun. Sultan Khaerun called on all the people from Irian/Papua to Java to take up arms against Portuguese colonial tyranny (Sardiman & Amurwani, 2014:70).

The King of Goa, Sultan Hassanudin, wanted to stop the VOC's anarchic and provocative actions. Sultan Hassanudin opposed the VOC's ambition to impose a monopoly on Goa. All forces were prepared to face the VOC. Several fortifications began to be prepared along the coast. Some of Goa's allies began to coordinate. All were prepared to resist VOC arbitrariness. Meanwhile, the VOC was also preparing to subdue Goa. The *divide et impera* policy was launched. For example, the VOC had a relationship with a Bugis and Bone prince named Aru Palaka. (Sardiman & Amurwani, 2014, p. 78)

The resistance carried out against the Dutch colonialists was not only carried out through war or physical resistance, but the resistance was carried out by forming national organizations formed by educated indigenous people. This form of resistance was carried out at the beginning of the 20th century as described below:

At the beginning of the 20th century, various groups and organizations emerged in the archipelago that had the concept of nationalism. Such as the Sarekat Dagang Islam (later to become the Sarekat Islam), Budi Utomo (BU), Jong Java, Jong Celebes, Jong Minahasa, Jong Sumatrenan Bond and others. The emergence of these organizations funded the phase of change in resistance to Dutch colonial rule (Sardiman & Amurwani, 2014, p. 158).

The resistance carried out against the colonizers by the educated was also carried out by publishing newspapers to express their ideas and thoughts as described below:

Several newspapers later brought progress to the natives, namely Medan Prijaji (1909-1917) and the first women's publication, which was published regularly, namely Indian Poetry (1908-1913). An editor who is known, namely RM Tirtoadisurya, wrote about his writing, that in order to improve the trading status of "merchants of the Islamic nation", there needs to be an organization whose members consist of traders so that "the little people cannot be defeated because they are united". He later became known as the Sarekat Dagang Islamijah or better known as the Sarekat Dagang Islam (SDI). In its development, SDI transformed itself into Sarekat Islam (SI) under the leadership of Haji Samanhudi. That is how the spirit of nationalism grew and was built through writing in the print media (Sardiman & Amurwani, 2014, p. 150).

The resistance's peak carried out by the educated, and the youth was able to unite through an event known as the Youth Pledge as described below:

On October 28, 1928, the Second Youth Congress was held in the Indonesische Clubgebouw building. At that time the congress was attended by about 1000 people. On that occasion, Moh. Yamin delivered his speech with the title "From Indonesia's Unity and Nationality". (Sardiman & Amurwani, 2014, p. 187).

Malaysia was colonized by British. Like the colonial state in general, carried out various actions and policies both politically and economically that could provide the colonial advantage, as described below:

The basis for the British conquest of the Malay countries was to strengthen their political life. With that, the strengthening of its political power became widespread, and its orders and regulations would bind the region. For example, if the British got Melaka from the Dutch, Naning became a British colony and paid ufti. Penghulu Said opposed the British will, and this led to war. (Adam, 2018, p. 30)

In addition, the British wanted to build a Malayan Union nation so that immigrants could forget their country of origin and pledge allegiance to the Malayan Union. Thus, the British ensured that the sources of energy and investment to advance the Malay economy were not helped. In addition, the British could guarantee continued control over the economic resources of the Malays in addition to reducing the political power of the Malays. (Adam 2018, p. 97).

The British occupation in Malaysia led to widespread resistance in various Malay lands, as described below:

The nationalism movement was an attempt by the local community to oppose any form of pressure or colonization against them by outside powers. Their opposition was driven by a desire to liberate their country from colonial power. In Malaysia, local leaders and people's resistance to the British has been carried out since the 19th century. The nationalist movement as a whole has also started at the beginning of the 20th century. (Adam, 2018, p. 28)

The opposition by Penghulu Dol Said in Naning was the earliest to take place in Malay Land, between 1831-1833. He opposed the British because he disagreed with the British action to put Naning as part of the territory they were subject to. (Adam, 2018, p. 32)

In Pahang, in 1888, several dignitaries had united against British rule. When JP Rodgers was sworn in as the first Resident of Pahang, Dato' Brahman had rejected the implementation of British laws contrary to the traditional customs of the local political system such as the judiciary, land collection, the excise system, and the establishment of an external police force. (Adam, 2018, p. 40).

Mat Salleh had been to Sandakan to converse with the SBUB in 1895 but was not served. Instead, Governor Beaufort had attacked and burned his village. Mat Salleh was forced to flee. In 1897, he and his followers carried out a surprise attack on the SBUB stronghold on Gaya Island (Adam, 2018, p. 36).

The struggle against the British colonialists in Malaysia that was carried out was not only physical or war, but also carried out the struggle through newspapers and magazines as described below:

In addition to newspapers, magazines also played an important role in raising the national spirit of the local people. Until the 1940s, there were as many as 120 magazines of various styles pub-



**Table 2.** The descriptions' comparison regarding colonialism in Indonesian and Malaysian textbooks

No	Aspect	Indonesia	Malaysia
1.	The colonizers	Portuguese widely described, as well as the Dutch	Portuguese are less described, and English are more described
2.	Resistance	Conducted by kings and community leaders	Conducted by kings and folk leaders
3.	Colonial period	Before the 19th and early 20th centuries	Before the 19th century and early 20th century 20th
4.	Warfare	Many described both led by the king as well as community leaders	Many are less described in detail, whether conducted by kings and village leaders
5.	The intelligentsia role	Many described thus impact on nationalism	Less elaborated regarding an organization or the prominent leaders
6.	The implementation of education	The impact of the emergence of nationalism was described much	The impact on the emergence of nationalism was less described

lished. These magazines touch on the issue of the nation's progress in education, economy, language, literature, and anti-colonial and foreign politics. Magazines focused more on issues to advance the nation through plans and published poetry. (Adam, 2018, p. 52).

Overall, the role played by Akhbar, magazines, and novels in mobilizing Malay national consciousness is very clear. By covering social, economic, and political issues, readers get new ideas and many dissections about the nationalism movement outside and within the country. With this, they can compare and assess the impact of colonialism on their economic, educational and political progress. (Adam, 2018, p. 54).

The British colonizers carried out policies for the natives by providing education and giving birth to educated people in Malay who later became important figures in the resistance to the invaders as described below:

The English Education System and the Malay Vernacular School, introduced at the end of the 19th century, gave birth to the Malay intellectual group. Capable of thinking for the progress of the nation. They realized the need to contribute their energy and thoughts to raise the awareness of the Malay Nation. They have used the new idea to advance themselves and resist British colonialism. (Adam, 2018, p. 46).

The Malays in the past there were kingdoms or sultanates in various countries against the British colonialists. They united by forming an organization as described below:

In conclusion, the Malayan Union has united the Malays to maintain their status quo. The 1946 Malay Congress gave birth to UMNO, which became the bulwark of the struggle against the Malayan Union. The British have agreed to hold talks

with the Malay Kings and UMNO to establish a better political and administrative system. We should imitate this national unity. (Adam, 2018, p. 102).

Unitary states have also been established in the Allied Malay States, such as in Perak (1937), Selangor (1938), Negeri Sembilan (1938), and Pahang (1938). The main objective of establishing the unity of this country is to unite Malay intellectuals to discuss the fate of the Malays in matters of economy, education, and royal service. In this way, integration among the Malays can be encouraged. (Adam, 2018, p. 55)

Dutch colonialism in Indonesia and British colonialism in Malaysia have similarities in attitudes and actions towards the occupied territories. The colonial state will always position itself as a hegemonic power, dominate and place superiority, building a racial, cultural, and civilizational gap with the colonized population (Khomyakov, 2020). Various resistances carried out by the indigenous people against the invaders, both through physical resistance and with ideas and thoughts, show that nationalism has a contradictory relationship with colonialism (Groves, 2008). A description comparison regarding colonialism in Indonesia and Malaysia history textbooks is illustrated in the table 2.

## CONCLUSION

Nationalism narratives in history textbooks in Indonesia and Malaysia contain elements of the theory of nationalism. The elements or indicators, namely the myth of past glory, ethnicity and diversity, and colonialism, are depicted in the description of historical events. The language used in the narrative of historical events is more indoctrinating to students because nationalism is an ideology that

must be instilled in students. This narrated indoctrination is part of developing the historical education value. The similarity in the description of nationalism in both textbooks is the colonialism periodization described before the 19th and 20th centuries. Meanwhile, the differences are not too many. Only the details about events and figures in Indonesia are more detailed and chronological. And the resistance figures are more described than in Malaysia's textbooks

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I want to thank the History Education Study Program, Faculty of Social Science Education, Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, and Faculty of Education, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, which have helped a lot, especially collecting research data sources.

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