



Power-curriculum, collective memory, and alternative approaches in learning history

Ganda Febri Kurniawan*

Faculty of Social Sciences, Universitas Negeri Semarang
Semarang, Indonesia, 50229
gandafk@mail.unnes.ac.id

* Corresponding Author

Abstract

This study analyzes the curriculum's influence, collective memory formation, and alternative approaches to learning history. This research was carried out using qualitative methods with a descriptive approach. The data in this study consisted of 3 sources: informants, documents, and learning activities. Data analysis applied Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The research findings show that, as a reference document, the curriculum also has a negative impact on teachers, one of which is the perception that the curriculum is a rigid document and inhibits teacher freedom. So that in learning history, collective memory is formed based on official history, which is very difficult for teachers to provide information about alternative history. Teachers must implement alternative learning approaches such as humanism, critical pedagogy, and reflective approaches. To create a more enjoyable learning atmosphere and to accommodate all groups in Indonesia to be involved in discussing the history of their nation, which is humane and free from grudges and hatred.

Keywords: *power-curriculum; collective memory; history education*

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INTRODUCTION

Historical Science and History Education are different (Hasan, 2012). History is facts of the past that have been verified and built into a narrative, while historical education is past facts packaged for educational purposes. There are different objectives. History is more concerned with exploring past events with scientific procedures or historical writing principles. Meanwhile, history education emphasizes instilling values in students through historical events (Wijayanti, 2017). Historians excavate past events through research activities, and history teachers play the continuity of historical education in classrooms with students as the target object (Douch, 2021). The relationship between teachers and students in the classroom is between educators who will instill values in students through selected historical material. Thus the success of learning history in the classroom is not based on the amount of historical material given but instead emphasizes the values instilled in students (Wineburg & Reisman, 2015).

Power-curriculum, collective memory, and alternative approaches in learning history

Values that can be instilled in history learning include the importance of nationalism, historical awareness, and local wisdom values. Furthermore, Magro et al. (2014) said history is worth higher education. While in the context of the formation of national identity, learning history has a fundamental function. Further formulated by Wineburg et al. (2012) that the objectives of the National History lesson are (i) to awaken, develop and maintain the national spirit; (ii) to arouse the desire to realize national ideals in all fields; (iii) arouse the desire to study national history and study it as part of world history; and (iv) make children aware of national ideals to realize these ideals at all times. The values mentioned above can be achieved if the teacher can build the same collective memory in students. For this reason, in learning history, teachers are not only required to master the material but also convey it to students. Still, they are also required to master pedagogical skills and be able to apply teaching approaches and strategies (Ashby, 2017).

Based on the objectives mentioned above, learning history combines selecting and delivering material according to students' thinking levels. Also, mastering learning strategies and approaches adapted to class conditions and students' whereabouts, inculcating values and exemplary examples, and taking lessons from historical events being taught. The combination of these various aspects is then called learning history. Safitri and Umamah (2019) state that learning history is a combination of learning and teaching activities in which it learns about past events closely related to the present. From this opinion, it can be said that history is a field of study related to historical facts but still pays attention to educational goals in general. Thus it is clear that what is achieved in learning is not only intellectual abilities but more emphasis on proving facts, critical discussion, and developing knowledge independently (Hasan, 2019).

Mistakes in conveying historical material and instilling values in learning history can have fatal consequences. The consequences are causing students to think wrongly, which ends up not creating a shared collective memory that can give rise to national awareness, but instead creating hatred for certain ethnicities and certain ideological groups and also giving rise to past prejudices and grudges (Ahmad, 2014; Kurniawan, 2020). For this reason, the preparation of the curriculum must pay attention to several things. They started from the linkage of historical material with local events that occurred in the region, with the student's psychological development, with ethnic groups in Indonesia, and with contemporary life experienced by the Indonesian nation. Meanwhile, the current changes to the History curriculum are more centralized, where these changes are no longer based on comprehensive field mapping but are based more on the views of experts who happen to be appointed as the History Curriculum Development Team.

Teachers have never been allowed to correct the curriculum structure imposed by the government. The teacher must accept, no matter how difficult the curriculum is implemented in schools (Sumaludin, 2018; Wahyudin & Suwirta, 2020). This is where the point, the history curriculum, is repressive. Kurniawan et al. (2019) state that history education in Indonesia still cannot escape from the old-style education model, which offers the curriculum as a single truth

that cannot be improvised in the field. In fact, as an academic product, the history curriculum also needs massive criticism and correction to improve its form and structure. Teachers as education executors need to be allowed to convey their aspirations in the field so that from such a process, there is a link and match between the school and the Center, which a deep and steep intellectual gap has so far separated.

The repressive history curriculum ultimately creates dry and monotonous learning. This is because history is taught with political nuances that are pretty thick. The themes of nationalism and nationality that are taught still lead to ultra-characters, so this is not very good for forming the nation's mentality. Halim (2013) explained that history had been described as learning that aims to create or increase students' sense of nationalism. At the same time, history should also be a vehicle for students to get to know their social environment. This has so far been neglected. As time passes, academics in history should be increasingly aware that history is not a one-edged sword. Still, history has many sides that are also attractive to teach, including local history. Studies on the impact of the curriculum and efforts to form collective memory in learning history are often reviewed normatively, thus creating a biased view. In their findings, Yefterson et al. (2020) that the curriculum developed in history learning in Indonesia does not sufficiently accommodate local historical events because the official historical narrative is so strict and discourages teacher creativity. Setiawan and Suwandi (2022), in their research results, encourage that studies on the curriculum can be carried out to test the state's efforts in shaping the character and cognitive abilities of the younger generation, one of which is about the collective memory that is formed through the implementation of the curriculum. Wahyudin and Suwarta (2020), in their research results, suspect that curriculum politics has had an impact on the lack of creativity and the formation of the character of students due to the use of conventional approaches. These three studies underlie the research conducted. As a continuation, this research emphasizes the negative impact of curriculum, the formation of collective political memory, and the importance of applying alternative approaches in learning.

Based on the background mentioned above, this paper aims to empirically examine the formation of the nation's memory through history education, the social construction of history teachers towards the History Curriculum, how students' collective memory is formed, and what alternative approaches teachers take in learning history. This article can be an additional reference that enriches critical studies about the history curriculum and the implementation of history learning in schools.

METHOD

This research was carried out using a qualitative method with a descriptive approach. The study focused on the way teachers think about the history curriculum that applies in Indonesia (2013 Curriculum Implementation Policy). The research data is focused on teacher perceptions in the curriculum implementation, the formation of collective memory, and the application of alternative approaches in teaching history. The data in this study consisted of 3 sources:

Power-curriculum, collective memory, and alternative approaches in learning history

informants, documents, and learning activities. The informants of this study were students who received history lessons and history teachers in Semarang Senior High School 1 and 2 and Sultan Agung 1 Islamic High School Semarang, Central Java Province. This research involved sixty student participants who were interviewed and observed their thinking and behavior while participating in learning activities. Six teachers were involved, two from each school. The documents used are learning plans, learning outcomes, and curriculum documents. Interviews, document studies, and field observations collected data.

First, interviews were conducted to obtain initial information and developed through follow-up interviews after students and teachers completed learning. Second, observations were made while learning was taking place. The data were confronted between the results of the interviews and observations to strike the differences or show the truth. Third, documents are used as a reference and material for discussion related to demands in the curriculum. Triangulation is applied to check the validity of the data. In triangulation, truth is checked by comparing information from informants with other informants. Data from documents are reviewed and checked by looking for the relevance of existing information to the research focus. It is hoped that results that are close to the truth will be obtained through various perspectives or views. Therefore, this stage of triangulation is carried out if the data or information obtained from research subjects or informants is doubtful.

Data analysis was performed using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with a framework by Van Dijk (1993). The CDA framework used is implemented in a critical paradigm. Discourse analysis in this study was applied in two stages, namely: first, the stage of collecting information data in the form of language obtained from research participants, and the text reflects thoughts, ideologies, and attitudes that are formed based on the learning experiences carried out. The focus of attention is the two stages of identifying the discourse behind the text conveyed, how the discourse is formed, what factors influence it, and how the discourse is reflected. The discourse in this study is reviewed from the meaning of students and teachers about the curriculum, the formation of collective memory, and approaches to learning. So as to obtain conclusions regarding the construction of power-curriculum in education, the collective memory that is formed, and alternative approaches that can be used as reference standards in carrying out learning.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Formation of National Memory in History Education

According to Bijl (2012), collective solid memory, whether real or artificial, can be at the root of conflict, prejudice, nationalism, and cultural identity. Sumaludin (2018) believes that ethnic, national, or religious identity is built on historical myths that define a group's members, what it means to be a member of a group, and, usually, who are the enemies of that group. Bijl (2012) also argued that "it could almost be said: no memory, no identity, hence no nation." While exploring the sources, dynamics, and temporal structures of conflict, in particular the

marked proliferation of deadly conflicts between ethnic and other so-called identity groups after the end of the Cold War, several scholars have paid special attention to historical knowledge and memory of human thoughts, feelings, and actions. Halbwachs (1992) noted most of the literature on memory and politics focuses on the construction, reproduction, and contestation of national identities. Purwanta (2013) shows that more attention has been paid to national identity with the emergence of sociological constructivism in the 1990s. National identity determines national interests, which determine state policies and actions.

Some experts argue that collective memory and identity are formed based on primordial ties of blood, kinship, language, and shared history. Ahmad (2016) identify "trauma of the chosen" (the horrors of the past looming over the future) and "glory of the chosen" (the myth of a glorious future, often seen as a reflection of a glorious past) as elements in the development of group identity. According to him, a group incorporates mental representations of traumatic events into its identity, thereby leading to the intergenerational transmission of historical hostility. The group's "choice trauma" consists of experiences that come "to symbolize the group's most serious threats and fears through feelings of hopelessness and victimhood." The word chosen correctly reflects a large group that unconsciously defines its identity through trans-generation. As well as, Galtung (2001) identifies election (the idea of being chosen by transcendental powers), trauma, and myth, which together form the syndrome: the Chosenness–Myths–Trauma complex (CMT). This syndrome consists of certain historical events that are very important in determining the identity of people and how they behave in conflict situations.

Constructivists view identity as something that is produced, not given. Some analysts emphasize that ethnicity and identity are socially constructed by selecting similarities and differences with others. According to Halbwachs (1992), collective memory reconstructs its various memories to suit contemporary ideas and preoccupations. The past is reconstructed in light of current concerns and needs. Olick (1999) argues that while printed language lays the foundation for national consciousness by creating a unified field of exchange and communication, "print capitalism" (book market, mass media, etc.) connects people in disparate areas to the larger, imagined national community. Cole and Barsalou (2006) found that political leaders, as well as many citizens, are interested in maintaining simple narratives that flatter their group and promote group unity by emphasizing the sharp differences between them and other groups. They are very resistant to history, including presenting other parties' points of view.

People learn the history of their group not only from their parents or grandparents. The education system is the main instrument for socializing the younger generation to the dominant values of society. The aim is that the successful completion of this task will turn young people into loyal citizens and will help teach a shared identity. Mehlinger (1985) argues that school textbooks are "the modern version of the village storyteller", in that they are "responsible for telling adolescents what adults think they should know about their own culture as well as that

Power-curriculum, collective memory, and alternative approaches in learning history

of other peoples." According to Mehlinger, no other instrument of socialization can match the textbook in its capacity to convey a uniform, approved, and even official version of what young people have to believe. History textbooks are the main component in constructing and reproducing national narratives. Arraman and Hazmi (2018) argue that most societies' history and civics textbooks present "official" stories that highlight the narratives that shape contemporary patriotism. The school system and textbooks become "agents of memory" to ensure the transmission of "approved knowledge" to younger generations. Thus, textbooks function as a kind of "highest historical court" whose task is to decipher, from all the accumulated "pieces of the past", the "correct" collective memory, suitable for inclusion in national historical narratives.

Several scholars have conducted detailed case studies examining how different countries have dealt with issues of history and memory in their education systems and how conflicting national narratives from various sides have resulted in conflict. For example, according to Soh (2020), Koreans retain a deep sense of victimization in the collective memory of their historical relationship with Japan, which, in turn, has awakened a nationalist fervor to defeat Japan's ethnocentric representation of bilateral and regional events. In his article, Ienaga (1993) presents examples of how war, militaristic values, and episodes from Japan's past have been introduced to Japanese schoolchildren since the 1920s. According to this research, Japanese textbooks have taught generations of their children that war is glorious and have hidden many of the sad truths of war.

Some scholars emphasize that history and memory can be used to promote individual or collective interests. In the power struggle, competing elites use history to mobilize popular support. Ethnic categories can also be manipulated to maintain the dominant group's power and justify discrimination against other groups. The manipulation of the past provides an opportunity to shape the present and the future. For example, Kaufman (2001) argues that people are taught ethnic hatred. Ethnic wars occur due to symbolic politics, in which ethnic leaders or activists use emotional ethnic symbols (including historical memories) to promote hostilities against other groups and pursue ethnic dominance.

Scholars discuss how states and elites use history and memory as resources and instruments for political mobilization. According to Halbwachs (1992), once trauma becomes the trauma of choice, its historical truth doesn't matter. In war or war-like situations, the leader awakens the memory of the chosen one's trauma and the chosen one's glory to galvanize his people and make his group more cohesive. Historical enmity thus acts like an energy that perpetuates hatred. Olick (1999) argues that "memory is valued where identity is at issue." In times of crisis, people return to the past with amplified intensity. Wineburg et al. (2012) emphasize the connection between its historical memory and the rise of nationalism, "what constitutes the strength of nationalism are myths, memories, traditions and symbols of ethnic heritage reinterpreted by modern nationalist intellectuals."

There is a significant relationship between historical memory and political legitimacy. The connection between collective memory and societal legitimacy is evidenced by the nationalist movement's distinctive attempt to create ultimate reminder narratives that legitimize their aspirations for a common destiny by emphasizing a shared past for its members. However, textbooks pretend to teach neutral and legitimate knowledge. They are often used as "ideological tools to promote certain belief systems and legitimize established political and social orders" the selection and organization of knowledge for the school system is an ideological process that serves class interests and certain social groups. Kurniawan et al. (2019) argue that the politics of memory has proven vital in transitions to democracy worldwide. Perceptions of the past are critical for delegitimizing previous regimes and basing new claims on political legitimacy.

Many studies have shown that ethnocentric views, myths, stereotypes, and prejudices often pervade history textbooks. For example, Podeh (2010) researched history and memory in the Israeli education system. According to him, the type of textbooks Israeli or Palestinian schoolchildren read and what is taught in the class had become a significant issue in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. From the 1950s to the 1970s, Israeli textbooks were designed to serve the purposes of an emerging society. His historical narrative is "full of bias, prejudice, error, misrepresentation, and even intentional omissions." Arabs are portrayed through stereotypical terms, further reinforcing the distorted image of Arabs in Israeli society. The stories chosen or created about national history are always prescriptive, instructing how to think and act as citizens. Textbooks can spread hate between two individuals, even groups.

Authorities in Indonesia have placed an official historical narrative to be simultaneously taught to the younger generation to form a national identity. Eldredge and Cole (2008) said: "History that places conflict as a long discussion has had an impact on trauma regeneration." Micale and Pols (2021) argue "trauma-filled history is caused by political hegemony and efforts to maintain power." The trauma many Indonesians have suffered in the last dozen or even decades is very painful and difficult to overcome. History and memory in Indonesian society insights that do exist are scattered among various literature on history, politics, culture, and communication. This insight requires supporting empirical research. National identity must be investigated empirically in a concrete historical setting. In addition, systematic research exploring the in-depth structure and implications of history and memory in Indonesian education and curriculum and textbook policy decision-making is lacking.

Social Construction of the History Curriculum

The history curriculum has recently been in the public spotlight because it put too much pressure on teachers, so space to create more attractive learning momentum is limited. The curriculum is likened to a holy order that no one can oppose. This violates the essence of the curriculum itself as an academic product of scientists, whose formulation tends to be Jakarta-centric rather than paying attention to actual conditions in other regions in Indonesia.

Power-curriculum, collective memory, and alternative approaches in learning history

Sumaludin (2018) explained that the history curriculum should be an umbrella that provides shelter for history teachers. Under that umbrella, the teacher is given the freedom to teach history more comprehensively. Behind that, the curriculum being rolled out is not a fixed price for teachers. The bargaining process using a critical paradigm is still essential to ignite teachers' critical reasoning in developing history learning.

Hasan (2012) explained that the problem of the history curriculum from year to year was not resolved even though the government tried to work hard to do so. The most striking issue is that teacher acceptance is not optimal, and the aspirations of teachers in the field are not adequately absorbed. This becomes a benchmark for how historical education in Indonesia is regulated. Persada (2019) has long predicted that the history curriculum in the reform era needs to be rearranged to adapt it to the spirit of the times. The New Order had a lot of intervention in the history curriculum to maintain power. With the primary goal of getting out of the control of militarism, the curriculum should be filtered and adjusted. Attracting it to the academic arena is the primary key for the history curriculum to breathe again in pedagogy. The ideological line was holding the reins of power. A history is a binding tool for collective memory patterned on the big man and ideological story.

Kochhar (2008) explained that learning history should be made democratically. To create a democratic classroom, the recommended curriculum must accommodate the principles of academic freedom. This is something that so far has not been seen in the preparation of the Indonesian history curriculum. The obligatory historical paradigm and the specialization used in practice has many problems in the form of teachers' understanding of bias. This has also received a lot of criticism from various circles. One of the harshest is Arraman and Hazmi (2018), in the results of their study of the 2013 Curriculum, explained that the obligatory and specialization paradigms were considered inappropriate in the application of learning. It will be better if the paradigm offered is local and national. History, says Wijayanti (2017), explained that history is taught not only to achieve national interests in the form of mere formation of national attitudes, history is also essential to be prepared to maintain local wisdom in the area that reflects the identity of a community.

In the 2013 curriculum policy, history curriculum products have resulted in a rigid history learning system. Very few teachers can explain history dynamically. The nuances of official accounts are more prominent than the history of society, so the record still survives as a doctrinal medium for the rulers to strengthen the power they have built. In this case, the teacher's idealism is encouraged and tested. According to Ahmad (2016), history teachers are prevented from developing their skills in teaching history. Teachers are confined to jailed policy rooms, so they lose their analytical knife and their critical bullets in seeing the education they carry out. Teachers have been working as academic practitioners who are fully intervened by the authorities' interests. Hence, learning history loses its spirit, and it is difficult for it to sink into the hearts of students whose personalities are developing rapidly in this era of openness. The teacher's only strategy for self-actualization is to read books. Even though the

books read by students are not necessarily beneficial for learning, at least the teacher can capture the ongoing phenomena in Indonesian history education.

Empirical findings in the field corroborate the views mentioned above. Based on the results, it shows that the teacher's social construction of the history curriculum that is being implemented is as follows; the history curriculum benefits history teachers in terms of the number of hours, considering that in this curriculum, history teachers have no difficulty meeting the 24-hour teaching requirement. Meanwhile, not much has changed in terms of substance, except for teaching strategies that place more emphasis on discussion activities. Social construction like this is based on a fairly dense distribution of historical material so that in implementing learning, the teacher must pursue the material presented in the curriculum. According to him, the inculcation of values is only implied in basic competencies and spoken during learning. Instilling values through illustration and analysis is challenging to implement, considering that if the teacher does it in class, it takes up a lot of time and will result in the material presented in the curriculum not being fully conveyed. Senior and junior history teachers built this kind of social construction.

A pretty experienced teacher argues the history curriculum as follows: the 2013 curriculum is no different from the previous curriculum, which emphasizes excellent material. Regardless of the curriculum's name, it makes no difference in teaching practice. The difference is only in the use of the learning method. If it used the lecture method in the past, now it is more advisable to use the discussion method. However, there is no guarantee that with the discussion method and scientific approach, it will be easier for children to absorb the material and live up to the values. The use of the discussion method becomes a problem when the teacher does not manage it properly, coupled with the culture of students who are not used to debate and argumentation. Such conditions make history learning lose its dynamics. So it seems that learning history is boring, meaning that the teacher's power to lecture and illustrate is needed in learning history. Still, with many discussions, students become less able to absorb values compared to the lecture method with various illustrations. According to him, the curriculum change from year to year has never touched pedagogic matters. Still, it is more concerned with the amount of material and material changes from semester to semester.

In contrast to the opinion of other history teachers with educational experience up to the master's level, the social constructions built on the history curriculum are as follows: Learning history in the 2013 curriculum emphasizes creativity and independent learning which individual students form, so the teacher is only a facilitator, technical skills are important, but the development of knowledge is even more important. The history curriculum is a political history curriculum that emphasizes shifts in power, conflict, and war. So that with this curriculum, students are taught more about politics and power, but students are never taught about the history of human life, where history of human life includes social, cultural, and economic aspects. As a result, with a curriculum like this, students do not learn much about past lives in a comprehensive manner, but students understand more about conflict and power.

Power-curriculum, collective memory, and alternative approaches in learning history

This can be proven from the range of historical material taught in schools, from Hindu-Buddhist to full-fledged political reform, to build a collective memory of one nation through political events and the social, cultural, economic, and ethnic history of each nation

Based on the discourse debates and findings as explained above, the current history curriculum still does not meet pedagogical principles, is still politically oriented, and has not been able to generate student innovation and creativity. It isn't easy to take lessons from the historical material being taught. So that students cannot learn from the past to make history as a reference in acting better in the future. In addition, history learning which is still oriented towards political aspects makes it difficult for teacher-student interaction in the classroom to develop dynamically. So far, history learning has even led to a monotonous situation. For history learning to be dynamic and able to arouse students' creativity and innovation, the history curriculum should be politically oriented and oriented towards comprehensive human life events (social, cultural, economic, and political) through exploring local history. In addition, the history curriculum must also pay attention to or consider elements of student pedagogy. Therefore, a change in the curriculum is needed, and this can only be done with curriculum politics.

Forced to Remember "Not My History", Repressive Learning

Based on the results of the information obtained, Chinese students in Semarang like history lessons. The factors behind the feeling of liking can be seen from internal and external factors. Internal factors can be seen from the student's interest in receiving history subjects, whether for value alone or students can take the messages from historical events. Meanwhile, external factors can be seen in the classroom atmosphere and the teacher's material delivery method. From that feeling, students then dive into learning history and the components that make it up. Students consciously know that Indonesian history is taught by marginalizing the existence of their ethnic role in the Indonesian context. Students feel blinded by the history of their ancestors who came to Indonesia. Thus, learning history for them is like a fairy tale filled with doctrines, even though their love for the subject is still enough to make them continue studying history.

After being analyzed according to the front stage, they like history lessons, their grades are also quite good, and the learning resources used are various. Still, when the researcher asks about material involving the history of the Chinese ethnicity, they are sensitive to these materials. There are still many historical materials that negatively impact ethnic Chinese students, for example, the material on Dutch colonialism and the 1998 reform. Most of these materials make Chinese students feel offended and generate anger. For example, in the subject matter of Dutch colonization, the social layers of the Dutch East Indies were very multi-layered. As in the constitutional laws of the Dutch East Indies (*Indische Staatsregeling*) of 1927, the social strata of society were divided into three groups: the European Group, the Foreign Eastern Group, and the Bumiputra Group. This social stratification was a political divide et impera carried out by the Dutch East Indies government vertically, namely a social

stratification system formed based on racial groups and skin color. The darker the skin color, the lower the social layer of a person, and vice versa.

The social stratification created by the Dutch caused conflict between the Chinese at that time and the natives. Of course, this made the natives furious because immigrants like the Chinese had a social status above the native Dutch East Indies. This condition has had an impact to this day, namely that there is still prejudice and discrimination that Indonesian citizens of Chinese descent are currently experiencing. Prejudice between races and ethnicities is based on erroneous generalizations of feelings. Still, the emergence of prejudice is caused by certain things, such as (i) the description of differences between groups, (ii) the cultural values that belong to the majority group dominate minority groups, (iii) inter-ethnic stereotypes, and (iv) some ethnic groups feel superior, thus making other ethnicities inferior. If prejudice still includes attitudes and beliefs to act, then discrimination usually leads to real action. Discriminatory acts are usually carried out by those with a strong attitude of prejudice due to certain pressures, such as cultural pressures, customs, habits, and laws. Prejudice and discrimination are a 'vicious circle'. The two reinforce each other, and there will be discrimination as long as there is prejudice. Therefore, this needs to be the government's concern in forming national integration.

Government and history learning cannot be separated from one another. The government certainly has an interest in making Indonesian history. This is natural because history subjects are taught from elementary to high school. Indirectly the state can direct students to the desired destination, and various interests exist in historical material. It could be about power, where the powerful figure wants to direct his desires so that many people can follow him. In addition, interests can be carried out for the good name of a character by covering up an event with another event that harms other parties. According to Basri et al. (2022), history learning in Indonesia has not accommodated the interests of plurality and multiculturalism. The politically-styled history, which is taught indirectly, has not demonstrated inter-ethnic harmony in the past, so students' imaginations about pluralism and social harmony are not enough when faced with sentimental situations involving the concentration of inter-ethnic masses in various regions.

Based on research findings, Chinese students who study history feel coerced because learning history is like learning something unfamiliar. Through in-depth interviews, some said they did not live up to history because it was not the history of their ancestors. A view like this indicates that the curriculum in Indonesian history does not include the participation of other ethnicities, even though, as is known, Indonesia has a multicultural face with various ethnicities in it. Learning history is one of the lessons that can potentially teach pluralism, and education uses a multicultural approach. According to Basri et al. (2022), much needed by a nation where various ethnic groups live, learning with multicultural values will suppress ethnic sentiment to the lowest point so that social harmonization will be fostered and society will be avoided horizontal conflict. The historical experience of the Indonesian nation can potentially teach

Power-curriculum, collective memory, and alternative approaches in learning history

multiculturalism to students. Various kinds of inter-ethnic conflicts that have occurred are a sufficient source of learning material to be used in learning.

Indeed, studying history is very useful for assessing mistakes in the past so that it becomes a provision for improving the future. Therefore, the history curriculum needs to be open to criticism and rearranged to adapt to the spirit of the times. In the history curriculum, history, which is more Indonesian-centric, is taught as a doctrine. Material about the role and progress of the Chinese community is not included in the main discussion in the curriculum. According to Javanese students, history is an instrument to build nationalism and national attitudes. They also agree that history is the political medium for rulers to develop their citizens according to their desired form. According to Supardan (2005), history should be a bridge to building inter-ethnic peace. History is the best instrument for teaching tolerance to students. The teacher's idealism needs to be directed there, bearing in mind that history is currently being taught as it is without paying attention to other elements required by society. In the condition of a nation being hit by religious and ethnic sentiments, as is currently the case, learning history has become a Trojan horse that can be relied on. The condition for relying on it lies in teacher autonomy and a reflective attitude triggered by the authorities. History is the best mirror to guide people so they don't fall into the same error hole.

Alternative Approaches in Learning History

The 2013 curriculum in practice has formulated a student-centered approach. Still, practice in the field, due to the lack of teacher knowledge about the approach caused by the absence of ongoing competency development activities, makes the dominant teacher only stick to one conventional method, namely lectures, which are generally known as a teacher-centered approach. One solution to neutralize the repressiveness of the history curriculum for teachers is to utilize various approaches to learning history. A scientific approach is not enough to meet the needs of teachers and students in building social harmony in society. A variety of approaches is also needed for learning. Various approaches can create a learning atmosphere that is more easily accepted with pleasant nuances. Mastering a variety of approaches becomes a concrete competency, encouraging the birth of teacher best practices in achieving learning objectives. It is important to promote this idea to open up new habits for teachers who are more independent in organizing learning and, of course, oriented towards effectiveness. These approaches are important because applying their learning can be more lively and not monotonous. In addition, learning is also more dynamic, not diktats and imprisons teachers and students in learning. The right approach will eliminate the elements of demagoguery in learning history. These approaches will further strengthen the pedagogy style oriented towards building students' historical thinking. Furthermore, students can also be encouraged to think critically, humanely, and reflectively, all of which are important for actualizing students' self to live in society.

Habermas is one of the critical theorists who pay attention to the development of critical and emancipatory knowledge and specifically on the interpretation of history and its relevance to contemporary problems (Widodo, 2010). The critical theory he developed was eclectic, adopted from the Marxist school and combined with Hermeneutics. Historical learning that critical theorists color will make learning lead to a critical pedagogical approach. This approach will trigger students to think like novice intellectuals in seeing historical phenomena. This approach is highly recommended when the teacher wants to discuss controversial-themed materials. In the context of this paper, students from the Chinese community can study the history of their ancestors without getting stuck in the history curriculum. It is part of the natural criticism of an intellectual or academic. So learning is expected to produce souls who are aware and full of sensitivity.

A humanist approach is also an alternative approach that can be utilized in learning history. This approach is part of the discourse counter to the scientific approach. History teachers consider the scientific approach inappropriate when learning history, considering that learning history focuses more on the transfer of values than learning in the exact sciences. The humanist approach can be used in history lessons with conflict nuances, such as Tragedy 65 and 98, which all involve ethnic Chinese and Indigenous sentiments in various regions. The humanist approach will trace the roots of the conflict so that students' problem-solving thinking processes can work. This approach is expected to produce students with a wise attitude in dealing with conflict and sentimental situations. And learning history is very compatible with that approach.

The next recommended approach is a reflective approach, which is an approach that aims to review or respond to an event, activity, and experience that aims to identify things that are already known and things that are not yet known so that an improvement action can be taken. The realization is a direct question about what he got that day, notes and journals in the student book, student impressions, and suggestions regarding the day's learning, discussion, and work results. In this case, students must know how to think about what students have learned. Fathoni (2020) explained that a reflective approach could be used to evaluate the past so that students can think not to make the same mistake. Based on this opinion, learning using a reflective approach in learning history is also suitable for teaching material involving the Chinese-Japanese conflict in history. Students are expected to be able to reflect on themselves so that in the future, people will live under the banner of peace, and discrimination and the inheritance of hatred towards those who are different can be cut off through education.

CONCLUSION

This paper focuses on analyzing the discourse behind the text about the power of the curriculum in learning, the formation of collective memory, and alternative approaches that can be used. An essential finding of this research is that the curriculum is not interpreted as a dynamic guide but rather as a static document that puts pressure on teachers. The impact is that the teacher does not have space for creativity. Collective memory is formed through forced

Power-curriculum, collective memory, and alternative approaches in learning history

narratives and does not know the context of the students' subject, so it feels awkward if one ethnicity only learns about its ethnic crimes. This collective memory is far from an effort to create social harmony. Critical and reflective approaches can give students humanist perspectives when studying difficult history, such as material containing controversial issues. Teachers need to encourage various approaches to continue to be used so that learning can be relevant to the subject students face. Finally, learning history can become a valuable lesson for today's and future lives.

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Power-curriculum, collective memory, and alternative approaches in learning history

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