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Women's Narratives and Political Problems in Indonesian History Textbooks

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Abstract

A review of historical learning in developing gender justice can start from basic questions about the construction of women's narratives in textbooks. This study aims to investigate women's narratives and their political problems in Indonesian history textbooks. This research was conducted with descriptive qualitative method. Sources of data come from textbooks published by Puskurbuk and Erlangga. Data analysis used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The results of this study indicate that the distribution of women based on regional origin and time is quite problematic, women are characterized as weak human beings. Women's role are categorized into six; women as wives, aristocratic relatives, parents or mothers, warriors, leaders, and politicians. Women's narratives are shaped by patriarchal power and by the impetus of anti-feminist ideology. Thus, the meaning of women's narratives is not very visible. A historical narrative with a feminist perspective is needed to create a more ideal Indonesian history to be taught in schools.

Keywords

Women's narrative, political problems, textbooks, Indonesian history

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Narrativas de Mujeres y Problemas Políticos en los Libros de Texto de Historia de Indonesia

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Resumen

Una revisión del aprendizaje histórico en el desarrollo de la justicia de género puede partir de preguntas básicas sobre la construcción de las narrativas de las mujeres en los libros de texto. Este estudio tiene como objetivo investigar las narrativas de las mujeres y sus problemas políticos en los libros de texto de historia de Indonesia. Esta investigación se realizó con método cualitativo descriptivo. Las fuentes de datos provienen de libros de texto publicados por Pusurbuk y Erlangga. El análisis de datos utilizó el Análisis Crítico del Discurso (CDA). Los resultados de este estudio indican que la distribución de las mujeres con base en el origen regional y el tiempo es bastante problemática, las mujeres se caracterizan como seres humanos débiles. El papel de la mujer se clasifica en seis; mujeres como esposas, parientes aristocráticos, padres o madres, guerreras, líderes y políticas. Las narrativas de las mujeres están moldeadas por el poder patriarcal y por el ímpetu de la ideología antifeminista. Así, el significado de las narrativas de las mujeres no es muy visible. Se necesita una narrativa histórica con una perspectiva feminista para crear una historia de Indonesia más ideal para ser enseñada en las escuelas.

Palabras clave

Narrativa de mujeres, problemas políticos, libros de texto, historia de Indonesia

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Gender problems are not only found in social life, a woman who is harassed or gets negative treatment from men in carrying out her activities begins with the failure of gender justice to be built as an academic discourse (Cooray & Potrafke, 2011; Chaudhry & Rahman, 2009; Balamoune–Lutz & McGillivray, 2015; Rammohan & Vu, 2018). If it is observed, then there is inequality that arises, the positions of men and women are not placed in one canon with the nuances of equality (Shayan, 2015; Wiesner-Hanks, 2021; Kumar, 2011). The discourse continues to give birth to an absurd way of thinking about gender, people are more accustomed to building patriarchal narratives (Hilson, 1988; Henderson et al., 2020). The contribution of historical education to gender inequality is quite significant, Chick (2006) through his research results said that historical education in America is quite significant in displaying gender inequality, male figures are more dominantly discussed and the role of women tends to be sidelined (Herd et al., 2019). This is not due to the absence of women or the passiveness of women history researchers, but the rationale for compiling American history textbooks and curriculums is to put forward the spirit of patriarchy (Kenschaft et al., 2015; Lucy et al., 2020).

The research of Epstein and Shiller (2015) clarifies the notion that national history learning does not always pay attention to gender balance in the narrative development process. The history curriculum is structured with a gender-biased political spirit, seeing women not as the subject of history mover (Scott, 1988; Yulia, 2016; Amini, 2018; Nuryanti & Akob, 2019; Mariana, 2021). Humans in history who are gender biased are only described as masculine, a person who is strong and well built, so that he is able to gain power and be able to exert influence (Sadker & Zittleman, 2007; Zeleza, 2005; Russell, 2018). Whereas in actual history, not everything that changes history are humans with masculine characteristics, there is also history that is driven by humans with feminist characteristics, without threats and violence, for example the story of the struggle of Mary Wollstencraft (Todd, 2014) with her book entitled *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, which tells the story of the importance of gender equality in education, or the story of Simone de Beauvoir, a philosopher who contributed her ideas to increasing women's self-esteem (Hekman, 2015). Also in the history of the Dutch East Indies (the name of Indonesia under Dutch colonialism, 1800-1945), a character named Cornelia Hendrika Razoux Schultz-Metzer became the first woman to sit in the Dutch East Indies Parliament and was active in women's activism to improve the lives of Dutch East Indies women through education and politics. This figure is the same as the two previous figures who were 'absent' in Indonesian history which is in textbooks and taught in schools (Janti, 2018). Dozono (2017) has considered aspects of micro-history in teaching national history; women, natives, even ordinary people who have absolutely no contact with power need to be drawn into the curriculum, alternative history provides students with more insight (Ahmad, 2016; Ortega-Sánchez, 2019; Ramirez, 2020).

Beginning from the study above, researchers began to question the existence of Indonesian history taught in schools and the gender inequality in it. The history of women is minor and rarely discussed in academic conversations at school (Putri, 2021; Mentari, 2022). The national history developed by Indonesia has the same characteristics as America: firstly, it is built in chronology; secondly, nationalism as the basis; and thirdly, dominated by political narratives. From these three reasons, there is a possibility that Indonesian history is also patriarchal, prioritizing the role of men rather than women as history-formers. Even though it is supposed

to develop a solid society that cooperates in development, gender issues need to be resolved through education, the way of thinking has a strong influence on the way people work (Blumberg, 2007; Wendt & Molding, 2016). Gender balance in historical narratives allows the growth of humanism and a sense of justice (Deutscher, 2002).

This study aims to analyze the narrative of women in Indonesian history textbooks used in high school. The analysis is divided into three dimensions, namely: context analysis, cognitive analysis, and text analysis (Van Dijk, 1999). The overall analysis conducted is intended to see the extent to which certain ideological discourses are constructed through gender narratives in Indonesian history. The important contribution of this research lies in the recommendations that can be made for the improvement and idealization of Indonesian historical narratives in schools.

Methods

This research was carried out with a qualitative descriptive approach. Researchers seek to explore the extent to which women's narratives and their political problems are discussed in Indonesian history textbooks in high school. The history of women gets more attention in this study, women are an important context in building a just gender narrative, without attention to women's narratives it is impossible for history to be taught in an objective and balanced manner. This type of qualitative descriptive approach allows researchers to expose as is the data and information obtained in the research process (Lambert & Lambert, 2012). This kind of exposure can provide a clear explain of the current situation, so that researchers can formulate research findings and analyzes more fully. In a qualitative descriptive study, the condition of the data obtained describes the actual situation, without the need for re-adjustment of the data.

The data for this research comes entirely from secondary data, namely Indonesian history textbooks produced and circulated by the Erlangga Publisher in the 2019 print year and the Curriculum and Books Center (Puskurbuk) of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology in the 2018 print year.

This research examines seven textbooks used in history lessons for grades 10, 11, and 12 at senior high schools. The book was published by two different publishers in implementing the same curriculum, namely Curriculum 2013.

Table 1

Textbooks used as data

| Author (s) | Year | Title | Publisher |
|---|------|---|---|
| Amurwani Dwi Lestari Ningsih, Restu Gunawan, & Sardiman | 2017 | <i>History of Indonesia for Class X SMA/MA/SMK/MAK [History for High School, Grade 10]</i> | Center for Curriculum and Books (Puskurbuk), Government Publisher |
| Sardiman & Amurwani Dwi Lestari Ningsih | 2017 | <i>History of Indonesia for Class XI SMA/MA/SMK/MAK Semester 1 [History for High School, Grade 11 Semester 1]</i> | |

| Author (s) | Year | Title | Publisher |
|--|------|---|--|
| Sardiman & Amurwani Dwi Lestari Ningsih | 2017 | <i>History of Indonesia for Class XI SMA/MA/SMK/MAK Semester 2 [History for High School, Grade 11 Semester 2]</i> | |
| Abdurakhman, Arif Pradono, Linda Sunarti, & Susanto Zuhdi | 2018 | <i>History of Indonesia for Class XII SMA/MA/SMK/MAK [History for High School, Grade 12]</i> | |
| Ratna Hapsari & M. Adil | 2016 | <i>History of Indonesia for Class X SMA/MA [History for High School, Grade 10]</i> | |
| Ratna Hapsari & M. Adil | 2016 | <i>History of Indonesia for Class XI SMA/MA [History for High School, Grade 11]</i> | Erlangga Publisher, Private Company |
| Ratna Hapsari & M. Adil | 2016 | <i>History of Indonesia for Class XII SMA/MA [History for High School, Grade 12]</i> | |

The selected data sources allow researchers to obtain complete data on women's narratives developed by the private sector and the government. Erlangga Publisher is a private publisher that publishes many history books for schools. In addition, books published by Erlangga have been adopted by many schools in Indonesia. This publisher was established in 1952 with a focus on meeting the needs for educational books. In 2020 Erlangga won the prestigious Top Brand for Teens 2020 award, which was the eighth consecutive award (2013-2023) for the "Educational Book" category. In addition, in 2021 Erlangga Publisher won the prestigious Top Brand Gen Z award. It can be said that Erlangga is currently the largest private publisher in Indonesia. Its reputation places the publisher as one of the publishers with the widest number of book adoptions in Indonesia (<https://erlangga.co.id/>). For this reason, it would be interesting if the history textbooks they compiled and published were critically examined from the perspective of the historical content of women in them. Meanwhile, Pusurbuk is a state institution in charge of publishing books for learning in schools. Pusurbuk is the only compiler, publisher and supervisor of the book industry in Indonesia which is under the Education Standards, Curriculum and Assessment Agency, Ministry of Education and Culture. As a government-owned publication, Pusurbuk is tasked with providing the main textbooks used as learning resources in schools, one of which is an Indonesian history book for high schools (<https://pusbuk.kemdikbud.go.id/>). The two publishers above dominate the book market in Indonesian high schools, so a review of the historical content of women in the books they produce is important and relevant to do. The books analyzed include Indonesian History for grade 10, grade 11, and grade 12 for all areas of competence. All of the books studied represent the condition of women's narratives that are constructed in history learning in each phase of high school learning to build the nuances of Indonesian history that pays attention to

the distribution of regions, the distribution of characters in time, and the distribution of women's roles.

The analysis in this study applies Critical Discourse Analysis (Van Dijk, 1999). Discourse studies in Indonesian history textbooks using CDA have been conducted by Purwanta and Novianto (2022) and Kurniawan, et al. (2023). This approach is relevant to be applied in this study by considering the content composed by the author (actor) which is inseparable from the socio-cultural background and the author's partiality towards ideological and political preferences. What is meant by critical discourse analysis is an approach to the study of texts, which emerges from critical linguistics, critical semiotics and in general from socio-politics and is a different way of investigating language, discourse, and communication. The four elements investigated in this research are: firstly, the discourse on gender inequality that is presented in Indonesian history textbooks; secondly, criticism of women's discourse; thirdly, the ideology that underlies the emergence of discourse; and fourth, the power that gave birth to the discourse-forming ideology. Thus, through this context, the critical discourse analysis that is carried out seeks to prove the notion that various social, cultural, identity and power structures are not fixed, and easy to change, but to read the contents of these concepts in historical texts in books requires a critical study. Researchers believe that the text that has been compiled and presented is very far from the word 'neutral', but in it there is a certain ideological content which is the basis for the construction of people's knowledge about gender and the placement of women's position in the social life of a society that continues to develop.

Results

Below will be presented the research findings from the results of the investigations that have been carried out. The results of this study can be identified into six categories: firstly, the characterization of women in Indonesian history textbooks from the two studied sources; secondly, the composition of the regional origin of women that became the findings; thirdly, the composition of women's narratives in the periodization of Indonesian history; fourthly, the composition of the roles of women discussed; fifthly, women dominant persona and narrative; and sixthly, the discourse of ideology and power behind women's narratives.

Characterization of Women in Indonesian History Textbooks

The narratives of women in Indonesian history textbooks are not so complex, women are depicted as complementary parts in Indonesian history, not as the main narrative. There are 47 female characters who appear in textbooks published by Pusurbuk and 40 female figures who appear in textbooks published by Erlangga. The difference in this number is quite significant, the book published by Pusurbuk shows more women's roles in the narrative in the book. However, this does not mean that the narrative capacity conveyed is sufficient to describe the representation of women in history, but rather that the emerging narrative patterns of women have a similar pattern, namely that women are placed as subjects that complement the hegemonic narrative of Indonesian history which is dominated by men.

Information in the textbook published by Pusurbuk, a women who can be found since ancient times is Pramodawardhani from the 8th century who is described as the wife of Rakai Pikatan. Sanaha from the 8th century who was the mother of king Sanjaya, sister of Sanna. Goddess Tara from the 9th century who is the wife of the king of Wanara. Ken Endok from the 13th century who is the mother of Ken Angrok. Ken Dedes from the 13th century as the Empress of the Singasari kingdom. Pakungwati from the 14th century who is described as the wife of Syarif Hidayatullah. These figures are several women from the many rows of names that are characterized as complements in Indonesian historical stories. All of these characters are equally described as gentle women, not having a striking heroism in the textbooks. Women are placed as complementary or minor information in history that tells about the greatness of male figures such as Sanjaya and Ken Angrok, but there is no meaningful articulation of their existence.

The potential to display more heroic women is not non-existent, in some parts some characters are described as too masculine and tend to be similar to men, such as Ratu Sima from the 7th century as the leader of the Kalingga kingdom. Tribhuwana Tungadewi Jayawisnuwardani from the 14th century as the leader of the Majapahit kingdom. Christina Martha Tiahahu from the 19th century as a physical warrior from Ambon. Nyi Ageng Serang from the 19th century as a physical war fighter from Yogyakarta. When a woman appears as a warrior, she is identified as a man who is physically and psychologically strong, why does the characterization that is displayed does not show a more feminist side, a depiction that cannot be separated from patriarchy, when greatness can only be born from male characters or if she is like a man.

In Erlangga's book, the depiction of a women is not much different, a character named Sobakancana from the 7th century who is the daughter of King Linggawarman. Kirana from the 12th century who was the wife of king Kameswhara who was also a princess of Jenggala. Ken Dedes from the 12th century who was the wife of Tunggulametung king of Singasari. Dara Jingga and Dara Petak from the 13th century who are daughters of the Malay kingdom. Kusumawardhani from the 14th century who was the daughter of Hayam Wuruk, the king of Majapahit. Ratu Ageng from the 18th century who is Prince Diponegoro's grandmother. All of these figures are representations of the depiction of women in Indonesian history textbooks, where the role of women is not exposed more to describe their greatness and strength as feminists, instead of strength like men, so that they appear biased, so that the impression that their existence is not too visible. important and deserves to be ruled out in history. However, there are several women who are also depicted in a masculine manner, such as Cut Nyak Dien from the 19th century who is a physical war fighter from Aceh. The depiction of Cut Nyak Dien as a mighty woman cannot be separated from her social role as the wife of the independence fighter Teuku Umar who is also from Aceh. Every greatness of women is always associated with the role of men. When a woman stands alone and becomes a character according to what she has done, then there is no reason for the material writer to include the name of the character in the main material that needs to be taught.

Based on the identification results above, the characterization of women in Indonesian history textbooks can be identified in three ways: firstly, women as male friends, either as wives or as relatives; secondly, women as human beings who are exalted but do not actually

have any power; and thirdly, women as warriors who are described as masculine, stylized as men, in this case there are doubts that arise to create an honest and candid women's narrative.

Composition of Regional Origin of Women

Indonesian history is composed by a combination of various aspects, the most dominant of which is related to regional origin and historical periodization. To describe the history of the people from Sumatra to Papua (5,120 km), the compilers of Indonesian history materials need to include figures from various regions so that Indonesian history looks representative. This means that the history of Indonesia is sufficient to represent the existence of ethnic groups or people from various regions that are included in the territory of Indonesia. In an era of increasingly open research collaborations and opportunities, the process of identifying female leaders from various provinces is very possible. This is not about an excessive effort to equalize the representation of women from every province in Indonesia, but as a critique of the composition of women in textbooks which has had an impact on the formation of memories and perspectives on Indonesian history which was dominated by men and tends to ignore the existence of women from other provinces.

The framing of figures from one province and neglecting other provinces does not have an impact such as economic loss, but in the process of studying history in a nation that spans quite a wide area like Indonesia, contextualization is very important, meaning how can a student read the history that is closest to him before finally know the construction of nationalism in his country. For example, students in Jayapura, Papua Province had difficulty studying civilizations that developed in Surakarta, Central Java Province, such as the Islamic Mataram dynasty, because they were quite far apart, namely 3920 km, let alone to understand the figures at that time, aspects of this kind of attachment play an important role in developing historical knowledge.

The representation of female figures from each province in textbooks at least has the potential to erode the nuances of centralizing historical knowledge sources from one ethnicity from one island, this issue has been a long debate in Indonesian political life, between power being centralized or evenly distributed, domination has an unfavorable impact on development of nationalism, also related to the production of knowledge in education.

The data regarding the composition of regional origins of women in the textbook are as follows.

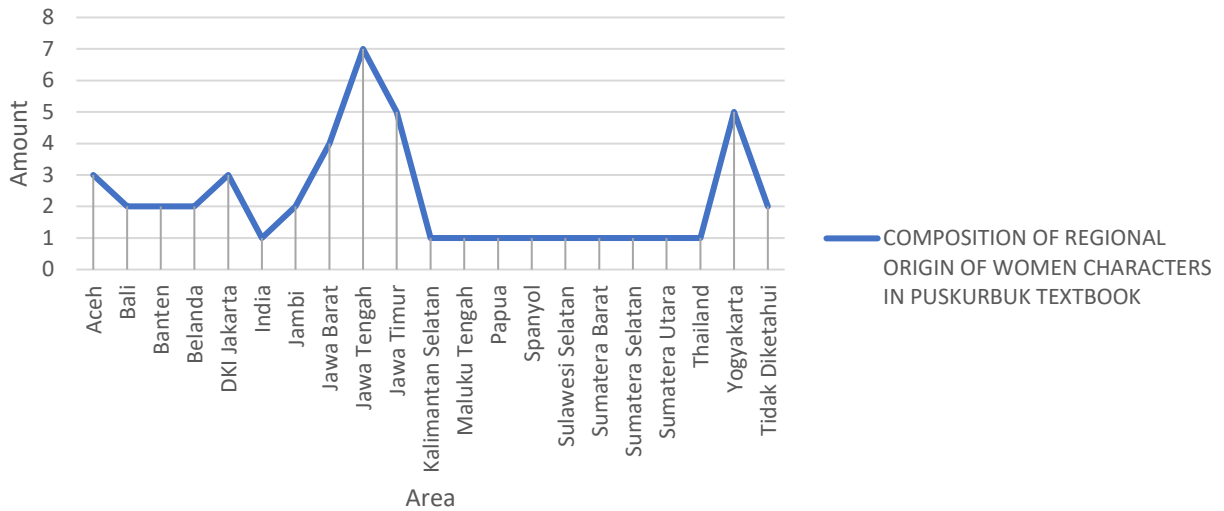
Figure 1*Composition of Regional Origin of Women in Puskurbuk Textbook*

Figure 1 provides information on the composition of regional origins of women in historical narratives in Indonesian history textbooks published by Puskurbuk. There are twenty regions, three foreign countries and seventeen provinces in Indonesia that represent the origin of women in textbooks, besides that there are also two figures whose regional origins are unknown. Women from abroad who appear in the textbooks represent the Netherlands, India, and Thailand. Currently, Indonesia has thirty-seven provinces stretching from Sabang to Merauke. If the representation of women figures is only in seventeen regions, then not half of the provinces in Indonesia are represented by women's work. If Indonesia's history is structured fairly, then there should be figures who represent other regions. However, such an even distribution may only become a utopia and make Indonesian history even more unattractive to study, in addition to the character of the reader who is getting bored with memorizing the names of the characters, sometimes the role of women is not described in a straightforward manner, as what, how they act in the field. politics, economics, culture, etc., all of which make the depiction of women seem biased. This is due to the effort to realize a non-concrete depiction of women, between wanting to show women as warriors, but the color of the culture that places women as wives, humans in the second line, is still very visible, in other words behind its strength, the mighty women in textbooks are still has absolute weakness, incompetence, and dependence on men.

In addition, of the seventeen regions that represent the regional origins of women leaders, there are significant differences when viewed from the number of figures per region, Java still dominates the representation of women, both from Central Java, East Java, Yogyakarta, and West Java provinces occupy strategic positions. in carrying out women who represent the region. This condition at the same time denies the Indonesian-centric perspective that is put forward in the writing of Indonesian history, but rather Java-centric, a perspective that places people from the island of Java dominantly in the narrative of Indonesian history from various phases. For this reason, it is necessary to emphasize whether the writing of history wants to promote a narrative that contains the theme of women's heroism, or first wants to raise the

interest of equality from the region, this is still a question mark. Both conditions have their respective consequences. And in the end, it is historical facts that will build the construction of people's thinking about the role of women and the Indonesian identity that is displayed.

Figure 2

Composition of Regional Origin of Women in Erlangga Textbook

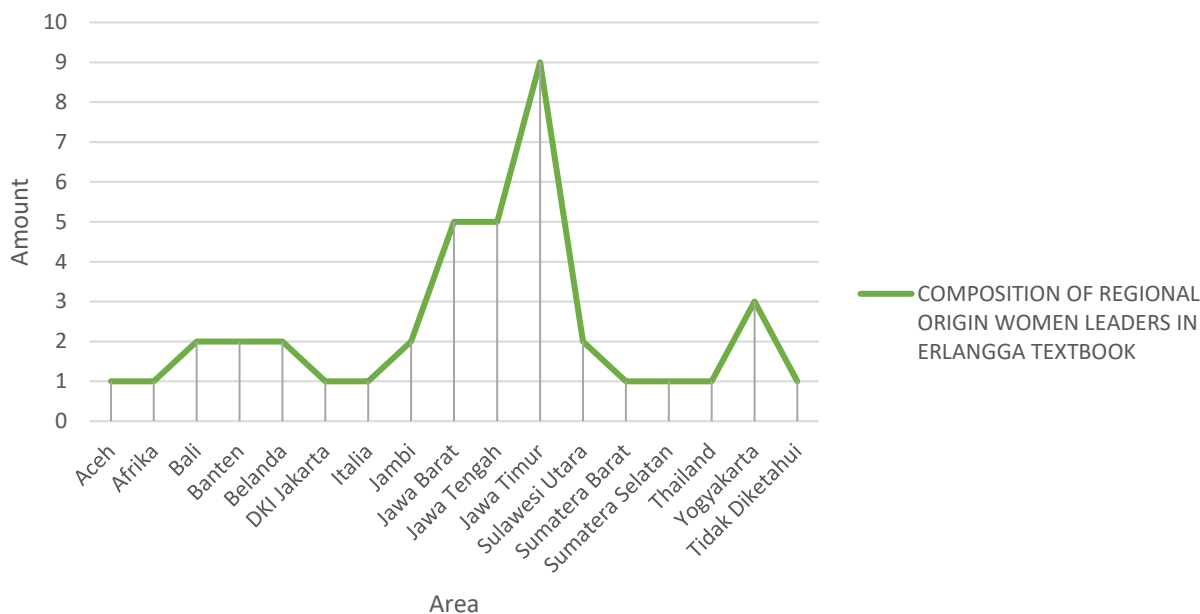


Figure 2 provides information about the regional composition of the women based on a textbook published by Erlangga. If in the Puskurbuk text book the women are dominated from Central Java, in the Erlangga textbook, women are dominated by East Java, followed by Central Java, West Java, and Yogyakarta. From this, it can be understood that the Javanese-centric nuances in the construction of Indonesian historical narratives, especially those that tell stories about women, still do not adequately represent the nuances of Indonesianness. It can be said to have an Indonesian nuance if the history of women in textbooks is arranged by choosing between the following ways: first, by raising themes that are free from regional elements and highlighting the side of Indonesian nationalism or the second way, making women's narratives equal in each region, if today Indonesia divided into 37 provinces, then from each region it is necessary to bring up at least a women, the possibility of adding another province is still very open, meaning that the development of women's narratives will follow the dynamics of such territorial politics. However, implementing the two methods is not easy, a textbook compiler will face several problems, such as: primordial political interests and community self-esteem in each region which tends to emphasize egocentrism. So that Indonesian history knowledges stagnates in its development because it is held hostage by elements of identity politics that come from its own people who do not try to see history as a shared process, but rather history is a "claim" for past struggles based on an ethnocentric point of view, so everyone from every provinces always wants to be appreciated for its services.

Such self-serving character in a struggle is in fact very contrary to the nationalism that is being tried to be developed in Indonesian history lessons. However, such mistakes have been passed down for so long that Indonesian history is judged as a combination of the history of

each region, not history with its own identity, which truly has the spirit of Indonesian nationalism by breaking away from regionalism. The history textbook developed by Erlangga places sixteen regions and one character whose origin is unknown, which is used to compose women's historical narratives with a composition of twelve provinces in Indonesia and four from abroad, some of those overseas regions are Africa, the Netherlands, Italy and Thailand. In addition, there is one character whose origin is unknown. When compared with the books developed by Pusurbuk, the number is relatively smaller, but the composition is still the same, namely that most of the women are only placed as a complement to the large narrative stories of male history that do not place women's roles as the main issue. Most of the women, who are predominantly from East Java, date back to the ancient Indonesian era, which only showed the role of women as wives or noble relatives, not women who had mentality and tenacity more than women in general. In fact, such a narrative is what is needed to compose a pro-feminist history of Indonesia, elevating ideals not only from the point of view of men, but also of women. What has been found confirms the imperfection of textbooks from the point of view of women's history. A new formulation is needed in overhauling the entire contents of textbooks that are more pro-women, not only making women as small objects in the midst of the big subjects of male history.

Women's Narrative in the Periodization of Indonesian History

Indonesian history is arranged chronologically and thematic aspects are quite difficult to find in textbooks, therefore, the construction of material in textbooks is quite thick, starting from the pre-literate era (3rd to 5th century AD), namely when humans were not familiar with writing. Followed by the era of Hindu-Buddhist civilization (5th to 15th centuries AD), namely the emergence of Hindu-Buddhist influence in various fields of life of the people of the archipelago. The era of Islamic civilization (13th to 16th centuries AD), which is the period of the emergence of Islamic influence in various fields of life of the people of the archipelago. The era of colonialism *Verenigde Oost Indische Compagnie* or VOC (16th to 18th centuries AD), namely the era of the entry of Western influence and the trading monopoly of Dutch trading companies. The Dutch East Indies era (19th to 20th century AD), namely the era of Nusantara colonialism under the political power of the Dutch kingdom. The Age of the National Movement (from 1900 to 1945), namely the era of the awakening of national consciousness. The Revolutionary Period (from 1945 to 1949), namely the struggle to maintain independence from the Netherlands through diplomacy and physical war. The Age of Liberal Democracy (from 1950 to 1959), namely the era when Indonesia adopted a parliamentary and multi-party system. Guided Democracy Age (From 1959 to 1966), namely the period when Soekarno held absolute presidential power. The New Order era (1966 to 1998), when Indonesia was ruled by the Suharto military regime. And finally the Reformation era (1998 until now), when Indonesia began to reorganize its democratic life. In that context, women's narratives also develop in every era, the data generated are as follows.

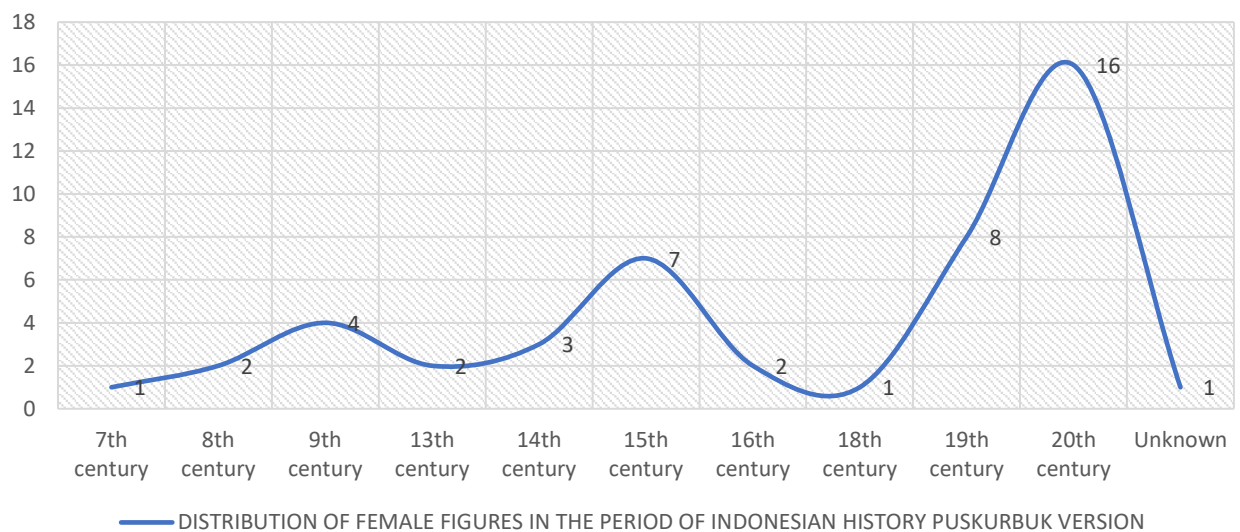
Figure 3*Distribution of Women in Puskurbuk Version*

Figure 3 provides information on the distribution of women in each period of Indonesian history written by Puskurbuk. Periodization means a chronology in history based on events that have occurred in a certain period of time. The history of Indonesia is arranged chronologically so that the chronology is usually carried out from the oldest year to the youngest year. It is known that the distribution of women is based on a predetermined time, there is a range from the 7th century to the 20th century to describe the history of women in textbooks. In every century the emergence of women can be said to be ups and downs, the increase and increase are caused by the intensity of the discussion on Indonesian history to describe the formation of Indonesian identity. It can be seen that women increasingly appear in the narrative when Indonesia entered the 19th century, where at that time the struggle against colonialism began to be carried out, there were several community resistances such as the Diponegoro War (1825-1830), the Aceh War (1873-1904), the Banjar War (1859-1906), and the Batak War (1878-1907). The resistance carried out before the 20th century could be crushed by the Dutch because the nature of the resistance was still regional, the ones who fought were people from certain tribes with a local spirit, not in the context of forming a national state. It was in these wars that women began to exist. Continuing in the 20th century, during the National Movement, a time when national awareness began to grow against colonialism, an awareness that binds colonized people from Sumatra to Papua, the resistance at this time was thought-provoking, spreading ideas about the idea of independence and anti-colonialism, and at this time, women are increasingly emerging with their work in several fields, such as politics, economics, and education.

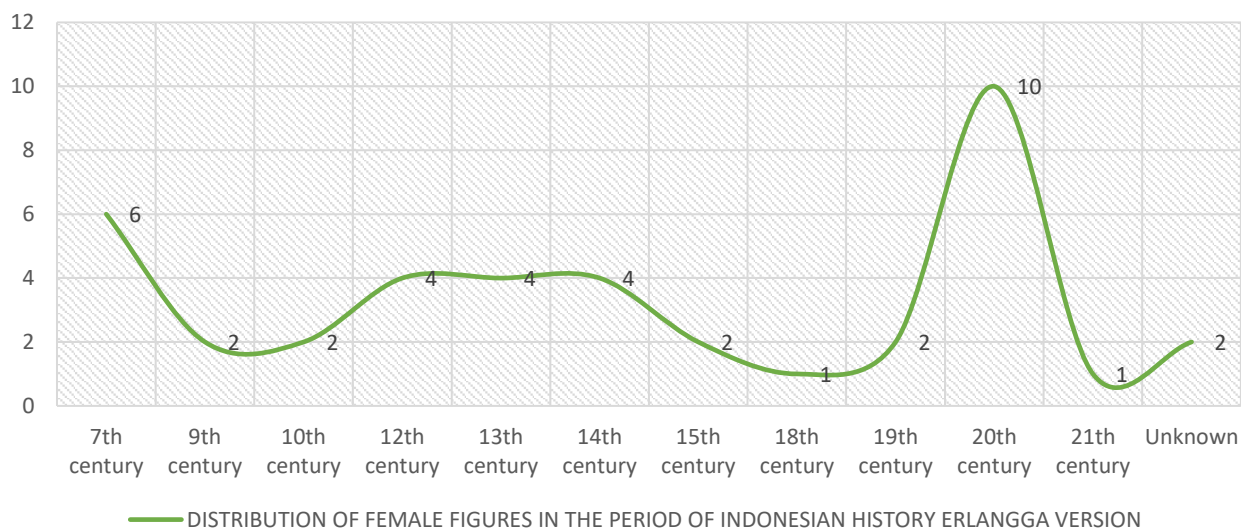
Figure 4*Distribution of Women in Erlangga Version*

Figure 4 provides information on the distribution of women in the periodization of Indonesian history according to the Erlangga publisher. There is a significant difference, that the women in Erlangga's version of Indonesian history were shown from the 7th century to the 21st century. In this book, women were most commonly found in the 7th and 20th centuries, in contrast to the Pusurbuk version, which featured more women in the 19th and 20th centuries. This shows that women were more exposed in the early Hindu-Buddhist era and the era of the National Movement. Uniquely, Erlangga does focus on how women become texts that tell a lot about the progress of women in almost every era, in terms of time, women's work has been widely exposed in every development of civilization. However, the significance of women's discussion in the era of the National Movement was not so striking, there were only ten women who were discussed and discussed as fighters who completed the Indonesian national struggle towards independence. In times such as the late Hindu-Buddhist civilization, Islamic civilization, until the colonial era, women were discussed fairly, a drastic decline occurred when entering the final discussion of the VOC, that was because firstly, women at that time were very rare, and secondly, because of the influence of the VOC and the Netherlands, which places men more in dominating social and political life, historical facts show that all Governor-General from the VOC era to the Dutch East Indies were male, so the role of women did not appear in the discussion of colonial power.

The Women's Role in Textbooks

The distribution of women in the periodization reflects the position and position of women at that time. Many women are placed in positions that are not actually strategic, it can even be said that women's positions are identified as complements in the grand narrative of patriarchy shown in textbooks. If examined from the perspective of role, there are six categories in classifying the roles of women shown in textbooks, namely women as wives, women as noble

relatives, women as parents or mothers, women as warriors, women as leaders, and women as politicians. The complete data is as follows.

Figure 5

The Distribution of Women's Role in Puskurbuk and Erlangga's Textbooks

THE DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN'S GAIT

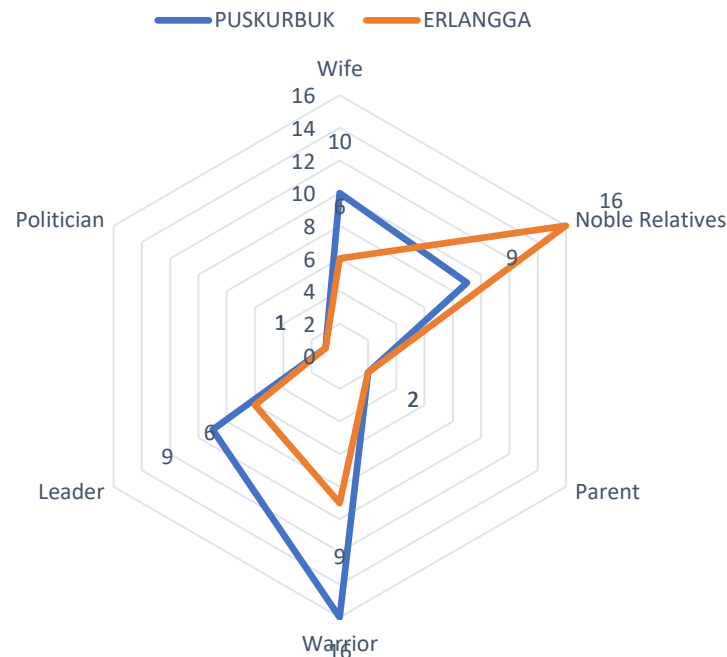


Figure 5 provides information about the distribution of women's work in textbooks, the data is displayed simultaneously, both versions of Puskurbuk and Erlangga. The result is quite striking, that the difference is in the aspect of women's tendencies to be displayed. Puskurbuk's version of Indonesian history describes the tendency for women to be presented as wives, while the Erlangga version tends to discuss women in aristocratic relations in traditional or pre-modern times. However, a slight advantage that Puskurbuk's version of the textbook has is that more women are shown as fighters, this is due to the historical composition in Puskurbuk's textbook which explores more events in the 19th and 20th centuries, where in that century there were quite a number of struggles carried out by women against colonialism in various regions. This tendency does not always have a positive connotation, but if we look deeper, the woman's fighting nature cannot be separated from bias. The most easily found bias is the indecision of showing women in their true nature, women warriors are identified as men, strong, muscular, and strong-bodied figures, even though naturally it will be difficult to find such women, so it can be said that the existing narrative is too glorified, does not display the history as is.

Women leaders in the traditional period are more often featured in Erlangga, in this case Erlangga's creativity in presenting Indonesian history is quite positive, women leadership is shown in the context of Indonesian traditional history (Period of Hindu-Buddhist and Islamic Civilizations), where in various regions in Indonesia quite a number of women occupy the position of queens in kingdoms that have full power over certain areas, such as Ratu Sima and Tribhuwana Tunggaladewi which are shown quite heroically, showing masculine female

characters, able to break the general argument that women have a weak nature and are easily defeated. There is another fundamental difference in the depiction of several women figures in the two textbooks, for example in the Puskurbuk's book, the nuance of heroism is felt in figures such as Kartini, Nyi Hajar Dewantara, and Maria Ulfah Santoso, all three of whom are a clear differentiator, described as figures of renewal of women's thought Indonesia in the early 20th century. Meanwhile, the description in Erlangga's book does not explain in more detail in that part, Erlangga heroifies many female characters from the traditional period. Unfortunately, in the same era (4th to 16th century AD) Dewi Saraswati was not found in Indonesian history textbooks published by Puskurbuk or Erlangga. She is a symbol of knowledge and art in the Hindu tradition that is relevant to be discussed as a source of knowledge about progressive women. This kind of narrative needs to be enriched in Indonesian history, and the existing one needs to be deepened in order to be able to give birth to a new paradigm in historical thinking, namely a way of thinking that puts forward criticism in assessing a historical event. The narrative of women as an alternative can trigger critical discussions, students who begin to question the nature and position of women in the past and then reflect on a historical story.

Women Dominant Persona and Narrative

The history of Indonesia experienced two fundamental problems in its preparation when examined from a gender perspective, firstly, it did not place women as an important aspect that was taught in schools; secondly, the issue of regional equity which has biased history; and thirdly, women who are political hostages, cannot escape the shadow of men. Such narratives can be easily found if we read Indonesian history textbooks in schools, whether published by the government or the private sector. Basically, both of them use research results from historians to compose historical narratives that are taught in schools. Now let's take a deeper look, Indonesian historiography is mostly produced by male historians, only a few women pay attention to history and become historians, for that history written pays more attention to the fate of men than women. This condition makes every event written to prioritize male character and influence, whether it is as a leader, as a fighter, or as a thinker who lays the foundations of the state, this is quite humane, although unfair. Thus, women's historiography needs to be formed first if the narrative in history textbooks at school is to contain more stories about women who are not biased and are more pro-feminist.

From the existing narrative, it can be said that the narrative about women is very far from the feminist spirit. Feminist narratives were developed with the aim of justifying women's rights by generating the same opportunities and benefits as men and thereby eliminating discrimination and violence against women. So feminism is not a mere question of the existence of women, but rather the essence of women's lives; why do they appear in a story if it doesn't mean anything. The meaning will be obtained if the narrative of women does not just exist, but also has a clear role, not developed as a mythology, for example about the stories of Cut Nyak Dien, Cut Meutia, Martha Christina Tiahahu, and Nyi Ageng Serang who are described as being so powerful because they fought against colonialism. Dutch guerrillas take up arms. Why is there no further discussion that explores their way of thinking, why they took up arms, what for, where did the inspiration come from. We need to remember that the

imagination of men and women, especially in Indonesia, is different from what is in the West with its liberal life. Here, since childhood, women have been taught to be human beings who follow orders, trailing behind men, so that in such a cultural environment it would be very difficult to imagine women struggling as hard as men, so these questions are important to answer.

The difficulty of finding a way to express the narrative of pro-feminist women in textbooks is closely related to the personalization of women, she is more depicted as a human being who does domestic tasks as a mother, wife, child, or other noble relatives who seem difficult for them to live. beyond such a social role. Such a depiction not only shows the weakness of women, but also their meaninglessness in Indonesian history. The meaning will arise if the history of women can be presented thematically, raising a story that is completely nuanced in heroism, not limited to just taking up arms, but they also have a unique, influential way of thinking, and whose work is very important in society apart from their wives. who, whose children, whose relatives, basically they are human beings who also have the same opportunity to influence in society, both in forming traditional orders, fighting against colonialism, spreading national ideas, participating in the struggle for independence and post-independence development. For this reason, the history of women is not enough if they are only personified as "humans in the second line", following men, whose destiny can only be led, influenced, and ordered.

The Ideological Discourse and Power Behind the Women's Narrative

From the texts that have been analyzed, a question arises, namely is the history of Indonesia not quite pro on feminism? Or is Indonesian history a product of misogyny? Both have two different meanings, if you refer to the first question, it means that Indonesian history was deliberately prepared by a group of people who did reject the idea of feminism, they intentionally or unintentionally marginalize femininity so that male supremacy could be maintained, and in the end, men remained in control. more in social life. This opposition is not aimed at eliminating all kinds of women's ideologies, but is aimed at maintaining an unequal social status. In contrast to that, the second question tends to be accusatory, could it be that Indonesian history was composed by some people who do not consider feminism as a reference in compiling national history, they are people who basically do not accept the existence of women in the official historical narrative, so that women's stories seem uninteresting, or unimportant to be told to the next generation through the process of teaching history in formal education, which means women are also not important to be included in the history of Indonesia. From these two questions, the history of Indonesia based on the available data is more accurately said to be not quite pro on feminism, historiography is not written on the basis of gender-based hatred, but rather for reasons of gender politics, the desire of men to get more places and so it is judged more means his struggle in history. Basically both need to be avoided in compiling a history teaching material as important as a textbook, considering that history needs to be taught in an academic spirit, intense discussion based on relevant and balanced sources of knowledge about the history of men's and women's struggles, not in a political spirit that intends to marginalize the role of one group, to prioritize other groups.

The history of Indonesia which is not pro-femininity has been taught for so long, even since Indonesia's independence. This complexity was created because from the beginning the involvement of women thinkers in compiling the national historiography was not carried out. The national historiography or at least the important names in the preparation of Indonesia's national history who played a role in the 1957 First History Seminar were all men, from Muhammad Yamin, Mohammad Ali, to Sartono Kartodirdjo. This answers the question, how is Indonesia's history structured, but we also need to remember that in the next period, under the New Order (1966-1998), Indonesia was ruled by a military regime that was so authoritarian, and at that time there was what was called "control of historical narratives" as the legitimacy of power, the strengthening of the influence of militarism in various fields, including in the fields of education and teaching. This condition makes women's history increasingly marginalized, because in practice the preparation of history does not take into account the complete involvement of women in Indonesian history, but authoritatively the history of the struggle is all militarized, including the struggle for independence which is glorified as an achievement by the army. So it can be seen that the two elements that have given birth to the anti-feminist ideology are the dominance of patriarchy and militarism in the government which have influenced the academic style that has developed to date.

Based on available data, Indonesia's history has experienced serious political problems, official history has become a space for the development of narratives that legitimize men's power over women, not only that, women's narratives are marginalized to create obedience and propriety based on standards created by men, the existing narrative also discourages women's participation in domestic work which is far from the spirit of femininity. Prioritizing the feminist spirit in writing history for learning does not mean reversing the position of women as superior to men, but returning to the meaning of origin, creating a narrative that is balanced, non-discriminatory and leads to the exclusion of a people. Unfortunately, that spirit has not been found in the history of Indonesia which is presented in textbooks, history is still a reminder for those who are interested, not for all humans, all people, who should be represented in the grand narrative of the history of their nation.

Discussion

Women's narratives that are not neutral and are created to legitimize the domination and role of men are the product of the failure of Indonesian historiography which has not paid much attention to history from a feminist perspective (Amini, 2018; Deutscher, 2002). Historiography adopted into history learning is history created as a record of men's stories, women in Indonesian history textbooks are described as complementary to men's lives. between necessary and unnecessary, useful and useless, uncertain and biased. Learning history as an effort to reminisce about an event in the past needs to be seen as a complete narrative (Mariana, 2021; Scott, 1988). The chronological pattern is a good approach in teaching a sequence of events based on a timeline, but the chronological approach used without regard to meaning, ethics, and other alternatives has had an impact on the presentation of Indonesian history which is biased, the spirit of spreading knowledge of gender equality through women's

historical stories does not occur because of discourse dominant history of producing male knowledge. This pattern has existed so far has made the historical narrative taught too general, there is no historical specificity that is interesting to study in depth, as material to create discursive in the classroom. Likewise, the story of women in dominant history is characterized as weak (Wiesner-Hanks, 2021; Russell, 2018), she is a wife, child, or noble relative, but if she is influential, she is a leader, she is a warrior, then she is described as masculine, like a man. Why women are not depicted as they are, great women do not mean that they have to be like men, from the way they think and behave.

The history of women in textbooks seems problematic, she is held hostage by the political interests of anti-feminist power. The compilers of Indonesian history textbooks do not pay attention to gender justice as a canon which can then accommodate many pro-feminist historical stories, but rather history is written as a means to show the supremacy of men over women (Yulia, 2016), this condition shows that the problem of historiography has a direct impact on historical material in schools (Chick, 2006), as well as the problem of gender politics that affects Indonesian history to be very patriarchal. Perhaps this view will be rejected with the opinion that only historical facts have been discovered and therefore the teaching of history needs to follow the existing facts, even though the problem is not with historical facts, but with the point of view and discourse production carried out by the textbook compilers. If women's discourses are not planned to be produced with a feminist spirit, it is impossible for gender equality knowledges to be produced in the study of Indonesian history.

Women's masculinity is a product of men's way of thinking about women warriors or women leaders, not a product of women's way of thinking that is origin and pro-feminist. Indonesian history in textbooks needs to consider feminism because history has a role in building the identity and quality of Indonesian people who are just (Dozono, 2017; Epstein & Shiller, 2015). Gender inequality in the form of material that is left unchecked will become a frame for teachers in teaching history, therefore the impact will be very negative, history has not only made a teacher explore a 'dark' place, but she will also force dozens of participants students follow it, so that this hereditary sin will continue, making history learning a trap, not a medium of enlightenment. As a narrative full of wisdom, it is appropriate that what is shown in the historical narrative of textbooks needs to prioritize meaning (Ortega-Sánchez, 2019), so that if there is no better meaning, the information does not need to be considered (Sadker & Zittleman, 2007). For this reason, Indonesian history would be better if compiled based on historical themes which are basically interesting and have ethical dimensions, without intending to marginalize the chronological approach, a thematic approach to historical narratives in textbooks, needs to be arranged based on ethical aspects and their designation for students, in those themes there is courage and creativity that can teach practical knowledge to students, for example about feminism in Kartini's struggle, so that history no longer needs to talk about Kartini being whose child, married to whom, and how many children, even though what is more important than Kartini's struggle is her enlightening thought, breaking down the joints of tradition that confines a woman to stay and grow in the shadows. men's power, his thoughts have penetrated various women's organizations of the movement and inspired women in Indonesia to become independent.

History that deserves to be taught in schools is a story that inspires and frees the shackles of a human child's mind about the past that has imprisoned him (Blumberg, 2007; Epstein &

Shiller, 2015). We must distinguish between women's history written in a feminist spirit and women's history written in an anti-feminist spirit. Both talk about women, but contradict each other, one emphasizes, the other tends to exclude, one builds the imagination of independence, the other imprisons the mind. We don't just want to talk about women, but how the women we talk about can inspire the feminist spirit and lead to the birth of a sense of justice. In this case we can choose, whether history will be taught as a useless, or history is taught to produce new knowledge about human life that is more meaningful.

Finally, we must agree on the second discourse, and discard the first. Indonesian history textbooks will be meaningless and useless if they are not prepared with the spirit of femininity and ideals in strengthening the internalization of the idea of equality and progress. Indonesian history in textbooks seems so small if it is only a channel for patriarchal history, then the development of history with a feminist perspective needs to be done by criticizing and rejecting every historical narrative that is presented that does not consider the existence of women in general and their roles in Indonesian history. Thus, the representation of women's history in textbooks needs to be strengthened, to form new knowledge about Indonesian history that is pro-feminist and teaches the meaning of equality and justice.

Conclusions

Characterization in Indonesian history textbooks cannot be separated from the shadows of men, the explanation of women's characters is strongly tied to the role and power of men. The distribution of regional origins of women does not yet represent equality from all regions in Indonesia, and women are dominated by the island of Java. Women always appear in every period of Indonesian history, except in the pre-literate period. In terms of role, the role of women can be divided into six, namely women as wives, noble relatives, parents or mothers, warriors, leaders, and politicians. The dominant role is as noble relatives and warriors who cannot be separated from their social status as wives or mothers. Personas that emerge from women can be divided into two, namely women as weak people and women as great characters with shades of masculinity. From there it can be seen that women's narratives are produced by anti-feminist and patriarchal ideological discourses which have an impact on the marginalization of women's narratives and the spirit of femininity. The implication of this research is that the history of women in textbooks for learning needs to be written with a thematic pattern and put forward a feminist perspective to develop the imagination and knowledge of students about gender justice.

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