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Evaluative Study of Indonesian in High School History Textbooks

Estudio Evaluativo del Indonesio en los libros de historia de la escuela secundaria

H. PURWANTA

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1532-1133>

hpurwanta@staff.uns.ac.id

Sebelas Maret University, Indonesia

D DJONO

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0938-9369>

Djono@gmail.com

Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta, Indonesia

A.A. MUSADAD

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7364-7866>

Musadad.Akhmad@mail.uns.ac.id

Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta, Indonesia

H. JOEBAGIO

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8293-8216>

Joebagio@gmail.com

Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta, Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

This study aimed to evaluate Indonesian-ness found in high school history textbooks of 11th grade. The approach used was a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The results show that the discourse produced by high school history textbooks based on the newest curriculum (2013) has not shown the Indonesian-ness of people as a fair and civilized society. This research proved that history textbooks for the 2013 curriculum have no significant change from those of earlier curriculums. The discourses on the textbooks are only the reproduction of the New Order (1967-1998) discourses.

Keywords: High school, history education, Indonesian-ness, textbook.

RESUMEN

Este estudio tuvo como objetivo evaluar el indonesio que se encuentra en un libro de texto de historia de 11vo grado de la escuela secundaria. El enfoque utilizado fue un Análisis Crítico del Discurso (CDA). Los resultados muestran que el discurso producido por los libros de texto de historia de la escuela secundaria basados en el plan de estudios más reciente (2013) no ha mostrado la identidad de las personas como una sociedad justa y civilizada. Esta investigación demostró que los libros de texto de historia para el currículo 2013 no presentan cambios significativos con respecto a los de los currículos anteriores.

Palabras clave: Escuela secundaria, educación en historia, Indonesio, libro de texto.

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INTRODUCTION

There are two purposes of teaching history: to inherit the identity and maintain the harmony (cohesiveness) and the community's progression. Hardiana (Hardiana: 2017, pp. 41-46) described that history needs to be taught to develop self-awareness. Every person needs a historical perspective to know his/her social identity, both ethnicity, and nationality (Prima Gusti Yanti et al.: 2020, pp. 202-209). Special interests and habits that characterize a person are the results of past interactions with a particular environment. Every person has a unique heritage, a combination of tradition, race, ethnicity, nationality, families, and individuals, who made themselves integrated as they are today. Without having a deep understanding of the historical factors, people will fail to understand their own identity (Ayalew, 2020, pp. 01-11).

Furthermore, using the context of India's history education, Hardiana (Aguenane, 2020, pp. 12-21; Hardiana: 2017, pp. 41-46) explained that without an understanding of their history, Indian people would not know what it means to be Indians. The politicians should understand the reasons why they had become the party activists and had transformed from what was being done by his party. Without history, today's kids would not know the persistence of the struggle waged by national leaders to gain independence and the prominent role of each character in the fight for independence. As time goes by, especially since the West dominates the world, the goals of the historical education curriculum are divided into three, which are coupled with the development of academic skills, which are rational thinking, and supported by empirical data on the identity of western nations (Christian Lohse, 2020).

In the reign of President Sukarno, the first two goals of teaching history gained great attention. The narration of Majapahit and Sriwijaya as two great kingdoms in the remote past, the existence of Budi Utomo as the rise of nationalism in Indonesia, and the battle of Surabaya as the hero day are a few examples of the government's actions that used history to build a national identity that occurred during this period. The actions were done so that people are proud of Indonesia as an independent country (Aram Hanna, 2020).

Besides, being a tool for nation-building, the history lesson also functioned as a spur to the progress of society. On the anniversary of Taman Siswa College, President Soekarno (Soekarno: 1963) explained that studying and admire the past will be useful for now here people if we can make a dynamics of continuity line from it. The line begins with the greatness of the past, the Dark Age, and climbing to the glorious future.

In President Suharto's administration, especially since the curriculum 1975, the history lesson objective moved to the academic development and the legitimacy of power. At least two groups of authority used history to establish the authority legitimation. The first group was New Order nucleated army. The group required a historical narrative that allowed the existence of the military in Indonesian politics. The terms that appear and famous in the community for "military version of history" were inheritance "spirit and values of 1945."

The effort to show the military version of history appeared on the construction of the Indonesian National History volume VI, which outlined the military's role in Indonesian history. The Indonesian National History became the primary source of history textbooks, especially for middle and high school. In the curriculum 1984, the use of history to legitimate the armed group's power was done by adding a new school subject, namely Pendidikan Sejarah Perjuangan Bangsa (the Historical Education of the Nation Struggle /PSPB). Furthermore, the dissemination of the history of the military version also used other means. Both personal and institutional, the armed group also wrote books of memoirs, made movies, built museums, and monuments to show their significant role in the dynamics of Indonesia's history.

The second group was the pro-modernism nucleated intellectuals and technocrats. The group believed that Indonesia had to develop to be modern in the sense of industrialized countries like the West. They wanted to change the mentality of the Indonesian people to be civilized like the West nations (rational and empirical). The historians who entered this group were Modern Professional Historians (SPM) by Sutherland (Sutherland: 2008, pp. 33-66). The effort to change Indonesian mentality was made by narrating history as progress culminating in the nation-state's triumph of modernity. Modernity in this context is the Western way of thinking and way of life, as well as teleologically culminating in the formation of society called by Francis Fukuyama as free-market democracy (Sutherland: 2008, pp. 33-66). At the practical level, the characteristic of the group

had a strong narrative that put the West as a determining factor in the history of Indonesia, as stated in the National History Volume IV. In history textbooks, their thought and interest were contained in the topic of Western colonialism (Purwanta: 2018, pp. 349-361). Even in curriculum 1994, the grip of SPM was getting stronger through narration about the expansion of the Western power influence in Indonesia

The New Order regime had ended and had been replaced by the Reformation era in 1998. The question arose whether the national political changes had an impact on the production and distribution of discourse in history textbooks. The fact showed that the advent of the era of the Reformation did not only brought significant changes, either on purpose or subject of history. In curriculum 2006, the militaristic narrative is still in the history textbook, similar to the West's position as the determinant force. The two issues that stood out during the reform era's disappearance were topics about the success of development by the New Order and rewriting of the 1965 coup (G30S/PKI).

The narrative of development was replaced by various problems aroused in the New Order period, such as corruption, collusion, and nepotism, as well as the student movement that ended the rule of the New Order. In curriculum 2004, the word PKI was omitted at the end of G30S. It means PKI (Partai Komunis Indonesia/ Indonesian Communist Party) is not positioned as the mastermind behind the 1965 bloody coup. Consequently, it caused an uproar in the community, especially the hardliner Islamists and the pro-military group. They committed acts of violence, such as sweeping and burning history textbooks (Purwanta: 2016, p. 59). Even then, the movement was legalized by the Supreme Court Decree No. 019/A-JA/10/2007 dated 5 March 2007, on the withdrawal of the curriculum the history books of 2004. As a result, the word "PKI" reappeared behind the G30S.

From a long way since the days of the New Order to the Reformation era, it was clear that subject history in school praised Western culture and the military. The problem which emerged from the narratives that made western people the determinant force in the dynamics of Indonesia's history is a young generation that is "quasi-go Western." They dressed to imitate the West (according to their apperception), dyed blond hair, eating fast food, and putting English as more prestigious than the national and local languages. Toward being Indonesia, or in this paper used the term "Indonesian-ness," was occurred the degradation of the sense of belonging (Hodgins et al.: 2016, pp. 345-368; Shahin: 2016, pp. 111-112). From the interview with students, a journalist found the tendency to put Indonesia only as a geographical fact, the place of birth, and residence. Even Andiany & Hadikurniawati (Andiany & Hadikurniawati: 2018), through a survey of students in Jakarta, found that the young generation tended to look at Indonesia as an adverse society, such as lazy and corrupt. These findings indicated that young people had less pride in their people.

Problems that obscured nationalism were not only faced by young people. A similar problem was also found in other social classes. Research conducted by an anthropologist Wallach (Wallach: 2002, pp. 79-102), also found symptoms of Xenocentrism in the art lovers in Jakarta. They believed that local arts as unsophisticated and preferred to absorb western art. In addition to art, the tendency to choose a foreign culture than the culture itself was visible in the contemporary Indonesian political stage. The rise of a movement that wants to establish the Islamic State, either in the form of the Islamic State of Indonesia as well as reviving the Caliphate, is an effort to implement a foreign political system in Indonesia. The Islamic movement is often colored by violence (Zuhdi et al.: 2019, pp. 340-348).

On the other hand, the military version of history in the community did not just stop at the birth of a new generation that admires the high discipline and the military corps spirit. The negative impact which quite prominent was the behavioral development of the young generation who choose physical force in solving daily life problems. Also, the Ministry of Education's view stated that the tendency to solve problems using violence and coercion often appeared in Indonesia (Purwanta et al.: 2020). These trends also affect the younger generation, for example, in cases of a gang's fight. Although there are no scientific studies that the violence comes from the curriculum, miraculous educational specialists and public figures stated that one of the roots of the problem is the implementation of the curriculum. From this viewpoint, the outbreak of mass organizations

that solved problems by using violence was understood as a result of the historical narrative that is filled with physical conflict and war.

The research questions are whether Indonesian-ness is constructed in the history curriculum 2013 and remove curriculum content that outlines Indonesia's history as "Western history in Indonesia and as a warlike nation's history." This study aimed to analyze discourses in high school history textbooks for curriculum 2013.

METHODOLOGY

Academically the science of history serves to explain the events that happened in the past as objectively as possible or approaching the objective reality of the events described. Every event occurred at a specific time and then disappeared. From this point of view, it is impossible to make comparisons between historical explanations with the historical event to measure objectivity (Ankersmit: 1987). Another problem is the long distance between the event and the historical explanation. When a historical event is arranged into reportage by newsmakers (compilers of historical sources), there is a wide-open space for distortion, deviation, and perhaps even destruction of meaning. These distortions were caused by the differences in backgrounds and interests between the life of historical actors and authors of historical sources. From this viewpoint, the historical resources are the result of subjective reading by newsmakers. In other words, the historical resources can no longer be treated solely as the objective reality of a historical event, but it should be viewed as a result of the meaning-making process or discourse of authors of historical resources.

The meaning-making process and discourse production repeated when the sources became autonomous text found and read by the Archaeologists or historians. Along with that, distortions, deviations, and perhaps even destruction of meaning also happen again, and this time, the culprit is archaeologists or historians who have different backgrounds from the life and interests of the source maker. Purwanto and Adam explain that history's construction is "a subjective product of a process of intellectual understanding" (Purwanto & Adam: 2005). From this viewpoint, it is understood that history narration is a discourse production.

Discourse analysis used in this research is proposed by Norman Fairclough (Fairclough: 2003). In short, analysis is done in three steps, i.e., textual dimensions, discourse practice, and socio-cultural dimensions. Text in Fairclough's opinion is on the broader meaning. It could be a written object, spoken, pictured, and visualized. Discourse practice in this study is used to analyze the production and consumption of a discourse (Fairclough: 2003). The socio-cultural dimension analyzes the impacts of discourse toward a group of people as an audience.

RESULTS

The history textbook for 11th grade volume 1 chronologically describes Indonesian history from the arrival of the West until the end of Dutch colonial rule in Indonesia. In Chapter 1, entitled Between Colonialism and Imperialism, the textbook explains a topic Track Hunt "Pearl of the East," which contained Western motivation and exploration of the new world. The authors discussed a topic called Analyzing the emporium of VOC (Dutch East India Company), which shows VOC's development in the Indonesian occupation until its bankruptcy. In the topic "Evaluating colonialism of the Dutch East Indies government," the authors described the founding of the Republic Bataaf to the Dutch colonial government's domination in Indonesia.

From the subtitle and description of chapter 1, it was clear that the authors put the West as the protagonist of the historical narrative in the high school textbooks of grade 11th volume 1. Moreover, to legitimize the West's dominant position, the authors give no space for the study of Indonesian history and thoroughly discuss European history. The textbook explained that for many years, the Mediterranean became an international trading center between East and West traders. One commodity was spices. The traders from the Western or European could get the spice at a more affordable price. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453 to the Ottoman Empire, the access for European nations was closed. The price of spices increased very high in the European

market. Therefore, they sought to find areas of space to the east. They started a period of adventure, exploration, and discovery of a new world. Their efforts were supported and participated by the government and scientists. Portuguese and Spanish could be regarded as pioneers of the adventure, cruise, and exploration of the ocean to discover new worlds in the east. Portugal had also paved the way in discovering the archipelago as a regional spice. Then, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom followed. The goal was not solely for profit through the spice trade, but for a broader purpose.

A different treatment is given when the authors narrate conflict and war between Indonesian people against the West. In Chapter II, Section 2, entitled "Maluku lifting her Arms," the authors describe that The Portuguese entered the Maluku Islands in 1521. They focused their activities on Ternate. Afterward, Spain also entered the Maluku Islands by centralizing its position in Tidore. It made a competition between them and getting sharper after the Portuguese established an alliance with Ternate, and Spain made friends with the Tidore kingdom. In 1529, a war broke out between the Tidore and the Portuguese. The cause was the Portuguese ships fired on Jungs (Big boat) from Banda, who will buy cloves at Tidore. Of course, Tidore cannot accept the Portuguese fleet action. Tidore was lifting her arms. In this war, the Portuguese got support from the Ternate and the Bacan and wins the war (Pujiono: 2017)

The narration shows clearly that the authors attempted not to discuss the spice trade system in the Moluccas before and after the arrival of the West, the agreement between Ternate and the Portuguese, and between Tidore with Spain, and conflicts between the Sultanate of Tidore against the Portuguese. From this standpoint, the authors of the textbook unjust, favoring the Western and negating the Indonesian. Unfair treatment by textbook authors could be found on a structured task that must be done students, namely: "Try to discuss with members of your group, what the Treaty of Zaragoza and who the initiators of the agreement". The authors are intentionally directing students to explore Europe's history and not the history of Indonesia from the structured task.

As in previous chapters, in chapter III entitled "Building Self Indonesian-ness," the authors still favored the West. In Section A, which is entitled "Analyzing the Growth of National Consciousness and Nationalism," the West is positioned as the main factor of the historical dynamics that occurred in Indonesia. The prominent role of the West in this context is given to a program called Ethical Policy. The authors explained that the Ethical Policy brought an enormous impact on the Netherlands' political change toward the colony. A new symbol called "progression" occurred and various aspects of life began to change, such as the building Java-Madura railway, electric tram, and in agriculture, the colonial government gave attention to food crops needs by building irrigation. Western education's influence led to a small group of native intellectuals who raised awareness that indigenous people should compete with other nations to achieve progress. The indigenous intellectual who had gained experience in school and life after graduation was very different from their parents' generation. The educated youth was then formed a "national" consciousness as the natives in the Indies and move together with "other nations" in a line indefinitely toward modernity.

There are two main points analyzed. First, the textbook authors put educated young people and their parents in a condition called a binary opposition, which is two opposite poles between modern and traditional (Derrida: 2016). Breaking the chain of history is impossible. From this point of view, Giddens (Giddens: 2013) argues that "even in the most modernized of modern societies, the tradition continues to play a role." Based on the perspective of discourse production, the authors tried to put the young educated people in the superior position who have: awareness of the international competition, ideas for the change, and national awareness. On the other hand, their parents are negated as a generation which is reversed to the educated young generation.

Putting the Western in general and the Dutch colonial government in particular as the main forces, the textbook authors did not try to dig the local culture as the habitus for the birth of Indonesian nationalism. Local structures or socio-cultural conditions where the historical agents of the nationalist movement were born and raised tend to be ignored or seen as an element that does not have high relevance to be discussed in the historical reconstruction of Indonesian nationalism. Consequently, the explanation given cannot establish a linguistic connection between high school students and the activists of the nationalist movement. Descriptions

built by the authors cannot become an excellent medium for high school students to understand the thoughts, feelings, and dreams of the nationalist movement. In other words, the descriptions of the nationalist movement, which are contained in textbooks of history subjects, are not able to express "history from within" as recommended by Sartono Kartodirdjo (Ratmanto: 2018, pp. 405-414). The phenomenon of emergence and development of nationalism becomes impossible to be regarded as a representation of history agents with all mental constructs, but it should be placed as an unexpected result of western innovation. The failure impacts the neglect of Indonesian, which should be the spirit of history subject textbooks. From this point of view, it is tough for a history subject to fulfill the responsibilities as the heir of Indonesian culture.

From the narration of a textbook that has already been discussed, it could be lightened that the curriculum's history education, 2013, has no significant change. It just reproduces discourses that were narrated on earlier curriculums, which are rooted in the New Order period. The New Order was the name of a regime under President Suharto, which reigned Indonesia from 1967 to 1998 and claimed itself as an order of development. In the period, Indonesia implemented development programs to change Indonesia from an agrarian society to an industrial society. New Order formed a partnership with Western countries to guide, provide loans, and even invest in Indonesia development programs.

The use of developmentalism as ideology made New Order had to change the narration of history. In 1970, the government held a national seminar on history. The result was a national history that narrated Western forces as determinant factors in Indonesian history's dynamics. Indonesian history, especially in the colonial period, is viewed as the spread of westernization (Purwanta: 2018, pp. 349-361). Besides spreading developmentalism through national history, New Order was also distributing the discourse through history textbooks for all Indonesian schools, from elementary to high school.

From this viewpoint, a narration of history textbooks for the curriculum 2013 is proof that developmentalism has still existed in Indonesia. It is impossible to have a significant change in the Indonesian-ness of students and the young generation. On the other hand, they will have a low esteem syndrome as impacts of historical narration that negates Indonesian actors and their cultural constructs. On the opposite side, students and the young generation will choose some aspects of foreign culture as their ideal type. Hizbut Tahir Indonesia (HTI) is one of the contemporary organizations in Indonesia that wants to apply Islamic (Arabic) values in the Indonesian political system. The phenomenon of HTI could be seen as the loss of Indonesian-ness of the young generation and positioning different values as the ideal type of life.

History textbook for 11th-grade volume 2 contains historical accounts from the Japanese occupation to the return of Indonesia from the federal system to be a unitary state in 1950. The exciting thing is that the Japanese were positioned the same as the West, which was in the view of Derrida called superior term (Derrida: 2016). It can be found in the subtitle where Japan was called an "older brother." Although having some similarities, methodologically, the narration of Japanese occupations is different from those for western colonial. When discussing western colonization, the authors used a structural approach and spent much energy to deeply trace the motivation and exploration of a new world. Otherwise, when discussing the Japanese occupation, the effort did not appear. Japanese occupation is described by using a narrative approach. In the sub-chapter, the authors described that since the Pearl Harbour bombing on 8 December 1941, the Japanese air force constantly attacked the United States Navy in the Pacific. Japanese troops destroyed many American military facilities in the area. Also, the attack was directed at Indonesia. This attack appeared from the north and east. It aimed to get the alternative of logistics and industrial materials for the war, such as kerosene, tin, and aluminum since oil supplies in Indonesia were predicted to be able to fulfill the needs of the Japanese during the Pacific War. From the description, it is clear that the authors are not interested in discussing the question "why" but only focus on "how" a historical phenomenon occurred.

Special notes should be given in the description of chapter IV, which is dealing with the historical truth. The authors described that in the speech of BPUPKI (Badan Penyelidik Usaha-Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia/The Investigation Committee of Preparatory Work for Indonesian Independence) Radjiman as the chairman conveyed the underlying problem of the Indonesian state foundation, which would be formed. At the second meeting held from 10-11 June 1945, the state's foundation was discussed and

formulated. Those who discussed the foundation of the state were Muhammad Yamin, Supomo, and Sukarno. The history textbook explains that in the first meeting, Sukarno had the opportunity to speak twice, on 31 May and 1 June 1945. In fact, at the time, the meeting lasted two days, and no one has delivered a speech on the foundation of the state. Consequently, on 1 June 1945, at 11.00 am, Sukarno delivered his famous speech, Pancasila (Five Principles).

At least there are two statements whose truths are questionable. The first statement is about the BPUPKI members who discussed the state foundation were Muhammad Yamin, Supomo, and Sukarno. According to Ankersmit (Ankersemitt: 1987), the statement is not coherent with another statement that no one had delivered a speech about the foundation of the state during the meeting that had been held for two days. The two statements are incoherent, so one of them is false. If the authors of the textbook deeply search historical documents and historiography, they will find that Muhammad Yamin and Supomo did not speak about the foundation of the state.

The second problem is about the authors' statement: "In the first meeting, Sukarno had the opportunity to speak twice, on 31 May and 1 June 1945." A statement that "Sukarno had the opportunity to speak twice" is unique, since there is no, or at least never found, a source stating it. From this point of view, the truth of the authors' statement needs is questioned because the witnesses said that Soekarno (Soekarno: 1963) only gave a speech one time, on 1 June (Hatta: 1977).

In chapter 4 entitled "The Revolution to Enforce the Insignia of NKRI," the authors narrate the developments and challenges in the early independence of Indonesia using militaristic history perspectives. The sign is apparent when the authors discussed Indonesian responses on the arrival of allied forces and the Netherlands-Indies Civil Administration (NICA). The authors give the title to these sub-chapters as "Freedom or Death" and narrating that the arrival of the allied forces in Indonesia raised various reactions from society in Indonesia. Moreover, by using the services, the Dutch wanted to dominate back to Indonesia. Consequently, Indonesian people reacted by opposing and resisting. How did the violent incidents occur due to the arrival of the allied forces in Indonesia? Let us take a look at the study below! (Pujiono: 2017).

From the explanation above, it is clear that the authors deliberately only discuss the responses from "society" and "the violence incidents due to the arrival of allies." Is there any response from the national leaders in government? Berita Indonesia Newspaper (5 December 1945) had explained that Prime Minister Sutan Sjahrir said United Nations intervention was the best way to solve the Indonesian problem. If the Dutch tried to push its interests through violence, there would no agreement could be reached.

DISCUSSION

The commitment to only use the negotiation way, which Indonesian national leaders expressed at that moment, cannot be loaded in the history book for senior high school curriculum of 2013 since the authors are pro or, maybe, agree with the violent way. The negation of national leaders' commitment makes the authors less precise in defining many historical phenomena during the independence revolution. One of them is the description of the national leaders' response to the second Dutch aggression on 19 December 1948. The textbook explained that President Sukarno and Vice President Hatta (Hatta: 1977) decided to stay in the capital, even though they knew that Dutch would imprison them. The reason was that they were easily found by the military so that diplomacy would be able to be done. Besides, the Dutch might not launch attacks continuously since President and Vice President were already imprisoned. As a result of that decision, the president, vice president, some ministers, and the air force chief named Commodore Suryadarma were imprisoned by the Dutch army (Pujiono: 2017).

From the explanation above, the authors narrated that the excuses behind the decision to wait for Dutch's arrest were: (1) they were quickly found by the military of Indonesia, (2) Dutch did not attack the capital building. These excuses are more authors' speculation, so finding the primary data to support it is hard. Another note that is also important is the writer's statement that "President Sukarno and vice president Hatta

(Hatta: 1977) decided to stay in the capital city of Indonesia." The statement opposes the fact that the decision was taken in a cabinet meeting (Selvia: 2020), so it was a collective decision, not only by President Sukarno and vice president Hatta (Hatta: 1977).

Like volume 1, the narration of history textbook volume 2 for curriculum 2013 has no significant change. Generally speaking, the narration is the same as history textbooks used for earlier curriculums. The discourse that the military as a hero and civilian leaders as the loser is rooted in New Order ideology (Budiono & Awaludin: 2017, pp. 36-43). The New Order was a military regime in which the army was the core power. President Suharto was an army general. Using history to legitimate power of the Army in Indonesian politics came up at the Army second seminar in 1972. The seminar recommended that the military, both institutional and personal, should write Indonesian history from the viewpoint of the military. The product of the recommendation is historiography, museums, films, and monuments. From this point of view, the discourse produced on history textbook volume 2 for curriculum 2013 reflects that military interest is still keen to influence Indonesian politics, especially in the Department of Education (Purwanta: 2017, pp. 36-57).

CONCLUSION

From the discourse analysis that has been done, it could be concluded that ideology and interest of the New Order are still strong in the current Indonesian education system, especially in history textbooks production. The high school history textbook was influenced by the New Order ideology. The discourse produced in the New Order period that Western culture, primarily Dutch, as a determinant factor for the dynamics of Indonesian history, is continued in the newest history curriculum. On the other hand, Indonesian indigenous historical actors have only been an object of the West's activities in running their colonialism and imperialism.

The high school history textbooks also still represent the New Order interests in narrating the independence war. The history textbook narration is dominated by the military's struggle to defend Indonesia's independence from the Dutch efforts to recolonize Indonesia. Although there are many historical sources of diplomatic struggle, the authors of history textbooks tend to avoid them and only use the military sources. From this point of view, the authors wanted to reproduce the New Order discourse that the military were the heroes of the Indonesian revolution period.

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BIODATA

H PURWANTA: Hieronymus Purwanta is a faculty member of the Department of History Education, Sebelas Maret University, Indonesia. He explores the latest questions and answers in Discourse and Historical Analysis, and find Historical Analysis experts and Discourse experts. His research interest is History education.

D DJONO: Djono Djono's Academic rank is Principal Lector of Department of History Education, Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta, Indonesia. He is the Main Trainer at the Department of History Education at Samudra University. His research interests are History education, and he focuses on educational issues.

A.A. MUSADAD: Akhmad Arif Musadad Completed his Bachelor's Degree in History Studies Program. He completed his Master's Program in the Faculty of Department of History Education, Sebelas Maret University, Surakarta, Indonesia. As a lecturer, in addition to teaching, also conducts research and community service.

H. JOEBAGIO: Hermanu Joebagio educated at University of Sebelas Maret: Surakarta, Jawa Barat, ID from 2017. He is an employee at University of Sebelas Maret: Surakarta, Jawa Barat, ID Indonesia. His Skills and Expertise are Political Sociology, Social and Cultural Anthropology, Cultural Sociology, and history education.

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