

Volume 29, Number 1, 2019

ISSN : 0854-0039
E-ISSN : 2407-5825

PARAJAYATI

Historical Studies Journal

TERAKREDITASI (A)



TEACHING HISTORICAL EMPATHY THROUGH REFLECTIVE LEARNING
Indah Wahyu Puji Utami

THE CORRELATION BETWEEN: AWARENESS OF HISTORY, RELIGIOUS VALUES
AND MULTIETHNIC UNDERSTANDING WITH TOLERANCE ATTITUDE
Nurasiah, Abdul Azis, Widia Munira

NARRATION AND DISCOURSE OF *BHINNEKA TUNGGAL IKA* IN INDONESIAN
REVISED HISTORY TEXTBOOK: A HISTORY DIDACTICS APPROACH
Djono, Hermanu Joebagio

AGRARIAN REFORM AS A NATIONALISM ISSUE FROM COLONIAL TO
REFORMASI ERA
Retor AW Kaligis

BOEKHANDEL TAN KHOEN SWIE KEDIRI: THE AGENT OF JAVANESE
CULTURE
Wisnu

THE MEDIA AND SOCIO-POLITICAL CHANGE: A SNAPSHOT OF NORTH AFRICA
AND GHANA'S CASE
Samuel Adu-Gyamfi, Kwasi Amakye-Boateng, Richard Oware

THE IMPORTANCE OF GEOMORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS
IN UNDERSTANDING THE PRE-MODERN ERA AT SOUTHEAST SUMATRA COAST
*Singgih Tri Sulistiyono, Yety Rochuwulaningsih, Endah Sri Hartatik,
Frank Dhont, Slamet Subekti, Noor Naelil Masuroh*

LOCAL ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS LEADERS IN ISLAMIZATION IN BANYUMAS
Sugeng Priyadi

TRADITIONAL INDUSTRIES IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD:
THE ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF THE PEOPLE OF TEGAL IN THE FIRST HALF
OF THE 20TH CENTURY
C. Santi Muji Utami

THE INDONESIAN TEACHERS' DILEMMAS FROM COLONIAL TO *REFORMASI*
ERA: NON-PERMANENT TEACHERS' WELFARE AND
STATUS ISSUES
Ngabiyanto, Daniel D. Kameo, Bambang Ismanto, Pamerdi Giri Wiloso

Volume 29, Number 1, 2019

ISSN : 0854-0039
E-ISSN : 2407-5825

PARASATAMA

Historical Studies Journal TERAKREDITASI (A)

Terakreditasi (A)

Based on Keputusan Direktur Jenderal Penguatan Riset dan Pengembangan
Kementerian Riset, Teknologi, dan Pendidikan Tinggi Republik Indonesia
Nomor: 36a/E/KPT/2016 issued on 23 Mei 2016

Published by

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
UNIVERSITAS NEGERI SEMARANG

In collaboration with

MASYARAKAT SEJARAWAN INDONESIA
(Indonesian Historical Society)

TABLE OF CONTENT

Paramita has accredited (A) based on Keputusan
 Direktur Jenderal Penguatan Riset dan
 Pengembangan Kementerian Riset, Teknologi,
 dan Pendidikan Tinggi Republik Indonesia
 No: 36a/E/KPT/2016,
 issued on 23 Mei 2016

The range of carried studies in the publication
 (1) historiography, (2) philosophy of history, (3)
 history of education, and (4) history education.

Published twice a year, every March and
 September.

SIT: No. 100/ PT 36 H.FIS/ 1990
 ISSN: 0854-0039
 E ISSN: 2407-5825

Published by
 Jurusan Sejarah, Fakultas Ilmu Sosial,
 Universitas Negeri Semarang in collaboration
 with Masyarakat Sejarawan Indonesia (MSI)

Editor in Chief
 Wasino

International Editorial Board
 Freek Colombijn (Netherlands)
 Matthew Isac Cohen (United Kingdom)
 Hans Pols (Australia)
 Vivek Neelakantan (Australia)

Editorial Board Member
 Nawiyanto
 Nunuk Suryani
 Cahyo Budi Utomo
 Moh. Yasir Alimi

Administration
 Tsabit Azinar Ahmad

Mailing Address
 Jurusan Sejarah FIS UNNES,
 Kampus Sekaran Gedung C5 Lt. 1
 Gunungpati Semarang, Telp. (024) 850 8012
 Email: paramita@mail.unnes.ac.id
 Website: [http://journal.unnes.ac.id/nju/
 index.php/paramita](http://journal.unnes.ac.id/nju/index.php/paramita)



TEACHING HISTORICAL EMPATHY THROUGH REFLECTIVE LEARNING Indah Wahyu Puji Utami.....	1-9
THE CORRELATION BETWEEN: AWARENESS OF HISTORY, RELIGIOUS VALUES AND MULTIETHNIC UNDERSTANDING WITH TOLERANCE ATTITUDE Nurasiah, Abdul Azi, Widia Munira	10-17
NARRATION AND DISCOURSE OF <i>BHINNEKA TUNGGAL IKA</i> IN INDONESIAN REVISED HISTORY TEXTBOOK: A HISTORY DIDACTICS APPROACH Djono, Hermanu Joebagio	18-27
AGRARIAN REFORM AS A NATIONALISM ISSUE FROM COLONIAL TO <i>REFORMASI</i> ERA Retor AW Kaligis	28-42
<i>BOEKHANDEL</i> TAN KHOEN SWIE KEDIRI: THE AGENT OF JAVANESE CULTURE Wisnu	43-57
THE MEDIA AND SOCIO-POLITICAL CHANGE: A SNAPSHOT OF NORTH AFRICA AND GHANA'S CASE Samuel Adu-Gyamfi, Kwasi Amakye-Boateng, Richard Oware	58-65
THE IMPORTANCE OF GEOMORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS IN UNDERSTANDING THE PRE- MODERN ERA AT SOUTHEAST SUMATRA COAST Singgih Tri Sulistiyono, Yety Rochwulaningsih, Endah Sri Hartatik, Frank Dhont, Slamet Subekti, Noor Naelil Masrurroh	66-76
LOCAL ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS LEADERS IN ISLAMIZATION IN BANYUMAS Sugeng Priyadi.....	78-91
TRADITIONAL INDUSTRIES IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD: THE ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF THE PEOPLE OF TEGAL IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY C. Santi Muji Utami	92-101
THE INDONESIAN TEACHERS' DILEMMAS FROM COLONIAL TO <i>REFORMASI</i> ERA: NON- PERMANENT TEACHERS' WELFARE AND STATUS ISSUES Ngabiyanto, Daniel D. Kameo, Bambang Ismanto, Pamerdi Giri Wiloso	102-118

NARRATION AND DISCOURSE OF *BHINNEKA TUNGGAL IKA* IN INDONESIAN REVISED HISTORY TEXTBOOK: A HISTORY DIDACTICS APPROACH

Djono & Hermanu Joebagio

Department of History Education, Sebelas Maret University

ABSTRACT

The presented research depicts the narration and discourse of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in the history subject. By using history didactic approach, this research focuses on two dimensions of analysis: (1) the narration and discourse of the history textbook and (2) teachers' interpretation as well as objectification towards the discourse of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in the history textbook. The Socio-cognitive discourse analysis was used as the research method and attitude. The corpus of analysis was the revised edition of the compulsory history textbook published by The Republic of Indonesia's Ministry of Education and Culture, and the research participants are 15 teachers of Senior High Schools in Surakarta. The remarkable finding of this research is the unequal position between unity and diversity. This research exposes that the textbook posits the narration and discourse of unity above the sense of diversity. These narrations and discourse are confirmed by the most of research participants in which they tend to articulate the importance of unity and integration in their interpretation. Following this interpretation, the teachers' objectification is postulated in some attitudes such as patriotic, mutual-cooperation, and solidarity, led to the ideology of nationalism. The authors highlighted the unequal position between unity and diversity as the crucial problem in the textbook narration and discourse that, in certain degrees, could become a latent problem for the national integration, such as minority intolerance and annihilation.

Keywords: *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, history textbook, unity above diversity

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini menggambarkan narasi dan wacana *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* dalam mata pelajaran sejarah. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan didaktik sejarah, penelitian ini berfokus pada dua dimensi analisis: (1) narasi dan wacana buku teks sejarah dan (2) interpretasi guru serta objektifikasi terhadap wacana *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* dalam buku teks sejarah. Analisis wacana sosial-kognitif digunakan sebagai metode dan sikap penelitian. Analisis teks menggunakan edisi revisi dari buku teks sejarah wajib yang diterbitkan oleh Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Republik Indonesia, dan peserta penelitian adalah 15 guru Sekolah Menengah Atas di Surakarta. Temuan dari penelitian ini adalah posisi yang tidak setara antara persatuan dan keanekaragaman. Penelitian ini mengungkap bahwa buku teks menempatkan narasi dan wacana persatuan di atas rasa keberagaman. Narasi dan wacana ini dikonfirmasi oleh sebagian besar peserta penelitian di mana mereka cenderung mengartikulasikan pentingnya persatuan dan integrasi dalam interpretasi mereka. Setelah interpretasi ini, objektifikasi guru dipostulatkan dalam beberapa sikap seperti patriotik, gotong royong, dan solidaritas, mengarah pada ideologi nasionalisme. Para penulis menyoroti posisi yang tidak setara antara persatuan dan keragaman sebagai masalah krusial dalam narasi dan wacana buku teks yang, dalam derajat tertentu, bisa menjadi masalah laten bagi integrasi nasional, seperti intoleransi minoritas dan pemusnahan.

Kata kunci: *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, buku teks sejarah, kesatuan di atas keanekaragaman

Author correspondence

Email: djono_sk@yahoo.com

Available online at <http://journal.unnes.ac.id/nju/index.php/paramita>



INTRODUCTION

The problem of diversity and national integration has been spotted as an important issue of the Indonesian contemporary education. This is proved by the foundation of Indonesian education that seems to uphold the sense of unity in diversity. The document of Curriculum 2013 articulates the awareness of diversity in the form of negotiation between local and national interests and the empowerment of unity in diversity that those are considered as the empirical foundations of the curriculum development. The curriculum uses the term *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* to represent the unity and diversity and explicitly mentioned that this term coincidences with the democracy and multiculturalism.

The curriculum situates the social science learning, specifically the history subject, as a device to impart the values of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. The substance of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* is mentioned explicitly in the core and basic competencies of the history curriculum that design the students to “living with the values of unity and the willingness to unify in the struggle of the national movement towards the nation independence as a gift from Almighty God to the nation and state of Indonesia”. This substance is then derived into the learning materials and the content of history textbooks that narrated the topic about *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, although it is only depicted explicitly in the description of several historical events.

The designed curriculum and its learning material are facing challenges from the current political and social circumstances that displayed the escalation of intolerance. The PPIM’s survey of the Jakarta Islamic State University in 2017, which covered 1,800 education institutions in 34 provinces, had shown the tendencies of intolerance among students in which 60 percent of the students were regarded to have had a radical religious attitudes (Mcbeth, 2018). Some of the observers believed that the current problems of intolerance in Indonesia are different from the past trends. Today, the problem of intolerance are not merely determined

by ethnicity (Liddle, 1970; Schefold, 1998), but it also appertains with the politico-religious fragmentation under the flow of global ideology movements (Saidi, 2012; Sofjan, 2016).

The curriculum and its learning materials are expected to be able to respond to those problems, particularly by cultivating the narration and discourse of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in the learning process. Although the curriculum is able to provoke the discourse of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in the learning process (Farisi, 2014), however, some researcher had indicated that the curriculum 2013 and its teaching materials are insufficient. Djalong (2017) had indicated that the curriculum had failed in promoting the values of tolerance. By analyzing the content of Curriculum 2013, Djalong pointed out the indistinct direction of several fundamental issues on the relationship between tolerance, citizenship, and cultural-religious diversity. Meanwhile, the finding of PPIM’s research of Jakarta Islamic State University in 2017 had indicated that the teaching materials, specifically in Islamic textbooks published by the Ministry of Education and Culture, contained intolerant narration (Mcbeth, 2018).

The authors believe that the problem of intolerance in Indonesian education could not be simply assumed originated from the lack of textual dimension such as from the textbook narration. On the practical level, the textual narration can be diverted depending on the contextual dimension. Teachers and students are the active and independent subjects. They can reject, accept, or elaborate new information. Through interaction, they collectively interpret and object the discourse in the form of perception, argumentation, and opinion. It means, in the context of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* and intolerance, teachers and students are not merely ordered structurally by the documents. There is a space for diversion or proliferation of the discourse during the discourse processing.

The study about diversion or proliferation of the textbook narration is less

investigated by the textbook analysts. Repoussi and Tutiaux-Guillon (2010) pointed out that the study of the textbook is divided into two domains of analysis: critical and linguistic. In the critical research, the textbook analyst would focus their work on the critical content analysis of the textbooks related to the political dimension, power relation, and the making of knowledge (Haynor, Apple, & Christian-Smith, 1991).

This type of research is used commonly by the textbook analysts whose concern are to reveal the political dimension of the textbook, such as the study of politicization of the history textbook (Curaming, 2005), the military discourse and the construction of national identity (Purwanta, 2013, 2017), the ideology of nationalism and militarism (Mulyana, 2013; Darmawan and Mulyana, 2017), the colonial discourse (Purwanta, 2018), and the analysis of the narrative logic of the textbook (Abidin, 2017). Those researches tend to perceive the textbook critically under the political and power relation. Commonly, those researches pre-assume, without any empirical elaboration or verification, that the students would accept directly the textbook's narration or discourse.

In the type of linguistic research, the textbook analysts examined the quality of the textbooks in several criteria such as language, content, narrative structure, or the textbook argumentation (Repoussi & Tutiaux-Guillon, 2010). This type of research is used commonly by the educator and the developer of history education whose aimed is to improve the feasibility and readability of the textbooks, such as the study of the content evaluation (Purwanta, 2012), the challenges of textbook implementation (Darwati, 2011), the content evaluation of multiculturalism (Mulyana, 2017), and the development of history textbook based on the Indonesia-centrism (Kurniawan, 2017).

Considering those domains of analysis, the authors argue that the textbook should be contextualized in the educational environments. Consequently, the textbook analysis should include the structural

analysis and the practical analysis of the textbook. Therefore, the history didactic approach should be used as an approach to analyze narration, interpretation, and objectification of the textbook. Based on those theoretical backgrounds, this research is aimed to reveal the narration of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in the history textbook. Moreover, the analysis is extended to the practical analysis of the narration, particularly in the teachers' interpretation and objectification of the textbook narration.

RESEARCH METHOD

The critical discourse analysis with the socio-cognitive approach (van Dijk, 2015; van Dijk, 2017) was employed as the method and attitude of this research in order to reveal the narration, interpretation, and objectification of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* based on the analysis of the history textbook narration and the teachers' discourse comprehension. The corpus of analysis was the revised edition of the compulsory textbook for the history subject published by the Republic of Indonesia's Ministry of Education and Culture in 2017. The analysis was focused on (1) the narration and discourse of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in the history textbook, (2) the cognitive interface and discursive practice that covered the analysis of the teachers' interpretation and objectification towards the textbook narration, and (3) the discourse comprehension analysis of the teachers that relate to the diversion and proliferation of narration. White's (2009) framework of discourse, narrative, and narrative-discourse were used in this research. The authors assumed that, in a certain part, the textbook can be presented as a narration, and in other parts, it also can be a discourse or narrative-discourse. The representative narrations were analyzed in textual level, which covered the grammatical and schematic analysis. The textual analysis was then elaborated with the socio-cognitive analysis that focuses on the teachers' interpretation and objectification, which employed the analysis of discourse processing, knowledge, and atti-

tude and ideology of teachers.

Considering the complex mechanism of socio-cognitive analysis, the authors decided to focus on the teachers' perimeters. At least, from the teachers' perimeters, this research would be able to trace the production or reproduction of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* narration and discourse. Based on this consideration, 15 teachers of Senior High Schools in Surakarta had participated as the subject of research. From the authors' point of view, those teachers are living in the same epistemic community in which they could represent the common interpretations and objectification of the teachers in Surakarta and, in a certain degree without any intention to generalize or simplify, the teachers in Indonesia. On the practical level, the teachers had an intermediary role in controlling the narration by clarifying or verifying the narration before it is accepted and interpreted by the students as the recipient of the discourse. By looking at those frameworks, the authors interviewed teachers in regard to their interpretation and objectification of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. The authors then analyzed the diversion and proliferation of the narration for educational purposes, particularly as Van Dijk's (1980) suggestion to improve the quality of textbook.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Narration of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*

The history textbook was constituted in popular regressive style. This style sets the students to examine the historical heritage. The regressive style is designed for the students to view the narration of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* by looking back from the present time to the particular historical event in the past. Through this style, the students are assumed being able to understand the progress or regress of civilization from the ancient time until today. Consequently, history textbook should be structured systematically. A preface is provided in each chapter to introduce the learning topic before the narration of the historical events. The preface is opened by a citation from the "scientific book" related to the

learning topic and commonly, it is presented in a form of narration. In the first paragraph of the preface, the narration starts with the explanation of the particular contemporary problem. In the next paragraphs, the narrator discourses the topic and values of learning by elaborating and, in a certain degree, reflecting the present problems with the depiction of the past. By this comparison, the narrator tried to reflect the values of the past, which then followed by the narration of historical events.

The subject of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* is mentioned implicitly as one of the learning purposes of chapter 4. The chapter narrates the learning topic about "*Sumpah Pemuda dan Jati Diri Keindonesiaan*" [Youth Pledge and Indonesian identity]. The textbook, as the extension of Curriculum 2013, declared the historical narration, particularly in chapter 4, has one objective to "*meningkatkan rasa syukur kepada Tuhan Yang Maha Esa atas karunia-Nya yang memberikan dorongan bangsa Indonesia untuk memperkuat persatuan di atas keberagaman*" [to feel more gratitude to the One Almighty God for His grace that encourages the nation of Indonesia to affirmed unity above diversity]. This learning objective exposes that the sense of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* which is represented in the form of "*keberagaman*" [diversity], which is posited under the "*persatuan*" [unity]. The description of the learning objective reflects a structure in which, in one side, the unity is preferred as an important aspect of the national interest, and in another side, the unity is constructed from the diversity, thus consequently, unity is located above the diversity.

This structure constitutes the historical narration on the textbook. The first section of chapter 4 is about the background of Youth Pledge 1928. This chapter emphasizes the role of the "youth" and "educated" people as the exponent of the Indonesian national awakening. The textbook marked the Youth Pledge, 28 October 1928, as the important historical events that should be learned by the stu-

dents to strengthen their unity and identity. The “youth” and “educated” people generated from the “western education” that evolved the national awareness among them. The textbook narrates that this “youth” and “educated” people were “... tidak memandang Jawa, Sunda, Minangkabau, Ambon, atau apa pun karena mereka adalah bumiputera” [not viewing Javanese, Sundanese, Minangkabau, Ambonese and other because they are indigenous]. They were supported by the printed mass and the fusion of the mass organization, and the efforts hit the climax when the youth held Youth Congresses in 1928. The textbook then leads the students to crystallize the important values of Youth Pledge: the value of unity as the primary; the values of self-determination, national identity, sovereignty, and nationalism; the value of democracy.

If the narration is presented in the learning history, it will become a persuasive strategy. The narration persuades the students in identifying and categorizing themselves as the youth of educated people. It is because the students naturally have similar characteristic with the depiction of the youth and educated people. The students are young and are taught in formal education. Thus, theoretically, the narration would be effectively stimulated the norm and the values of the student by the reflection of the youth and education discourse. It means, in the practical level, the textbook had provided the narration and discourse of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* by the representation of youth and educated people that, theoretically, could be used by the teachers or students in the discursive practice in the classroom. However, the textbook is less focused the narration on the socio-cultural diversity, thus, it could become the challenges for the teachers.

In sum, the textbook emphasizes the process of national integration without considering their socio-cultural differences. Thus, the narration does not refer to unity in diversity, but it is rather closely to unity above diversity. In addition, this kind of identification is associated with

the nation identity of Indonesian people: one homeland, one nation, and one language. The description of the learning objective reflects a structure in which, in one side, the unity is preferred as an important aspect in the national interest, and in other side, the unity is constructed from the diversity, thus as consequence, unity is located above the diversity. Then, the narration and discourse of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* is disguised under the senses of unity. Meaning, it tends to be called unity above diversity.

Teachers’ Interpretation and Objectification

Based on the interview, the authors summed up that the narration and discourse of Youth Pledge and nation identity are interpreted in the term of unity; even this topic of learning also contains the objective to acknowledge the diversity. This indicated that the teachers gave a privilege to the narration of unity in their interpretation and objectification. The privilege is represented in how the teachers confirmed the importance of unity as well as, in certain degree, other narrations of the textbook such as the importance of youth and Youth Pledge, as the decisive factor that supports the struggle of national movement. The citation below can give a clear depiction of the privilege:

Nilai utama yang dapat saya ambil setelah membaca materi tersebut ialah pentingnya semangat persatuan. Peristiwa Sumpah Pemuda dipandang sebagai pengakuan fundamental dari sebuah bangsa yang masih dalam tahap pembentukan. Para pemuda dengan memahami sejarah panjang perjuangan bangsa Indonesia, telah melahirkan kesadaran yang mendalam tentang pentingnya persatuan. Tanpa semangat persatuan mustahil bangsa Indonesia bias terlepas dari penjajahan bangsa asing.

[The main value that I gathered after reading that material (narration) is regarding the importance of the unity spirit. The Youth Pledge was seen as a fundamental recognition of a nation in the making. The youths by understanding the long history of Indonesia’s struggle, have developed a

deep awareness of the importance of unity. Without the spirit of unity, it is impossible for the nation of Indonesia to be free from colonization]

The citation above shows that the teachers posit the spirit of unity as the key values of the Youth Pledge narration. The teacher rewords the term 'unity' in three different sentences in order to present the values of unity in the past and present times. This mode of interpretation showed that the teachers tend to realize the importance and tried to reproduce the discourse of unity. In general, this citation represents the common mode of interpretation that had been used among teachers. In sum, the citation also reveals that the teachers accepted the textbook narration; therefore, the similar meaning between textbook narration and teachers' interpretation occurred that the unity is postulated above the diversity.

This interpretation constructs the objectification of the teachers towards the textbook narration. The teachers' objectification is presented in the form of several attitudes such as patriotism, struggle, unity, nationalism, sovereignty, independence. The teachers mostly objected the narration into some terms like cooperation, mutual respect, deliberation, as the representational attitude of unity. Such attitudes coincided with the contextualization of narration. The teachers tried to extend the discourse by contextualizing the topic of learning with the related problems in the present times such as the problem of disintegration, crisis of national identity, the escalation of radicalism and intolerance among the youth, poverty, and mental degradation. The citation below represents the teachers' objectification:

Nilai yang dapat saya sampaikan adalah nilai persatuan, nilai kemandirian, jati diri, kedaulatan atau penguatan nasionalisme, serta nilai demokrasi. Nilai-nilai tersebut saya relevansikan dengan nilai-nilai persatuan pada masa sekarang yang sedikit banyak mulai memudar. Selain itu saya relevansikan dengan kehidupan sehari-hari, agar siswa dapat memahami dan mengaplikasi-

kan nilai-nilai tersebut di lingkungan sekitar mereka

[The value that I delivered is the unity values, independent values, identity values, sovereignty or nationalism affirmation, also democracy values. Those values I put to relevance with the unity values in the present time, which have started to fade. Furthermore, I put to relevance with daily live activities, so that the students will be able to understand and applied those values in their society.]

Considering this citation, the authors formulate that the teachers' objectification was determined by the knowledge and their senses of the present problems. This process deploys complex mechanism between the teachers' schemata, context, and the new information.

This type of knowledge and attitude produces a marginalized term ethnic, local, that considered as the failure of unity. They tried to seek a mode to express an oppositional term to outlines the disunity. The below citation represents this mode: "*Terwujudnya sumpah pemuda juga berarti keberhasilan dalam meredam gejolak etnosentrisme yang sebelumnya merebak dalam corak perjuangan mengenyahkan eksistensi kolonialisme dan imperialisme*" [The establishment of Youth Pledge also means success in diminishing ethnocentrism that previously blossomed inside the struggle of eradicating the existence of colonialism and imperialism].

The teachers used the word "ethnocentrism" to represent the opposite of unity. In this degree of analysis, the knowledge and attitudes of teachers can be identified as the ideology of nationalism. Based on those descriptions, the trace of teachers' knowledge was led to the nationalism and unity. By this mechanism, the nationalism tends to be the shareable knowledge during learning history.

In addition, in this research cases, there is a linear line between the textbook narration and teachers' interpretation and objectification, in which the presented discourse is the unity above diversity. This

indicates the knowledge and attitude of teachers that are in line with the textbook, of putting the unity above the diversity. The discourse of ethnocentrism is derived from the content of the textbook. It means the teachers tend to reproduce this term in their interpretation, and in certain degree, in their objectification. This attitude can determine the social identity in which the space for socio-cultural ethnic diversity is less considered in the term of unity above diversity.

Unity above Diversity

As the result of the teachers' interpretation, the structured position of unity above diversity shows the dynamic transformation on the meaning of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. Whether it is realized or not by the other researchers such as (Mulyana, 2013; Utami and Widiadi, 2016), it seems the structured position of unity above diversity are missed from their research range. Considering the teachers' confirmation on the textbook discourse, the authors assumed that the discourse of "unity above diversity" has rooted in the ideology of Indonesian people. The teachers' confirmation reflects that they already had knowledge of unity above diversity. This mental condition could reflect the social structure of Indonesia society, since the education became an arena of production and reproduction of narration of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Suryadinata, 1988).

From historical perspective, this structural position, which posits the discourse unity above diversity, could be traced as the transformation as well as the legacy of the early politicization of the discourse of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. Historically, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* has rooted as a cognitive mode of nation integration. Soekarno had generated the term *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* from the ancient manuscript of Majapahit Empire, *Kakawin Sutasoma* (Aoyama, 1986), and he used it precisely as the national myth (Fisher, 1967) to evokes the sense of active pluralism (Vatikiotis, 1998) during the political turbulence in the Constitutional Democracy and later in the Guided Democracy eras

(Herbert, 1962).

In the following periods, this term was reproduced in the framework of New Order's interpretation to create a politico-economic stabilization through the discourse of harmony and unity (Carnegie, 2010; Prawiradinata, 1988). This term had been posited as the cultural strategy (Jones, 2015), and in certain degree, as the integrative ideology along with politico-military repression (Weatherbee, 1981). After the fall of the New Order, the term is adopting continuously -even some intellectuals such as Suparlan (2014) and Boellstorff (2014) has questioned it.

The symptoms of unequal position of the unity above diversity had been indicated by Pauker (1958) and Bemmelen and Raben's (2011) observations that since the 1950, the government had concerned with the unity that resulted in the impressiveness of national interests. As Heesterman's (1986) argumentation, this unequal position brought paradox meaning to *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* that in one hand the people should dispose to integrate in one nation but in the other hand, they also held their local identities and, in certain degree, local aspirations. No doubt, in some cases, this paradoxical meaning resulted crucial problems in society.

From this point of view, the authors postulate that there is a problem between nationalism and diversity, particularly towards the presence of others in Indonesian society. As indicated by Sariyatun, Joebagio and Sumardjoko (2018), this condition can be worsened due to the minority intolerance problems in Indonesia's education. The problem is that the unequal position between unity and diversity. This research shows the privilege of unity and, in a certain degree, the negative perception towards the term ethnicity such as ethnocentrism. Consequently, about the minority problem in Indonesian education, the narration of diversity is less presented in the textbook narration or in the classroom discourse. It means, using Salmi's (1993) framework, the discourse narrative and knowledge of ethnicity are annihilated. In this condition, the problem

of unity and diversity becomes more complicated because of multiplicity frameworks of the nation construction between unity and diversity as well as between ethnicities and religiosity (Meuleman, 2006).

Those above analysis showed that the objective of Indonesian education is to evoke the culture of unity in diversity, by considering this research, has not reached the expectation. This research showed that the narration and discourse of unity had posited above the diversity. The privilege had been given to the narration of unity. This narration and discourse had been reproduced in the teachers' interpretation and objectification. It possibly becomes a crucial problem for the future of Indonesian education that, as the impact of globalization and migration, should be able to foster the students' awareness of diversity. Thus, as Bazzi, Gaduh, Rothenberg, and Wong's (2018) framework, the authors believe that the textbook narration should depict the history of socio-religious diversity and interactions of Indonesian society by using equal narration in each level of national integration.

CONCLUSION

Based on the findings of research, the authors conclude that the history textbook narrated *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* under the discourse of unity. The teachers seem to confirm and reproduce the narration and discourse of the textbook. Meanwhile, teachers' objectification was affected by the teachers' schemata, context, and the discourse practices. This mechanism of discourse comprehension from the narration and discourse of the textbook until the teachers' interpretation and objectification had resulting in the discourse of unity above diversity that is closely related to the ideology nationalism. The authors highlighted the unequal position between unity and diversity as the crucial problem in the textbook narration and discourse that, in certain degrees, could become a latent problem for the national integration, such as minority intolerance and annihilation.

These findings theoretically and

practically implicate in both of the preview of textbook analysis and the analysis of teachers' discourse. By this research, the authors provoke other researchers to take a history didactic approach in analyzing the narration or discourse of the textbook. It is because the discourse in textbook should be contextualized in its practical environment that is in the classroom in order to get a holistic understanding of the textbook and discourse mechanism in the classroom. Meanwhile, the government should provide a plural narration as well as discourse in the textbook history that puts unity and diversity in an equal position to become unity in diversity. The plural narration can be provided by socio-ecological approach that theoretically gives a space for the diversity narration from the localities. This research, of course, has a limitation in which the analysis did not touch dimension of students' interpretation and objectification towards the textbook and teachers' discourse. However, the research can become an alarm of unequal narration between unity and diversity that can be used as a recommendation for the textbook improvement.

REFERENCES

- Abidin, N. F. (2017). Narasi Nasionalisme dan Logika Oposisi Biner dalam Buku Teks Sejarah dari Orde Baru hingga Post-reformasi. In S. Margana, R. Sekarningrum, & A. Faisol (Eds.), *Menemukan Historiografi Indonesiasentris* (pp. 436–460). Yogyakarta: penerbit Ombak.
- AM, S., & Lestariningsih, A. D. (2017). *Sejarah Indonesia, SMA/MA/SMK/MAK, Kelas XI, Semester 1*. Jakarta: Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Republik Indonesia.
- Aoyama, T. (1986). The Adoption and Structural Transformation in Old Javanese Literature of Sutasoma, an Indian Buddhist Story. *Tonan Ajia Kenkyu (Southeast Asian Studies)[Kyoto]*, 24(1), 3–17.
- Bazzi, S., Gaduh, A., Rothenberg, A., Wong, M., & others. (2018). *Unity in Diversity? How Intergroup Contact Can Foster Nation Building*.
- Bemmelen, S. van, & Raben, R. (2011). Se-

- jarah Daerah Tahun 1950-an dan Dekonstruksi Narasi Besar Integrasi Nasional. In S. van Bemmelen & R. Raben (Eds.), *Antara Daerah dan Negara: Indonesia Tahun 1950-an. Pembongkaran Narasi Besar Integrasi Bangsa* (pp. 1–17). Jakarta: Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia & KITLV-Jakarta.
- Boellstorff, T. (2014). A New Archipelago Concept for the Era Reformasi? *Antropologi Indonesia*.
- Carnegie, M. (2010). Living with difference in rural Indonesia: What can be learned for national and regional political agendas? *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 41(3), 449–481.
- Curaming, R. A. (2005). Behind, Between and Beyond Politics: The “Political” History in the Writing of Textbook in Indonesia and the Philippines. In *Asia-Pacific Forum* (pp. 1–22).
- Darmawan, Wawan; Mulyana, A. (2017). Sejarah dan Ideologi dalam Penulisan Buku Teks Pelajaran Sejarah untuk Sekolah Menengah Atas (SMA) berdasarkan Kurikulum 2004 dan Kurikulum 2013. In *Kapita Selekta (Pendidikan) Sejarah Indonesia* (pp. 391–404). Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak.
- Darwati, D. (2011). Pemanfaatan Buku Teks oleh Guru dalam Pembelajaran Sejarah: Studi Kasus Di Sma Negeri Kabupaten Semarang. *Paramita: Historical Studies Journal*, 21(1).
- Djalong, F. (2017). Investing Intolerance: “Pendidikan Karakter” and Curriculum 2013. Retrieved April 12, 2018, from <http://democracydevelopmentsecurity.org/investing-intolerance-pendidikan-karakter-and-curriculum-2013/>
- Farisi, M. I. (2014). Bhinneka Tunggal Ika [Unity in Diversity]: From Dynastic Policy to Classroom Practice. *JSSE-Journal of Social Science Education*, 13(1).
- Fisher, C. A. (1967). Economic Myth and Geographical Reality in Indonesia. *Modern Asian Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0026749X00000196>
- Haynor, A. L., Apple, M. W., & Christian-Smith, L. K. (1991). The Politics of the Textbook. In *The Politics of the Textbook*. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2075462>
- Heesterman, J. C. (1986). IV. Unity and Diversity in India and Indonesia. *Itinerario*, 10(1), 83–96.
- Herbert, F. (1962). The decline of constitutional democracy in Indonesia. *New York: Cornell University*.
- Jones, T. (2015). *Kebudayaan dan Kekuasaan di Indonesia: Kebijakan Budaya Selama Abad Ke 20 Hingga Era Reformasi*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Kurniawan, H. (2017). Pembelajaran Sejarah yang Indonesiasentris: Reformulasi Bahan Ajar Sejarah Berbasis Kebhinekaan. In S. Margana, Baha`Uddin, & A. Faisol (Eds.), *Kapita Selekta (Pendidikan) Sejarah Indonesia* (pp. 204–221). Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak.
- Liddle, R. W. (1970). *Ethnicity, party, and national integration: an Indonesian case study*. Yale University Press.
- Mcbeth, J. (2018). A youthful intolerance takes hold in Indonesia. Retrieved July 17, 2018, from <http://www.atimes.com/article/a-youthful-intolerance-takes-hold-in-indonesia/>
- Meuleman, J. (2006). Between unity and diversity: The construction of the Indonesian nation. *European Journal of East Asian Studies*, 5(1), 45–69.
- Mulyana, A. (2013). Nasionalisme dan Militarisme: Ideologisasi Historiografi Buku Teks Pelajaran Sejarah SMA. *Paramita: Historical Studies Journal*.
- Mulyana, A. (2017). Multikulturalisme dalam Buku Teks Pelajaran SMA Suatu Kajian Historiografi. In S. Margana, Baha`Uddin, & A. Faisol (Eds.), *Kapita Selekta (Pendidikan) Sejarah Indonesia* (pp. 1–21). Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak.
- Pauker, G. J. (1958). Indonesian images of their National Self. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 305–324.
- Prawiradinata, M. S., & others. (1988). Stability, elites and development policy in the new order Indonesia 1966-1983.
- Purwanta, H. (2012). Evaluasi Isi Buku Teks Pelajaran Sejarah Pada Masa Orde Baru. *Cakrawala Pendidikan*.
- Purwanta, H. (2013). Militer dan Konstruksi Identitas Nasional: Analisis Buku Teks Pelajaran Sejarah Sma Masa Orde Baru. *Paramita: Historical Studies Journal*, 23(1).
- Purwanta, H. (2017). Militaristic Discourse in Secondary Education History Textbooks during and after the Soeharto Era. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society*, 9(1), 36–57.
- Purwanta, H. (2018). The representation of colonial discourse in Indonesian secondary education history textbooks during and after the New Order (1975–

- 2013). *History of Education*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0046760X.2017.1384855>
- Repoussi, M., & Tutiaux-Guillon, N. (2010). New Trends in History Textbook Research: Issues and Methodologies toward a School Historiography. *Journal of Educational Media, Memory & Society VO - 2*. <https://doi.org/10.3167/jemms.2010.020109>
- Saidi, A. (2012). ISLAM AND MULTICULTURALISM: CHALLENGE TO THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY IN INDONESIA. *Jurnal Masyarakat Dan Budaya*, 14(2), 235–252.
- Salmi, J. (1993). *Violence and Democratic Society: New Approaches to Human Rights*. Zed Books.
- Sariyatun, H. J., & Sumardjoko, B. (n.d.). Proliferation of Democratic Education in Indonesia: The Influence Measurement of Tolerance, Multiculturalism, and Historical Awareness on the Democratic Attitude. *Stanisław Juszczak*, 112.
- Schefold, R. (1998). The Domestication of Culture: Nation-Building and Ethnic Diversity in Indonesia. *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde*. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90003898>
- Sofjan, D. (2016). Religious Diversity and Politico-Religious Intolerance in Indonesia and Malaysia. *Review of Faith and International Affairs*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15570274.2016.1248532>
- Suparlan, P. (2014). Bhinneka Tunggal Ika: Keanekaragaman Sukubangsa atau Kebudayaan? *Antropologi Indonesia*.
- Suryadinata, L. (1988). Government Policy and National Integration in Indonesia. *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science*, 111–131.
- Utami, I. W. P., & Widiadi, A. N. (2016). Wacana Bhineka Tunggal Ika dalam Buku Teks Sejarah. *Paramita: Historical Studies Journal*, 26(1), 106–117.
- van Dijk, T. (2015). Critical Discourse Analysis. *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis, Vol. 2*. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.29.1.447>
- van Dijk, T. A. (2017). Socio-cognitive discourse studies. In *The Routledge handbook of critical discourse studies* (pp. 26–43). Routledge.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1980). Discourse studies and education. *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*, 3(1), 1–28.
- Vatikiotis, M. R. J. (1998). Indonesian politics under Suharto: The rise and fall of the New Order. *Politics in Asia Series*. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2059329>
- Weatherbee, D. E. (1981). The Indonesianization of East Timor. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 3(1), 1–23.
- White, H. (2009). *The content of the form: Narrative discourse and historical representation*. JHU Press.