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Critical Discourse of the Chinese Rebellion in Indonesian **History Textbook**



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Critical Discourse of the Chinese Rebellion in Indonesian History Textbook

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Abstract

This study aims to reveal the discourse practices in the narrative of the Chinese Rebellion in the Indonesian History textbook. Having long disappeared from Indonesian historiography, the Chinese-Javanese alliance against the VOC, often called Geger Pacinan (1740-1743), has reappeared in history textbooks. Its presence needs to be studied to understand the discourse practices that are to be conveyed by the narratives that are constructed. This study's subject was the Chinese Rebellion text in the Indonesian History textbook for class XI SMA based on the 2013 Curriculum published by the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia in 2017. The Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) method, according to Teun A. van Dijk, was used to analyze the dimensions of the text, social cognition, and the social context of the narratives that are the research subject. The result is that the report in the text dimension does not present the Chinese role through the history of the event as a whole. In the size of social cognition, it is found that there is a potential to strengthen the practice of discourse, which leads to the marginalization of the Chinese role. The social context dimension has not entirely shifted from the New Order paradigm, which harbored stereotypes against the Chinese. In conclusion, the text of the Chinese Rebellion requires the teacher's role to make the deconstruction process in learning history meaningful for students, especially in internalizing the value of diversity for national integration.

Keywords

Chinese Rebellion, Chinese Indonesian, Critical discourse analysis, Diversity, History learning

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Introduction

The history learning in many countries, including Indonesia, is dominated by selected materials that are considered the best stories for the nation and are oriented towards "enhancing collective memory" (Seixas, 2000, p. 20). Related to that, history textbooks are an essential part of the education system in any country because they are ideological guardians and form national identities (Huntington & Won, 2020; Kim & Kim, 2019; Pavlick, 2019; Sumaludin, 2017; Wang, 2016). For this reason, history textbooks foster thinking skills (Errington & Bubna-Litic, 2015), and construct students' attitudes. These considerations make history textbook narratives refer to official history, which presents a single perspective and is propaganda (Kello & Wagner, 2017). The records representing the Chinese in history textbooks are also closely related to government politics. During the New Order era, especially after the book Indonesian National History (Sejarah Nasional Indonesia or SNI) was compiled in 1975, Chinese history was no longer taught in the name of assimilation (Kwartanada, 2020). During the Reformation period, the topic of Chinese reappeared in history lessons, primarily through the 2013 Curriculum. The dynamics of changes in national curriculum policies with a political approach is a common experience in many countries (Wu, 2020; You et al., 2019).

One of the prominent roles of the Chinese in Indonesian history was their resistance to the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie or VOC). The events started with the massacre of Chinese people in Batavia in 1740 during the time of Governor General Valckenier, which had a significant influence on subsequent historical developments. After the killings or the Muara Angke Tragedy, the Geger Pacinan or the Chinese-Javanese alliance war broke out against the VOC. This great war occurred in almost all oava throughout 1740-1743, weakening the VOC's defenses (Daradjadi, 2013). In the 2013 Curriculum, this material is included in the Basic Competency (Kompetensi Dasar) "Analyzing the strategy of the Indonesian nation's resistance to European colonialism (Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, English) up to the 20th century". The Indonesian History textbook published by the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia in 2017 outlines this Basic Competence in the war against colonialism and imperialism subject matter. The series of events, from the killing of the Chinese in Batavia in 1740 until the outbreak of the Geger Pacinan by the textbook author, was entitled the Chinese Rebellion (Sardiman & Lestariningsih, 2017).

The emergence of this material in history lessons cannot be separated from the purpose of value internalization, especially in the context of diversity education. Fundamental values such as tolerance, justice, and cooperation should be contained in it. Theresia & Dewi (2021) show that these fundamental values, represented by differences in gender, race, skin color, and religion, are often ignored by official history. This reinforces the need for critical and in-depth analysis of the material in textbooks so that it can be dismantled as to what kind of discourse practices are constructed and are to be passed on to students. Moreover, until now, textbooks are still vital as a learning resource in schools (Hung Lau, Kwok, et al., 2017; Pusat Perbukuan, 2019; Rowland & Barrs, 2013). On the other hand, teachers also tend to place the discourse of unity in history textbooks more prominently than awareness of the nation's diversity. This can become a latent problem for national integration, such as the emergence of intolerance and even encouragement of the extermination of minorities (Djono & Joebagio, 2019). History education must not ignore diversity but strengthen it for national unity (Purwasatria, 2019; Tricahyono et al., 2020; Utami & Widiadi, 2016). Especially since the Reformation, there has been a change in the political direction of multicultural education from assimilation to integration. Government political policies and people's perspectives on the Chinese have also begun to change (Arifin et al., 2016; Harjatanaya & Hoon, 2018; Kuntjara & Hoon, 2020; Raihani, 2017). If history textbook writing is committed to presenting the Chinese representation, responding appropriately to these various things is necessary. Pearcy (2014), in his research, showed that American History textbooks have misinterpreted the material for the abolitionist movement related to the Civil War, so the teacher's role is decisive in using readers. Learning should not rely solely on textbooks but must create a multifaceted learning experience (Metzger & Harris, 2018).

For this reason, the curriculum needs to be placed as a living curriculum emphasizing learning activities (Marshall & Wilson, 2012). The living curriculum is not content but a dialogical student learning experience that focuses on the involvement of students, teachers, practitioners, the community, scholars, and themselves and the available curriculum and textbooks. The living curriculum is a dynamic and adaptive curriculum model, flexible and relaxed in response to the daily experiences of teachers and students (Magrini, 2015). In the context of critical history learning, the teacher's role is to create knowledge that can answer the limitations of textbooks. Based on this background, this article aims to critically analyze the discourse built in the Chinese Rebellion's Narrative in Indonesian History textbooks, including the dimensions of text, social cognition, and social context. Thus, it can be seen to what extent the discourse practice strengthens awareness of diversity for national integration. The results of the analysis are expected to be considered for writing subsequent history textbooks. Practically, it can also be a basis for teachers in designing history learning constructions that are appropriate and meaningful for students regarding this material. It is



hoped that efforts to internalize the value of diversity for national integration through learning material about Chinese can be more optimal.

Research Methods

This study uses a qualitative approach with the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) method. The strength of discourse analysis is its ability to see and dismantle ideological practices in texts (Eriyanto, 2001). The research subject is the Chinese Rebellion in the Indonesian History textbook for class XI semester one senior high school based on the 2013 Curriculum published by the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia in 2017. Sardiman A. M. and Amurwani Dwi Lestariningsih wrote this book. Data was collected by reviewing text documents that were the subject of analysis. In studying texts, not only record what is written but also try to explore and capture the implicit meaning of the text (Sutopo, 2006). In this study, the stages of data collection started from reading the related text entitled "The Chinese Rebellion," understanding its contents and marking the necessary parts.

The analysis used in this study refers to the Teun A. Van Dijk model. This model is often referred to as social cognition. According to Van Dijk, research on discourse is not enough to be based solely on the analysis of text alone because the text is only the result of a production practice that must also be observed (Eriyanto, 2001; Haryatmoko, 2019). By looking at how a text is produced, knowledge can be obtained about why text could be like that. Three dimensions or constructs are analyzed, namely text, social cognition, and social context (Eriyanto, 2001; Haryatmoko, 2019). In this study, the dimensions of the text were analyzed by paying attention to the structure of the text and the discourse strategies used to emphasize the topic being discussed, namely the Chinese resistance to the VOC. The dimension of social cognition is analyzed by looking at the 2013 Curriculum model, the official history that applies, and the writer's awareness or mentality. The size of the social context is analyzed by studying the construction of discourse that develops in society about perceptions of the Chinese. For this reason, related literature studies are needed in this analysis. The three dimensions of discourse are a unit that connects textual analysis to a comprehensive analysis of how the text is produced about the author and society. The study was carried out according to the characteristics of inductive qualitative research. The analytical model used is interactive, according to Miles and Huberman, which includes data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion, together with the data collection process (Sutopo, 2006). In this study, data reduction and production were carried out by interpreting the meaning of the data obtained. If the conclusion is less stable, the researcher returns to deepen the data and theory to support the decision.

Result

The text of the Chinese Rebellion being analyzed is found in the Indonesian History textbook for SMA class XI semester one, officially issued by the state in 2017. This text can be found on pages 92-93 for one and a half pages. This text belongs to the section of Chapter 2 of the War Against Colonialism and Imperialism, to the subchapter of the War Against Trade Hegemony and Greed. The material is presented in four paragraphs without illustrations. The presentation is very concise when compared to other material in the same subchapter, such as Aceh Versus the Portuguese and the VOC, Maluku Takes Arms, Sultan Agung Versus J.P. Coen, Banten Resistance, Gowa Resistance, Riau People Take Arms, and Prince Mangkubumi and Mas Said's Resistance. In the following, the results of the analysis of the dimensions of text, social cognition, and the accompanying social context are further explained.

Dimensions of Text

On the macrostructure, the thematic elements of the Chinese Rebellion narrative show the Chinese in their fight against colonialism. The history of this event is included in the presentation of the resistance of the Indonesian people against colonialism and imperialism. The narrative is also juxtaposed parallel to the report of opposition from various tribes or other regions. Thus, the text is formally placed as part of the journey of the Indonesian nation, compiled from historical events chronologically, and forms the fabric of national history. Problems arise in terms of the depth of the study, as seen in the superstructure and microstructure aspects. In superstructure observation, schematically, the entire text is dominated by the delivery of historical facts.

Since the 5th century, the Chinese have established trade relations with Java, and their numbers have increased. During the development of the Hindu-Buddhist and Islamic kingdoms, many Chinese traders who married Javanese lived in the coastal areas, especially in Batavia. Likewise, many Chinese came to Java during the VOC reign in Batavia. ... Many of them belong to people with low incomes. They then became beggars, and some even became thieves. Of course, this greatly disturbed Batavia's comfort and security. Finally, the VOC issued a policy limiting Chinese immigrants (Sardiman & Lestariningsih, 2017).

The first paragraph of the text, the Chinese Rebellion, introduces the Chinese immigrants who, among other things, became poor and beggars and thieves. The text frames the perception of the Chinese in two aspects. First, they



are seen as immigrants for economic interests. Second, some of those who failed remained impoverished and committed criminal acts, so the VOC took action. This prominence leads the reader to negative stereotypes of the Chinese. Other narratives in textbooks generally give a negative perception of the occupiers. In this text, negative perceptions are pinned on the Chinese as the opposing party, while the VOC appears as the main subject. The text invites readers to support the VOC, eradicate troublemakers, and restore public order.

The second paragraph explains the background of the massacre. Up to the third paragraph, it is still written about the events of the killings and a little about the emergence of Chinese resistance.

In 1740, there was a fire in Batavia. The VOC interpreted this event as a movement by the Chinese people who would carry out a rebellion. Therefore, the VOC soldiers began to act by sweeping into the homes of the Chinese and then killing the Chinese who were found in every house. The Chinese who managed to escape then resisted in various areas, for example, in Central Java. One of the well-known figures was Oey Panko, later known as Khe Panjang. Later, in Java, it became Ki Sapanjang. This name is associated with his role in leading the resistance along the coast of Java (Sardiman & Lestariningsih, 2017).

Microstructure includes semantics, syntax, stylistics, and rhetoric (Eriyanto, 2001). The semantic aspect shows the historical background of the Chinese as immigrants to make a living. The text also leads to understanding the Chinese as an economic animal. This is reinforced in syntactic elements. The predicates "poor," "beggar," and "thief" are descriptions of the Chinese people who failed economically. In the context of this historical event, this coherence has the potential to corner Chinese immigrants who disturb society. Only one sentence places the Chinese as the main subject of the events against the VOC. "The Chinese who managed to escape then resisted in various areas, for example, Central Java" (Sardiman & Lestariningsih, 2017). This sentence also seems dwarfed by the explanation "who managed to escape" because it presupposes their position was cornered, so they had no choice but to fight the VOC. The rest place the Chinese as objects, with the primary subject being the VOC. The stylistic element is shown by the entire narrative, which consistently uses the term "Cina." In this narration, the word "rebellion" is also called, which makes the narration appear different compared to the events of the same theme. For example, the Banten resistance, the Gowa resistance, the Moluccas took up arms, the people of Riau took up arms, and the like. Apart from extreme and radical impressions, the use of this term can be analogous to the rebellion that occurred during the independence era. When the resistance against the VOC, which was the colonialists, was called a rebellion, then it should be questioned how the Chinese were placed in the Indonesian national home. Still, in this narrative, instead of being warriors, the Chinese are referred to as "a mob," which means rioters (Sardiman & Lestariningsih, 2017).

Finally, rhetorical elements related to emphasis include graphics, expressions, and metaphors (Eriyanto, 2001). There are no graphics in the text of the Chinese Rebellion, except for the title as the style of the textbook. The use of expressions and metaphors is also absent. In essence, the text is conveyed straightforwardly in a narrative manner or chronologically telling about the events of the Chinese Rebellion so that the reader gains knowledge, insight, and benefits from the text. Instilling values that should be carried out for education is not optimal. In this incident of Chinese resistance against the VOC, the awareness that the spirit of patriotism belongs to various elements of the nation needs to have a place.

Dimensions of Cognitive Social

Within Van Dijk's discourse analysis framework, attention is paid to how a text is produced through social cognition (Eriyanto, 2001). Text is a microstructure, while society is a macro social structure. Van Dijk connects these two huge poles with a social cognition model that describes the mental representation of the text writer. Social cognition is an intermediary variable because text writers are part of a society that always does "socially shared knowledge, beliefs, attitudes and ideologies," which is a necessary interface in the interaction between texts and society (Dijk, 1994). The author interprets every historical event in history textbooks in a particular scheme (Eriyanto, 2001). The method or model used by the author is related to the context as a textbook used for educational purposes. So, the text of the Chinese Rebellion should be written according to the 2013 Curriculum. The problem is that the 2013 Curriculum only provides a corridor for competency content and scope of material, while the author must develop the content. In addition, in the 2013 Curriculum document, there is no specific advice regarding Chinese.

On that basis, the main factor determining the presence of Chinese representation in Indonesian History textbooks is based more on changes in official history that follow the spirit of the era. In 2008, along with the Reformation, SNI was revised. In 2012, an alternative book appeared, IDAS, which could also be a reference for national history. The narrative regarding the Chinese resistance against the VOC assisted by Javanese troops appears in the Updated Edition of SNI Volume IV (Poesponegoro & Notosusanto, 2008). Meanwhile, in IDAS, which is more accommodating to minority groups, the narrative of this event is found comprehensively in Volume 4 Chapter 15 with the title "Geger Cina: Dari Batavia hingga Mataram (1740-1743)" (Abdullah & Lapian, 2012).



Another essential element in the process of social cognition is memory. Memory is related to thinking activity and knowledge about something. Each memory contains input and storage of current and past messages that are continuously used by someone in viewing a reality (Eriyanto, 2001). The authors and reviewers of the textbooks analyzed grew up during the New Order era. The New Order's perception and treatment of the Chinese was in their minds. This can affect their social cognition towards Chinese. Text production may reveal a struggle between knowledge that has long been entrenched and becomes their long-term memory and learning that has just been received. This is much influenced by the values a person gets as a member of society—consequently, an analysis of inherent social cognition with an analysis of its social context.

Dimensions of Social Context

The social context dimension understands discourse as part of the discourse that develops in society, so texts need to be examined intertextually by examining how speech about something is produced and constructed (Eriyanto, 2001). For this reason, it is necessary to investigate the lessons regarding Chinese made in society related to the representation of Chinese in this Indonesian History textbook. According to Van Dijk, two critical points are to be analyzed: the practice of power and access. Powerful groups have more excellent access opportunities and significant opportunities to influence public awareness (Eriyanto, 2001). In the production of discourse about Chinese, the power belongs to the state to control people's awareness. The state's attitude towards the Chinese through the policies issued has shaped the people's views. According to historical studies, stereotypes, prejudice, and hatred that lead to anti-Chinese attitudes are colonial legacies, with their power placing the Chinese as the driving force of the economy and becoming part of the colonial community, as explained by Davidson (2009, p. 342).

Thus, as Indonesia gained its independence, this economically strong yet politically weak Chinese class was juxtaposed against the impoverished masses of Javanese who, living in closed, corporate villages, held an ingrained aversion to capitalism, a system of exploitative relations of production that was equalized with colonialism and being "Chinese." At the beginning of the New Order in power, anti-Chinese (Sinophobia) campaigns and actions were so widespread. The re-use of the term "Cina" since the beginning of the New Order was expected to reduce or eliminate feelings of superiority and inferiority between the Chinese and natives (Lembong, 2011; Setiono, 2008; Suryadinata, 2002). Statements like this indicate the existence of mutual prejudice as well as feelings pinned on each other. The Chinese consider themselves superior, while the natives often feel discouraged and inferior. As a result, the anti-Chinese phenomenon became a coal in the husk.

Furthermore, in the name of assimilation, the New Order government issued various rules and policies that were discriminatory toward the Chinese (Sunny Lie & Bailey, 2016). Since the Reformation, various new regulations have been given that affect the views and treatment of the Chinese. Since then, the Chinese are no longer afraid to show their Chinese identity (Arifin et al., 2015). Nevertheless, the historical roots of stereotypes and prejudice against the Chinese are still embedded in most societies.

Discussion

Analysis of the text dimension can show the textual strategies used to display or exclude Chinese. Van Dijk sees a text as consisting of several mutually supporting structures. The macrostructure is a text's global or general meaning by looking at the theme or topic put forward (thematic). Findings on the macrostructure show that the emergence of texts about The Chinese Rebellion as a form of Indonesian resistance to colonialism is recognized as part of national history. This is in line with Kartodirdjo (1982), who said that national history should be "history from within," which reveals the activities of various groups of society and leads to national integration. The presence of this theme accommodates integrative and constructive history learning material by including the dynamics of different social groups, not just certain groups. Superstructure relates to the framework of the text or the parts that make up the text as a whole (schematic). Schematic elements can be a strategy for highlighting and hiding other parts (Eriyanto, 2001). The findings show that the text does not fully show the cooperation side of the Chinese-Javanese resistance, instead highlighting the incident of Chinese killings in Batavia. This confirms the title "The Chinese Rebellion," which seems strange compared to the titles of other resistance events against the VOC in textbooks. The narrative about the Chinese resistance only shows the figures' names and the coastal regents' support. Further information: In 1741, the VOC fort in Kartasura was attacked, so the VOC strengthened its weapons, and the rebellion was suppressed. Overall, the narrative shows that the Chinese are represented but, at the same time, marginalized (Segall et al., 2018).

Microstructure is the meaning of discourse from small text parts, namely words, sentences, propositions, paraphrases, and pictures. The findings align with research by Hilburn & Fitchett (2012), which shows that the immigrant or migrant paradigm has the potential to place them as the other. This is also the case with the Chinese, who are often seen as foreigners. Unsurprisingly, the detailed aspect of Chinese is not paid attention to in the narration.



The built narrative structure did not explicitly show the Chinese struggle against the VOC. The emphasis on the massacre of the Chinese in Batavia has the potential to become the foundation for the perception of anti-Chinese sentiment. This view developed during the New Order era and still frequently appears today (Arifin et al., 2016; Sunny Lie & Bailey, 2016).

Another surprising finding is that referring to the applicable regulations and the spirit of diversity, the terms "Cina" in texts for educational purposes are not wise. This textbook was published in 2017, while 2014 Presidential Decree No. 12 of 2014 was issued, which changed the designation "Cina" to "Tionghoa" to refer to people or communities and "Tiongkok" to refer to the country. Apart from not heeding this rule, retaining the term "Cina," which historically has political connotations of contempt and contains hatred, is certainly not in line with the spirit of diversity (Lembong, 2011; Suryadinata, 2002). Besides that, the term resistance is more appropriate from an Indonesiacentric perspective. This contrasts with the Neerlandocentric view, which places Indonesian fighters as traitors or rebels (Mulyana & Darmiasti, 2009). The text shows a bias in meaning in positioning the Chinese as historical actors who should be seen as part of the Indonesian nation. Findings of macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure show that the Chinese Rebellion narrative is textually considered essential, but it only accommodates diversity as a formality. Learning only focuses on low-level cognitive aspects if the teacher uses textbooks as the only source of learning. Textbooks are also not optimal for use as independent learning resources by students. In teaching this material, teachers must create multifaceted learning experiences that include students' encounters with literacy, media, and other learning resources (Metzger & Harris, 2018). Thus, learning becomes richer.

The proper study must support the narratives of the Chinese Rebellion in textbooks. Without a critical attitude, learning has the potential to fail to instill diverse values in the history of the events of the Chinese-Javanese alliance against the VOC. It can even perpetuate discriminatory views that place Chinese as others. The importance of equality and justice related to diversity is often ignored by official history hegemony (Theresia & Dewi, 2021). This potential is reinforced by Djono & Joebagio (2019) in their research, which states that most teachers tend to articulate the importance of unity rather than first raise awareness of diversity. This concern can also occur as American History textbooks experience misinterpretation when teachers explain the abolitionist movement in the Civil War (Pearcy, 2014). This aligns with the finding that a new social cognition is needed to represent the Chinese. The teacher presents the right counter-discourse when conveying the Chinese Rebellion narrative to form a more constructive discourse (Karima & Abianza, 2023). Chinese representation in Indonesian history learning must be presented as part of the diversity that strengthens national unity. For this reason, education needs to be contextual based on the curriculum as a praxis (Supriatna, 2007). This means that the applicable curriculum and textbooks are still placed as a reference. Still, the teacher raises contexts close to students, including the social dynamics of society with contemporary problems.

This practice is based on the view of the curriculum as a reality that emphasizes learning activities known as the living curriculum (Marshall & Wilson, 2012). The living curriculum does not focus on content but on student learning experiences. The development of a living curriculum involves dialogic learning that emphasizes student involvement dynamically, adaptively, flexibly, and relaxedly as a response to student experiences (Magrini, 2015). With this understanding, it is hoped that textbooks will be placed as living documents that are responsive to the times and always ready to be updated can be realized. The social context shows that narratives can legitimize knowledge for political and philosophical interests, as the narrative of the Chinese Rebellion shows the legitimization of solid political interests. This situation also occurred during the transition of Guided Democracy to the New Order in perceiving the Chinese (Kurniawan et al., 2023). Likewise, the change of the New Order to the Reformation changed the view and acceptance of the Chinese. The narrative of the Chinese Rebellion in the textbook analyzed was constructed as a response to the political change but is stuck in formality and loses its essential meaning. In the context of history education, the internalization of values that should have occurred is hindered (Karima et al., 2022). Meanwhile, government access to shape community social cognition through school institutions places history teachers as parties who continue to influence student awareness as members of society. History education must be committed to presenting a new perspective on Chinese (Arifin et al., 2016; Harjatanaya & Hoon, 2018; Kuntjara & Hoon, 2020; Raihani, 2017).

Finally, the views of textbook authors and teaching teachers strongly influence the built discourse. Teachers can use the reading method to involve students in criticizing texts (Supriatna, 2007). There is a process of deconstruction that subverts the conceptual hierarchy that structures a text. Reading texts deconstructively must address critical questions about exclusive texts that marginalize certain social groups or side with specific interests (Supriatna, 2007). Learning can encourage students to act as little historians (Soeharso et al., 2022). Students build new, more meaningful narratives through doing history activities (Levstik & Barton, 2015). The form can be infographics or podcasts familiar with today's social media (Kurniawan, 2020; Nur'aini et al., 2023). From there, students can participate in counterdiscourse reproduction efforts that transform people's views and the social context towards Chinese.



Conclusion

The narrative of the Chinese Rebellion in the analyzed Indonesian History textbooks has textually represented the role of the Chinese in Indonesian history. In the aspect of macrostructure, the narrative displays Chinese themes as part of the history of the Indonesian nation. In the element of superstructure, the report emphasizes the massacre of the Chinese in Batavia and does not display the value side to be internalized. Likewise, in the microstructure, many practices lead to stereotyped discourse and the marginalization of the Chinese role. For this reason, the role of learning is decisive in conveying the materials of the Chinese Rebellion. The following analysis found the potential for social cognition struggles in text production. Moreover, the social context of society in viewing Chinese has not entirely shifted from the New Order paradigm to the changes in the Reformation era. Apart from being a material consideration for writing subsequent history textbooks, learning must emphasize living curriculum practices. As the spearhead of education, history teachers also need to work on a deconstruction process in using books critically to explore more appropriate and meaningful perspectives for students. The hope is that through the counter-discourse that is built, students can respond to the problem of sentiment towards the Chinese, which still often arises, while at the same time transforming the social context of society. Thus, history education is empowered to foster an attitude of diversity for national integration.

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