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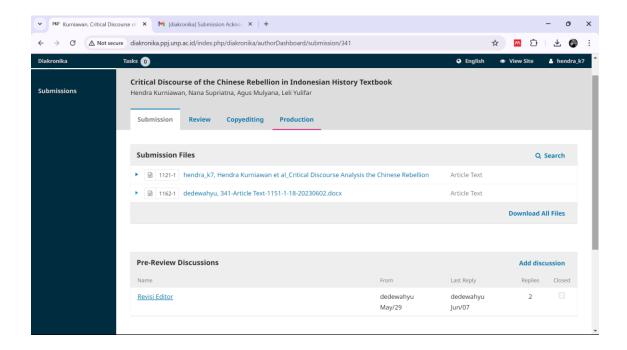
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1 message

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Hello,

Diakronika

Hendra Kurniawan has submitted the manuscript, "Critical Discourse Analysis on Narratives of the Chinese Rebellion in Indonesian History Textbook" to Diakronika.

If you have any questions, please contact me. Thank you for considering this journal as a venue for your work.

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# Critical Discourse Analysis on Narratives 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 Indonesian History textbook. Having long disappeared from Indonesian historiography, the Chinese-Javanese alliance against the VOC or often called Geger Pacinan (1740-1743) has reappeared in history textbook. Its presence needs to be studied to understand the discourse practices that are to be conveyed by the narratives that are constructed. The subject of this study was the text of the Chinese Rebellion contained 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 subject of research. The result is that the narrative in the text dimension has not presented the Chinese role through the narrative of the event as a whole. In the dimension of social cognition, it is found that there is a potential that strengthens the practice of discourse which leads to the marginalization of the Chinese role. The social context dimension has not completely 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:** The Chinese Rebellion, Chinese, textbook, critical discourse analysis, history learning, diversity.

#### Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan mengungkap praktik wacana narasi Orang-orang Cina Berontak dalam buku teks Sejarah Indonesia. Setelah lama lenyap dari historiografi Indonesia, persekutuan Tionghoa-Jawa melawan VOC atau sering disebut Geger Pacinan (1740-1743) kembali muncul dalam buku teks pelajaran sejarah di sekolah. Kehadirannya perlu dikaji untuk memahami praktik wacana yang hendak disampaikan oleh narasi yang dibangun. Subjek penelitian ini adalah teks Orang-orang Cina Berontak yang terdapat dalam buku teks Sejarah Indonesia kelas XI SMA berdasarkan Kurikulum 2013 yang diterbitkan Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Republik Indonesia tahun 2017. Metode Analisis Wacana Kritis (AWK) menurut Teun A. van Dijk digunakan untuk menganalisis dimensi teks, kognisi sosial, dan konteks sosial dari narasi yang menjadi subjek penelitian. Hasilnya narasi pada dimensi teks belum menghadirkan peran Tionghoa melalui narasi peristiwa tersebut secara utuh. Pada dimensi kognisi sosial didapati potensi yang menguatkan praktik wacana yang mengarah pada peminggiran peran Tionghoa. Dimensi konteks sosial

belum sepenuhnya bergeser dari paradigma Orde Baru yang menyimpan stereotipe terhadap Tionghoa. Sebagai simpulan, teks Orang-orang Cina Berontak membutuhkan peran guru untuk mengupayakan proses dekonstruksi dalam pembelajaran sejarah agar bermakna bagi siswa. Terutama dalam internalisasi nilai kebinekaan untuk integrasi bangsa.

**Kata Kunci:** Orang-orang Cina Berontak, Tionghoa, buku teks, analisis wacana kritis, pembelajaran sejarah, kebinekaan.

## Introduction

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 important part of the education system in any country because they are ideological guardians and form national identities (Kim & Kim, 2019; Pavlick, 2019; Qazi & Shah, 2019; Sumaludin, 2017; Wang, 2016). History textbooks also play a role in understanding conflict and fostering peace between groups of people within a country and between countries (Ide et al., 2018). Thus, textbooks not only foster thinking skills but also shape students' attitudes.

The narrative presented in history textbooks is official history which presents a single perspective and is propaganda in nature (Kello & Wagner, 2017; Maposa & Wassermann, 2014). For this reason, the representation of the Chinese in history textbooks is also closely related to government politics. During the time of President Sukarno, the Chinese received a fairly free place in history, including in history textbooks (David, 2007; Dial, 1978). The situation has changed since the New Order, especially after the book of *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia* (SNI) or Indonesian National History was compiled in 1975, the Chinese history was no longer taught in the name of assimilation (Kwartanada, 2020). During the Reformation period, the topic of the Chinese reappeared in history lessons, especially through the 2013 Curriculum. The dynamics of changes in national curriculum policies with a political approach like this is 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 *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (VOC) or The Dutch East India Company. Events began with the massacre of the Chinese in Batavia in 1740 during governor general Valckenier who had a significant influence on subsequent historical developments (Vermeulen, 2010; Wijayakusuma, 2005). After the massacre or the Muara Angke Tragedy, *Geger Pacinan* or the Chinese-

Javanese alliance war broke out against the VOC. This great war occurred in almost all of Java throughout the years 1740-1743 and included success in weakening the VOC's defenses (Daradjadi, 2013; Remmelink, 2002).

To prevent similar resistance from happening again, the Dutch limited and even destroyed harmonious relations between community groups. The politics of division is used through policies of community stratification, enforcement of *passenstelsel* or permits to leave the city, and *wijkenstelsel* or separation of living areas which gave rise to Chinatown (Setiono, 2008; Suryadinata, 1986). Judging from the scale of the event and its impact, this event deserves special study at school. The grand narrative built in national history is an important political event that has wide-reaching impacts (Supriatna, 2008). In addition, this material is also important for building awareness of diversity for national integration.

In the 2013 Curriculum, this material is included in the Basic Competency "Analyzing the strategy of the Indonesian nation's resistance to European colonialism (Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, English) up to the 20th century". In the Indonesian History textbook published by the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia in 2017, this Basic Competence is outlined in the subject matter of the war against colonialism and imperialism. The series of events starting from the killing of the Chinese in Batavia in 1740 until the outbreak of the Pacinan commotion by the textbook author was entitled the Chinese Rebellion (Sardiman & Lestariningsih, 2017).

This material in learning history aims to internalize values, especially in the context of diversity education to build harmony in national life. For this reason, basic values such as tolerance, justice, and cooperation should be contained in it. Theresia & Dewi (2021) in their research shows that basic values of this kind which are 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 very vital as a learning resource in schools (Hung Lau, Kwok et al., 2017; Pusat Perbukuan, 2019; Rowland & Barrs, 2013).

On the other hand, teachers tend to highlight the discourse of unity in history textbooks rather 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 extermination of minorities (Djono & Joebagio, 2019). History education must not ignore diversity and instead must strengthen it for national unity (Handoko & Wasino, 2020; Hasan, 2012;

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 (Harjatanaya & Hoon, 2018; Kuntjara & Hoon, 2020; Raihani, 2017). If history textbook writing is committed to presenting Chinese representation, then it is necessary to respond appropriately to these various things.

For this reason, this article aims to critically analyze the narrative discourse of the Chinese Rebellion in Indonesian History textbooks. Thus it can be seen to what extent the practice of discourse in narratives strengthens awareness of diversity for national integration. The results of the analysis are expected to be a consideration for writing subsequent history textbooks. Practically, it can also help teachers design appropriate and meaningful historical learning constructions for students regarding the 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 Method

This study uses a qualitative approach with the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) method. This method not only knows the content of the text, but also how the text message is conveyed. One of the strengths of discourse analysis is its ability to see and dismantle ideological practices in texts (Eriyanto, 2001). The subject of the analysis is the text of the Chinese Rebellion in the Indonesian History textbook for class XI semester 1 SMA based on the 2013 Curriculum published by the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia in 2017. The authors are Sardiman A. M. and Amurwani Dwi Lestariningsih. Data was collected by reviewing text documents that were the subject of analysis. The stages start from reading the text, understanding its contents, and marking important parts. In studying texts, not only record what is written but also try to explore and capture the implicit meaning of the text (Sutopo, 2006).

The Critical Discourse Analysis used refers to the Teun A. Van Dijk model. According to Van Dijk, research on discourse is not enough to be based solely on the analysis of text alone because 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. There are three dimensions or constructs analyzed, namely text, social cognition, and social context. The text dimension is related to the structure of the text and the discourse strategy used to emphasize a theme. The dimension of

social cognition involves the writer's cognition or mentality. The social context dimension studies the discourse construction that develops in society about a problem (Eriyanto, 2001; Haryatmoko, 2019). The three dimensions of discourse are a unit that connects textual analysis to a comprehensive analysis of how the text is produced in relation to the author and society. The results of the analysis are then presented and concluded.

#### **Results and Discussion**

The text of the Chinese Rebellion being analyzed is found in the Indonesian History textbook for SMA class XI semester 1 which was 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 on the dimensions of text, social cognition, and the accompanying social context are further explained.

## **Dimensions of Text**

Analysis on the text dimension can reveal the textual strategies used to present or otherwise marginalize the role of the Chinese. Van Dijk sees a text as consisting of several mutually supporting structures. Macrostructure, namely the global or general meaning of a text by looking at the theme or topic that is highlighted (thematic). Superstructure relates to the framework of the text or the parts that make up the text as a whole (schematic). Microstructure is the meaning of discourse seen from small parts of a text, namely words, sentences, propositions, paraphrases, and pictures. Microstructure includes aspects of semantics, syntax, stylistics, and rhetoric (Eriyanto, 2001).

On the macrostructure, the thematic elements of the Chinese Rebellion narrative clearly show the Chinese taking part in the fight against colonialism. The text is placed as part of the journey of the Indonesian nation which is compiled chronologically from historical events and forms a fabric of national history. This is in line with Kartodirdjo (1982), national history should be "history from within" which reveals the activities of various groups of people and leads to national integration. The presence of this theme accommodates integrative and constructive historical learning materials by including the dynamics of various

community groups, not just certain groups. The attitude of denying the role of other ethnicities in the formation of the nation's history must be avoided (Mulyana, 2008).

Next, on observing the superstructure, schematic can be a strategy for protruding and hiding other parts (Eriyanto, 2001). Schematically, the entire text is dominated by the presentation of historical facts.

Sejak abad ke-5 orang-orang Cina sudah mengadakan hubungan dagang ke Jawa dan jumlahnya pun semakin banyak. Pada masa perkembangan kerajaan-kerajaan Hindu-Buddha dan Islam banyak pedagang Cina yang tinggal di daerah pesisir, yang menikah dengan penduduk Jawa khususnya ke Batavia. Begitu juga pada masa pemerintahan VOC di Batavia, banyak orang Cina yang datang ke Jawa. ... Banyak di antara mereka termasuk golongan miskin. Mereka kemudian menjadi pengemis bahkan ada yang menjadi pencuri. Sudah barang tentu hal ini sangat mengganggu kenyamanan dan keamanan Kota Batavia. Akhirnya VOC mengeluarkan kebijakan membatasi imigran Cina. [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 lived in the coastal areas, who married Javanese, especially to Batavia. Likewise, during the VOC reign in Batavia, many Chinese came to Java. ... Many of them belong to the poor. They then became beggars and some even became thieves. Of course this greatly disturbed the comfort and security of the City of Batavia. Finally the VOC issued a policy of limiting Chinese immigrants] (Sardiman & Lestariningsih, 2017, p. 92).

The first paragraph of the Chinese Rebellion text provides the introduction or lead. The introduction highlights the many poor Chinese immigrants who become beggars and thieves. In effect, the text seems to frame the perception of the Chinese in two aspects. First, they came for economic interests. Second, those who failed in economic affairs were still mired in poverty and committed criminal acts, so it was understandable if the VOC took action.

This prominence leads the reader from the start to negative stereotypes towards the Chinese. In other texts, in general, it is the occupiers who are given a negative perception, not the opponents. In this text, a negative perception is pinned on the opposing side, namely the Chinese who are labeled as the annoying poor people or the mob that messes up in Batavia. Meanwhile, the VOC as an occupier meant that the party that had to be opposed appeared as the "police" of society. The text seems to invite the reader to agree that the VOC is in charge of eradicating troublemakers and restoring 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 massacre and a little about the emergence of Chinese resistance.

Pada tahun 1740 terjadi kebakaran di Batavia. VOC menafsirkan peristiwa ini sebagai gerakan orang-orang Cina yang akan melakukan pemberontakan. Oleh karena itu, para serdadu VOC mulai beraksi dengan melakukan sweeping memasuki rumah-rumah orang Cina dan kemudian melakukan pembunuhan terhadap orang-orang Cina yang ditemukan di setiap rumah. Orang-orang Cina yang berhasil meloloskan diri kemudian melakukan perlawanan di berbagai daerah, misalnya di Jawa Tengah. Salah satu tokohnya yang terkenal adalah Oey Panko atau kemudian dikenal dengan sebutan Khe Panjang, kemudian di Jawa menjadi Ki Sapanjang. Nama ini dikaitkan dengan perannya dalam memimpin perlawanan di sepanjang pesisir Jawa. [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 put up resistance in various areas, for example in Central Java. One of the well-known figures was Oey Panko or 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, p. 93).

The text does not fully present the side of the resistance, but rather highlights the killing of the Chinese in Batavia. This confirms the seemingly anomalous title "The Chinese Rebellion" compared to other titles of the resistance to the VOC events in the textbook. The narrative about the Chinese resistance only shows the names of the figures and the support of the coastal regents. Further information that in 1741 the VOC fortress in Kartasura was attacked so that 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 begins with semantics that pay attention to the background, details, and intent of the text. The historical setting formed from the beginning by the text is that of the Chinese as immigrants to make a living. Hilburn & Fitchett (2012) in their research shows that the immigrant paradigm has the potential to place them as the other. This is also the case with the Chinese who are often seen as foreigners. It is not surprising that in the narration the detailed aspect of Chinese is not paid attention to. The narrative structure that was built did not explicitly show the Chinese struggle against the VOC. In fact, the emphasis on the massacre of the Chinese in Batavia has the potential to become the foundation for the perception of anti-Chinese sentiment. In addition, the text

also contains intentions that lead to the understanding of the Chinese as an economic animal. This view was indeed very developed during the New Order era and still appears frequently today (Arifin et al., 2016; Freedman, 2003; Sunny Lie & Bailey, 2016).

The next element in the microstructure is syntax. In the text of the Chinese Rebellion, 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 and disturb the environment. Only one sentence places the Chinese as the main subject of the events against the VOC. "Orang-orang Cina yang berhasil meloloskan diri kemudian melakukan perlawanan di berbagai daerah, misalnya di Jawa Tengah [The Chinese who managed to escape then took up resistance in various areas, for example in Central Java]" (Sardiman & Lestariningsih, 2017, p. 93). This sentence also seems dwarfed by the presence of the explanation "who managed to escape" because it presupposes that their position was cornered so that they had no choice but to fight the VOC. The rest place the Chinese as objects with the main subject being the VOC.

The stylistic element is shown by the entire narrative which consistently uses the term "Cina". Referring to the current regulations and the spirit of diversity today, the term "Cina" in the text for educational purposes is not wise. This book was published in 2017, while on March 14, 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).

In this narration, the term "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, or 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 in fact 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, p. 93). From an Indonesia-centric perspective, the term resistance is more appropriate. In contrast to the

Neerlandocentric perspective 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.

Finally, rhetorical elements related to how the emphasis is done 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 in a straightforward manner in a narrative style or chronologically telling about the events of the Chinese Rebellion so that the reader gains knowledge, insight, and benefits from the text. This means that the text is presented as is generally a history textbook as a book for educational purposes.

## **Dimensions of Cognitive Social**

Within van Dijk's framework of discourse analysis, attention is also paid to how a text is produced through an analysis called social cognition (Eriyanto, 2001). This is based on the classical study of sociolinguistics which links language and discourse on the one hand with society on the other. Text is a microstructure while society is a macro social structure. Van Dijk connects these two very large 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 acts as a necessary interface in the interaction between texts and society (Dijk, 1994, p. 107).

In writing history textbooks, every historical event is interpreted, interpreted, and interpreted in a certain scheme by the author (Eriyanto, 2001). The scheme 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, the 2013 Curriculum only provides a corridor for competency content and scope of material, while the content of the material must be developed by the author. 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 which could also be a reference for national history, namely IDAS. 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) [Chinese commotion: From Batavia to Mataram (1740-1743)]" (Abdullah & Lapian, 2012).

The narrative of the Chinese Rebellion exists schematically, but its meaning is related to another important element in the process of social cognition, namely 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 text books 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 knowledge that has just been received.

In Van Dijk's view, social cognition is primarily associated with the process of text production. Analysis of social cognition does not only provide an overview of the text by including the author's representation as seen from the elements of the schema or model and memory, but also the strategies used in producing the text. The process of forming a text also includes how an event is interpreted, concluded, and interpreted by the author. Text production mostly and mainly occurs in mental processes in a writer's cognition (Eriyanto, 2001). Although it appears to be individual, it does not mean that Van Dijk's approach is personal and ignores social factors. Individuals basically do not live alone but their thoughts and interpretations are also heavily influenced by the values they receive as part 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 that texts need to be examined intertextually by examining how discourse about something is produced and constructed in society (Eriyanto, 2001). For this reason, related to the representation of Chinese in this Indonesian History textbook, it is necessary to examine the discourses regarding Chinese that are produced in society. According to van Dijk, there are two important points to be analyzed, namely the practice of power and access.

More powerful groups have greater access opportunities so they have greater 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 attitude of the state towards the Chinese through the policies issued has proven to have shaped the views of the people. By referring to historical studies, stereotypes, prejudice, 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 often think of themselves as 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 for the Chinese (Sunny Lie & Bailey, 2016). Since the Reformation, various new regulations have been issued 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.

Theoretically, narratives can legitimize knowledge for political or philosophical purposes (Lyotard, 1984). The Chinese Rebellion narrative demonstrates the legitimacy of strong political interests. The change from the New Order to the Reformation changed the view and attitude of acceptance of the Chinese. The narrative of the Chinese Rebellion in the text book being analyzed was built as a response to the political change but tends to be formal in nature and loses its essential meaning. In the context of history education, the internalization of values that should have occurred is hindered. For this reason, the role of the teacher in learning will be very decisive. Government access to

shape community social cognition through school institutions places history teachers as parties who continue access in influencing student awareness as members of society.

The views of textbook writers and teachers who teach have a strong influence on the discourse that is built from these narratives. The results of the analysis show that textbooks have not been successful in demonstrating the values of diversity in narrating the events of the Chinese-Javanese alliance against the VOC. So the inculcation of values will fail if the teacher uses this narrative as it is in learning. In fact, it could perpetuate discriminatory views that place the Chinese as the other. Moreover, there are findings that most teachers tend to articulate the importance of unity rather than first raising awareness of diversity (Djono & Joebagio, 2019). This concern can occur as American History textbooks also experience misinterpretation when teachers explain the abolitionist movement in the Civil War (Pearcy, 2014).

Teachers can use the reading method to involve students in criticizing texts (Supriatna, 2007). In it, a process of deconstruction takes place which subverts the conceptual hierarchy that structures a text (Sugiharto, 1996). Reading texts deconstructively must arrive at critical questions about texts that are exclusive and marginalize certain social groups or side with certain interests (Supriatna, 2007). Thus, students can build a new narrative about the Chinese-Javanese alliance against the VOC which is considered more meaningful. From there students can play a role in counter-discourse reproduction efforts that change people's views of Chinese.

#### Conclusion

The narrative of the Chinese Rebellion in the analyzed Indonesian History textbooks has formally represented the role of the Chinese in Indonesian history. At the macrostructure level, the narrative highlights the Chinese theme as part of the history of the Indonesian nation. However, at the superstructure level, the narrative emphasizes the massacre of the Chinese in Batavia and does not show the Chinese-Javanese alliance against the VOC. Likewise in the microstructure, many practices lead to stereotyped discourse and the marginalization of the Chinese role. This is further strengthened by the potential struggle of social cognition in text production. Moreover, the social context of society in viewing Chinese has not completely shifted from the New Order paradigm to the changes in the Reformation era. Of course, this should be taken into consideration for the writing of the next history textbook. For teachers as the spearhead of learning, they can work on a deconstruction process in using this textbook to explore

perspectives that are more appropriate and meaningful for students. It is hoped that students can respond to problems that still often arise such as intolerance, racism, discrimination, stigma against certain groups of people, difficulty accepting differences, and so on. Thus, history education is empowered in growing awareness of diversity for national integration.

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## Daftar Rujukan

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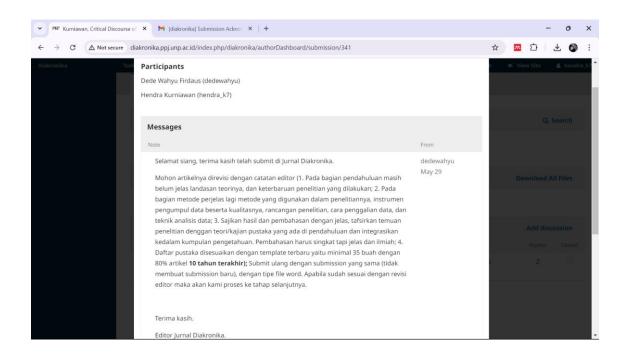
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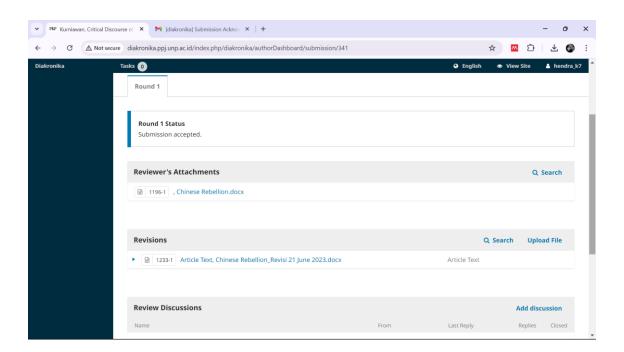
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# Bukti konfirmasi review dan hasil review

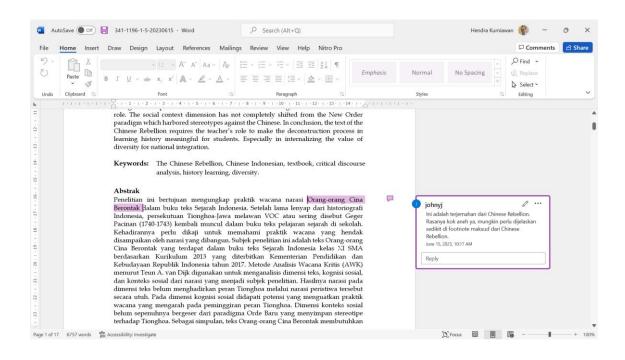
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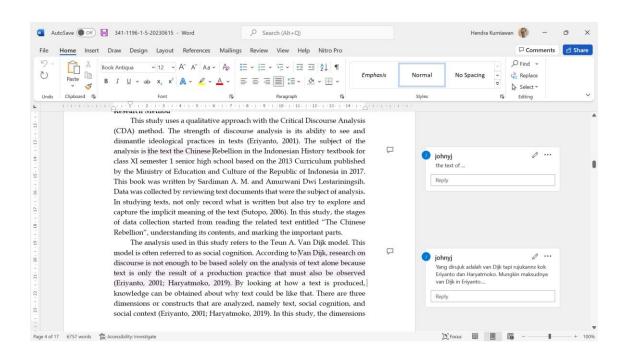
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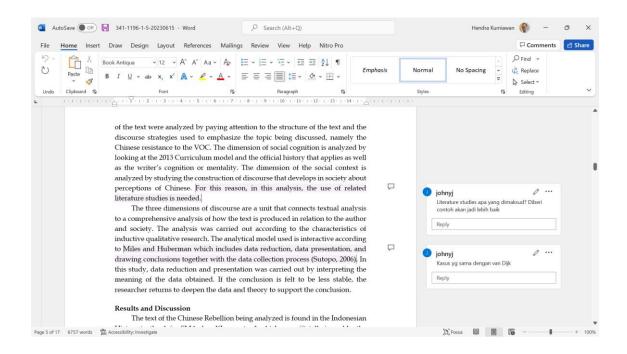


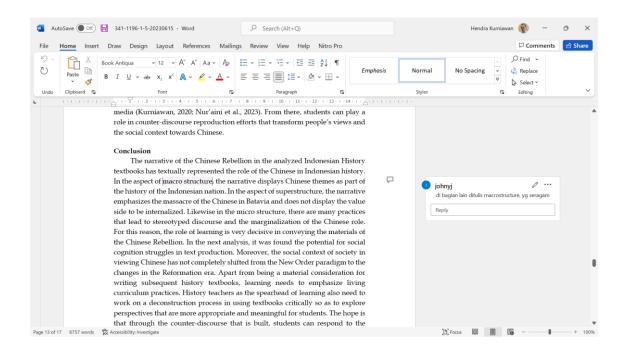


## **Hasil Review**

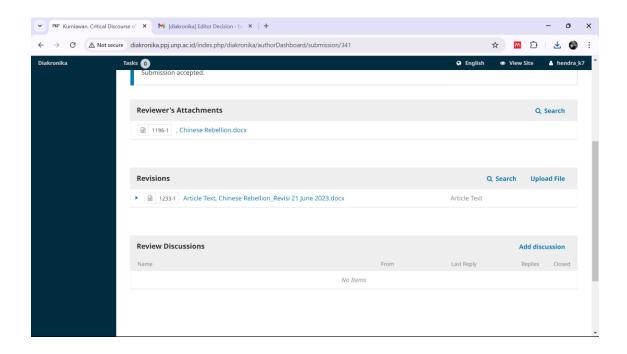








Bukti konfirmasi submit revisi dan artikel yang diresubmit (21 Juni 2023)



# Critical Discourse Analysis on Narratives of the Chinese Rebellion in Indonesian History Textbook

### Abstract

This study aims to reveal the discourse practices in the narrative of the Chinese Rebellion in Indonesian History textbook. Having long disappeared from Indonesian historiography, the Chinese-Javanese alliance against the VOC or often called Geger Pacinan (1740-1743) has reappeared in history textbook. Its presence needs to be studied to understand the discourse practices that are to be conveyed by the narratives that are constructed. The subject of this study was the text of the Chinese Rebellion contained 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 subject of research. The result is that the narrative in the text dimension has not presented the Chinese role through the narrative of the event as a whole. In the dimension of social cognition, it is found that there is a potential that strengthens the practice of discourse which leads to the marginalization of the Chinese role. The social context dimension has not completely 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:** The Chinese Rebellion, Chinese Indonesian, textbook, critical discourse analysis, history learning, diversity.

#### Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan mengungkap praktik wacana narasi berjudul "Orang-orang Cina Berontak" [[1][нк2]dalam buku teks Sejarah Indonesia. Setelah lama lenyap dari historiografi Indonesia, persekutuan Tionghoa-Jawa melawan VOC atau sering disebut Geger Pacinan (1740-1743) kembali muncul dalam buku teks pelajaran sejarah di sekolah. Kehadirannya perlu dikaji untuk memahami praktik wacana yang hendak disampaikan oleh narasi yang dibangun. Subjek penelitian ini adalah teks Orang-orang Cina Berontak yang terdapat dalam buku teks Sejarah Indonesia kelas XI SMA berdasarkan Kurikulum 2013 yang diterbitkan Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Republik Indonesia tahun 2017. Metode Analisis Wacana Kritis (AWK) menurut Teun A. van Dijk digunakan untuk menganalisis dimensi teks, kognisi sosial, dan konteks sosial dari narasi yang menjadi subjek penelitian. Hasilnya narasi pada dimensi teks belum menghadirkan peran Tionghoa melalui narasi peristiwa tersebut secara utuh. Pada dimensi kognisi sosial didapati potensi yang menguatkan praktik wacana yang mengarah pada peminggiran peran Tionghoa. Dimensi konteks sosial belum sepenuhnya bergeser dari paradigma Orde Baru yang menyimpan stereotipe terhadap Tionghoa. Sebagai simpulan, teks Orang-orang Cina Berontak membutuhkan peran guru untuk mengupayakan proses dekonstruksi dalam pembelajaran sejarah agar bermakna bagi siswa. Terutama dalam internalisasi nilai kebinekaan untuk integrasi bangsa.

**Kata Kunci:** Orang-orang Cina Berontak, Tionghoa, buku teks, analisis wacana kritis, pembelajaran sejarah, kebinekaan.

#### Introduction

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 important 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 not only foster thinking skills (Errington & Bubna-Litic, 2015), but also construct students' attitudes.

These considerations make history textbook narratives refer to official history which presents a single perspective and is propaganda in nature (Kello & Wagner, 2017). The narratives that represent 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, especially through the 2013 Curriculum. The dynamics of changes in national curriculum policies with a political approach is 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 massacre 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 of Java throughout the years 1740-1743 and actually succeeded in 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". In the Indonesian History textbook published by the Ministry of

Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia in 2017, this Basic Competence is outlined in the subject matter of the war against colonialism and imperialism. The series of events starting 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. Basic values such as tolerance, justice, and mutual cooperation or cooperation should be contained in it. Theresia & Dewi (2021) shows that these kinds of basic 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 very 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 extermination of minorities (Djono & Joebagio, 2019). History education must not ignore diversity and instead must 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, then it is necessary to respond appropriately to these various things. Pearcy (2014) in his research showed that American History textbooks have misinterpretation in the material for the abolitionist movement related to the Civil War, so the teacher's role is very decisive in the use of textbooks. 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 that emphasizes learning activities (Marshall & Wilson, 2012). The living curriculum is not content but a student learning experience that is dialogical and 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, also 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 needed to create learning that is able to 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 a consideration 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 Method**

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 subject of the analysis is the text of Chinese [j3]Rebellion in the Indonesian History textbook for class XI semester 1 senior high school based on the 2013 Curriculum published by the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia in 2017. This book was written by Sardiman A. M. and Amurwani Dwi Lestariningsih. 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 important 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 in Haryatmoko (2019), research on discourse is not enough to be based solely on the analysis of text alone because text is only the result of a production practice that must also be observed. [14]By looking at how a text is produced, knowledge can be obtained about why text could be like that. There are three dimensions or constructs that 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 and the official history that applies as well as the writer's cognition or mentality. The dimension of the social context is analyzed by studying the construction of discourse that develops in society about perceptions of Chinese. For this reason, in this analysis, the use of related literature studies is needed. [15] Especially those related to the history of the Chinese in Indonesia, the New Order's policies towards the Chinese, and the Chinese in the Reformation era.

The three dimensions of discourse are a unit that connects textual analysis to a comprehensive analysis of how the text is produced in relation to the author and society. The analysis was carried out according to the characteristics of inductive qualitative research. Following Miles and Huberman in Sutopo (2006) the analytical model used is interactive which includes data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions together with the data collection process. In this study, data reduction and presentation was carried out by interpreting the meaning of the data obtained. If the conclusion is felt to be less stable, the researcher returns to deepen the data and theory to support the conclusion.

## **Results and Discussion**

The text of the Chinese Rebellion being analyzed is found in the Indonesian History textbook for SMA class XI semester 1 which was 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 on the dimensions of text, social cognition, and the accompanying social context are further explained.

## 1. Dimensions of Text

Analysis on the text dimension can reveal the textual strategies used to present or otherwise marginalize the role of the Chinese. Van Dijk [j7] in Eriyanto (2001), sees a text as consisting of several mutually supporting structures. Macrostructure, namely the global or general meaning of a text by looking at the theme or topic that is highlighted (thematic). Superstructure relates to the framework of the text or the parts that make up the text as a whole (schematic).

Microstructure is the meaning of discourse seen from small parts of a text, namely words, sentences, propositions, paraphrases, and pictures. Microstructure includes aspects of semantics, syntax, stylistics, and rhetoric.

On the macrostructure, the thematic elements of the Chinese Rebellion narrative clearly show the Chinese taking part in the fight against colonialism. The text is placed as part of the journey of the Indonesian nation which is compiled chronologically from historical events and forms a fabric of national history. This is in line with Kartodirdjo (1982), national history should be "history from within" which reveals the activities of various groups of people and leads to national integration. The presence of this theme accommodates integrative and constructive historical learning materials by including the dynamics of various community groups, not just certain groups.

Next, on observing the superstructure, schematic can be a strategy for protruding and hiding other parts (Eriyanto, 2001). Schematically, the entire text is dominated by the presentation of historical facts.

Sejak abad ke-5 orang-orang Cina sudah mengadakan hubungan dagang ke Jawa dan jumlahnya pun semakin banyak. Pada masa perkembangan kerajaan-kerajaan Hindu-Buddha dan Islam banyak pedagang Cina yang tinggal di daerah pesisir, yang menikah dengan penduduk Jawa khususnya ke Batavia. Begitu juga pada masa pemerintahan VOC di Batavia, banyak orang Cina yang datang ke Jawa. ... Banyak di antara mereka termasuk golongan miskin. Mereka kemudian menjadi pengemis bahkan ada yang menjadi pencuri. Sudah barang tentu hal ini sangat mengganggu kenyamanan dan keamanan Kota Batavia. Akhirnya VOC mengeluarkan kebijakan membatasi imigran Cina. [Since the 5th [18] 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 lived in the coastal areas, who married Javanese, especially to Batavia. Likewise, during the VOC reign in Batavia, many Chinese came to Java. ... Many of them belong to the poor. They then became beggars and some even became thieves. Of course this greatly disturbed the comfort and security of the City of Batavia. Finally the VOC issued a policy of limiting Chinese immigrants] (Sardiman & Lestariningsih, 2017, p. 92).

The first paragraph of the text the Chinese Rebellion provides an introduction to the Chinese immigrants who, among other things, became poor and became beggars and thieves. The text frames the perception of Chinese in two aspects. First, as immigrants for economic interests. Second, some of those who failed remained in poverty and committed criminal acts so that the VOC took action. This prominence leads the reader to negative stereotypes towards

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 seems to invite the reader to support the VOC which is eradicating troublemakers and restoring 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 massacre and a little about the emergence of Chinese resistance.

Pada tahun 1740 terjadi kebakaran di Batavia. VOC menafsirkan peristiwa ini sebagai gerakan orang-orang Cina yang akan melakukan pemberontakan. Oleh karena itu, para serdadu VOC mulai beraksi dengan melakukan sweeping memasuki rumah-rumah orang Cina dan kemudian melakukan pembunuhan terhadap orang-orang Cina yang ditemukan di setiap rumah. Orang-orang Cina yang berhasil meloloskan diri kemudian melakukan perlawanan di berbagai daerah, misalnya di Jawa Tengah. Salah satu tokohnya yang terkenal adalah Oey Panko atau kemudian dikenal dengan sebutan Khe Panjang, kemudian di Jawa menjadi Ki Sapanjang. Nama ini dikaitkan dengan perannya dalam memimpin perlawanan di sepanjang pesisir Jawa. [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 put up resistance in various areas, for example in Central Java. One of the well-known figures was Oey Panko or 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, p. 93).

The text does not fully present the side of the resistance, but rather highlights the killing of the Chinese in Batavia. This confirms the seemingly anomalous title The Chinese Rebellion compared to other titles of the resistance to the VOC events in the textbook. The narrative about the Chinese resistance only shows the names of the figures and the support of the coastal regents. Further information that in 1741 the VOC fortress in Kartasura was attacked so that 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 begins with semantics that pay attention to the background, details, and intent of the text. The historical background presented in the text emphasizes the Chinese as immigrants with the aim of making a living. Hilburn & Fitchett (2012) in their research shows that the immigrant paradigm has the potential to place them as the other. The detailed aspects of Tionghoa in the

narrative are not given much attention. The narrative structure that was built did not explicitly show the Chinese struggle against the VOC. In fact, the emphasis on the massacre of the Chinese in Batavia has the potential to become the foundation for the perception of anti-Chinese sentiment. In addition, the text also contains intentions that lead to the understanding of the Chinese as an economic animal. This view was indeed very developed during the New Order era and still appears frequently today (Arifin et al., 2016; Sunny Lie & Bailey, 2016).

In the syntax element, 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 the society. Only one sentence places the Chinese as the main subject of the events against the VOC. "Orang-orang Cina yang berhasil meloloskan diri kemudian melakukan perlawanan di berbagai daerah, misalnya di Jawa Tengah [The Chinese who managed to escape then took up resistance in various areas, for example in Central Java]" (Sardiman & Lestariningsih, 2017, p. 93). This sentence also seems dwarfed by the presence of the explanation "who managed to escape" because it presupposes that their position was cornered so that they had no choice but to fight the VOC. The rest place the Chinese as objects with the main subject being the VOC.

The stylistic element is shown by the entire narrative which consistently uses the term "Cina". Referring to the current regulations and the spirit of diversity today, the term "Cina" in the text for educational purposes is not wise. This textbook was published in 2017, while on 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).

In this narration, the term "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, or 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 in fact 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, p. 93). From an Indonesia-centric perspective, the term resistance is more appropriate. In contrast to the Neerlandocentric perspective 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.

Finally, rhetorical elements related to how the emphasis is done 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 in a straightforward manner in a narrative style or chronologically telling about the events of the Chinese Rebellion so that the reader gains knowledge, insight, and benefits from the text. The aspect of instilling values that should be carried out for the benefit of education is not optimal. In the context of 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.

Findings of macrostructure [j9], superstructure, and microstructure show that textually the Chinese Rebellion narrative is considered essential, but it still 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 need to create multifaceted learning experiences that include students' encounters with literacy, media, and other learning resources (Metzger & Harris, 2018). Thus, learning becomes richer.

The narratives of the Chinese Rebellion in textbooks must be supported by proper study. Without a critical attitude, learning has the potential to fail to instill diversity values in the narrative of the events of the Chinese-Javanese alliance against the VOC. It can even perpetuate discriminatory views that place Chinese as other. The values of equality and justice related to diversity are 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 raising 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).

## 2. Dimensions of Cognitive Social

Within Van Dijk's framework of discourse analysis, attention is also paid to how a text is produced through an analysis called social cognition (Dijk, 1990). Text is a microstructure while society is a macro social structure. Van Dijk connects these two very large 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 acts as a necessary interface in the interaction between texts and society (Dijk, 1994, p. 107)[j10].

In writing history textbooks, every historical event is interpreted in a certain scheme by the author (Eriyanto, 2001). The scheme 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, the 2013 Curriculum only provides a corridor for competency content and scope of material, while the content of the material must be developed by the author. 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. The result of this revision is called the Updated Edition of SNI (SNI *Edisi Pemutakhiran*). Additionally, in 2012, an alternative book appeared which could also be a reference for national history, namely *Indonesia dalam Arus Sejarah* (IDAS). [j11][HK12]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 important 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 text books 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 knowledge that has just been received. This is much

influenced by the values that a person receives as part of a member of society. Consequently, an analysis of inherent social cognition with an analysis of its social context.

This finding shows the need for a new social cognition in representing the Chinese. The teacher plays a role in presenting the right counter-discourse when conveying the Chinese Rebellion narrative so that a more constructive discourse is formed. Chinese representation in Indonesian history learning must be presented as part of the diversity that strengthens national unity. For this reason, learning 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, but the teacher raises contexts that are close to students, including the social dynamics of society with contemporary problems that occur.

This practice is in accordance with the view of the curriculum as a reality that emphasizes learning activities or 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 relaxed 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.

## 3. Dimensions of Social Context

The social context dimension understands discourse as part of the discourse that develops in society so that texts need to be examined intertextually by examining how discourse about something is produced and constructed in society (Eriyanto, 2001). For this reason, related to the representation of Chinese in this Indonesian History textbook, it is necessary to examine the discourses regarding Chinese that are produced in society. According to Van Dijk in Eriyanto (2001), there are two important points to be analyzed, namely the practice of power and access. More powerful groups have greater access opportunities so they have greater opportunities to influence public awareness.[j13]

In the production of discourse about Chinese, the power belongs to the state to control people's awareness. The attitude of the state towards the Chinese through the policies issued has proven to have shaped the views of the people. By referring to historical studies, stereotypes, prejudice, 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 often think of themselves as 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 for the Chinese (Sunny Lie & Bailey, 2016). Since the Reformation, various new regulations have been issued 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.

Narratives can legitimize knowledge for political or philosophical purposes as the Chinese Rebellion narrative shows the legitimacy of strong 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 now, 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. Meanwhile, government access to shape community social cognition through school institutions places history teachers as parties who continue access in influencing student awareness as members of society. History education must be [j14]committed to presenting a new perspective on Chinese (Arifin et al., 2016; Harjatanaya & Hoon, 2018; Kuntjara & Hoon, 2020; Raihani, 2017).

Based on these findings, the views of textbook authors and teachers who teach have a strong influence on the discourse that is built. 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 arrive at critical questions about texts that are exclusive and marginalize certain social groups or side with certain 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 in the form of infographics or podcasts that are familiar with today's social media (Kurniawan, 2020; Nur'aini et al., 2023). From there, students can play a role in counter-discourse 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 [j15], the narrative displays Chinese themes as part of the history of the Indonesian nation. In the aspect of superstructure, the narrative emphasizes the massacre of the Chinese in Batavia and does not display the value side to be internalized. Likewise in the microstructure, there are many practices that lead to stereotyped discourse and the marginalization of the Chinese role. For this reason, the role of learning is very decisive in conveying the materials of the Chinese Rebellion. In the next analysis, it was found the potential for social cognition struggles in text production. Moreover, the social context of society in viewing Chinese has not completely 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 needs to emphasize living curriculum practices. History teachers as the spearhead of learning also need to work on a deconstruction process in using textbooks critically so as to explore perspectives that are more appropriate and meaningful 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 in fostering an attitude of diversity for the sake of national integration.

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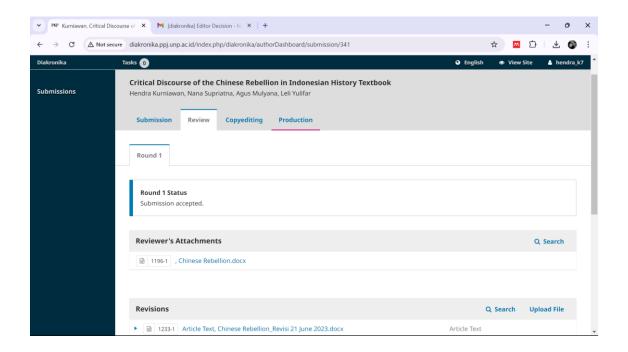
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# 4

Bukti konfirmasi artikel accepted (21 Juni 2023)





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# [diakronika] Editor Decision

1 message

**Dede Wahyu Firdaus** <diakronika@ppj.unp.ac.id> Wed, Jun 21, 2023 at 2:59 PM To: Hendra Kurniawan <hendrak@upi.edu>, Nana Supriatna <nanasup@upi.edu>, Agus Mulyana <agusmulyana66@upi.edu>, Leli Yulifar <leli\_yulifar@upi.edu>

Hendra Kurniawan, Nana Supriatna, Agus Mulyana, Leli Yulifar:

We have reached a decision regarding your submission to Diakronika, "Critical Discourse Analysis on Narratives of the Chinese Rebellion in Indonesian History Textbook".

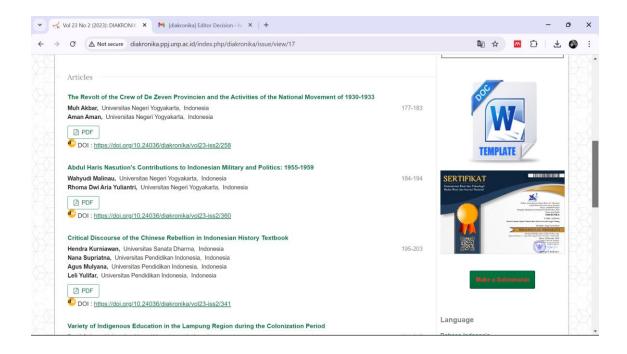
Our decision is to: Accept Submission

Diakronika Journal Editor

Diakronika

5

Bukti konfirmasi artikel published online (28 Desember 2023)





### Hendra Kurniawan 2002277 <hendrak@upi.edu>

## [diakronika] Editor Decision

1 message

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Thu, Dec 28, 2023 at 3:40 PM To: Hendra Kurniawan <hendrak@upi.edu>, Nana Supriatna <nanasup@upi.edu>, Agus Mulyana <agusmulyana66@upi.edu>, Leli Yulifar <leli\_yulifar@upi.edu>

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The editing of your submission, "Critical Discourse Analysis on Narratives of the Chinese Rebellion in Indonesian History Textbook," is complete. We are now sending it to production.

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