

Colonialism, Race, and Gender: A Multimodal Analysis of an Indonesian Textbook

Indah Wahyu Puji Utami

Universitas Negeri Malang
Email: indahwahyu.p.u@um.ac.id

Abstract

This study aims to unpack the complex representation of ideology and discourses of colonialism, race, and gender. Using social semiotic as framework, this research investigates the meaning behind the text and images in an official history textbook published by the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC). The images were counted and categorized before they were analyzed using multimodal discourse analysis. In term of visual design and the layout of the pages in the textbook, there is ample evidence that events and figures were depicted differently. This study also indicates a tendency of male domination in history textbook, particularly the indigenous males. Meanwhile, the indigenous females were given a stage in the history textbook even though it is limited.

Keywords: *Race, Gender, Colonialism, Multimodal discourse analysis, History textbook*

Introduction

There is a growing number of studies of colonial discourse in history textbooks. Those studies suggest that colonial discourse is perpetuated in both former colonizer (Araujo & Maeso, 2011; Weiner, 2014; Mikander, 2015) and the colonized one (Kim, Moon, & Joo, 2013; Kaomea, 2015; Purwanta, 2018). It shows that colonial discourse is deeply rooted thus not easy to change even though colonialism has been gone for a long time.

Once a major player of colonialism, the Portuguese failed to rewrite history textbooks in response to Eurocentrism's critique. Drawing content analysis upon Portuguese history textbooks, Araujo & Maeso (2011) demonstrates that their country's effort to depoliticize the textbook was part of naturalizing colonialism and racism, thus legitimizing colonial discourse practice. By stripping down politics from historical narratives, the Portuguese tried to make their move to innocent (Tuck & Yang, 2012) and relieving their student's burden of their past colonialism (Morris-Suzuki, 2005).

Employing similar methods, Weiner (2014) illuminates the way Dutch history textbooks' master narrative of racial Europeanization perpetuates social forgetting of slavery and scientific colonialism. This social forgetting is part of denial, which is problematic. Another problematic practice occurs in Finland. In her recent research, Mikander (2015) shows that history textbooks in Finland reproduce colonial discourse that "teach the young people to accept the right of the white people to rule over people of colour" (Mikander, 2015: 5). Thus, the textbook strengthening colonial discourse of racial difference and inequality.

The British, a significant player of colonialism, perpetuates colonialism discourse in their history education. In his recent research, Mooncrife (2020) argues that even though the curriculum in the UK have tried to accommodate various historical accounts, but it still highly dominated by the white people and continuously reproduce colonial epistemology and racial difference.

That colonial discourse is dominant in the former colonies too. Textbooks in South Korea continue to project colonial ideology and cultural hegemony (Kim, Moon, & Joo, 2013). Similar phenomena appear in Indonesia, as suggested by Purwanta (2018). Using critical discourse analysis of Indonesian history textbooks published from 1967-1998, he highlights that Dutch colonialism remains a determinant factor in Indonesian history. His focus was on the importance of modernization in economic and technology as a colonial legacy, whilst racism and gender were sidelined from the analysis.

As colonialism, racism and gender were often intersected, this study aims to explore the way in which different race and gender were represented in the narrative of colonialism in an Indonesian history textbook. It will fill the gap that Purwanta (2018) has left out from his analysis. However, it should be considered that history textbook follows a selective tradition that involves inclusion and exclusion of certain narratives and ideologies (Apple, 1993). Thus, they are not neutral. They are situated in a particular sociohistorical and political context that shapes educational praxis (Lohaous, 2019). Therefore, a social semiotic approach that values the context of discourse (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001) might be helpful in analyzing the textbook. Apart from that, there is also a call for investigating the history textbook's multimodality (Repoussi & Guillon, 2010). Current research of history textbook is dominated by content analysis or critical discourse analysis (Peled-Elhanan, 2011). Both analyses focus on the text within the textbook, while the visual design is omitted. Nevertheless, a multimodal analysis was employed since the textbook is multimodal in nature that use both verbal and visual modes to transmit meaning.

Racism and Gender Difference as Colonial Legacy: Literature Review

Colonialism intertwined with racism as the colonizers often distinguish themselves from indigenous based on skin color or racial difference, especially since the nineteenth century. In their recent edited book, Noor and Carey (2021:15) notes "[t]he theories of racial difference and white supremacy were at the very heart of the empire-building process in the nineteenth century. They guided perceptions and policies as well as tactics, and they also predicted outcomes". The White colonizers regarded themselves as in a higher position and possessed better civilization than people of color. In addition, there was a strong belief among colonizers mind that they "were engaged in a 'civilizing mission' that aimed to bring Western civilization and, at times, Christian religion to the primitive and pagan ethnic groups under their rule" (Pols, 2007: 111-112).

They used a Eurocentric perspective to describe, relate, and distinguish themselves from their colonial subject on what Said (1978) called Orientalism. The colonizers then gradually

imposed their white superiority discourse to the indigenous people through coercive power and hegemony, which resulted in inferiority among indigenous people (Alatas, 2020). The discourse of racial difference and white supremacy rooted deep inside the indigenous mind so that they believed that they were lesser creature thus aspire to be like their colonial master (Fanon, 2008, Pols, 2007).

Despite the diverse decolonization processes of Asian and African nations that mostly took place after World War II (Rothermund, 2006), colonial discourse remained in place. Shihade (2017) argues that in many former colonized countries, Western education and knowledge are preferable. Drawing from their own experience and research, Diversi & Moreira (2009) point out that indigenous and white people are treated differently in various places globally. The latter was concerning better. Notwithstanding, following the former colonial master, a former colony could be the perpetrators of racism and discrimination toward other racial groups, as shown in Indonesia (Lan, 2012, Antos-Susanto & Antons, 2016).

Apart from racism, gender differentiation was inherited in colonialism. It does not mean that there was no gender difference prior to colonization, but colonialism imposed a Eurocentric gender differentiation and stereotypes. Women were characterized as "fragile, weak in both body and mind, secluded in private, and sexually passive" (Lugoneses, 2016: 25). Women, particularly the indigenous ones, were inferior within colonial society. Western male imagination of indigenous women was fueled by bias and prejudice (Said, 1978). Nevertheless, the prejudice and bias toward women remained in place within post-colonial society.

Visual Analysis as Method

Visual Analysis in multimodal discourse analysis follows Halliday's social semiotic (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001). Following this framework, Kress and Leeuwen (2006) develop the grammar of visual design. Their grammar of visual design is not meant to be a rigid fix rule. Instead, it provides a helpful tool to analyze the production of meaning based on a particular pattern which relatively accepted as a convention of the compositional structure of visual (Kress and Leeuwen, 2006). Unlike Machin and Mayr (2012), who propose a simple form of analysis of words and images, the grammar of visual design offers a more comprehensive tool to unpack the meanings of visual, from ideational meaning, interpersonal meaning, and textual meaning. In the grammar of visual design, the ideational metafunction defined as "the ability of semiotic systems to represent objects and their relations in a world outside the representational system or in the semiotic systems of a culture (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006: 47). Thus, the ideational meaning relates to the ability of semiotic modes (such as picture, photographs, maps, color, diagrams, and so on) to represent one or more ideas in a semiotic system and culture. Any semiotic modes also have interpersonal meaning which "represent particular social relation between the producer, the viewer, and the object represented" (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006: 42). For example, the array of eyes or sight of a person in an image or photograph might give a sense of interaction with the viewer or the absence of such interaction. Apart of that, any semiotic modes have a textual meaning. It relates with "the capacity to form texts, complexes of signs which cohere both internally with each other and externally with the context in and for which they were produced" (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006: 43). In this case, different compositions or layout might convey different meanings.

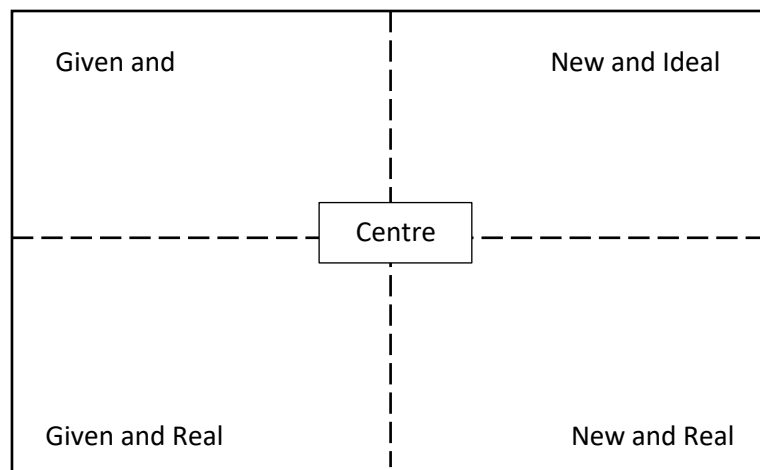


Figure 1. The compositional meaning of visual based on Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) grammar of visual design

In term of composition or layout of an image, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) propose a 'grammar' which may help us in 'reading' image. This grammar, however, also relates with the way in which a society or culture write their text, either from left to right, top to bottom, or vice versa. In their book, they give some example of reading image from left to right, top to bottom (see figure 1). Any elements located in the left of an image denote something given or assumed to be known by the reader, something familiar. On the other hand, any elements located in the right side of the image denote something new. Meanwhile, the top space of an image denotes something ideal while the bottom space denotes something more real. The center space could denote something special, the center of attention of the visual. The grammar of visual design provides an opportunity to interrogate the ideology that works behind the visual design. It is not menerly scrutinize the elements of visual. Kress and Leeuwen (2006) argue that visual design articulates ideology. As researchers worldwide considered the textbooks never neutral and always serve particular ideology and maintain hegemony (Morris-Suzuki, 2005, Crawford & Foster, 2007, Fuchs & Otto, 2013), this approach might be helpful to analyze the visual of history textbooks.

History textbooks mainly not only comprises text but also image. Thus, the relationship between image and text should be one of the considerations of meaning analysis. Different modes that use at the same time could amplify or multiply meaning (Bateman, 2014). However, a combination of image and text might produce divergent rather than convergent meaning (Kurk, et al., 2019).

For this study, the analysis focuses on an Indonesian History textbook published by the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) for the 11th-grade 1st semester in 2017 with the central theme on colonialism era in Indonesia. There are four chapters in this book with a different topic. The first chapter focused on colonialism and imperialism practice. The second chapter elaborated on indigenous resistance against the colonial power. The third chapter discussed the effect of colonialism and nationalism in Indonesia. The last chapter dealt with the national movement and Indonesian identity formation at the end of the colonial period.

The textbook under analysis is a revised edition of what was published in 2014 as part of the implementation of the new Curriculum of 2013. This textbook represents official knowledge as reflected on the cover of the textbook that contains the logo of MoEC with

expanded text. The government launched the textbook online in pdf form that can be download for free from the ministry website. At the same time, the ministry distributes a paper-based version of the textbook to schools nationwide. By all these means, the government tries to control the production, distribution, and consumption of official knowledge (Utami, 2012). Thus, the textbook plays a role as an ideological state apparatus (ISA) (Althusser, 2012) in which hegemony works. It represents narratives from a particular perspective in a subtle way. Thus, the readers might unconsciously follow the ideology behind it.

For the purpose of the study to explore meaning and unearth ideology behind the visual and text on the textbook, 81 images were identified with six categories, as shown in table 1. As this study focused on the representation of race and gender in the textbook, 26 of them that did not depict human were excluded and left 55 images under analysis.

Table 1 Frequency of image based on its category

No	Type of Image	Frequency				
		Chapter 1	Chapter 2	Chapter 3	Chapter 4	Total
1	Figure	11	18	0	8	37
2	Event	6	0	4	8	18
3	Place	2	9	0	0	11
4	Map	3	0	0	0	3
5	Artefact	3	3	1	3	10
6	Commodity	2	0	0	0	2
Total		27	30	5	19	81

The number of appearances (not the number of persons) in those 55 images was counted and put on a certain category based on race and gender (see table 2). Hence, there might be more than one category of race and gender in an image, particularly the one that depicted historical events.

Table 2 Frequency of appearance in the image based on race and gender

No	Group	Frequency				
		Chapter 1	Chapter 2	Chapter 3	Chapter 4	Total
1	White Male	11	3	3	0	17
2	Eurasian Male	0	0	0	1	1
3	Indigenous Male	2	18	4	14	38
4	Indigenous Female	0	6	1	5	12
Total		13	27	8	20	68

The data were analyzed using Kress and Leeuwen (2006) grammar of visual design. The whole meaning of visual, including the image-text relation, is the focus of this study. However, as Machin and Mayr (2012: 51) argue, "[w]hen carrying out analysis of objects, the meaning of

every object should be considered". Therefore, composition analysis is used as a bigger frame with semiotic choices analysis as part of it. Analysis of the composition of elements in the visual is important to unpack the textual meaning. There are three tools that can be used to analyze the meaning in the visual, as suggested by Kress and Leeuwen (2006): information value, salience, and framing. Afterwards, the analysis focused on the interpersonal and ideational meaning of the visual.

Figure and Event: Different Composition?

The layout is essential in term of visual design, including in the textbook design. The visual's position and occupation of space might be interesting to see in this study. Even though images about figures outnumbered events, but the latter one occupied more space on a page. 16 out of 18 images about historical events appeared in a big size that occupied one third or more of the page, with some of them in the top, centre, or bottom of the page. Whilst 37 images of prominent figures only occupied a small part of each page where they appeared with diverse positions.

The positioning of images in the top, centre or bottom of the page has different informational value (Kress & Leeuwen, 2006). The image of the Aceh war (see Figure 2) was a painting that illustrated the war. It was placed on the top of the page that might convey meaning as something ideal. It was something imagined about the ideal of the war from Indonesia perspective. The image depicted hundreds of Acehnese prepared for the war. The Acehnese could be identified by their traditional clothes and hat. The enemy was represented by ships located far on the horizon. Acehnese held spears, swords, cannon and *rencong* (Aceh traditional blade). One figure of man foregrounded and made salient as was depicted stand in the right with one of his hand raised while he held *rencong* and his left hand on his side of the body and form fist. It might denote that the indigenous people were well prepared and ready to repel the Dutch even though they were still far away. This image might convey an anti-colonialism discourse. A discourse that could be easily found in Indonesian history textbooks, as suggested by Purwanta (2018).

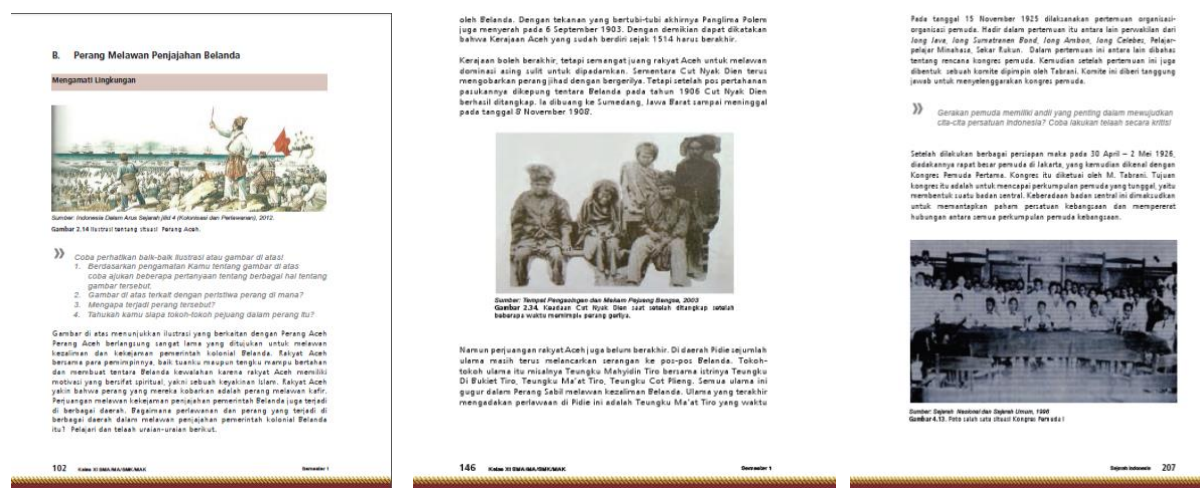


Figure 2. The layout of the page with the image of the event. From left to right: Aceh war on page 102, the exile of Cut Nyak Dien on page 146, and first youth congress on page 207 (Source: Sardiman & Lestariningsih, 2017)

Cut Nyak Dien's image was made salient and considered as something important as it was placed in the middle of the page. Cut Nyak Dien was old in this picture. She was the only one with the head faced down that made her presence salient. 4 men in traditional clothes surrounded her. They might be her followers from Aceh because they wore Aceh's hat. This image appeared on the narrative of the end of her struggle against the Dutch when she was captured and exiled to Sumedang, West Java, from 1906 until her death on 8 November 1908. This picture might convey a meaning that she was suffered as a Dutch prisoner, thus enhanced the hatred towards the Dutch as a colonizer. Interestingly, this picture followed by a narrative of another young woman, Cut Mutia, that continued her struggle against the Dutch. The discourse of anti-colonialism thus perpetuates and becomes the focal point.

Another discourse that emerged in the textbook is unity, as shown in the image of the 1st Youth Congress positioned at the bottom of page 207. Its position indicates that it was something 'real' as suggested in the grammar of visual design by Kress & Leeuwen (2006). It denoted several young indigenous men gathered together. The caption at the bottom of the picture anchored the meaning that it was a picture of the first youth congress. The text that appeared prior to this image elaborated on congress's importance as a seed of aspiration of Indonesian unity at the beginning of the 20th century. The caption and narrative accompanied by an image are important because the image might not tell the reader much about the event without it (Morris-Suzuki, 2005). In this regard, image and text relation are more than just ancillary but also correlative or integrative (Pegg, 2002).

All the images about the historical event that appeared in the textbook were very well framed. Regardless of the position of the image, either in the top, centre or bottom of the page, they were well organized. Though the images were big, they fit perfectly on the page as they followed the paragraph alignment of the text and page margin. Similar framing also appeared in the images of prominent figures in the textbook. They might have a different position, but all of them followed the margin of the page where they were occurred (see Figure 3).

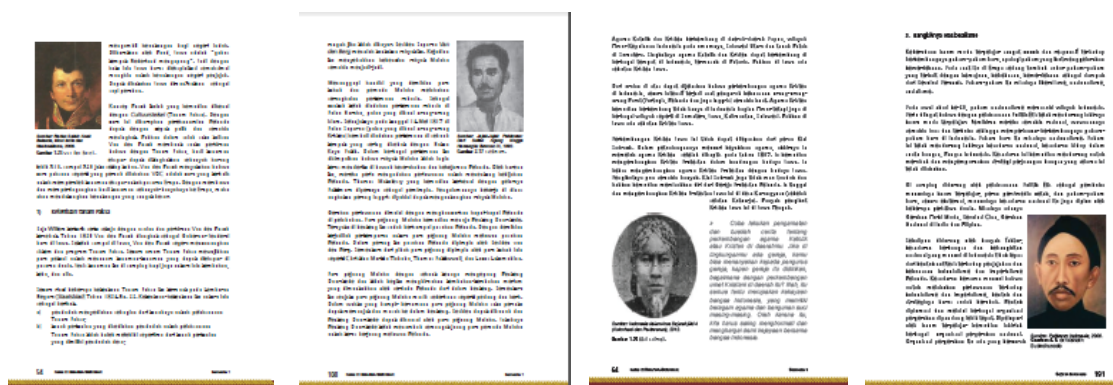


Figure 3 Layout of pages showing the image of prominent figures in different positions
(Source: Sardiman & Lestariningsih, 2017: 52, 108, 64, 191)

Images of prominent figures of historical actors might be positioned in a different part of the page. However, they were salient as the only image on the page that directed the reader to recognize their presence. Some of them appeared in color that makes them more prominent. However, compared to the images of the event, their size was smaller. It might

convey a meaning that in history, events are more important than just big names (Kuntowijoyo, 2005) so that they were given more space in the textbook.

Of Race, Gender and Perspective

The practice of colonialism and imperialism were the main topics of the first chapter. This chapter's visuals were dominated by portraits of the white male, accompanied by a narrative that primarily Euro-centric. Their portraits were made salient in the textbook as the only visual on the page that they occurred. Some images of governors-general of VOC or Dutch East Indie colony were displayed in color that made them more prominent than other figures, i.e. Pieter Both, J.P. Coen, H.W. Daendels, Van der Capellen and Van Den Bosch. They were represented as successful and powerful men. In the visuals, these men always portrait as good looking men with calm facial expression in their fancy clothes as a symbol of success and power.



(Source: Sardiman & Lestariningsih, 2017: 27, 29, 40, 52, 54)

Of those men, Pieter Both (the first governor-general of VOC) and Van der Capellen (the first governor of Dutch East Indie) were represented positively on the text as a Dutch colonial power pioneer. In contrast, van Den Bosch represented as the governor-general that saved the Netherland from bankruptcy. Pieter Both was praised for his success in founding the foundation of VOC in Batavia, imposed his hegemony in the Moluccas, and founded a trading post in Ambon. The narrative of his successors was terrible. They were represented as violent and greedy, unlike him. A similar pattern could be found in the narrative of Van der Capellen. In the case of Van den Bosch, he was praised for his brilliant idea of *cultuur stelsel* (cultivation system or forced cultivation) that brought enormous revenue to his motherland. Thus, the combination of image and text multiply the meaning (Bateman, 2014) of these men as good men under the Eurocentric perspective that could be found in the textbook.

The use of perspective in the textbook was surprisingly fluxed as Indonesiacentric and Eurocentric might appear side by side that contributed to the divergent of meaning (Bateman, 2014; Kurk, et al., 2019) between text and image. It could be found in the image and text about J.P. Coen and H.W. Daendels. There is a similar pattern on the shift of narrative from Euro-centric to Indonesia-centric on the narrative of these men. It always begins with their success and accomplishment from the European perspective and later moves to the narrative of their violence and oppression to indigenous people from the Indonesian perspective. Coen was condemned for his arrogance and cruelty, while Daendels for his dictatorship. The Eurocentric narrative appeared at the beginning, followed by the Indonesiacentric narrative. Hence, based on its information value, it might suggest that the European perspective was ideal, but the Indonesian perspective was the real one and more valuable. These complex relationships within the text caused divergent meaning. Even though the image and part of the

narrative represented these white males as good, successful and powerful men, they were also represented negatively.

The negative representation of white males also occurred in chapter three, as shown on the image on page 158 of the textbook. The image depicted indigenous men carried three western men on dooly. At the same time, one European man stood and watched over them. The western men looked comfortable and enjoyed their privilege. In contrast, the indigenous men were shirtless and looked tired, carrying the white men. This image connoted inequality between indigenous and western people. Indigenous were suffering under colonialism. The caption under that image anchored the meaning of suffering as it was labelled as a "portrait of poverty among indigenous people" (Sardiman & Lestariningsih, 2017: 158).



Figure 5 The image that showed inequality among races
(Source: Sardiman & Lestariningsih, 2017: 158)

The imposing of Indonesian perspective in some part of the narrative of the first chapter and third chapter of the textbook could be understood as an effort to decolonize historiography as aspired by Indonesian historians since the first Indonesian National History in 1957 (Tim Penyusun: Panitia Seminar Sejarah 1957, 2017). It was an effort to shift the narrative from the European perspective to the Indonesian perspective of history (Nordholt, 2004). Another part of this agenda of decolonizing history is giving more space for Indonesian as actors or agents of history (Kartodirdjo, 2001) that could be found in the second and fourth chapter of the textbook with the main topic on Indonesian resistance against colonial power and national movement.

Indigenous men dominated chapter 2 about resistance and war against colonialism with a strong Indonesiacentric perspective. With the exception of Teuku Umar, whose picture appeared on the same page with his heroine wife Cut Nyak Dien, all the images that depicted

the prominent figures on the resistance struggle against colonialism made salient as the only image on the page. All of them wore traditional clothes that symbolize their indigeneity.

In this chapter, among others, there are ten images of indigenous male that glorified in the narrative as national heroes for their resistance against the Dutch. Both the image and narrative produced a multiplication of meaning (Bateman, 2014). Those heroes are Prince Nuku, Sultan Agung, Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa, Pattimura, Prince Antasari, King Sisingamaraja XII, Sultan Hasanuddin, Tuanku Imam Bonjol, Teuku Umar, and I Gusti Ngurah Djelantik. These finding resonances the idea of Nordholt, et al. (2008) that Indonesian national heroes were dominated by male. It should be noted that the national hero is not an arbitrary matter in the Indonesian context. There is a certain procedure before the central government names prominent figures as national heroes. It is a contested and highly politicized matter.

Furthermore, Nordholt et al. (2008) also argue that those national heroes mostly came from the elite or ruling class. The captions under those men's image anchor the meaning (Bateman, 2014) that they were elites or ruler by imposing their royal title as prince or Sultan. In these regards, the image of I Gusti Ngurah Jelantik might be the most interesting one on showing his high position, not by royal title (see Figure 6). He was depicted as a middle-aged man wearing fancy royal attire and special hair decoration. There was a keris behind him which represented that he was a knight. His hand held a lontar as a symbol of knowledge and his high status as in Balinese society, only the elite that allowed to read it. He was sitting on the chair while his servant next to him might sit on the floor. Following Kress & Leeuwen (2006) grammar of visual design, the presence of servant on the left and Jelantik on the right might be represented that he was the 'new' one, the focus of the image. The presence of the servant with a pity expression that sat lower to him also indicated that there was inequality with Jelantik as the one who has a higher position and power.



Figure 6 Image of I Gusti Ngurah Jelantik with his servant
(Source: Sardiman & Lestariningsih, 2017, p.182)

Even though Indigenous women were not dominant, but they appeared as heroines in the second chapter. They were Cut Nyak Dien and Cut Mutia from Aceh, Nyi Ageng Serang from Java, and Christina Martha Tiahahu from Ambon. Nevertheless, their image might not represent them as a warrior. All their images depicted these women as young women with calm expression (see Figure 7) even though Cut Nyak Dien and Nyi Ageng Serang were old when they led their soldiers. It might suit the image of ideal prominent women figures.

The relation of image and text on these women might produce divergent meaning that "creating a gap between the meaning suggested by the image and text" (Kurk *et al.*, 2019: 4). Therefore, even though the image represented them as young beautiful and calm women, the text suggested the opposite. They were depicted in the text as guerilla leaders that bravely fought against the Dutch. Hence, they were glorified as heroines in the narrative as their male counterparts. However, their presence in the narrative or the text was associated with male figures around them. Cut Nyak Dien depicted as a woman that followed her husband, Teuku Umar, who resisted colonial power. Cut Mutia, Chistina Martha Tiahahu, and Nyi Ageng Serang were associated with their father, who previously involved in resistance against the Dutch. Thus, it seems that the ideology of patriarchy remains in place for the second chapter of the textbook as it emphasized war and resistance that might be considered as a male domain.



Figure 7. The Image of heroines appeared in the second chapter. From left to right: Christina Martha Tiahahu, Nyi Ageng Serang, Cut Nyak Dien, and Cut Mutia
(Source: Sardiman & Lestariningsih, 2017, p.110, 123, 143, 147)

However, Kartini (see Figure 8) mentioned in chapter 4 in her own identity as educated women with no association to male figures around her. She was depicted as a young, beautiful and calm woman wearing kebaya with a brooch, and her hair was decorated with flowers. It connoted the meaning that she was a noblewoman. The narrative accompanied this image highlights Kartini's letter to her best friend, Mrs Abendanon, in the Netherlands, represented as inspiration for an ethnic group at that time. Her letters were praised as a sign of the new age of progress.

Chapter 4 has a strong Indonesiacentric perspective that represented women as historical agents. Apart from Kartini, they appeared not in a single portrait but in the images that captured historical events. For example, they appeared at the 1st Women Congress and Jong Java Congress.



Figure 8 Portrait of Kartini
(Source: Sardiman & Lestariningsih, 2017: 185)

The textbook interestingly has a section on women movement history highlighting the importance of the 1st women congress on 22 – 25 December 1928 that later commemorate as Mother Day in Indonesia. The picture in this section showed 12 women in kebaya and batik, with three of them with tudung (see Figure 9). The text expands the meaning by elaborating that there were 30 women organizations that joined the congress, including from Islamic background women organization. The women with tudung might represent these women organization with an Islamic background. Their position on the image also interesting as they were on the left and closed with the viewer. It might represent that Islamic women organization were something new at that time.



*Figure 9 Women appeared in the picture of 1st Women Congress
(Sardiman & Lestariningsih, 2017: 223)*

The picture of Jong Java Congress depicted several women wearing traditional kebaya and batik in contrast with the men who were wearing western-style jackets, ties, and long trousers (see Figure 10). However, they were sat and stood on the same level, indicating that they were equal regardless of their gender. The number of women involved in this congress was smaller than men, and their position on the visual was spread from the left to the center. It might convey a meaning that these women were trying to find their place in the middle of the national movement dominated by men.



*Figure 10 Women appeared in the picture of Jong Java Congress
(Source: Sardiman & Lestariningsih, 2017: 205)*

The men who dominated the national movement were a small number of elite, particularly Western-educated. Unlike indigenous male who lived in the 18th to 19th century that depicted on their traditional clothes in chapter 2, most of these indigenous male involved in the national movement in the 20th century were wearing western-styled clothes as shown in

several images in chapter 4 of the textbook, including on the picture of Jong Java Congress. It might convey a meaning that western-styled clothes were the symbol of the new educated elite, those who received western-styled education. It implies that the West was more valued in term of education and style in the 20th century. This phenomenon is not unique to Indonesia, as Shihade (2017) notes that people in the Third World tend to value more Western education. It was a legacy of colonialism that remain in place in the 21st century.

Another legacy of colonialism perpetuates in the history textbook: men dominated the narrative, as demonstrated in this study. While the white men dominated the first chapter of the textbook that dominated by the European perspective, indigenous men dominated the rest of the textbook with the Indonesian perspective. There is an effort to bring up indigenous women in the narrative, especially with the Indonesian perspective. Their presence was important but not as significant as men. In this regard, the history of colonialism in this textbook is 'his story' that reproduces patriarchy normative discourse.

Conclusion

History textbook serves a function to (re)produce collective memory within society. Thus, it is a negotiated and contested terrain. In terms of race and gender discourse in the narrative of colonialism in the textbook, there is a strong sense of men domination, especially the indigenous men. Whilst indigenous women are given a space even though it is limited. This might be a good sign as indigenous women were not left out from history. However, there are some groups that sidelined in both text and visual of Indonesia history textbook.

White male could be easily spotted in the textbook, especially in the first chapter, but it is hard to find the Eurasian male. Furthermore, white female omitted from the textbook as they never existed in the history of colonialism in Indonesia. Arabs, Indian and Chinese also omitted regardless of their gender. This is problematic as it might represent a denial of 'the other', thus reproduce colonial practice with a new form of racism.

These findings might have some limitations due to the perspective or approach being used. In my analysis, as I want to explore and unpack the ideology behind the textbook, I do not consult the author as producers nor students as the consumers of the textbook, which is one of limitations of multimodal discourse analysis as pointed out by Machin & Mayr (2012). Authors and students might have different interpretations from mine. Thus, further research might incorporate their interpretation on analysis. Moreover, it might be useful to see meaning-making process of the textbook in the classroom learning context. As meaning might be negotiated and contested, students from different socio-cultural background might have a different or similar interpretation of image and text in history textbook when they use it as a learning source in the classroom.

Acknowledgement

This research is part of my PhD study at National Institute of Education (NIE), Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Singapore under the scholarship from Lembaga Pengelola Dana Pendidikan (LPDP). I would also thank to Asst. Prof. Victor Lim Fei for introducing the multimodal discourse analysis in his wonderful Discourse Studies course. Substantial amount of this manuscript was develop under that course.

Reference

- Alatas, S.H. (2020). *Thomas Stamford Raffles: Schemer or Reformer?* Singapore: NUS Press.
- Althusser, L. (2012). Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses: Notes Towards an Investigation. In M. G. Durham, & D. Kellner, *Media and Cultural Studies: Key Works, Second Edition*. West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Antos-Susanto, R., & Antons, C. (2016). The construction of ethnicity in colonial law and its legacy: The example of the Peranakan Chinese in Indonesia. In C. Antons, *Routledge Handbook of Asian Law*. New York: Routledge.
- Apple, M. W. (1993). The Politics of Official Knowledge: Does a National Curriculum Make Sense? *Discourse*, 14(1), 1-16.
- Araujo, M., & Maeso, S. (2011). History textbook, racism, and the critique of Eurocentrism: Beyond rectification or compensation. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 35(7), 1266-1286.
- Bateman, J. A. (2014). *Text and image: A critical introduction to the visual/verbal devide*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Diversi, M., & Moreira, C. (2009). *Between talk: decolonizing knowledge production, pedagogy, and praxis*. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.
- Fanon, F. (2008). *Black skin, white mask*. New York: Grove Press.
- Jewitt, C., & Oyama, R. (2001). Visual Meaning: a Social Semiotic Approach. In T. v. Leeuwen, & C. Jewitt, *The Handbook of Visual Analysis* (pp. 134-156). London: Sage.
- Kaomea, J. (2015). A curriculum of aloha? Colonialism and tourism in Hawai'i elementary textbooks. *Curriculum inquiry*, 30(3), 319-344.
- Kartodirdjo, S. (2001). *Indonesian Historiography*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.
- Kress, G., & Leeuwen, T. (2006). *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*. London: Routledge.
- Kuntowijoyo. (2005). *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah*. Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana.
- Kurk, J., Lubin, J., Sikka, K., Lin, X., Jurafsky, D., & Divakaran, A. (2019). Integrating text and image: Determining multimodal document intent in instagram post. *arXiv preprint arXiv:1904.09073*.
- Lan, T. J. (2012). Contesting the post-colonial legas construction of Chinese Indonesians as 'foreign subjects'. *Asian Ethnicity*, 373-387.
- Lohaous, M. (2019). Curricular decolonization from epistemologies of diversity. *Transnational Curriculum Inquiry*, 74-80.
- Lugoneses, M. (2016). The coloniality of gender. In W. Harcourt, *The Palgrave handbook of gender and development: Critical engagements in feminist theory and practice*. London: Palgrave.
- Machin, D., & Mayr, A. (2012). *How to Do Critical Discourse Analysis: A Multimodal Introduction*. London: SAGE.
- Mikander, P. (2015). Colonialist 'discoveries' in Finnish school textbook. *Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education*, 4, 48-65.
- Moncrieffe, M.L. (2020). *Decolonising the History Curriculum: Euro-centrism and Primary Schooling*. Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Noor, F. A., & Carey, P. B. (Eds.). (2020). *Racial Difference and the Colonial Wars of 19th Century Southeast Asia*. Amsterdam University Press.
- Morris-Suzuki, T. (2005). *The Past Within Us: Media, Memory, History*. London: Verso.
- Nordholt, H. S. (2004). *De-colonising Indonesian Historiography*. Lund: Centre for East and South-East Asian Studies Lund University.

- Nordholt, H. S., Purwanto, B., & Saptari, R. (2008). *Perspektif baru penulisan sejarah Indonesia*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- Pegg, B. (2002). Two dimensional features in the history of text format: How print technology has preserved linearity. In N. Allen, *Working with words and images: New steps in an old dance*. Ablex: CT.
- Peled-Elhanan, N. (2011). The representation of 'others' in Israeli schoolbooks: A multimodal analysis. *Journal of International Cooperation in education*, 14(2), 115-130.
- Pols, H. (2007). Psychological knowledge in a colonial context: Theories of the nature of the 'native mind' in the former Dutch East Indies. *History of Psychology*, 16(2), 111-131.
- Purwanta, H. (2018). The Representation of Colonial Discourse in Indonesian Secondary Education History Textbooks During and After the New Order (1975-2013). *Journal of the History of Education Society*, 18(3), 349-361.
- Repoussi, M., & Guillon, N. (2010). New trends in history textbook research: Issues and methodologies toward school historiography. *Journal of Educational Media*, 12(1), 154-170.
- Rothermund, D. (2006). *The Routledge companion to decolonization*. New York: Routledge.
- Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon.
- Sardiman, A., & Lestariningsih, A. (2017). *Sejarah Indonesia Kelas 11 Semester 1 Edisi Revisi*. Jakarta: kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- Shihade, M. (2017). Education and decolonization: On not reading Ibn Khaldun in Palestine. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education and Society*, 6(1), 79-93.
- Tim Penyusun: Panitia Seminar Sejarah 1957. (2017). *Laporan Seminar Sejarah 14-18 Desember 1957*. Yogyakarta: Ombak.
- Tuck, E., & Yang, K. (2012). Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, education, and Society*, 1(1), 1-40.
- Utami, I. W. (2012). *Wacana Ideologi Negara dalam Buku Sekolah Elektronik (BSE) Sejarah Sekolah Menengah Atas (SMA)*. Surakarta: Universitas Sebelas Maret.
- Weiner, M. F. (2014). (E)racing slavery: Racial neoliberalism, social forgetting and scientific colonialism in Dutch primary school history textbook. *Du Bois Review*, 1-23.
- Young Chun Kim, Moon, S., & Joo, J. (2013). Elusive images of the other: A post colonial analysis of South Korean world history textbooks. *Educational Studies*, 49(3), 213-246.