


# Hendra Kurniawan

## From Integration to Marginalization Representation of the Chinese in History Textbooks in Indonesia

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## **From Integration to Marginalization: Representation of the Chinese in History Textbooks in Indonesia**

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# From Integration to Marginalization: Representation of the Chinese in History Textbooks in Indonesia

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## Abstract

This study analyzes changes in the representation of the Chinese Indonesian or Tionghoa in history textbooks in Indonesia. There are two history textbooks under study, each published during the Guided Democracy and New Order periods. The focus of this study is on the topic of the Chinese people's resistance to colonialism. A qualitative approach is used in this study with the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) method. The results show that there has been a change in the discourse of the representation of the Chinese Indonesian in history textbooks. During the Guided Democracy period, the Chinese were represented by a discourse of integration as part of the Indonesian nation which participated in the resistance against colonialism. During the New Order era, there was a change in political direction which encouraged assimilation with discriminatory practices against the Chinese. Prejudice and stereotypes against Chinese Indonesian people in Indonesia are strengthening. They were marginalized and removed from history textbooks. This research contributes to inclusive history education through the writing of history textbooks and their lessons which represent the Chinese Indonesian as part of diversity for national integration.

**Keywords:** Chinese Indonesian, history textbook, integration, marginalization, New Order

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# De la Integración a la Marginación: Representación de los Chinos-Indonesios en los Libros de Texto de Historia en Indonesia

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## Resumen

Este estudio analiza los cambios en la representación de los Chinos-Indonesios en los libros de texto de historia en Indonesia. Hay dos libros de texto de historia en estudio, cada uno publicado durante los períodos de Democracia Guiada y Nuevo Orden. El enfoque de este estudio está en el tema de la resistencia del pueblo Chinos en Indonesia al colonialismo. En este estudio se utiliza un enfoque cualitativo con el método de análisis crítico del discurso. Los resultados muestran que ha habido un cambio en el discurso de la representación de los Chinos-Indonesios en los libros de texto de historia. Durante el período de la Democracia Guiada, los Chinos estaban representados por un discurso de integración como parte de la nación Indonesia que participaba en la resistencia contra el colonialismo. Durante la era del Nuevo Orden, hubo un cambio en la dirección política que fomentó la asimilación con prácticas discriminatorias contra los Chinos-Indonesios. Los prejuicios y estereotipos contra los Chinos en Indonesia se están fortaleciendo. Fueron marginados y eliminados de los libros de texto de historia. Esta investigación contribuye a la educación histórica inclusiva a través de la redacción de libros de texto de historia y sus lecciones que representan a los Chinos-Indonesios como parte de la diversidad para la integración nacional.

**Palabras clave:** Chinos-Indonesios, libro de texto de historia, integración, marginación, Nuevo Orden

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In many countries, including Indonesia, the position of textbooks is vital as the main learning resource used in schools (Hung Lau, Kwok et al., 2017; O'Neill, 1982; Rowland & Barrs, 2013). Textbooks are written based on the applicable curriculum and are equipped with learning activities according to the level of student development. Textbooks not only foster critical thinking skills but also shape students' attitudes (Errington & Bubna-Litic, 2015). Based on this, history textbooks are the most crucial (Crutchley et al., 2018). The reason is that history education in addition to fostering historical awareness also has an important function in instilling the values of nationalism, patriotism, and a national character to form national pride (Pavlick, 2019; Yao, 2018).

Regarding the cultivation of values, history textbooks in any country play a major role as guardians of ideology and shapers of national identity (Huntington & Won, 2020; Kim & Kim, 2019; Kochhar, 2008; Pavlick, 2019; Sumaludin, 2017; Wang, 2016). History textbooks also provide an understanding of conflict to foster peace between community groups and countries (Ide et al., 2018). Therefore, writing history textbooks is in the interest of the state and the political representation of the ruling government. The material in history textbooks carries the values of the nation that were fought for in the past, the context can be drawn in the present, and further developed for the future (Hasan, 2012). For this reason, the government has an interest in compiling official history from a single propaganda perspective (Kello & Wagner, 2017; Maposa & Wassermann, 2014; Pavlick, 2019).

School history aims to form a collective memory, so history textbooks present selected material that is considered the best story for a nation (Seixas, 2000). The choice of material to construct national identity has resulted in history textbooks in various countries often having problems representing the history of marginalized groups (Stroescu & Popa, 2012; Woyshner & Schocker, 2015). On the other hand, the multicultural reality of a nation is often related to relations between countries that describe harmony between groups (An & Suh, 2013; Carretero et al., 2002; Korostelina, 2010). The representation of minorities in the history of a country is seen as influencing the construction of national identity (Al-Haj, 2005; Çayır, 2009; Liu, 2015; Yan & Vickers, 2019). For this reason, although multiculturalism is part of a nation's nationalism (Tilaar, 2014), textbooks have the potential to be misinterpreted in presenting the narrative of multicultural history education.

137 *HSE – Social and Education History, 12(2)*

The existence and role of the Chinese ethnicity in Indonesia (hereinafter simply referred to as Chinese or *Tionghoa*) holds a similar problem. This fact cannot be separated from the socio-political structure built-in society. Since Indonesia's independence was proclaimed, the model of social stratification and the role of the Chinese as middlemen during the colonial period has been continuously reproduced (Permana & Purwantiningsih, 2021). The dominance of the Chinese in the national economy in Indonesia led to the emergence of anti-Chinese and several times ethnic riots. Even in historical records, the New Order era led by General Suharto as president was the darkest period for the Chinese in Indonesia. In the name of assimilation, the New Order issued various rules and policies that were discriminatory to the Chinese (Sunny Lie & Bailey, 2016). Since the beginning of the New Order in power, anti-Chinese (Sinophobia) campaigns and actions have been widespread. The peak occurred in 1998 which became a turning point for the Chinese as well as a sign of the failure of assimilation (Hoon, 2006; Turner, 2003).

In writing history textbooks, the transition of government from Guided Democracy to the New Order brought a sharp change in perspective. Guided Democracy was coloured by the ideas of socialism and Sukarno's teachings. On the other hand, historical textbooks during the New Order era led to militaristic, anti-communist, de-Sukarnoized nationalism, highlighting Suharto's role, and promoting development success (Mulyana, 2013; Purwanta & Novianto, 2022). This change also affected the representation of the Chinese role in national history until it was eliminated. The Chinese have been absent from history learning at school since the National History of Indonesia became the primary source of writing history textbooks in 1975 (Kwartanada, 2020).

The dynamics of history curriculum changes due to political policies from one government to another are common in various countries (Çayır, 2009; Yao, 2018). The histories of groups described as the other are often underestimated, marginalized, and in some cases deliberately omitted from the dominant narratives in history curricula and textbooks (Segall et al., 2018). On the other hand, the choice to present groups of people who are often marginalized in history textbooks can produce "a more inclusive best story of the past" (Seixas, 2000). Despite the dilemma, political hegemony has great



power to determine the presence or absence of a group's role in national history.

This study is important for understanding changes in multiculturalism discourse that builds nationalism in seeing the role of the Chinese in Indonesia from the Guided Democracy era to the New Order. In addition, this study is also expected to raise awareness about the reality of a pluralistic Indonesian nation with the existence of ethnic Chinese long before Indonesia's independence. Finally, this research contributes to the current curriculum to build the right paradigm in writing history textbooks and lessons that show the role of the Chinese in Indonesia. In this case, the discourse of multiculturalism that strengthens national integration must be presented in order to achieve the vision of inclusive history education.

## Methodology

This study is qualitative research with the method of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Discourse analysis is not only knowing what the text contains, but also how the message is conveyed. Discourse analysis is more able to see the hidden meaning of a text (Eriyanto, 2001). Discourse analysis connects language studies with context because language is used for power purposes so that it has frozen certain values or ideologies (Eriyanto, 2001; Haryatmoko, 2019). There are five general characteristics of discourse analysis, namely the practice of discourse in the production and consumption of texts, social practices, analysis of language with its social context, the ideological function of discourse, and the critical nature of research (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2017).

This research examined two history textbooks written by the same author but published in different eras and curricula. One textbook was published in 1965 during the Guided Democracy era (President Sukarno) which refers to the 1962 Lesson Plan. While another was published in 1969 during the early New Order era (President Suharto) referring to the 1966 Curriculum. The subject that was the focus of the study was the material of the Chinese resistance against colonialism. This material was chosen because it was one of the most significant in representing the Chinese role. Both discourses that were constructed to represent the Chinese were analyzed and compared. The



## 139 HSE – Social and Education History, 12(2)

following table shows the identities of the two textbooks used in data collection in this study.

**Table 1**

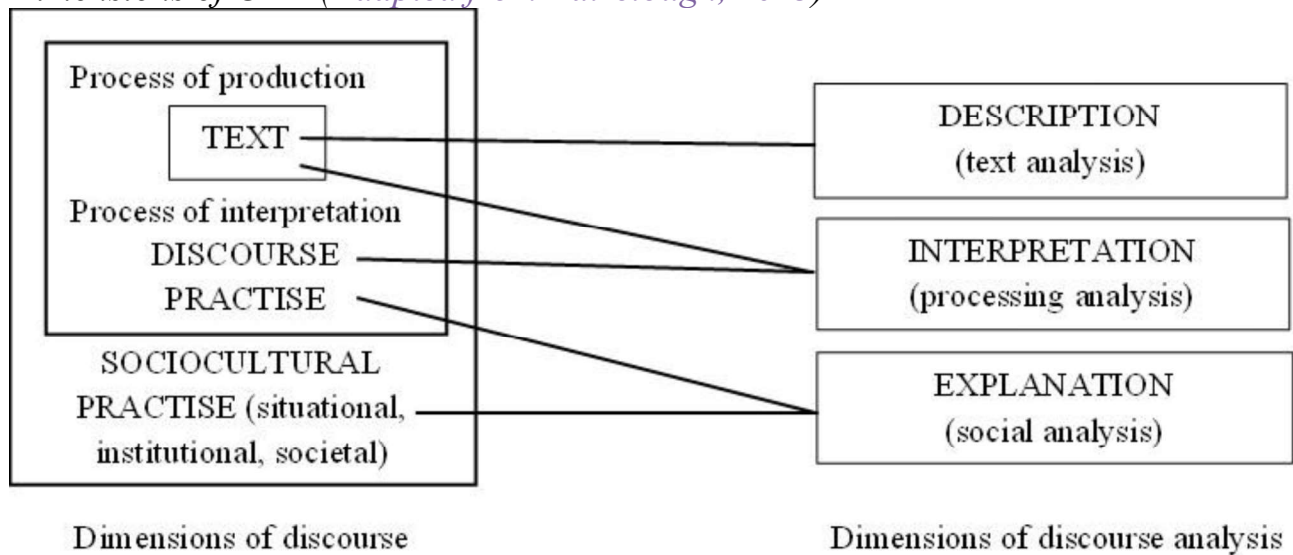
*Textbooks used as data*

Era	Curriculum	Author	Year	Title	Publisher
Guided Democracy (President Sukarno)	1962 Lesson Plan (1964 revision)	Sundhoru	1965	<i>Sedjarah Indonesia I Gaja Baru</i> [Indonesian History I New Style]	CV Murni Baru, Djakarta
New Order (President Suharto)	1966 (1968 revision)	Sundhoru	1969	<i>Sedjarah Indonesia II</i> [Indonesian History II]	P. P. Adil, Djakarta

Data analysis was carried out using the Fairclough approach which develops the concept of interdiscursivity, namely the combination of genres and discourses in texts and hegemony including political, ideological and socio-cultural domination (Fairclough, 2013). In this view, data analysis follows the framework of the CDA which establishes a relationship between text characteristics, discourse practice characteristics, especially text production, and sociocultural practices that develop in society in perceiving Chinese people in Indonesia. The dimensions of the analysis process include descriptive text analysis, discourse analysis or interpretation processes, and social analysis in the form of explanations (Haryatmoko, 2019; Titscher et al., 2009). Thus, text analysis does not stop at the grammatical meaning, but comes to contextual meaning to understand the ideology or message that the textbook wants to convey to students. The following figure is a three-dimensional interweaving of the analysis process.

**Figure 1**

*Dimensions of CDA (Adapted from Fairclough, 2013)*



The flow of analysis was applied holistically so that it could be known and compared to the construction of discourse that was built in each era. Text analysis used critical linguistics to describe the form and content of the text including representation, relation, and identity. Process analysis was carried out by interpreting texts and discourses that are constructed using a hermeneutic approach as research guidelines and textbook revisions from UNESCO (Pingel, 2010). The social analysis used literature studies, both books, and scientific articles to explore historical backgrounds, political situations, government policies, ideological tendencies, and community situations that grew up in the era of their respective textbooks. The concept of subaltern from Gayatri Spivak was also used as an analytical point of view. Subaltern was understood as subordinate to describe non-hegemonic groups or classes (Gandhi, 2001; Morton, 2008). The existence and role of the Chinese in the national history of Indonesia were classified as subaltern.

## Results

### Representation of the Chinese in History Textbooks in the Guided Democracy Era

The textbook analyzed was entitled “*Sedjarah Indonesia I Gaja Baru* [Indonesian History I New Style]” written by Sundhoro and was published in 1965. In this book, the material on the Chinese resistance to colonialism is presented in four pages with the title “*Pemberontakan Tionghoa dan Kekatjauan di Mataram* [The Chinese Rebellion and Chaos in Mataram]” (Sundhoro, 1965, p. 84-87). At the end of the discussion, there are practice questions that measure students’ understanding and notes of important years. Both the title and the contents of the text use *Tionghoa* and *Tiongkok* terms. These two terms come from the Hokkien language, the largest number of Chinese immigrants in Indonesia. *Tionghoa* or *Zhonghua* (中華) which is also called *Huaren* (華人) refer to people whose ancestors came from China. *Tiongkok* or *Zhongguo* (中國) means Chinese country or nationality.

The narrative begins with the arrival of the Chinese to the Indonesian Archipelago. The narrative explains that the Chinese have been living in Indonesia for a long time. Most of them are traders, but some are farmers and craftsmen (Sundhoro, 1965, p. 84). The next text explains that there are more and more Chinese immigrants who are unable to find work. As a result, they live vagrants and disturb the peace. The life of the Chinese in Batavia (now Jakarta) is narrated in a balanced way with sentences with denotative meanings.

The background of the incident is narrated from the issuance of the VOC (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* or The Dutch East India Company) edict so that the Chinese people have a residence permit to overcome the problem of city peace. The text explains that this rule was used by VOC officials to blackmail Chinese people with threats of expulsion. The Chinese were even more nervous because it was reported that those who were exiled to Sri Lanka or South Africa were drowned. The situation became increasingly unsafe, so the VOC ordered the arrest of every suspected Chinese person (Sundhoro, 1965, p. 85).

The text describes the cause of the incident by placing the Chinese as the oppressed group while the VOC as the oppressor. This binary opposition is

*Kurniawan et al. – From Integration to Marginalization* 142

commonly used to describe the colonial situation. The sentences are used to position the Chinese as part of the Indonesian nation who became victims of VOC colonialism. *Casus belli* the rise of the Chinese resistance to the VOC stems from accusations that the Chinese in Batavia formed dangerous and armed gangs to fight the VOC. Governor-general Valckenier ordered that the houses of the Chinese be inspected if any weapons were stored there (Sundhoro, 1965, p. 85). The text also recounts the occurrence of robbery, murder, and burning of Chinese houses (Sundhoro, 1965, p. 86). The VOC government did not remain silent, Valckenier also ordered the killing of Chinese people in prison (Sundhoro, 1965, p. 86).

The narrative of the arrival and description of the life of the Chinese in Batavia to the general and specific causes of events emphasizes the Chinese as the main actor in the event. They are depicted as being part of the Indonesian nation who suffered the same fate as other residents as victims of colonialism. As a result, there was resistance from the Chinese against the VOC who was supported by the regents up to Sunan Paku Buwono II of Mataram. The discourse on Chinese people's patriotism appears in the following narrative:

*Ribuan kaum pemberontak meneruskan perjuangannya mereka di bawah pimpinan Tai Wan Sui. Mereka mengembara ke timur. Gerombolan makin besar. Sebab ditambah dengan orang2 Tionghoa dari lain2 daerah. Mereka berhasil merampas Rembang dan Juana dan membunuh penduduk Belanda yang ada di situ. Orang-orang Tionghoa mendapat bantuan dari beberapa orang bupati dan dari Sunan Paku Buwono II. [Thousands of rebels continued their struggle under the leadership of Tai Wan Sui. They wandered east. The crowd is getting bigger because added with Chinese people from other regions. They managed to seize Rembang and Juana and kill the Dutch population who were there. The Chinese received assistance from several district heads and from Sunan Paku Buwono II.]. (Sundhoro, 1965, p. 86)*

The history of Indonesia in the 1962 Lesson Plan is included in the group of basic subjects aimed at developing an attitude of love for the nation and the homeland. In the Guided Democracy era, education aimed to create a socialist, equitable, and prosperous Indonesian society, with the spirit of Pancasila (Hasan, 2020). This curriculum view influenced the author's perspective which appeared in binary opposition, where the oppressed Chinese (part of

143 *HSE – Social and Education History, 12(2)*

the people) faced the VOC as oppressive invaders. The author also displays the side of injustice to encourage the passion of patriotism and unity against the oppression caused by colonialism. The spirit of revolution against the smouldering forces of neo-colonialism and imperialism at that time coloured the author's inner mood.

The historical setting shows that the social conditions at that time formed people's perceptions. At the beginning of independence, the Chinese community was very mixed, many even lived in villages. The situation has changed since the issuance of Government Regulation No. 10/1959 which prohibits foreigners – defined as including the Chinese – from trading retail in remote areas as of January 1, 1960 (Setiono, 2008). In 1958, the Citizenship Law was also issued regarding the resolution of the dual citizenship problem of Chinese Indonesians (Lan, 2012).

At that time, different views about the position of the Chinese in the life of the nation in Indonesia also developed. *Badan Permusjawaratan Kewarganegaraan Indonesia* (Baperki) or The Indonesian Citizenship Consultative Body led by Siauw Giok Tjhan encourages the proper integration of the Chinese as part of the Indonesian nation. On the other hand, *Lembaga Pembinaan Kesatuan Bangsa* (LPKB) or The National Unity Development Institute chaired by Ong Tjong Hai alias Kristoforus Sindhunata chose total assimilation by eliminating the Chinese identity to become a complete Indonesian nation (Setiono, 2008).

These various socio-political considerations encourage the author to place himself at a distance and invite the reader to take a distance from events. The author tries to describe events neutrally and objectively. There is momentum when the Chinese are placed as the main actors, although at the end of the narrative, the main actors are again occupied by Javanese leaders. This means that in the inevitable domination of the majority, the role of the Chinese still gets space. The Chinese became part of the Indonesian struggle against colonialism.

## Representation of the Chinese in History Textbooks in the Early New Order Era

The representation of the Chinese in the New Order era can still be found in history textbooks at the beginning of the government's reign. Narratives about the Chinese began to disappear in history textbooks since the 1975 Curriculum. In that curriculum, the National History of Indonesia as official history is used as the main source of writing history textbooks. The textbook entitled "*Sedjarah Indonesia II* [Indonesian History II]" which was also written by Sundhoro and published in 1969 still contains a narrative about the Chinese. In this textbook, the material on the Chinese resistance to colonialism is presented in three pages as part of the title "*Kekatjauan di Pulau Djawa II* [Chaos on the Island of Java II]" (Sundhoro, 1969, pp. 31-33). In the end, there are related questions and students are also asked to memorize the year of the Chinese resistance event. Both the subtitle and the content of the text use the term *Tjina* (*Cina*), no longer *Tionghoa* and *Tionggok*.

The narrative begins by describing the arrival of the Chinese people to the archipelago. The narrative states that a long time ago many Chinese people visited and settled in Indonesia (Sundhoro, 1969, p. 31). The next narrative explains the position of the Chinese in Batavia. "*Kedudukan orang2 Tjina jang kaya raja itu makin lama makin kuat, karena di antara mereka ada jang mendjadi tuan tanah, jang bertindak sebagai radja ketjil di wilajahnja* [The position of the rich Chinese people is getting stronger and stronger, because some of them are landlords, who act as little kings in their territory]" (Sundhoro, 1969, p. 31). The term "*radja ketjil* [little king]" appeared to describe the Chinese who were the right hand of the VOC to collect taxes. They are also called acting arbitrarily and incriminating the people (Sundhoro, 1969, p. 31). Meanwhile, for Chinese people who are less fortunate, the terms unemployment, wild gangs, and vagrants are repeatedly used as subject pronouns (Sundhoro, 1969, p. 32).

The general and specific causes of events are briefly described which led to the burning of houses and the killing of the Chinese people (Sundhoro, 1969, p. 33). There are no texts that lead to the perception of the Chinese experiencing oppression due to colonialism like the common people. The rise of the Chinese resistance is narrated with nuances similar to waves of action by extremist groups. In fact, at the end of the narration, a sarcastic sentence



## 145 HSE – Social and Education History, 12(2)

appears which in essence wants to emphasize the Chinese as oppressors of the people. In this way, the material for the Chinese resistance was shown as well as criticized as seen in the narration:

*. Ribuan orang Tjina meninggalkan kota Batavia. Mereka berdjuang menentang VOC jang lalim itu di bawah pimpinan Tai Wan Sui. Gelora perdjungan orang Tjina itu meluas ke Djawa Tengah dan Djawa Timur. Pasukan Tai Wan Sui makin lama makin besar, sebab gerombolan2 dari lain daerah menggabungkan diri kepadanya. Di mana2 kedudukan VOC terantjam. Mereka merampas Rembang dan Djuana. Orang2 Belanda jang ada di situ dibunuh. Berkat kebidjaksanaan Tai Wan Sui banjak bupati pesisiran menggabungkan diri kepadanya; rakjatpun tak mau ketinggalan djuga. Begitulah kita mengetahui, bahwa penindas rakjat dibantu oleh rakjat, karena kebentjian rakjat kepada VOC sudah memuntjak. [Thousands of Chinese people left the city of Batavia. They fought against the tyrannical VOC under the leadership of Tai Wan Sui. The fervour of the Chinese struggle extended to Central Java and East Java. Tai Wan Sui's army was getting bigger and bigger, because mobs from other areas joined him. Everywhere the position of the VOC was threatened. They took Rembang and Juana. The Dutch who were there were killed. Thanks to Tai Wan Sui's wisdom many coastal regents joined him; People don't want to be left behind either. That's how we know that the people who oppress the people are helped by the people, because the people's hatred for the VOC has increased.]. (Sundhoro, 1969, p. 33)*

This textbook is based on the 1966 Curriculum (revised in 1968) which was designed to erode communist influence in education. As a correction to the ideology that developed during the Guided Democracy era, the structure of the 1966 Curriculum describes a systematic effort to return the younger generation to the Pancasila ideology (Hasan, 2020). These conflicting curriculum goals define the counter-narratives built into textbooks at the beginning of the New Order. The narrative presented does not give objective recognition of the role of the Chinese in the struggle against colonialism.

The text does not show the binary opposition of the Chinese as part of the oppressed people against the VOC as the oppressive invaders. The Chinese were placed as the oppressors of the people who cooperated with the VOC. In particular, in this incident, they were feeling the injustice of the VOC so they



*Kurniawan et al. – From Integration to Marginalization* 146

received the support of the common people. The negative position was not only for the VOC as invaders but also for the Chinese.

The socio-political situation at the beginning of the New Order was marked by instability with the transfer of power from President Sukarno to General Suharto. The international political situation that was being hit by the Cold War also had its influence. The direction of politics changed, and in addition to the ban on the *Partai Komunis Indonesia* (PKI) or Indonesian Communist Party and related matters, it also had an impact on relations with China. During the Guided Democracy era, Indonesia had good relations with the Soviet Union and China. As a result of the 1965 tragedy, the New Order government was anti-communist. In 1967, General Suharto as Acting President froze diplomatic relations with China. Since then, the relationship has tended to be pragmatic and even though it is not harmonious, it does not mean that it is completely broken (Tjhin, 2012). Normalization of new relationships occurred in 1990.

In this era, the wave of anti-Chinese action grew stronger. The New Order government approved the military's proposal to change the terms *Tionghoa* and *Tionggok* to *Cina*. This is stated in the Circular of the Presidium of the Ampera Cabinet No. SE-06/Pres.Kab/6/1967 dated June 28, 1967. It is said that this rule is intended for foreign nationals, while for the Chinese who have become Indonesian citizens, the term *Tionghoa* can be maintained. In fact, due to the high level of anti-Chinese sentiment, the use of the term *Cina* has spread everywhere (Lembong, 2011). Included in the writing of history textbooks, the authors follow this change of designation.

The policy that marginalized the Chinese was strengthened when the New Order issued Presidential Instruction No. 14/1967 which limited Chinese religion, beliefs, and customs. Since then, Chinese schools have been closed, Chinese newspapers, Chinese literature, and anything related to Chinese has been banned. Baperki was disbanded and the New Order government entrusted the handling of the Chinese problem to the LPKB, which was keen on assimilation ideas. Chinese must merge and become part of the tribe in the area where they live, declare themselves Indonesian citizens, and change their names (Lan, 2012).

147 *HSE – Social and Education History, 12(2)***Discourse Turn in Representation of the Chinese in History Textbooks**  
*Vocabulary and grammar*

The change in the Chinese representation discourse in textbooks from the Guided Democracy era to the New Order is most visible in terms of vocabulary and grammar. The change of the terms *Tionghoa* and *Tiongkok* to *Tjina* (*Cina*) is the most prominent shift in the semantic aspect. Initially, the term *Cina* did not have a bad connotation. However, in the political context of the New Order, the intent to demean and inflame hatred against the Chinese was stronger than any other reason. During Dutch colonialism, the term *Cina* meant derogatory, the same as the term *Inlander* for the natives. Even the term *Cina* is often referred to with a certain unpleasant accent. Since September 1966, almost all newspapers have switched from using the term *Tionghoa* to *Cina* (Lembong, 2011; Suryadinata, 2002). Moreover, in subsequent developments, the New Order suppressed all things related to the Chinese including Chinese historical narratives in textbooks since 1975 has been completely lost.

Not only that, there are interesting findings in the New Order narrative that turns out to be inconsistent in using *Cina* term. This inaccuracy confirms that the author is trying to adapt the narrative to the changing terms set by the new government. The term *Cina* is not used by the authors, but it must be done according to political demands. The phenomenon of inconsistency also occurred in the press world at that time. Many presses express anti-Chinese sentiments, but in the same article, the terms *Cina* and *Tionghoa* are often used at the same time (Suryadinata, 2002).

The terms rebellion and mob are also used in both textbooks. This can show the author's tendency to place the Dutch point of view in viewing historical events. From an Indonesiacentric perspective, the use of the word is counterproductive to the discourse of patriotism and unity. Indonesiacentric historiography thought appeared in the National History Seminar I in 1957. Previously, so many history textbooks were Neerlandocentric (Darmawan, 2010). Based on these considerations, it is natural that the author is still trying to lead to an Indonesiacentric idea.

Textbooks at the beginning of the New Order were not only stuck on Indonesiacentric failures. The narration also gives rise to several dictions that give a negative perception of the Chinese. The words “*radja ketjil* [little king]”, unemployed, wild gangs, and homeless people show that the narrative

tries to give bad stereotypes about the Chinese. Negative prejudices against rich and poor Chinese people are built in a structured way through language. The discourse turn occurred following the New Order's political currents to marginalize the Chinese. Unwittingly the narrative ignores the middle-class Chinese who are more numerous and become the biggest victims of the 1740 massacre in Batavia.

### *The role of the main actor in the event*

Both textbooks place the Chinese as the main actor in the events but are positioned differently. There is a change given the role of the Chinese in fighting the invaders. The Guided Democracy textbook positions the Chinese and the VOC in a binary opposition view. The Chinese are part of the Indonesian nation because even though they are immigrants, they have lived in the Indonesian Archipelago for a long time. They suffered the same fate as other residents as victims of the colony so they rose to move while the VOC was placed as an oppressive invader and became a common enemy. The narrative recognizes the Chinese and their role in resisting colonialism.

This view that strengthens the awareness of diversity is changed in New Order textbooks. In the narrative, the Chinese are constantly positioned as the other since the beginning of their arrival. Corroborated by the grammar used, it appears that the narrative marginalizes the Chinese people and perceives them as a third party. The Chinese are not narrated as either “us” (Indonesia) or “them” (colonizers). In general, the narrative describes the Chinese position that went awry in society. Narrative features such as showing that the Chinese are represented but also marginalized in history textbooks (Segall et al., 2018).

The Chinese in the New Order textbook narrative are described as opportunistic. The Chinese cooperated with the VOC, but the unfair treatment and unfavourable rules made them rise against the VOC. The people gave support to the Chinese because the hatred for the VOC was much greater. There is an insert message to convey that the Chinese are hated for oppressing the people just like the VOC. The author reads the winds of regime change and chooses to follow the mainstream by marginalizing the Chinese role. In this view, the Chinese struggle means nothing to the Indonesian people. If then – starting with the 1975 Curriculum – this historical episode

## 149 *HSE – Social and Education History, 12(2)*

disappearance is a natural thing because it is not considered the best story for the nation (Seixas, 2000).

### *Value construction*

The reversal of discourse in these two textbooks results in different value constructions. Guided Democracy textbook describes events neutrally. The value aspect is not conveyed explicitly, but the author allows the reader to explore it easily. The multiculturalism perspective is built by the author from the beginning of the narrative to the end. The Chinese were placed as part of the Indonesian nation, had the same fate, and rose to fight with the support of other people. In the domination of the majority, the role of the Chinese is shown and recognized clearly.

The New Order textbooks textually and interpretively show the Chinese narrative against the VOC away from multicultural education. Instead, what is produced is a destructive and counterproductive discourse on multicultural education. This finding is reinforced by the socio-political situation at that time. Attempts to assimilate the Chinese into the majority tribes in the area where they live became the reason for eliminating the episode of Chinese history against the VOC. Resistance to colonialism and imperialism is sufficiently represented by the majority of ethnic groups on every island in Indonesia. Since then, history learning in schools has emphasized the discourse of nationalism and national unity rather than the discourse of national diversity (Djono & Joebagio, 2019; Hasan, 2012).

### **Discussion**

Both textbooks are written according to the philosophy of essentialism. Textbooks focus on cognitive information and knowledge transfer. The author follows the curriculum ideology in every era of government. His submission to hegemony and the dynamics of political change made the textbooks he wrote conform to the will of the government. A similar phenomenon occurs in Zimbabwe in learning about Chimurenga (War of Liberation) which is dominated by knowledge at the expense of other benchmarks. The curriculum

*Kurniawan et al. – From Integration to Marginalization* 150

is full of content and follows a nationalist narrative with discourses of patriotism originating from the government (Maposa & Wassermann, 2014).

Conceptually, history textbooks are seen as documents containing human subjective expressions in the past about their lives which are embodied in texts with the production and reproduction of discourse in them (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). From the two narratives being compared, it appears that although the historical events studied are the same, even by the same author, the discourses produced are different. Socio-political changes are the main cause of discourse changes. The ideological process shapes the reader's view through language and rhetoric. Similar dynamics are common in various countries. The Cold War period experienced a change in discourse in history textbooks from the era of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic and during the second period of Estonia's independence (Korbis, 2014). In Slovakia, there is competition for the Holocaust narrative discourse in history textbooks due to regime change (Michael, 2013).

The construction of historical events in textbooks, especially those that have the potential to invite controversy, tends to describe the narrative that the state expects from the perspective of the ruling government to convey to its people (Masanori & Dennehy, 1998). The discourses produced in historical textbook narratives are influenced by the mainstream socio-political developments in society. To maintain power, the government has an interest in maintaining and even strengthening the direction of this development. Moreover, it is often the case that the ruling party becomes the trigger for social and political change in society. For this reason, discourse is constantly reproduced to influence people's perceptions. Thus, the ultimate goal can be to build a solid common sense toward the desired particular discourse.

The discourse of integration, although implicit, is presented in the Guided Democracy textbook. The discourse of integration is identical to the view of Indonesian multiculturalism. The mainstream that was developing in society at that time was a tug-of-war between Baperki's view of fair integration and the total assimilation of LPKB's ideas in positioning the Chinese. The tendency of the ruling government to give space to Baperki is well-read by the author. Although not in directness, the narrative leads the reader's perception of the discourse of natural integration towards the Chinese. The Chinese representation at that time was also closely related to the close relationship between the Sukarno government and China (Dial, 1978).



151 *HSE – Social and Education History, 12(2)*

The situation reversed during the New Order era. After the 1965 Tragedy, the influence of Sukarno and his supporters was removed. The dissolution of Baperki gave LPKB with military support the opportunity to determine New Order policies through total assimilation. Voluntary fair assimilation is a good idea, but in reality, the New Order encouraged structured, massive, and forced assimilation through various discriminatory rules (Hoon, 2006; Sunny Lie & Bailey, 2016; Wasino et al., 2019). Since then, the multicultural orientation has changed in constructing the meaning of national unity, including in history textbooks (Harjatanaya & Hoon, 2018; Hoon, 2006; Raihani, 2017). The freezing diplomatic relations with China also strengthens the marginalization and even disappearance of Chinese in history textbooks. Harmony between countries correlates with the control of history education by the state to define national identity as happened in the Russian Federation and Ukraine (Korostelina, 2010). Likewise in South Korea, the history of its relationship with the United States determines the representation of the United States in their textbooks (An & Suh, 2013).

Textbook authors do not represent their thoughts but follow the currents of time and power. This reversal of the discourse that is built shows that history belongs to the dominant group that has authority. They can decide who, what, and how a person, group, or event is included in history (Segall et al., 2018). Historical narratives are written from the perspective of the winners and become an ideological weapon to marginalize the losers (White, 2008). Language has also proven to be an effective tool for constructing narratives that show or otherwise hide certain things (Stoskopf & Bermudez, 2017).

Discourse in the Chinese representation through history textbooks has proven to have a strong impact. The discourses produced by the New Order regarding the study of history are still very close to this day. Most teachers still articulate the importance of unity rather than awareness of diversity (Djono & Joebagio, 2019). The discourse of unity and nationalism is more prominent than the awareness of diversity. Whereas Indonesia's diversity has a nationalist style (Tilaar, 2014) as formulated in the motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* [unity in diversity]. This means that the reality of diversity is the foundation for the importance of national unity.

The imbalance between the discourse of integration and diversity can become a latent problem such as the emergence of the danger of intolerance towards minorities and extermination (Djono & Joebagio, 2019). This concern

is justified because it is proven that intolerance towards minorities often appears sporadically in Indonesia in various forms. Bad prejudices and negative stereotypes against the Chinese do not disappear immediately. Even the assumption of the Chinese as the other still often appears. There have also been attempts at extermination ranging from marginalization to the disappearance of the Chinese representation in history textbooks. The history education shown in the writing of textbooks should not ignore cultural diversity by trying to build a monolithic culture as a national identity (Handoko & Wasino, 2020; Hasan, 2012; Yan & Vickers, 2019). For this reason, the discourse of multiculturalism that leads to national integration is needed in writing history textbooks.

## Conclusion

The Chinese narrative against the VOC is presented differently in history textbooks during the Guided Democracy and New Order eras. These differences can be identified in the aspects of word choice and sentence structure, the role of the main actors in the event, and the construction of values offered. The choice of vocabulary and sentence structure that previously had denotative meaning changed and gave negative stereotypes. The role of the main actor in events is no longer seen as part of the nation's struggle. The Chinese are positioned as the other and opportunist so their role against colonialism is seen as meaningless for the Indonesian people. Finally, the narrative that previously displayed the perspective of multiculturalism became distant and even counterproductive to the construction of multiculturalism values.

The representation of the Chinese in the two textbooks underwent a change in their multicultural orientation from integration to marginalization. Although written by the same author, the textbooks are subject to the curriculum politics of different governments. Guided Democracy represents the Chinese from a multicultural perspective with a discourse of integration. Meanwhile, the New Order implemented a policy of total assimilation that was discriminatory so that the Chinese were raised and at the same time marginalized with negative stereotypes. Even then, the Chinese disappeared from history textbooks in Indonesia. An understanding of this shift in



## 153 HSE – Social and Education History, 12(2)

discourse needs to be considered in writing future history textbooks. The Chinese representation is important to build a discourse of diversity that strengthens national integration for inclusive history education.

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157 *HSE – Social and Education History, 12(2)*

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159 *HSE – Social and Education History, 12(2)*

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