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CHINESE ETHNICITY IN INDONESIAN HISTORY TEXTBOOK

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the revised 2017 and 2018 editions of Indonesian history textbooks published by the Ministry of Education and Culture. The research method uses a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach by Norman Fairclough. The research focuses on how Chinese ethnicity is in the narrative of historical textbooks. Furthermore, how are the hopes and possibilities for historical education to become a vehicle for pluralism, multicultural, and humanism education as the glue of the national spirit and strengthening of national identity? The study results show that there is still a lack of narrative about the role and contribution of the ethnic Chinese. However, it has been demanded to be bolder in exploring events related to the role and contribution of ethnicity. History textbooks as primary sources, representations, and discourses have enormous potential in fostering historical awareness, remembered history, invented history, and recovered history, which can trigger the strong roots of nationalism, including strengthening national identity based on historical facts.

KEYWORDS: Indonesian Chinese ethnicity, history textbook, Chinese negation, Chinese role in history

INTRODUCTION

Studying history is to build historical awareness (Purwanta, 2019) so that the current generation can face today's reality by reflecting on the past as inspiration and preparing a better future for future generations (Marsh, 2008). In addition, the younger generation can find the significance and relevance of various historical phenomena that gave birth to the spirit of national unity and integrity to realize the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (Seixas and Morton, 2012). The formation of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is a formalization and rationalization of the process of developing a united awareness related to the perspective of events and the ideas surrounding it, built and used to build the nation's collective memory. The form of unified consciousness forms the spirit of nationalism. The sites, and ideas associated with them, are both built upon and used to construct the collective memory of the nation (Brittney Ann Bos, 2019:1). From this point of view, the younger generation can see in its entirety the history that has been the background of the life of the nation and state so far.

Nationalism as an Indonesian is an acknowledgment of the reality of ethnic diversity and a representation of the Pancasila value, namely unity for all Indonesian people. The concept includes elements; unity of spiritual principles, great unity of solidarity; unity in the historical process; a nation is not an eternal unity (Hans Kohn, 2009: 186). Judging from the long history of the Indonesian nation, achieving independence requires a spirit of unity and nationalism that ignores the nature of ethnicity and tribalism. Whether we realize it or not, the existence of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is built based on agreements with various ethnic groups in Indonesia. The formation of national awareness through Boedi Oetomo, the youth oath, and the national movement led to the formation of the Republic of Indonesia, which was proclaimed on 17 August 1945. Ethnic diversity in Indonesia is a fact and a gift that should be grateful for and is the essential part whose implications are so that the younger generation knows and is aware of who identity is in a nation or state. Unfortunately, facilities and bridges are not prepared to study in Indonesia.

Reading the book "When China rules the world," you will understand how the Chinese dominate the economy today. Wherever their feet stand and wherever they are, there are Chinese people, and where they live, they also occupy a strategic and robust position in the environment, although not all control the economy. As a small example, in Indonesia, many goods made in China are found, for example, electronic goods from Samsung, JVC, Sony, Canon, and many others, including items that seem trivial, especially children's toys, which must be labeled as made in China. It shows the strong influence of China on the economy and politics. For example, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok), a citizen of Chinese descent, served as Governor of DKI Jakarta for the 2014-2017 period. Previously he was the Regent of East Belitung for the 2005-2010 period and a member of the Indonesian House of Representatives for the 2009-2014 period. This picture awakens the substantial domination of the Chinese ethnic in Indonesia. From the history of Indonesia's viewpoint, the life of the ethnic Chinese experienced ups and downs due to the socio-political conditions. Indonesian politics often placed the ethnic Chinese in an uncertain position and tended to become victims of a situation that was always volatile, causing the ethnic Chinese to be faced with complex conditions that affected their existence as an ethnic group (Faraidiany, 2016:75).

It is an undeniable historical fact that ethnic Chinese have existed for centuries and have contributed to coloring history as part of the ethnic group that participated in Indonesia's independence and national development. However, the history of the Chinese community is rarely brought up or only has a small portion in the context of national history (Kurniawan, 2014: 19). So far, history textbooks from elementary to upper secondary levels have only reached the monocultural, centralized, and uniform level. The discussion is still about events and figures in Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi and has not touched on ethnic figures. Meanwhile, what is expected from history textbooks is creating a spirit of nationalism and national awareness, respecting pluralism and multiculturalism to create a harmonious and equal society in diversity. In line with this, Mulyana (2008:9) asserts that local events must be considered autonomous and unique events but become the basis for forming a

nation. Based on the existence of relatedness, transcendence, rootedness, sense of identity, and frame of orientation (Fromm, 1955:33-36).

Likewise, the existence of ethnic Chinese who play an active role in the Indonesian economy should be appreciated and included in the history textbooks. The appreciation is to prevent clashes and conflicts between ethnic groups. The sense of identity can unite all members to love their nation and achieve, maintain, and perpetuate identity, integrity, prosperity, and national strength (Yatim, 1994:684). From this perspective, various social groups and different designs for living in a pluralist society (Banks, 1993:29) and creating social harmonization and equality in schools and society. The point is to achieve a safe, orderly, authoritative, civilized, and dignified life. Moreover, it no longer sees historical events as only about the efforts of the Bumiputra community but departs from local ethnic dynamics and must be viewed as multidimensional events involving the role of small groups that participate in coloring the dynamics of the history of the Indonesian nation.

Historical education is an enculturation process within the framework of national building and a process of institutionalizing positive values (Kartodirdjo, 1999:33). Thus, history textbooks need to summarize all events, roles, and contributions of ethnicity in answering problems and provide more information and give Indonesian color so that it does not run dry. Historical education should instill and recognize the role of each ethnic group in its history. Do not let there be a dominance of the role of one particular ethnic group in the formation of the nation's history. What must be avoided is to deny the role of other ethnic groups in the formation of the nation's history (Mulyana, 2008:11). In line with that, Lee (2007: 91) states that communicative behavior fits with past research on Chinese and East Asian cultural groups in general and emphasizes the importance of understanding cultural communities through their history, socio-political situation, and contemporary. The question then arises why the contribution and role of the ethnic Chinese have never been revealed in the narratives of history textbooks compared to history textbooks in Malaysia and Singapore. Moreover, is there hope and possibility for historical education to become a vehicle for public education that is pluralism, multicultural, and humanism as the glue of the national spirit and strengthening of national identity that has existed since the past?

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study examines documents in the form of textbooks for Indonesian history lessons 2013 curriculum for students of class X and XI revision 2017 and class XII revision 2018 published by the Ministry of Education and Culture. The books were compiled and published to support the implementation of the latest Indonesian history curriculum, the 2013 curriculum. These books are treated as primary sources whose contents represent not only the views and interests of the authors but also the government. To express various views and interests contained in textbooks, content analysis in this study uses the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach developed by Norman Fairclough. This approach departs from the assumption that the use of language, both spoken and written, is a form of social practice (Fairclough, 1995). The micro and macro structures introduced

by Teun van Dijk (1980) cannot be seen as two separate elements in analysis but are a single entity of social practice. From this point of view, a textual analysis must include linguistic and intertextual analysis to describe the various interests embodied in social practice (Fairclough, 2003). Linguistic analysis is very useful for understanding the methods used by certain groups to demonstrate their dominance through the use of language in history textbooks. In other words, content analysis is focused on understanding the assumptions, ideologies, and messages generated in history textbooks through studying diction, phrases, metaphors, and other forms of linguistic practice (Crawford, 2001).

Discourse analysis emphasizes the meaning behind the text based on interpretation and uncovering hidden aspects behind a visible reality (virtual reality) contained in the content of the 2013 curriculum history textbooks, both for teachers and students. The model used is descriptive qualitative research with the Critical Discourse Analysis approach. The research takes a precise position, namely how to understand abuse, domination, social inequality, and power that is enforced, reproduced, and opposed by texts and talks in social and political contexts, which in the end can understand, expose, and fight social inequality by analyzing documents in the form of books. The history texts for teachers and students in grades X, XI, and XI were published by the Ministry of Education and Culture in the revised 2017 edition. The most crucial part analyzed is how the 2013 curriculum history textbooks accommodate and acknowledge the identity or existence, contribution, and role of an ethnic group in society—the course of historical events.

2013 revised 2017 curriculum history textbook is a pilot project used in schools throughout Indonesia and is a representative textbook compiled by experts in their field and has been approved and determined by the government. The domination of the government has implications for discourse in history textbooks serving as legitimacy and indoctrination of ideology and state interests that are dogmatic rather than critical reasoning. It is in line with Fairclough's approach that discourse is a necessary form of social practice that produces and changes knowledge, identity, and social relations that include power relations and is simultaneously shaped by other social structures and practices (Jorgensen and Philips, 2010:122-123).

Based on the assumption that to analyze phenomena, events, social activities, perceptions, motivations, actions, and thoughts of individuals and groups, an approach that can summarize all of them is needed. The 2013 curriculum history textbook as a discourse. Where in the production of history, textbooks have thoughts, motivations, perceptions, hopes, and ideologies behind their writing. Critical discourse analysis is a form of social practice that can display the effects of ideology, producing and reproducing unequal power relations between social classes and majority and minority groups (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997:1-37). Likewise, the 2013 revised 2017 curriculum history textbook is a form of practice of discourse on national identity that represents specific values and ideologies. If analyzed further, the 2013 curriculum history textbooks have not accommodated much about the insight of humanity, nationality, state, and civilization related to the causes of phenomena

and events, especially in the portion of telling the role and contribution of a particular group. All curricula, especially history lessons, must in still national awareness with the discourse of national identity to create historical similarities or equality as a nation that forms a feeling of shared destiny in building Indonesian identity. However, until now, it has not been able to represent Indonesian culture. It still tends to the culture of indigenous people, while other ethnic groups are still marginalized.

That way, in analyzing 2013 revised 2017 curriculum history textbooks about the contribution and role of the Chinese ethnic group, it is necessary to see it as a discourse from a historical perspective. So that they can appreciate the symptoms of everyday life, which are full of socio-cultural phenomena, in analyzing this history textbook, the author tries to holistically disassemble the discourse on Chinese ethnicity from the horizontal and vertical dimensions as well as the stigma and discourse of Indonesian ethnicity in people's lives, primarily how the Chinese ethnicity is narrated in the 2013 curriculum history textbook. The history description is represented in words and language so that it can be analyzed by natural methods (Moleong, 2007: 6). On the other hand, the historical research method is attempted to provide an interpretation of the past to obtain a generalization that is useful for understanding historical reality, comparing with current conditions and being able to predict future conditions which include collection and interpretation. Symptoms, events, or ideas that arose in the past to find valid generalizations in an attempt to understand historical reality (Surakhmad, 2004:132).

CDA focuses on social discourse and the relations of discourse with other social elements such as power, institutions, ideology, and social identity (Salahudin, 2019). In addition, social identity is closely related to the involvement, care, and pride of membership in a particular group. Social identity is an individual's knowledge that he belongs to a particular social group together with some emotional meaning and value of group membership (Tajfel, 1972a:31). Emotional meaning means having a bond, which considers oneself as part of another social group forming a Self-Description and Self-Enhancement or Collective-Self based on a sense of closeness and kinship. This link connects the socio-cultural values of the past with the present (Rutherford in Piliang, 2006:279).

FINDINGS

The rulers greatly influence the history textbooks. They marginalized or submerged the power of a group through the production of a discourse in the form of texts, mainly historical textbooks. Thus, it can be said that an object is formed within limits determined by the discursive structure. It is not wrong if Foucault states that discourse can form power relations in a society. There are power relations at play, which are implemented through hegemony so that the discourse is spread in society and lives up to now (Alfarabi, 2010:57). Likewise, at present, the historiography of history textbooks continues to change following developments whose determination by the government follows the political situation from bringing up democracy to emphasizing the inculcation of character values in students.

A problem that has not been resolved and continues to this day is the writing of textbooks, mainly Indonesian history textbooks and the 2013 revision of the 2017 curriculum for Grade X, XI, and XII revisions 2018. It should be remembered that History and geography textbooks attempt to explain our roots, how and why we happen to be living in a particular place, and how that place can be described and characterized – in other words, who we are (Pingel, 2016;7). So far, history's writing is between remembered and invented history. History is the collective experiences of a community or nation in the past that shape a person's personality and, at the same time, determine his national identity, which is rooted in his nation's history. So the collective experience or history can shape all of it. It is appropriate that history textbooks, as a liaison medium, must accommodate the nation's collective experience and history. On the one hand, the media is the spearhead of progress, but on the other hand, humans are merely commodities (Loomba, 2016).

The shared experience of history as a nation shapes its members to have a collective identity. Where there are historical flashes that tell how they can continue to exist in the ranks of association with people outside the group (Permadi, 2017:1). Ethnic Chinese, who have lived and mingled and even fused with indigenous people and have contributed a lot to the history of the Indonesian nation, have yet to find their Indonesian identity. In fact, according to the law, Chinese people who declare themselves to be Indonesian citizens automatically enter Indonesian society. Equivalent to other ethnicities that helped form the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (Mahfud, 2013:50). However, until now, this equality has not been achieved. Efforts to eliminate discrimination against ethnic Chinese place them as Indonesian citizens equal to other ethnicities, and even the Confucian religion and Chinese New Year celebrations that Gus Dur has ratified are still stumbling on their way as desired. Stumbling blocks and obstacles continue to color. However, many efforts have been made, including disclosure in various writings, studies, and research on the existence, role, and contribution of the Chinese ethnic group.

Reading Indonesian history textbooks for class X, curriculum 2013 revision 2017, in 3 chapters, only briefly reviews the attachment of the Indonesian nation to the Chinese community. As in Chapter 1, the textbook traces Early Civilizations in the Indonesian Archipelago. It is stated that the ancestors of the Indonesian nation came from South China (Yunan), divided into two racial groups, namely Proto-Malay and Deutro-Malay. Furthermore, in Chapter II, Merchants, Rulers, and Poets of the Classical Period (Hindu-Buddhist); It is said that there were trade relations between Indonesia and China, especially relations with the kingdoms of Kutai, Tarumanegara, Kalinga, Sriwijaya, Ancient Mataram, Kediri, Singhasari, Majapahit, Buleleng and the Warmadewa Dynasty in Bali, as well as the Tulang Bawang kingdom. Likewise, Chapter III discusses Islamization and Cross Culture in the archipelago, especially the trade relations between Pasai, South Sumatra, and West Sumatra kingdoms. The relationship in the trade and diplomatic network that the Pasai Kingdom has carried out with the Chinese state. As mentioned in the historical sources of the Yuan Dynasty, in 1282, the Chinese ambassador met the Minister of the Kingdom of Sumatra in Quillan, who requested that the King of Sumatra send his ambassador to China. In addition, there are also narratives of conflicts that

occurred, such as between the Singhasari Kingdom and China, where in 1289 AD came, a Chinese envoy led by Mengki. Kertanegara was angry, Mengki was hurt and ordered to return to China. It angered the Emperor of China, namely Kublai Khan. Meanwhile, the narrative about cultural acculturation has not been touched at all.

Meanwhile, in the Indonesian history textbook class XI, the 2017 revised 2013 curriculum of 7 chapters only mentions five times about Chinese ethnicity. First, on the subject of the Chinese Rebellion in 1740-1741. It is said that the fire in Batavia was a rebellion of the Chinese against the VOC. Likewise, in Central Java, one of the famous figures was Oey Panko (Khe Panjang, or in Java called Ki Sapanjang), who was associated with his role in leading the resistance along the coast of Java. In the reign of Pakubuwana II, the Chinese attacked the VOC fort, so they increased the strength and weaponry of the army to quell the Rebellion. Both discussions of the press Brought the Progress of the 20th Century. Narrated, in that century, Chinese publishers began to appear, causing the growth of newspapers to develop rapidly. The Bumiputras took part, initially only as apprentices, then increasing as editors of Indonesian and Chinese newspapers. The third sub-topics of the Volksraad is Wahana Struggle for the Greater Indonesia Party (Parindra) 1935. It is said that the Chinese descendant who participated in the signing of Sutardjo's petition on 15 July 1936 was Kwo Kwat Tiong.

The fourth narrative is the formation of the keibodan in 1943. It is only mentioned that the Chinese also formed the Keibodan named Kakyo Keibotai on 29 April 1943. Moreover, the last narration is on the events of the BPUPKI session, which took place from 29 May 1945 to 1 June 1945. The agency's membership is 21 people, consisting of 12 representatives from Java, three Sumatrans, two people from Sulawesi, and one from Kalimantan, Lesser Sunda, Maluku, and the Chinese population, plus six people without permission from the Japanese. It continued with the involvement of Chinese descent in the PPKI membership on 7 August 1945. The membership consisted of 21 people, and all of them were Indonesians from various regions. For example, Java has 12 representatives, Sumatra has three representatives, Sulawesi has two representatives, Kalimantan has one representative, Sunda Kecil has one representative, Maluku has one representative, and the Chinese population group has one representative. The fifth narration was the Rengasdengklok Incident on 16 August 1945. In the morning, Sukarno's entourage arrived at Rengasdengklok and was received by Shodanco Subeno and Affan. They were placed in the house of a Chinese family, Djiau Kie Siong, who sympathized with the struggle of the Indonesian people.

While in the Indonesian history textbook class XII Curriculum 2013, the 2018 revision of 6 chapters, it is only mentioned three times in passing about the Chinese. The first narrative is their involvement in the 1955 elections and membership in the Constituent Assembly according to the 1950 Constitution. Minority groups had a minimum number of 18 Chinese seats, 12 European seats, and 6 Arab seats. Next is the second narrative about how Chinese descendants contributed to the Indonesian economy during the Natsir Cabinet (6 September 1950-21 March 1951), namely during the

implementation of the Banteng Politics ("Ali-Baba"). Ali represents the Natives, and Baba represents the people of Chinese descent. The emergence of the Soemitro Plan in the form of an Economic Urgency Plan (RUP) with the declaration of the Benteng Program, which the "Asaat Movement followed." The policy protects indigenous entrepreneurs and limits business activities in the economic field of foreign entrepreneurs and citizens of Chinese descent. The policy resulted in hostile reactions and the destruction of shops and property belonging to the Chinese community, and the emergence of fights between the Chinese people and the indigenous people.

The following narrative during the Ali Sastroamidjojo II Cabinet (1956-1957) was the emergence of anti-Chinese problems. Furthermore, in 1966, there was a protest against the disbandment of the US by the Pancasila Front. On 8 March 1966, students and students staged a demonstration that led to the raid and burning of the People's Republic of China (PRC) news agency Hsin Hua. Another incident was the 15 January 1974 incident where some shops belonging to Chinese traders on Jalan Hayam Wuruk, Gajah Mada, Glodok, and Cempaka Putih were burned to the ground because of student demonstrations ahead of the arrival of Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka. In addition to the May 1998 riots, anti-Chinese riots in various cities destroyed urban business centers, especially among investors of Chinese descent. Third, in the chapter on the System and Political-Economic Structure of Indonesia during the Reformation Period (1998-present), especially in the sub-chapter on Political and Economic Development during the Administration of President Abdurrahman Wahid, it only mentions the restoration of minority rights or the restoration of civil rights of Chinese descent to practice their beliefs, namely Confucianism through Presidential Decree No. 6 of 2000. Apart from that, the role and involvement of Chinese descendants are no longer discussed.

The quality of writing history textbooks is concept development. History is still lacking. The description of the material, such as facts, concepts, and principles in every movement of change, is not well illustrated (Nur et al., 2019:116). The 2013 curriculum has accommodated and freed educators to explore everything related to local history, leading to the level of multicultural, pluralism, and humanist education. However, in practice, educators and students still adhere to the textbook as the primary reference for various reasons. So what is desired has not been appropriately realized. History textbooks are issued and determined by the government through Pusat Kurikulum dan Perbukuan (Puskurbuk/Centre of Kurikulum and textbooks (as media prefer safe steps by minimizing news that is considered contrary to government politics. What is displayed is always in line with the corridors of supporting the government's interests, described through its instrument of power, namely the law related to ethnic Chinese policies in Indonesia (Dewi, 2014:546).

The history textbook of 2013 revised the 2017 curriculum for class X when viewed from the substance of the material content in KD. 3.2, KD. 3.5 and 3.6, there is still a lack of information and discussion on the origins of the ancestors of the Indonesian people, both regarding migration and the role of mainland Chinese/Chinese residents to Indonesia, or analyzing various theories of the entry of religion and Hindu and Buddhist culture to Islam. The material discussed the archipelago trade

and shipping network, the kingdoms during the Hindu-Buddhist period, and the arrival of Islam that was formed so that the acculturation and development of Islamic culture in the archipelago should explicitly review the role and contribution of the Chinese ethnic. Such as the acculturation of the Astana Gunung Jati Mosque Building, the Al-Osmani Labuhan Deli Mosque in 1854 by Sultan Mahmud Perkasa Alam, the Mantingan Mosque with Chinese-style architecture, the Lawang Kidul Mosque (1881), Muara Ogan Mosque (1889), the Old Gang Bengkok Mosque in Medan founded by Tjong A Fie in 1890, Suro Mosque (1906), Sungai Lumpur Mosque, Chinese-Javanese shadow puppets in Yogyakarta created by Gan Thwan Sing (1885-1966), martial arts (Kuntao term kuntao or Kuntau), Chinese Batik Lasem, Gambang Kromong (Gambang Kromong music combines gamelan with Chinese musical instruments such as sukong, Tehran, and kongahyan) and many others.

In the preamble to the history textbooks for class X, it is clearly stated that by studying history, students are expected to be able to take the values of every historical event that occurs to strengthen their sense of love for the homeland and pride and increase nationalism. How could this materialize if only certain ethnic, racial, and ethnic groups (Javacentris) were narrated? Other ethnicities are neglected. The negation leads to inter-ethnic conflicts, which have not been resolved until now. The most feared is that the textbook narrates the differences enacted by cultural minorities who differ from the most (Alonso, 2015: 132-133) rather than giving credit to cultural richness. History is formed from collective memory, and history plays a significant role, including social participation and the writing of history in society. So history must contain the values of heroism, exemplary, pioneering, patriotism, nationalism, and an unyielding spirit that underlies the process of forming national character and personality/identity. In addition, historical memory cannot be separated from the perspective of today's society.

The problem of historical education that arises is the unclear position and function of historical education in the curriculum as education for all children of the nation (Hasan, 2019). The history textbook of 2013 revised 2017 curriculum for class XI, Chapter 2, The War against Colonialism and Imperialism, the Chinese rebels' sub-chapter, narrates that the VOC deliberately brought Chinese people to support economic progress and security in Batavia and its surroundings. Furthermore, in chapter 3, the Impact of Colonialism and Imperialism development, the Chinese merchants functioned as a liaison between the Indonesian economy and the outside world. Since the VOC period, one Chinese trader, So Bing Kong, had wealth and relationships with local rulers and his ability to lead, so it became a struggle between the Sultan of Banten and the VOC. Until the Dutch policy of appointing a Chinese to be a Chinese officer to lead people of his race. These officers held the titles of lieutenant, captain, and major, which developed gradually from 1619-1837.

Meanwhile, Chapter 4 discusses the Youth Pledge and Indonesian Identity subject matter. All of the narratives of the united will are discussed in the textbooks. In the end, the strengths and weaknesses of textbook narratives are discussed. However, the textbook does not discuss the participation of ethnic Chinese and Hadrami in the Youth Pledge (Prawira and Maryati, 2019:6). In the sub-chapter

"Press brings progress," it is only mentioned that Chinese newspaper publishers began to emerge without mentioning the figures and the press that has been published and how they contributed to the development of the national spirit.

Likewise, the history textbook of the 2013 revised 2018 curriculum for class XII, Chapter 2 Political and Economic Systems and Structures for the Parliamentary Democracy Period (1950-1959), never discussed how the Chinese in 1954 controlled rice mills in Indonesia, for example, in East Java. Of 154 rice mills, 138 belonged to the Chinese. Economics domination is inseparable from the firmly held principle called the three values that determine Chinese business behavior: hopeng, hong sui, and hockey (Wijayanti, 2015). Thus, the Indonesian economy is dominated and supported by the Chinese ethnic group as the driving force Indonesian economy. Moreover, this ultimately resulted in another abuse in the implementation of the Benteng Politics, namely by registering companies that belonged to Chinese descendants using the names of indigenous Indonesians.

The lack of discussion about the role and contribution of the Chinese ethnic group has caused negative public images and stereotypes to continue to grow and develop to this day. Until in several cases of economic unrest, ethnic Chinese have always been an easy target for mobs. If a timeline is drawn, the conflict between the natives and the ethnic Chinese had already occurred when the Java War (1825-1830) enacted regulations concerning Chinese people converting to Islam or facing the death penalty. Moreover, around 1905-1912, there was a boycott of Chinese traders, which ended in riots around Solo. In the 1959-1960 era, anti-Chinese ethnic discrimination or politics developed, which continued during the New Order era until the Reformation Era. The racial and ethnic discrimination that arises in the community is partly due to the stigma that develops in society against certain groups or as a result of a policy issued by the Indonesian government, both the central government and local government, that is discriminatory (Armiwulan, 2015:495).

Indonesian history is a subject that equips students with knowledge of the space-time dimension, skills in presenting factual and abstract knowledge, and an attitude of appreciating the services of the heroes who laid the foundations of the building of the Indonesian state and all forms of historical heritage, both tangible and intangible. Students understand how history is formed (Abdurakhman et al., 2018: iii). Talking about the services of the heroes, especially the involvement of ethnic Chinese for the independence of Indonesia, one of them is Rear Admiral TNI (Ret.) Major John Lie Tjeng Tjoan, or Jahja Daniel Dharma, is a national hero from China who is very instrumental in the port of Cilacap. He was instrumental in clearing sea mines in the waters of Cilacap through the Dutch blockade and smuggling. The Cilacap port could have been used as an Indonesian commercial port then. Japan installed Sea mines in the second world war to face the allies. In addition, he was actively involved in cracking down on the DI/TII, RMS, and Permesta movements (adapted from www.picuki.com).

In Karawang, Djiaw Kie Song is an ordinary farmer in Bojong Hamlet, Rengasdengklok, Karawang. He was willing to let his house be used as a hostage for Sukarno and Hatta by youth leaders. Then in Solo, Ferry Sie King Lien was one of the Student Soldiers who took up arms in the Solo battle in 1949. With four of his colleagues, Soehandi, Tjiptardjie, Salamoen, and Semedi, Ferry Sie King Lien received a particular task from his unit, namely to provide moral encouragement to the people to fight for independence together. In East Java, Tjia Giok Thwam is a member of the 19th CMTD (East Java Student Corps). He took up arms in some battles in East Java to repel Dutch control of the area. In addition, Sho Bun Seng, in 1944, along with some other ethnic Chinese groups, joined the Pagar Ruyung Battalion to participate in the movement against Japanese rule. Then he was assigned for several years in Kalimantan, especially Pontianak, Singkawang, and surrounding areas. In the 1950s, he was assigned to Tasikmalaya and Ciamis, West Java. There he assisted in military operations against the DI/TII rebellion. Lie Eng Hok was a journalist for the Chinese newspaper Sin Po in the 1910s. He actively writes about the national movement in the daily newspapers owned by Lauw Giok Lan and Yoe Sin Gie. Soe Hok Gie is an Indonesian student who diligently demonstrates in the streets against a government that does not prioritize the people's interests (adapted from historia.id and www.genpi.com). Moreover, there may be many others, but they are not revealed in history textbooks. History must look far back to face the arid knowledge of history from bellows which reveals the activities of various groups of people and leads to the nation's integration (Shahin, 2016:115).

The momentum that should be noted is the awarding of the title of Indonesian national hero to Daniel Yahya Dharma or John Lie Tjeng Tjoan of Chinese descent during the reign of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. President Soekarno awarded Daniel Yahya Dharma the Hero Service Award in 1961. He was also awarded the Mahaputera Utama Star by President Suharto on 10 November 1995. However, the stereotypes that have long been built and maintained fertile have increased, leading to prejudice that ultimately discriminated against ethnic Chinese (Surabaya). tribunnews.com). Likewise, discrimination in disclosure in the narrative of textbooks, including the current 2013 curriculum history textbooks. The role and contribution of the ethnic Chinese are not narrated properly in coloring the history of Indonesia. History textbooks should be a particularly invaluable source when investigating the diversity of constructions of national identity. Analysis of national "images of history" thus has a substantial tradition. Textbooks as instrumental media have a strategic position in creating national consciousness and identity and are regarded as particular works as defining exemplars for various eras (Fuchs, 2014:69).

It is appropriate that the government as the policyholder can accommodate the role and contribution of the Chinese ethnic in history textbooks. Through the policies issued while contrasting them with the reality and response of the Chinese ethnic community, which is in the process of becoming part of Indonesia (Gayatri, 2019:10). The goal is so that the younger generation does not mislead and lose their national identity that was built long ago. Thus, there is an appreciation for learning the formation of multicultural education is realized well. In addition, the issue of ethnic conflict can be reduced

because of the existence of Gedchtnis Kollektives and a sense of belonging in the nation formation process. Moreover, history's task can become a cornerstone in policy-making that will occur in the future, especially when talking about independence as a whole (Putra, 2019:36).

So important is the position of history in order to reduce the dominance that occurred. So history needs to review the objectives in the context of empathic awareness based on collective political will and solidarity rooted in shared historical awareness. History's power lies in explaining where things came from, tacking between significant processes and events to see the whole picture (Guldi and Armitage. 2014:13). The textbook should show how the ethnic Chinese sits and carry out their obligations as Indonesian citizens if there is a sense of community acceptance consciously and voluntarily without any barriers that discriminate against them. Moreover, this is the heavy-duty responsibility of history learning to liberate. History must be able to knit a common thread to be remembered history, recovered history, and invented history, which functions as *Historia Magistra Vitae* towards civil society. It is explained by Vubo (2019:592) concept of history as the definition of an ethnic group when they consider it a "distinct group in society self-consciously united around shared histories, traditions, beliefs, cultures, and values, which mobilizes its membership for common political, economic and social purposes."

Books are media that are still effective as a source of knowledge compared to other data, such as the internet, which can sometimes be replaced at will. The data in the book is more usable for an extended period, so the making of the book must go through a reasonably long research process, and the contents are not arbitrary so that later it can be used as a reference for future generations. Writing history textbooks is often a tug of war between the need to meet the demands of education, especially the changing curriculum, on the one hand, and the demands of publishers' profits. In addition, discourse as a power struggle is expressed consciously and controlled to reproduce and legitimize their domination (ideology). This history textbook has undergone various rewrites for the benefit of its readers. Through textbooks, it is hoped that national identity is instilled through an understanding of history, such as the expression of Shahin (2016:119) for the strengthening of national identity: Education in the community should have a special place because reconstruction and stability of the country's identity are through this institution. Thus, recognition of the elements of national identity in historical times and organizers is significant for them. National identity is formed in a person due to discrimination, especially ethnicity because a sense of ethnicity can be the basis for forming a sense of nationality (Samaludin, 2017:141).

The historicity that comes into their lives becomes integral to them. Therefore, it is an important matter. The logical consequence of the existence of "history" is its tendency which is always required to be remembered. History continues to be present temporally in some collective rites (Anam, 2019). In addition, history must be rediscovered to reveal what happened regarding the role of each ethnic group in contributing to the nation's history. It can be realized if there is unification and uniformity in the writing of history, especially regarding nationalism which is monocultural and does not cause

problems in terms of ethnic identity. Liberating histories began to explore how historical practices could assist recent efforts to confront social and political problems. Moreover, it follows that the burden of the historian in our time is to re-establish the dignity of historical studies on the basis that will allow the historian to participate positively in the liberation of the present from the burden of history (Domanska et al., 2019:541).

Historiography in history textbooks is a narrative that describes the historical events of humankind's past and does not take sides with a civilization class. Moreover, Indonesia is building its democratic civilization to foster the spirit of nationalism and instill character values as a civilized nation through multicultural education. It means that it must be able to accommodate all levels of society without showing ethnicity or ethnicity to provide national insight and historical awareness by revealing the historical facts of the formation of a nation through awareness of the historical experiences of various tribes and ethnicities that have merged into one identity. Likewise, ethnic Chinese, who have played a significant role in efforts to maintain independence, the Chinese community are active together with other youths in facing battles. They all fought selflessly. In turn, the war of independence triggered the strong roots of nationalism (Hapsari, 2016:269).

History books are a form of practice of discourse on national identity. Thus, the purpose of history learning becomes ideological to shape the personality and character of the nation, including strengthening its national identity (Samaludin, 2017: 140). In fostering historical awareness related to national identity, remembered history, invented history, and recovered history often overlap. The function of history as an educational medium for the nation's children in building their identity and knowing their nation is a big question and is still a beautiful dream (Hasan, 2019). It is understandable that in history textbooks, the preparation is intended for educational purposes, should be related to the provisions of the government curriculum, and accompanied by political interests at the time. Indonesian history textbooks are influenced by the state ideology, including determining the material according to the curriculum (Samaludin, 2018:1). Bos (2019:1) said that while the formal recognition of this significant connection has been made on a national scale, very little literature has been produced regarding the theoretical connections between the two fields and methodological relations that exist linking these separate areas.

CONCLUSION

2013 revised 2017 curriculum history textbook as a discourse that represents objects, events, ideas, groups, or a person's social identity, which is a link in a Self-Description and Self-Enhancement or Collective-Self based on a sense of closeness and kinship that will form feelings the same fate in building Indonesian identity. This representation is linked to a broader context, namely education politics. However, in the course of historiography by historians, it is a construction of historical events from a particular perspective and is influenced by its subjectivity so that it does not appear neutral. It is alleged that the existence of state hegemony and the dominance of the majority ethnicity over the Chinese are so strong. Discourse has enormous potential that can lead to how the views or

thoughts of the text maker reconstruct events as a reality, organized in ideologically accepted conventions and described based on historical facts.

For this reason, in dissecting Indonesian history textbooks, 2017 revised 2013 curriculum, grades X and XI, and grade XII revisions 2018 used a qualitative method of critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis not only sees language as a means of communication but also as a social practice and considers the importance of context in the language used. Language or discourse is not neutral. They form and regulate social relations and knowledge and are a process where the dominant group's power will legitimize through the built discourse. Meanwhile, social relations and setting settings complement the relationship between the speaker (speaker) and the listener (Lubis, 1993:58).

The 2013 curriculum of Indonesian history textbooks provide examples of contemporary events that can be linked to past events. The presentation in this book is the minimum effort students must make to achieve the expected competencies. Students are invited to be bolder in exploring other learning resources that can enrich the insights and knowledge available around them (Sardiman, 2017: iii). From this explanation, an educator's creativity and students' active role are required to be more daring to explore other learning resources in addition to books that the government has set.

In the historical textbook narrative, the historical 2013 curriculum provides an interpretation of the up and down trend of the status of the situation in the past to obtain a generalization that is useful for understanding historical reality based on the philosophy of developing reflective thinking for solving social problems in society, and for building life. A better democratic society through the competence to analyze the roots of Indonesian nationalism and its influence in the present. The root of nationalism from historicity is the embodiment of the spread of ideas and inspirations that cross spatial boundaries and ethnic identities through the press (Tangkilisan, 2013:124). This ethnic Chinese identity is often politically marginalized. It began to wake up after the Dutch colonization. Where the Eastern Foreigners (Chinese) occupy the middle class, and the indigenous people occupy the lower class. This image carried out by the Dutch colonialists as a form of discrimination continued during the New Order government. It is a discourse that continues to be produced and grow in society. In addition, there is a marginalized in writing in history textbooks. Ethnic Chinese have never been raised if they are described as travelers who trade without any role in the history of Indonesia.

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