

The Ideology of Nationalism in Indonesia Civic Education Textbook

¹Winarno, ²Moh. Muchtarom
^{1,2}Sebelas Maret University Indonesia
Corresponding Author: Winarno

Abstract: *The present study seeks to describe the idea of nationalism and Pancasila in Civic Education textbook in Indonesia. A qualitative method with documentation studies and content analysis was applied. The analysis unit covers the concept of Pancasila and nationalism contained in a Civic Education textbook for Grade 8 students entitled Contextual Teaching and Learning, Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan Sekolah Menengah Pertama Kelas VIII Edisi 4 published by the Ministry of National Education of Republic of Indonesia in 2008. Researchers analyzed the words, sentences, and paragraphs related to Pancasila and nationalism. Pancasila and the ideology of nationalism is included as a part of Civic Education instructional materials. The instructional material of Pancasila includes its position and contents. Pancasila positions as the foundation and the ideology of the state.*

Keywords: *Nationalism, Pancasila, Civic Education, Instructinoal material, Civic Education textbook*

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I. CONTECT OF THE STUDY

Integrating ideas of nationalism requires a medium to implement in learning at schools. Nationalism, for example, is included as an instructional material contained in Civic Education textbooks. Civic education of a nation cannot be separated from the political community and the values of a nation. Civics textbooks may contain values and ideas of the related people. Textbooks are not neutral from messages of a community from where the book was written and published. They are efficient to build awareness and national identity (Anne Gaul, 2015). They do not merely contain knowledge, but also ideas, thoughts, and values as a norm for the future generations to promote the spirit of patriotism and national cohesion (Benito, 2009, Al-Haj, 2005). The education policy of a state exerts a significant influence on drafting of textbooks (Handoyo, 2016). Textbooks are seen as an ideological message system for the transmission of values and beliefs of society (Amankwa, et.al, 2011). Ideas or thoughts about nationalism of a nation are generally given to students as a form of the transmission of national values. Efforts to embed the values are made through civic education. It is in line with William Galston's argument in Felix Share (2009) that civic education is a form of individuals' training to support and strengthen a political community as long as it exists as a result of an agreement. In contrast, civic education does not only cover learning about principles and political institutions, but also 'a range of dispositions, virtues, and loyalties that are immediately bound up with the practice of democratic citizenship' (Kymlika, 2001). Civic education of a country is inseparable from the influencing factors, such as educational values and aims as the main structural factors. Indonesia can be categorized as a country where educational values and aims are expressed in detail as in Japan, Singapore, Sweden, and Korea (Kerr, 1999). For Indonesia, ideas and thoughts about nationalism were embodied in Pancasila. Indonesian nationalism and Pancasila are interrelated. Indonesian nationalism is the nationalism underlaid by the values of Pancasila (Suryohadiprojo, 2012). Pancasila is associated with civic education in Indonesia in terms of goals and instructional materials. Pancasila is the goal of civic education learning. Civic education in the form of subject of Civic Education aims at shaping intelligent, extraordinary, and skillful citizens as instructed by Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution (Winataputra, 2008). This study will reveal the idea of nationalism contained in civics textbooks in Indonesia.

II. METHODOLOGY

Qualitative method with documentation studies and content analysis was utilized in the present research. Two units including the concept of Pancasila and nationalism contained in the book and subunits comprising words, phrases, and paragraphs related to the ideas of Pancasila and Indonesian nationalism were analyzed. Analysis unit of Pancasila was analyzed based on such categories as the position and the contents of Pancasila, or the formula and the contents of Pancasila (Notonagoro, 1981). Pancasila positions as the foundation of the state, the national ideology, the way of life, the source of law, the national identity, the

unifying national ideology, the national spirit and identity, the cultural identity, the political conception of the nation, and the will of the nation (Darmodiharjo, 1981; Kaelan, 2002; Soeprapto, 2005; Ali, 2009). The contents of Pancasila refer to principles written in Pancasila which can be interpreted through such approaches as philosophical, theological, juridical, sociological and historical (Pranarka, 1985). Sub-analysis of "nationalism" was analyzed based on such categories or types as 'cosmopolitan nationalism', 'civic nationalism', 'cultural nationalism', 'anti-colonial nationalism' and 'totalitarian nationalism' (Print & Leung, 2002).

The document which was analyzed was Civic education textbook for middle school students entitled Contextual Teaching and Learning, Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan kelas VIII Sekolah Menengah Pertama / Madrasah Tsanawiyah Kelas VIII Edisi 4 (Contextual Teaching and Learning, Civic Education for Grade VIII students of middle schools/ Islamic middle schools, the Forth Edition) published by Pusat Perbukuan (book center) of the Ministry of National Education of the Republic of Indonesia in 2008. Data were analyzed using four stages of content analysis, namely the decontextualization, the recontextualization, the categorization, and the compilation (Bengtsson, 2016)

III. RESULTS

The Contents of the Instructional Material of Pancasila and Nationalism Referring to the analyzed documents, it is found out that the instructional material of Pancasila and ideology of nationalism is written in Chapter I entitled ‘Pancasila sebagai Ideologi dan Dasar Negara’ (Pancasila as the ideology and the foundation of the state)”, starting from page 1 to 33. In addition, the description of the instructional material is presented as follows:

CHAPTER TITLE	CHAPTER CONTENTS	Page
PANCASILA AS THE IDEOLOGY AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE STATE	Pancasila as the ideology and the foundation of the state a) The importance of an ideology in a state b) The background of Pancasila as the ideology of the state	2
	The values of Pancasila as the ideology and the foundation of the state a) The values of Pancasila as the ideology b) The values of Pancasila as the foundation of the state	22
	Positive attitudes towards Pancasila in life of society, nation, and state a) The characteristics of Pancasila b) The importance of Pancasila in defending the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia	28

In reference to the analysis framework, an analysis description is found, comprising:

Analysis Unit	Word, Sentence, Paragraph	Description	Page
Pancasila	Pancasila as the ideology and the foundation of the state	Written in the title	1
	Studying Pancasila deeper makes us aware of being Indonesians with an identity and we should implement it in our daily life to show more dignified and highly cultured national identity. That is why you are expected to be able to explain the positions of Pancasila as the foundation and the ideology of the state, maintain positive attitudes in life of nation and state, as well as of society.	Written in Introduction (Chapter 1)	1-2
	The background of Pancasila as the ideology of the state, The history of the birth of Pancasila as the ideology and the foundation of the state	Subtitle	6
	The ideology and foundation of our state is Pancasila. It consists of five principles.	A part of the paragraph	6
	To find out the background and history of Pancasila as the ideology and the foundation of the state, read the following Proclamation text.	A part of the paragraph	6
	According to students, how far do Indonesians consider the importance of the values of Pancasila regarding their recent conditions?	A part of student assignment	9
	The five principles were named Pancasila by Bung Karno.	A part of the paragraph	10
	After you pay attention to the fourth paragraph of the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution, what can you find? Well, one of them must be a formulation of the foundation of the state—Pancasila	Paragraph	13
	To find out why we have to be independent and what we do after being independent, let us read and observe	Paragraph	14

	<p>the texts of Pancasila and the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution beforehand.</p> <p>Well, after paying attention to the text of Pancasila and the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution, think about the relationship between proclamation and Pancasila!</p> <p>To make the learning easier, try to observe each paragraph of the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution. By learning the Preamble, you will find out how Pancasila was stipulated as the foundation of the Republic of Indonesia.</p>		
	<p>The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is based upon Pancasila, comprising belief in the one and the only God, just and civilized humanity, the unity of Indonesia, democracy guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst representatives, and social justice for all of the people of Indonesia.</p>	A part of the paragraph	16
	<p>The presence of the foundation or the ideology of the state, which is Pancasila</p>	A part of the paragraph	17
	<p>Discuss in a group (maximum five students in a group) about what you must do to reflect each principle of Pancasila. What must we do to reflect each principle of Pancasila involve...</p>	A part of assignment in a discussion	17
	<p>Pancasila and other Ideologies</p>	Subtitle	18
	<p>Do you still remember about the fifth principle of Pancasila? In order that you can memorize it, write it once more.</p> <p>The five principles of Pancasila are used by Indonesians as the foundation of the state since they are considered appropriate. Due to the fact, we need to defend it through practicing them in various aspects of life, such as in government, social life, and education. Do other states also employ Pancasila as the ideology of the state? Of course they do not use it as the ideology of the state.</p>	A part of the paragraph	18
	<p>Do you think Indonesians have comprehended the noble values contained in Pancasila?</p>	Student assignment	18
	<p>You have studied Pancasila as the ideology and the foundation of the state of the Republic of Indonesia. Pancasila is considered good and appropriate for Indonesians. You have also learned about the ideologies of liberalism and socialism.</p>	A part of the paragraph	19
	<p>Now compare Pancasila to liberalism and socialism. Find the differences and similarities!</p>	Student assignment	19
	<p>The similarity is that Pancasila, liberalism, and socialism are alike in the way that they are used as ideology and foundation of a state. Pancasila is used by Indonesians, liberalism is employed by western people, while socialism is performed by socialist countries.</p>	Paragraph	20
	<p>Now, what is the relation between religion and state in Pancasila-based Republic of Indonesia? Remember that the first principle of Pancasila is belief in the one and the only God.</p>	A part of the paragraph	21
	<p>Discuss with your group members about the comparison of the ideology of Pancasila with the ideologies of both liberalism and socialism on rules regulating relations.</p>	A part of student assignment	21
Nasionalism	<p>Nationalism (Indonesian nationality)</p>	One of the contents of Pancasila proposed by Ir. Soekarno	9
	<p>Internationalism (humanity)</p>	One of the contents of Pancasila proposed by Ir. Soekarno	9
	<p>(Socionationalism)</p>	One of the contents of Pancasila proposed by Ir. Soekarno	10
	<p>Students read the text of the 1945 Constitution aloud in front of a class to foster the sense of their nationality and national identity.</p>	As a form of assignment	12
	<p>Pancasila directs the national development for the sake of human prosperity with nationalism, the greatness of the nation, and the nobleness of the nation which becomes a part of human race in the world.</p>	As a paragraph, a part of sub-material of 'the Values of Pancasila as the Foundation of the	25

		State'	
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Overall, the word 'Pancasila' appears in Chapter 1 155 times. It is presented in the title, subtitle, paragraph or sentence, and instructions for students. Meanwhile, the word 'nationalism' was written 5 times and presented as words and parts of sentences.

The Position and the Contents of Pancasila

The explanation in the textbook presents two positions of Pancasila, comprising as the ideology and foundation of the state. For example, it is shown by such subtitles as Pancasila as the Foundation and the Ideology of the State (p. 2), The Values of Pancasila as an Ideology (p. 22), The Values of Pancasila as the Foundation of the State (p. 24), and The Efforts to Defend the Ideology and the Foundation of the State (Pancasila) (p.31). It is also shown by the sentence: As the ideology and the foundation of the state, Pancasila functions as collective reference, in coping with differences, political disagreement between groups and the existing political power) (p. 30).

The word 'and' as a disconnector shows that there are two different positions of Pancasila. Whereas, a statement emphasizing that both positions are similar is found: The presence of the foundation/ ideology of the state (p. 17). This sentence implies that the foundation of the state has the same meaning as the ideology of the state. It can be defined that Pancasila as the foundation of the state has the same meaning as Pancasila as the ideology of the state.

Although the instructional material differentiates Pancasila's positions as the foundation and the ideology of the state, its description does not give any explanation about the meaning of Pancasila as the ideology of the state and nor does it show any obvious differences between the meaning of Pancasila as both the ideology and the foundation of the state. Ideology is interpreted in a narrow understanding as a set of comprehensive and deep values owned and held by a person or a community serving as their way of life (p. 23). Pancasila itself is properly called as an ideology in a broad sense. It is not a set of comprehensive values, but rather a set of basic values which contains outlines, and due to the fact, it is supposed that Pancasila is an open ideology (Frans Magnis Suseno, 2001: 366). Pancasila can be called an ideology in the broader sense—as a vision, and regarding the newly-escalating discourse, the commonality of views on refusing to position Pancasila as 'a comprehensive ideology of the state' emerges (Ali, 2009).

The narrow interpretation of ideology will lead to an understanding to what the so-called comprehensive doctrine, i.e., a religious, social, and political doctrine or moral teachings (the teaching of good and bad deeds), in which the community attempts to manage their behavior in accordance with the values taught by the doctrine to be "perfect humans" (Nugraha, 2011). Pancasila should not be referred, seen, and treated as a comprehensive doctrine. Moreover, Agus Wahyudi (2009) proposes that the ideology of Pancasila is more properly referred as a political conception instead of a comprehensive doctrine.

Based on the above explanation, it is clear that interpreting the ideology of Pancasila as a comprehensive doctrine or moral lesson which is holistic and binds all of the people can be in contradiction with the nature of the ideology Pancasila itself as an open ideology (Usman & Alfian, 1991).

Findings also indicate the formula of Pancasila as the ideology of the state. Pancasila as the national ideology has become today's issue in state political track, instead of the ideology of the state, as set in the Decree of MPR RI No.XVIII/MPR/1998. The term 'national ideology' in the decree serves as nation's purpose or aspiration. In other words, Pancasila as national ideology contains values which become aspirations of Indonesia. The term 'the ideology of the state' points to Hatta's opinion (1966), which means the philosophy of the state of Indonesia. The five principles of Pancasila as set in The Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, also well-known as the foundation of the state, are so-called the philosophy of the state or the ideology of the state by Mohammad Hatta. Hence, the term 'the ideology of the state' is indeed equal to 'the foundation of the state' in meaning. Therefore, Pancasila is interpreted equally as both the foundation of the state and the ideology of the state. The use of those two terms along with different interpretations and descriptions as the instructional material of Pancasila can lead to ambiguity.

The national ideology has different meaning with the ideology of the state. Pancasila as national ideology means that the values of Pancasila become the ideals of the state, while Pancasila as the ideology of the state has the same meaning as Pancasila as the foundation of the state, in which the values become normative principles in managing the state of Indonesia. Therefore, the different concepts of Pancasila as the foundation of the state and the ideology of the state, theoretically, are acceptable for both of them have similar meaning.

Ideology gives purpose and direction for society as well as unites them. This is in line with Surbakti's opinion (1999) that ideology in society serves as their purpose and unifying tool, and therefore, as a procedure to solve conflicts in society. However, the function of ideology is related to its function in social life or national context. Thus, it is more appropriate that Pancasila functions as national ideology, instead of as the ideology of

the state and the foundation of the state. The function of Pancasila as the ideology of the state further will be associated with the position of Pancasila as the foundation of the state.

Meanwhile, the term ‘the foundation of the state’ is termed the foundation of life of the state ... is a basis to organize a state (p.6). This definition is in compliance with academic thought that Pancasila as the foundation of the state is used as a foundation to manage the state organization. Pancasila as the foundation of the state is juridical nature of constitutional system (Darmodiharjo, 1981). The constitutional embodiment process of Pancasila into the fourth paragraph of the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia has made Pancasila the source of law of the Republic of Indonesia (Pranarka, 1985). Pancasila as the foundation of the state has both juridical and political implications. By setting Pancasila as the foundation of the state, all aspects of state organization are based on and inspired by the values of Pancasila (Kaelan, 2007 and 2002). Pancasila as the foundation of the state has juridical implication, becoming legal ideals (*rechtsidee*) which has to be made as the basis and the purpose of every law in Indonesia (Mahfud, 2008). The aforementioned foundation of the state is directed as guidance to accomplish moral obligation of leaders and state government (Hatta, 1966). Hence, the essence of Pancasila as the foundation of the state is more likely related to the context of to be in the framework of a state or the organization of a state from constitutional system side and its values serve as moral obligation of state actors to perform their duties. However, in the next description, the statement about the foundation of the state is put together with the description on the ideals and the purposes of the state, with the following sentence: the foundation of the state as state life guidance covers the idealss, purposes, and norms of the state (p. 6).

Therefore, material intermixture occurs, and this leads to the same interpretation of the foundation and the ideology of the state. There are two concepts of ideology, namely the concept of the ideology of the state and the concept of national ideology. The ideology of the state has the same meaning as the foundation of the state. Meanwhile, national ideology which means ideals of the state are parts of the position of Pancasila as the foundation of the state; however, the supplementary information should not be put together. In the supplement of the Decree of MPR RI No. XVIII/MPR/1998, it is mentioned that the foundation of the state contains the essence of national ideology as the ideals and purposes of the state. With the decree, it is explained that Pancasila as the foundation of the state also embodies values which become the ideals of the state. The basic values or the ideals of the state are so-called national ideology.

The content of Pancasila is about how every principle of Pancasila is interpreted as embodied in the explanation on the characteristics of ideology of Pancasila. The followings are the interpretations of every principle of Pancasila in the textbook:

Table of the Principles of Pancasila

No	The Principles of Pancasila	Interpretation provided	Page
1	The One and Only God (Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa)	a. The recognition of the nation of Indonesia on the existence of God as the creator of universe with all in it. God is the prime cause. b. Therefore, as those who believe in God, people have to be obedient to the One an Only God.	28-29
2	Fair and Civilized Humanity (Kemanusiaan yang Adil dan Beradab)	a. Respect for all people regardless their ethnics and languages. b. The same treatment for all people based on the level of humanity. c. Respect for human rights which are in balance with the oblogations. d. Harmony between rights and obligations. e. Rights emerge because of obligations.	29
3	The Unity of Indonesia (Persatuan Indonesia)	a. Indonesian language holds high the national unity. b. In the unity, harmonious cooperation can be maintained. c. The unity of Indonesia is put above individual purpose. d. Sacrifice for national purpose is more important that that for personal purpose. e. It does not mean that personal life is ignored. As obedient people towards the Onle and Only God, personal life is important. However, it does not mean that for the sake of personal interest, national	29

		interest is then sacrificed.	
4	Democracy Guided by the Inner Wisdom in the Unanimity Arising Out of Deliberations amongst Representatives (Kerakyatan yang dipimpin oleh hikmat kebijaksanaan dalam permusyawaratan perwakilan)	a. Our social life and life as a state are based on democratic system. b. The implementation of democracy gives priority to mutual agreement. c. Mutual agreement is not based on the power of either majority or minority. Decision is made with mutual agreement alone. d. We refuse liberal democracy.	29-30
5	Social Justice for All People (Keadilan sosial bagi seluruh rakyat Indonesia)	a. Justice in prosperity has been our national aspiration since in the past time. b. Our current governmental system aims at the achievement of fair and prosperous society. c. Working hard and appreciating working achievement is one of significant attitude in life.	30

Source: Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan untuk SMP kelas VIII. Pusbuk. 2008

Discussion and Implications

Based on the above findings, the content of the first principle is interpreted sociologically with the sentence of the recognition of the nation of Indonesia on the existence of God as the creator of the world with all in it, philosophically with the sentence of God is the prime cause, and ideologically with the sentence of Therefore, as those who believe in God, people have to be obedient to the One and Only God (Pusbuk, 2008:29-30). In the other explanation, it is said that with the principle of The One and Only God, state relates to religion. It is mentioned that; Religion is closely related to state. State pays attention on religious life. Religion is given serious attention by the state. Every citizen is guaranteed the freedom to choose one religion that exists and is admitted by the government. In Indonesia, every citizen has to have a religion. However, the religion chosen is the rights of each citizen. Atheism or an idea that God does not exist is prohibited. Any propaganda of anti-religion is also prohibited (Pusbuk, 2008).

With this interpretation, it is highlighted that Indonesia is neither secular nor non-religious country, and this becomes solution for the alignment of relationship between state and religion. This pattern is our nation's choice as a workout between willingness to create a state based on religion and desire to create secular state. The solution of differentiation with middle course 'neither religious country nor secular country' is an inheritance of the development of the founding fathers of the state that has to be maintained and made an effort for operation (Latif, 2011). With this interpretation, the religious freedom is also guaranteed; however, the freedom does not mean that people are allowed to be atheists. This interpretation, moreover, reconfirms the significant meaning of The One and Only God as the first principle of Pancasila. This principle, basically, is the philosophy of Pancasila. In other words, it is the answer of problems on the relationship between religion and state.

The second principle of Pancasila is interpreted philosophically with the sentences: respect for all people regardless their ethnics and languages', 'the same treatment for all people based on the level of humanity', and 'harmony between rights and obligations. The phrase harmony between rights and obligations becomes one key theme of different point of view between political philosophy of liberal citizenship and that of civic republicanism. Liberal citizenship emphasizes on the rights in which a state needs to guarantee it, however, civic republicanism highlights on the tasks of citizen, particularly their participation in public policy (Tristan Mc Cowan, 2009). Here, the interpretation of Pancasila is explained in the sentence harmony between rights and obligations, balanced rights and obligations. However, the tasks are more likely prioritized than the obligations, like what is mentioned... It can be said that rights emerges because of obligations (Pusbuk, 2008).

The statement implies that the interpretation of Pancasila does not recognize liberal interpretation, but rather civic republicanism. It cannot be said that the liberal interpretation is not included in the contents of Pancasila. As explained before, to differ between positions of liberalism and civic republicanism is not that simple. Different versions of the liberal approach exist depending on the number of rights guaranteed, whether they are property rights or social rights. The civic republicanism also gives attention to the importance of individuals (Cowan, 2009). The idea of keeping the harmony of rights and obligations by maintaining obligations without ignoring rights is in line with Mohammad Hatta's view on collectivism which reflects the characteristics of Indonesians. However, in collectivism, the members of a family only have few rights (Latif, 2011). This concludes that the interpretation of the second principle of Pancasila leads to the perspective of civic republicanism—that citizens' obligations or participation in political life are a higher priority than their rights.

The third principle of Pancasila—the unity of Indonesia—is interpreted in several sentences: Indonesians uphold the unity of Indonesia by putting it above individual interests. Instead of sacrificing for personal interests, sacrificing for nation's needs is maintained. This does not mean that the personal life is ignored (Pusbuk, 2008). Such interpretation reflects the nationality principle or nationalism and is in line with a statement stating that nationalism indicates an ideology which considers that the individual's supreme loyalty must be given to the nation-state (Kohn, 1984). The interpretation particularly emphasizes on common interests instead of the personal ones and signifies the communitarian perspective in which a community is far more important than individuals and its presence determines the individuals. This is in accordance with Klinken's view (2001) which points out that nationalism is the symptom of the communitarianism. Hatta stated that the third principle of Pancasila replaced the principle of nationality which Soekarno interpreted as nationalism (Panitia Lima, 1977). To conclude, the principle of the unity of Indonesia is a manifestation of the spirit of nationality or communitarian nationalism.

The fourth principle of Pancasila is explained that life of society, nation, and state is based on a democratic system). The democratic system refers to Pancasila democracy—a democracy guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst representatives. It is also explained that the implementation concerns a deliberation which rests on neither majority of minority, but rather a decision resulted from the deliberation.

Such interpretation makes clear that Indonesians choose to have deliberative democracy and reject western democracy. This is shown by the sentence We reject liberal democracy (Pusbuk, 2008). The interpretation is in line with an argument that Indonesian democracy does not refer to a consensus-based democracy, but rather a democracy which is guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst representatives. For that reason, Indonesian democracy is neither liberal democracy nor totalitarian democracy since it is holistically interrelated with other principles of Pancasila (Panitia Lima, 1977). This signifies the characteristics of Pancasila instead of the western democracy which is characterized by individuals.

The fifth principle of Pancasila is explained in sentences: Justice in prosperity is the will of the nation ... The system of government we use aims at achieving a fair and prosperous society. It is, therefore, suggested for all of societies to work hard and to appreciate their achievement as an attitude to maintain (Pusbuk, 2008). It is clear that the fifth principle is positioned as both goal and foundation. This is in accordance with arguments stating that the social justice presents both guide and goal (Mohammad Hata, 1966) and that since it is the last principle in Pancasila, it serves as a goal of the four preceding principles and of our life of nation (Notonagoro, 1980). The fifth principle of Pancasila implies that the social justice is the will of the nation.

The word 'nationalism' is found in such concepts of 'nationalism (the Indonesian nationality)', internationalism (humanity), socionationalism (p. 9). All of the concepts are sourced from principles suggested by Ir. Soekarno at the first plenary meeting of BPUPKI (Badan Penyelidik Usaha-usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia—the Investigating Committee for Preparatory Work for Indonesian Independence) on June 1, 1945 to be the foundation of the state. The meaning of nationalism was further explained: In short, Indonesians, native Indonesia, do not refer to a group of people living with 'le desir d'etre ensemble' upon such small areas as Minangkabau or Madura, or Yogya, or Subda, or Bugis, but rather cover all humans, according to geopolitics, which were destined by Allah SWT to settle in Indonesian archipelago extending from the end of North Sumatra to Papua! The whole archipelago! Since there has been 'le desir d'etre ensemble', and 'Charaktergemeinschaft' has happened among a number of 70,000,000 humans! The number of Native Indonesia, Indonesians, the people of Indonesia is 70,000,000, but the people are united to be one, once again one! (Bahar & Hudawatie, 1998).

The nationality principle or nationalism is denoted in the ethical meaning of the people—those who live in the area of Indonesia and share similar le desir d'etre ensemble and Charaktergemeinschaft (people who share similar past time or history, will and purpose and live in Indonesian archipelago) the concept of internationalism was explained by Ir. Soekarno, as follows: The nationality we suggest belongs to neither a secluded nationality nor Chauvinism ... We must not only form an independent state of Indonesia, but also head towards kinship across nations ... (Bahar & Hudawatie, 1998).

Meanwhile, socionationalism means a nationalism which cannot be separated from the principle of internationalism. According to Ir. Soekarno, the principle of nationalism without internationalism is unacceptable. Internationalism is highly required in order to get rid of chauvinism. Indonesian nationalism, in his point of view, is a nationalism similar to that of Asian and African countries and different from that of western countries—the kind that leads to imperialism and capitalism. Indonesian nationalism, as well as that of Asian, African, and probably Latin American countries, strongly confronts imperialism.

The findings demonstrate that the word 'nationalism' is not explained in details in the textbook. However, such words as 'nationalism (the Indonesian nationality)', internationalism, and socionationalism' refer to Ir. Soekarno's speech on June 1, 1945. The word 'nationalism, therefore, can be historically interpreted by giving explanation on the history of the concept formation.

The concept of 'nationalism' is found in sentences: Students read the text of the 1945 Constitution aloud in front of a class to foster the sense of their nationality and national identity (p.12) and Pancasila directs the national development for the sake of human prosperity with nationalism, the greatness of the nation, and the nobleness of the nation which becomes a part of human race in the world (p. 25). The sentences underline the relationship between Indonesian nationalism and the 1945 Constitution, as well as that between Indonesian nationalism and Pancasila. The relationship between Indonesian nationalism and the 1945 Constitution is shown by an interpretation that by reading the text of the 1945 Constitution students will foster a sense of nationalism. The relationship between Indonesian nationalism and Pancasila is indicated by a statement stating that Pancasila enables to direct the national development with underlying nationalism. The 1945 Constitution and Pancasila can be said as two of forms of the national identity (Tilaar, 2007). It conveys that Indonesian nationalism is interrelated with national, instead of individual, identity.

In reference to the aforementioned analysis, the nationalism contained in the textbook refers to 'anticolonial nationalism' (Print & Leung, 2002). It is shown by the concept of nationalism quoted from Soekarno's June 1 1945's speech. The anticolonial nationalism is considered as an ideology which aims at setting the people free from colonialism and imperialism. The perspective of the nationalism is then connected to the national identity of Indonesia—Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution—in such statements as 'By reading the text of the 1945 Constitution, students can foster their sense of nationality' and 'Pancasila enables to direct the national development with underlying nationalism'.

IV. CONCLUSION

Pancasila and ideology of nationalism contained in Civic Education textbook in Indonesia is included as one of instructional materials. The instructional material of Pancasila covers both position and contents. Pancasila serves as the foundation and ideology of the state. The two positions presented in the instructional material possibly have overlapping meaning since both share the same concept. The contents of Pancasila are shown by the meanings contained in each principle. The meanings are explained with such different interpretations as sociological, historical, and philosophical. The concept of nationalism is indeed not explained in the textbook. The word 'nationalism' contained in the textbook, however, can be seen as a historical interpretation; its explanation is based on Ir. Soekarno's speech outlining the principle of Indonesian nationalism at the first plenary meeting of BPUPKI on June 1, 1945. The nationalism contained in Civic Education textbook is regarded as anticolonial nationalism—building the spirit of Indonesian nationality to be strong and be able to encounter colonial threats. This type of nationalism is in accordance with the meaning of Indonesian nationalism in the view of historical interpretation.

V. NOTE

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