

Rethinking National Identities in Indonesian Education Curriculum

Ella Masita¹⁾
ellamasita@gmail.com

Abstract: This article explores the conceptualization of Indonesian national identity from the point of view of the Indonesian government. The data is taken from the three most recent Indonesian national curricula and its prescription in mandated English textbooks for senior high school. It interrogates the dimensions in an Indonesian context of the 2004 Curriculum as the first national curriculum in Indonesia after the fall of Soeharto's regime, in 2006 Curriculum as Indonesia reconsidered its position within a global competitive world context, and in 2013 to respond to perceptions of unsatisfactory education results and a looming 'identity crisis'. Visiting the key issues within those documents and the corresponding English textbooks through the lens of Representation theory as suggested by Hall (1997), the article explores the complex interconnections that frame the curriculum discussion. Three main findings are emerged in relation how the national identity concepts are shifting over time in those three consecutive curricula namely: from the interpretive to prescriptive curriculum, from operational to notional curriculum, and from other-ness to us-ness imagined communities.

Keywords: *Curriculum, English language teaching, national identity*

Abstrak: Artikel ini mengeksplorasi konsep identitas nasional ditinjau dari sudut pandang pemerintah Indonesia. Data diambil dari tiga kurikulum pendidikan nasional terakhir bersama dengan buku pelajaran Bahasa Inggris untuk SMA. Ketiga kurikulum tersebut adalah Kurikulum 2004, Kurikulum 2006, dan Kurikulum 2013. Kurikulum 2004 diambil sebagai kurikulum pendidikan nasional pertama di Indonesia setelah jatuhnya pemerintahan presiden Soeharto pada tahun 1998. Sementara itu, Kurikulum 2006 adalah kurikulum pendidikan nasional di Indonesia untuk mempersiapkan generasi muda Indonesia dalam konteks persaingan global. Sebaliknya, Kurikulum 2013 disahkan pemerintah Indonesia sebagai kurikulum resmi di system pendidikan nasional Indonesia sebagai respons dari adanya persepsi tentang asil pendidikan yang kurang memuaskan dan adanya "krisis identitas" di kalangan generasi muda Indonesia. Melalui landasan teori Representation (Hall, 1997), artikel ini mengupas tentang bagaimana konsep identitas nasional bergeser dalam ketiga kurikulum tersebut. Terdapat tiga temuan utama: perubahan dari interpretive menjadi prescriptive, dari operational menjadi notional, dan dari "other-ness" menjadi "us-ness" imagined communities. Artikel ini berfokus pada temuan tentang perubahan kurikulum tersebut.

Kata-kata kunci: *Kurikulum, pengajaran Bahasa Inggris, identitas nasional*

¹⁾ *English Lecturer of Jambi University*

As the most recent applied teaching curriculum in Indonesia, the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC) released the 2013 Curriculum to be implemented for teaching all school subjects in Indonesian schools, including English language teaching. It stated that this policy was driven by the concern of the government that there is a crisis of national identity among Indonesian youths (Indonesian Ministry of Education, 2013a). This crisis was believed to be the main reason for juvenile negative attitudes, such as brawls and criminal issues that had rapidly escalated around this time. MOEC argued that the identity declivity was also an indication of Indonesian youths' inability to build good relationships with others. It was further claimed that the earlier curriculum had failed to build students' characters and their national identities as Indonesian people. The reason was that the earlier curriculum focused too greatly on students' cognitive attainment while it paid inadequate attention to developing students' character building. Along with that, the time allocation for learning English language is also reduced. As quoted from SekolahDasar.net (2012), the Indonesian Minister of Education claimed that many Indonesian youths do not have adequate mastery or pride about Indonesian official language, Bahasa. Young people see English as a superior language to Bahasa and other Indonesian vernacular languages. The minister also argued that learning other languages too early and too often might distract the students in learning Bahasa. It has led the government to conceive that there should be a major change in teaching foreign languages in Indonesia, including English language. For that reason, a large scale of changes to the English teaching curriculum, with a deep embedding of national identity and morality programs was considered to be an urgent course of action. The newly introduced curriculum, then, claimed to offer better general guidance for the teaching-learning activities at Indonesian schools, as it provides support for the programs of character building and national identity.

Regarding the claim that the previous curriculum focused on the development of cognitive skills, a former study by Qoyyimah (2015) pointed out that the 2006 Curriculum was designed to prepare Indonesian young generations to encounter global challenges. Consequently, it placed a heavy emphasis on

the teaching of knowledge and skills to students. The curriculum was designed to formulate a number of learning objectives that students needed to achieve in order to meet the predetermined targets of the curriculum, most of which were focused on students' cognitive attainment. Qoyyimah argued that the heavy academic loads resulted in students having insufficient time and energy for programs related to character building. Furthermore, the 2006 Curriculum was described by Yuliantoro (2016) as an updated revision of the previous curriculum named the 2004 Curriculum. However, he claimed that both of the curricula had no fundamental differences. As the later one, the 2004 Curriculum also required students to be equipped with lots of cognitive programs for the sake of developing their competitive abilities in the global competition era. Although much research has been already done which focuses on the academic loads within the English teaching education curriculum in Indonesia, considerably less attention has been paid to investigating how Indonesian national identity is conceptualized within the curriculum. Therefore, this article seeks to critically investigate this research gap.

METHOD

This article presents findings from a larger study exploring how the Indonesian national identity represented in education curriculum. The study investigated the three most recent Indonesian education curricula: (1) 2004 Curriculum, (2) 2006 Curriculum, and (3) 2013 Curriculum. More specifically, both verbal and visual texts of nine curriculum documents and three textbooks of English for senior high school became the sources of data in the study. The data were then examined through the lens of Hall's Representation theory (1997) and the application of discourse analysis as proposed by Gee (2014b).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

National Identities Conceptualization at The Beginning of The Indonesian National Reformation in Education - and 11 Years After

At the outset of this article, Indonesian national education curriculum is viewed as non-neutral. The history of Indonesian education curriculum is explained as the process of infusing selective values and beliefs. The selections are influenced by dominant po-

litical and socio-cultural contexts happened in Indonesia in different periods of time. A significant reformation of Indonesian national education system at the beginning of the 2000s is a result of major political change in Indonesia in 1998 after the fall of Soeharto's regime. The change resulted significant overturn in Indonesian policy, from centralized power of government to de-centralization system. The reformation impacted in many aspects of Indonesian policies, politically and social-culturally. Values and beliefs of more freedom of speech and independency were promoted in Indonesia. Along with that, global competitive awareness is also promoted.

The de-centralized reformation in education with the infusion new values also affected the Indonesian education system. One of them is the release of the 2004 Curriculum as the first education curriculum in Indonesia in the decentralization era. This curriculum was later revised into the 2006 Curriculum. While there was no fundamental difference from its predecessor, the latter provided school more freedom and independency in managing the teaching-learning activities at school. However, discussion regarding the development of students' freedom of speech and independency is not as extensive as the previous curriculum. Instead, the focus of the latter curriculum is more regarding the awareness of global competitiveness and the urgency of preparing students to be competitive at global world.

After fifteen years of the reformation era, Indonesian government has released new national education curriculum in 2013. This is the most recent national education curriculum and has been implemented in Indonesia nowadays. The 2013 Curriculum has been designed as a response of government's claim regarding the unsatisfactory results of education in Indonesia. The government argues that the bad results are mainly because of the 'identity crisis' of Indonesian youths during the implementation of the prior education curricula. The focus of the following sub-sections, then, is to revisit the shifting of Indonesian national identity concepts at the three most recent consecutive curricula.

From Interpretive to Prescriptive Discourse

The major political change at the end of 1990s triggered public awareness about reforming the centralistic regime as part of demands for stronger democracy. In line with

that, greater autonomy as well as degree of freedom of speech was also demanded. The reformation is reflected at the 2004 Curriculum, as one of the new government's policy in education at that time. The results of analysis reveal that the curriculum documents and corresponding English textbooks of the curriculum promoted students' development in expressing themselves. Additionally, the importance of independency was also promoted by the focus of teaching required knowledge and skills for students to be able to be highly competitive Indonesian people. Accordingly, the 2004 Curriculum is explained to provide those values at its documents. Through the curriculum that facilitated open interpretation, the interrelation can be drawn between the education curriculum and the rise of freedom and autonomy awareness that occurred at the early years of the political and socio-cultural reformation in Indonesia. The analysis of the required competencies for students to achieve at the curriculum documents indicates that the curriculum supported the development of freedom of speech, students' autonomy and independency.

The supports are identified at the principles of the development of the curriculum. In addition, the curriculum documents inserted statements that the curriculum should provide students opportunities to access, choose, and evaluate knowledge and skills. Moreover, the documents included the discussion of the teaching of life skills to students. In the documents, life skills referred to personal skills, thinking skills, social skills, academic skills, and vocational skills. It is also explained in the same part of document that the aforementioned life skills were to develop through the cultivation of reading, writing, and numeracy. However, the documents do not provide further details of the life skills. More detailed information regarding the support of freedom of speech and independency are identified at the lists of expected competency standards stated in the curriculum documents. Similar to the discussion of the life skills, the statements in the lists are in general statements. This provided opportunities for school and teachers to interpret the values more elaborately and later develop more specific learning activities in order to achieve the expected competencies.

In line with the 2004 Curriculum documents, the learning materials within the textbook supported the spirit of freedom of

speech and independency reformation era. For example: two among seven learning lessons at the textbooks had the focus to facilitate students to express their own opinion or feelings. They were Learning Unit Four entitled "Guess what happen" and Learning Unit Six entitled "The Way I Feel. The support was identified at the titles of the lesson units, reading texts, and learning tasks. Beside the analysis of those two particular learning lessons, the analysis of the textbook also indicated that students' autonomy was developed through learning tasks that require students to do independent learning. This was the last cycle of the proposed learning cycles in learning English. In addition, the learning tasks at the textbooks also provided students opportunities to express their own thoughts and feelings. Also, the unit topics was indicated the promotion of expressing self.

Furthermore, the change from 2004 Curriculum to 2006 Curriculum is viewed as incremental policy. It is because the latter curriculum was developed out of previous one without any significant changes. The previous review of related literature described government's argument that the 2006 Curriculum was positioned as an upgraded version of the 2004 Curriculum with bigger autonomy for education institution. The analysis of the curriculum indicates that the changes were not fundamental. The keys points of the latter curriculum such as basic frameworks, objectives, and required competencies were not significantly different from the previous one. However, the 2006 Curriculum provided bigger portion autonomy to school than the 2004 Curriculum. At the newer policy, the documents stated that the schools were allowed to develop the curriculum and design their own teaching syllabi to comply the needs of their students. Despite that, he supports for the development of students' autonomy and independency, along with freedom of speech, was not as extensive as the previous curriculum. Instead, the latter curriculum focused on the discussion of the urgency of preparing students for global competitiveness. No more discussion of life skills in the documents whereas there was the inclusion of the discussion regarding civics with the focus of teaching citizenship.

The more structured curriculum and the focus of mastering English skills at the curriculum documents appeared to be consistent to the corresponding English textbook.

Different from the textbook of the previous curriculum, there was no learning unit that specifically focused on expressing self. Most of the learning tasks within the textbook focused on the development of English skills. Although the learning tasks at the textbook still provided students opportunities to develop their independency through independent learning activities, however, the focus of the textbook was shifted from expressing self to the development of English skills.

Unlike the incremental change from the 2004 Curriculum to the 2006 Curriculum, the transform from the 2006 Curriculum to the 2013 Curriculum was big. The curriculum is centralized and applies uniform approaches of teaching. At the most recent curriculum, the schools are expected to only use the teaching syllabi, student textbooks, and teacher handbooks provided by the government. The centralized policy appears to significantly diminish teachers' authority as developed at the previous curricula. As claimed by the Indonesian government, this change is urgently required because the previous 2006 Curriculum was too knowledge-minded. It had too much focus on creating Indonesian youth who can compete economically in global era while lack of learning materials that support the development of character building. The government also addressed some issues such as disintegration and students' juvenile problems that rapidly happened in Indonesia recently.

Additionally, in contrast to the discussions of the values of 2004 and 2006 Curricula which were very interpretive, discussions of the curriculum values at the 2013 Curriculum is very prescriptive. The selected values are very specific. This does not provide enough room for open interpretation or develop the curriculum values, such as faithful, good morals, knowledgeable, confident, responsible, honest, disciplined, caring, cooperative, tolerant, peaceful, polite, responsive, and pro-active.

Despite the fourteen selected values have been highlighted at the curriculum documents, not all of the selected values stated at the curriculum documents are promoted at the corresponding English textbook. The textbook does not accommodate adequate learning materials to promote all of the said idealized expected values. The selected values at the textbook are only the ones relating to the promotion of good deeds such as

honesty, discipline, responsibility, tolerance, and politeness. In contrast, other curriculum values, especially regarding the elements of promoting the productivities, creativities and innovations are not accommodated at the textbook, such as the values of knowledgeable, confident, disciplined, cooperative, responsive, and pro-active. Relating to the development of students' competencies in expressing self, this research concludes that the learning tasks within the textbook do not encourage the development of freedom of speech. Despite a great number of open-ended questions that, at a glance, appear to accommodate students in expressing themselves, however, the analysis of the texts shows that the statements within the questions implicitly direct students to response the learning tasks with the aforementioned selected values of good deeds.

In line with that, the textbook does not promote adequate opportunities for students to develop English language skills either. Although there are learning tasks that are explicitly stated as relating to English language skills such as Speaking, Reading, and Writing, but the analysis of the texts at the tasks indicates that most questions focus on the development of aforementioned selected values than language skills. Even at the tasks that are labeled as language skill activities, the cognitive levels of those tasks are considerably low. Most of them at the recalling level with the learning activities are mostly very simple such as pairing words/sentences or completing unfinished clauses.

From Operational to Notional Frameworks

As addressed earlier, Indonesian curricular reformat the beginning of 2000s followed the globalization trend in terms of how to equip the next generation to encounter global challenges. Consequently, the education curriculum was internationalized to prepare Indonesian youth to face global competition through the focus of science and English language with the promoting of knowledge values. Despite the focus, the results of analysis show that other values such as religion, moral and personal attributes were also presented at the 2004 Curriculum documents. However, the discussion of those values was not as extensive as the discussion of the urgency of masteries of science and English language to face global challenges.

Moreover, the curriculum documents assert the discussion of a number of expect-

ed outcome competencies for students to achieve at the completion of study. They were presented systematically through lists of required competency standards. There were two kinds of lists outlined at the documents. The first was what the documents stated as the required competency standard across curriculum. Additionally, the other list was named as required competency standards. The document further reveals the important role of the aforementioned competency standards as the main operational guidance for the teaching-learning activities at schools. Due to the detailed information of the curriculum documents, the 2004 Curriculum was an operative curriculum with detailed and systematic discussions, especially regarding the objectives of the curriculum and the expected outcome competency standards to achieve by the students. In line with the curriculum documents, the presentation of the learning materials within the textbooks was also organized systematically. They were represented based on the classification of the four skills of English. Moreover, the learning tasks at the textbooks were presented through a series of the hierarchical learning cycles. The cycles consisted of four cycles of learning activities that students should implement. Theoretical information of how to implement the learning cycles was even identified at the back-cover page, both in verbal and visual texts.

To conclude, the teaching of English at the 2004 viewed language as a means of communication. More specifically, it addressed the usage of English as a global language to support Indonesian youths to face future challenges and global competitiveness. During the implementation of 2004 Curriculum, the teaching of English was specifically planned and delivered in a systematic way with the objective to equip Indonesian students' adequate communicative skills.

Similar to the previous curriculum, the 2006 Curriculum document viewed education curriculum to improve Indonesian youth for global competitiveness. Even, the latter curriculum has intensified operative documents than the previous one. Compared to the 2004 Curriculum documents, the 2006 Curriculum documents were more comprehensive and elaborative. There were comprehensive discussions of the school subjects' divisions, along with what areas to teach in each division. There were also long lists of

outcome competency standards for every school level (primary, junior high school, and senior high school). Along with that; there are lists of required outcome competency standards from each division of school subjects. Lists of competencies in each group of school subjects were more elaborated versions of the outcome competency standards. In line with the curriculum documents, the intensification of the teaching English as an important skill for global competitiveness is also identified at the 2006 English textbook. The textbooks quantitatively have more pages and more learning units. Within each learning units, there are more reading texts and learning tasks for students to do. Like the textbook from the previous curriculum, the learning materials at the 2006 Curriculum were systematically presented into both spoken and written language through the development of four English language skills. However, no specific learning cycles suggested for teachers to implement as at the 2004 textbook. This is seen as the direct consequence of the bigger portion of independency given to the school and teachers as stated at the curriculum documents.

Furthermore, as elaborated at the investigation of related literature and previous research, after fifteen years of the curriculum reform at the end of the 1990s, the government overturned the curriculum policy once again, from the previous 2006 Curriculum that promote freedom of speech and students' independency to the more structured and centralized 2013 Curriculum. At later curriculum, the values of curriculum are presented throughout the curriculum documents in the forms of required competencies. There are four core competency standards stated in the documents. They are standards of spiritual attitudes competencies, social attitudes competencies, knowledge competencies, and skill competencies.

Unlike the previous two curricula in which the competency standards were made in the form of listed statements, the competency standards at the 2013 Curriculum is in the form of paragraphed statements. However, there is no substantial difference of the competency standards among the three levels of education (elementary, junior high, and senior high). In fact, there is only one competency standard of spiritual as well as social attitudes for all of those levels. On the other hand, the competency standards for

knowledge and skill competencies have hierarchical level of competencies in every level of education. The additional competencies to a higher level are not substantial either, only an addition of one word or two from the previous level.

In addition to the competency standards, the documents also include expected learning activities for each core competency. The documents assert that both spiritual and social attitudes competencies should be achieved through the activities of accepting, responding, practicing, valuing, internalizing, and actualizing. Additionally, knowledge competencies are expected to achieve through the activities of knowing, understanding, applying, analyzing, evaluating, and creating. Last but not last, the competencies in skills are to achieve through the activities of observing, questioning, experimenting, associating, communicating, and creating. Despite the inclusion of the statements regarding the expected competencies as well as the hierarchical series of activities to achieve the competencies, it appears that the documents do not provide specific description regarding the further elaborated information of the competencies. They discussion of those competencies is basically just mentioning of what to expect without further discussion or clarifications. The aforementioned series of the expected activities are also left undefined. This lack of specificity is resulted that 2013 Curriculum is less operative than the previous ones and somewhat only elusive concepts in the policy statements.

It seems that the lack of elaborated information at the curriculum documents impacts the ways the corresponding English textbook is developed. At a glance, the learning tasks appear to accommodate a number of questions that might enable students to develop their critical thinking abilities. However, most of the questions at the learning tasks are out of the contexts. For instance, at the questions that are supposed to develop students' reading comprehension skills, the questions are more related to high-order philosophical questions rather than to develop students' skills in comprehending the information within the texts. Additionally, there are very limited learning activities in the textbooks that support the development of English language skills. Even there are some, the results of analysis indicate that most of those learning activities are merely in low level of think-

ing, mostly in the level of recalling only.

In conclusion, both the curriculum documents and the textbook of the 2013 Curriculum do not provide adequate operational learning materials to support the teaching of English language as a means of communication. While there is a significant lack of detailed information at the curriculum documents, the learning tasks within the textbook have more focus on notional learning materials that are not directly related to the development of English skills.

From “Other-ness” to “Us-ness” Imagined Communities

The 2004 Curriculum viewed Indonesia as a nation with diversities to conceptualize Indonesian national imaginaries. It highlighted the importance of developing students’ awareness to the diversified societies and how to live in harmony as a nation. The discussion regarding the imaginaries is specifically identified within the lists of required competency standards relating to the nation’s diversities. No other part of the curriculum documents addressed this diversity issues.

Moreover, the discussion of multicultural attitudes and behaviors at the lists explicates the development of awareness toward people from diversely background through the promotion of values of tolerance, mutual-respect, mutual understanding, and recognition of religious and ethnic diversities, as well as cultural differences. More elaborately, the documents refer the diversity awareness by developing students’ empathy to people from different religions as well as understanding and appreciating physical environment and living beings. The students are also expected to actively participate, interact and contribute in societies, internalize the values of humanity and develop togetherness in society. In addition, the lists also asserted other values such as the basic understanding of civilian rights and obligations in the nation and having insight of nationality and statehood of Indonesia.

Regarding the corresponding English textbook for the 2004 Curriculum, it is identified that there was a learning lesson that specifically addressed diversity awareness. As the last learning lesson, Chapter Seven of the textbook entitled “Getting Along with Foreigners”. This learning lesson provided information regarding different cultures in the world. Additionally, the lesson also compris-

es learning tasks that promote cross-cultural mutual respects and communication skills. Moreover, the first unit at the textbook was entitled “Our World” which discussed about well-known places in the world. The unit contains information both about beautiful places in Indonesia and other countries. Apart from those two learning units that specifically promoted cross-cultural understanding toward the diversified societies, the remaining learning lesson within the textbook did not directly relate to the topics of cultural uniformities or diversities. There was no learning topic relating to Indonesian heroes/people at the textbooks either. However, as identified at the results of textbook analysis, there were traces of Indonesian identities both at the verbal and visual texts, although the representation was quite minimal.

In line with the 2004 Curriculum documents, the 2006 Curriculum documents highlighted the development of diversity awareness as the conceptualization of Indonesian national imaginaries. Similar to the previous curriculum, the discussion of diversity awareness is identified at the lists of required competency standards. Compared to the previous curriculum, the discussion of aforementioned multicultural attitudes and behaviors such as tolerance, mutual-respect, mutual understanding, and recognition of religious and ethnic diversities, and cultural differences was intensified at the 2006 Curriculum documents. They are discussed more comprehensively at the listed required competency standards of the curriculum. For example, the documents were explicitly stated the values of appreciating the diversity of religion, nationality, ethnicity, race, and socio-economic class as one of required competencies at the list of outcome competency standards for senior high school. Other statements relating to the development of diversity awareness were also identified at the lists of competency standards such as to respect different opinion and empathize with others, understand rights and responsibilities of self and others in community, participate in the enforcement of social rules, and actively involved in the life of society, nation, state of Indonesia.

In addition, the documents also included more elaborated discussion of civics, with specific focus on nationalism as well as civilian rights and obligations. The discussion contained information about the scopes and

outlined a list of required competency standards. As the objective of the inclusion of civics at the curriculum, the documents noted the objective as to develop Indonesian students to have a sense of nationalism and patriotism. Similarly, the scope of civics also highlighted the importance to increase students' awareness and knowledge of their status, rights and obligations in society, nation, and state. Moreover, the documents did not limit the definition of civics merely as the knowledge regarding nationalism and patriotism to defend the nation. It also included the respect for human rights, pluralism, environmental sustainability, gender equality, democracy, social responsibility, obedience to law and to pay taxes, and the attitudes and behavior to refrain from corruption, collusion, and nepotism.

Interestingly, despite the comprehensive discussion of civics and nationalism within the curriculum documents, there was no learning lessons at 2006 Curriculum textbook that specifically addressed the topics of nationalism such as the discussion of Indonesian heroes, the information regarding the nation's past achievement, or the promotion of Indonesian natural and cultural grandeur. However, the discussion of diversified cultural awareness was accommodated at the first learning unit entitled "Thanksgiving is a Celebration Day". In this chapter, several Indonesian cultural celebrations in celebrating thanksgiving were also addressed, along with similar celebrations in other countries in the world. However, the main focus of the topic discussion within the learning lesson was related to the thanksgiving celebration in America. The focus of the corresponding textbook of the 2006 Curriculum is to develop students' language skills in English. Consequently, most of the topics of the learning materials within the textbook did not directly refer to specific socio-cultural background. Despite that, a number of attributes related to national identities were still identified, both Indonesian and other countries identities. The presentation of the national identities at the textbook, however, was quite minimal.

The most recent curriculum, on the other hand, distracts the point of views of socio-cultural diversities and supports the imaginaries of being one Indonesia. In contrast to the previous two curricula, the 2013 Curriculum documents do not discuss diversity awareness. Instead, the 2013 Curriculum

documents highlight the national imaginaries through the promotion of 'love to the country' as a part of social attitudes, with specific emphasis on selective values promoted at the curriculum documents such as faithful, good morals, knowledgeable, confident, responsible, honest, disciplined, caring, cooperative, tolerant, peaceful, polite, responsive, and pro-active.

Besides the two classifications of social attitudes, the policy statement also asserts attributes of expected attitudes in relation to the inheritance of Indonesian cultures, toward the society and nation, and in regards to pride for the country and culture. More specifically, the discussion is related to the development of nationalism to Indonesia through the construction of Indonesian homo nationalis and a common culture, as well as the narration of nation's past achievement and myths. Apart from the aforementioned discussion regarding Indonesian national imaginaries, no further discussion at the documents relating to further development of the selected values.

Regarding the 2013 Curriculum textbook, the discussion of Indonesian national imaginaries has significant portion at the textbook. Two out of eleven chapters specifically discuss Indonesian heroes. Additionally, there are also the discussions of other Indonesian heroes and heroines as well as well-known people (actors, singers, authors) within the learning tasks in aforementioned chapters. The significances of the discussion of Indonesian heroes are also represented through the analysis of the visual texts as explored at the analysis chapter of the 2013 Curriculum textbook. Additionally, the discussion of Indonesian national identities is represented comprehensively in all chapters, both at verbal and visual texts.

CONCLUSION

The investigation of three Indonesian education curricula that have been implemented consecutively at the national reformation era discloses that development of education curriculum in Indonesia is not exclusively stated by its own. The curriculum documents and corresponding textbooks illustrate how the curriculum influences and is influenced by external powers, such as national and global politics as well as socio-cultural dynamics.

As addressed earlier, the main shifting of the curricula happens between the 2004 Curriculum and 2006 Curriculum in one

hand and the 2013 Curriculum in another hand. The changes are classified into three categories from the interpretive to prescriptive curriculum, from operational to notional curriculum, and from other-ness to us-ness imagined communities. Despite the aforementioned arguments, however, it is realized that curriculum documents and their corresponding English textbooks are only one part of English language curriculum. Further studies with a broader scope of investigation that might involve other parties such as, but not limited to, the interviews with Indonesian government as the person in charge of the curriculum development, interviews with the teachers of English about their voices in regard of the development of Indonesian national identity, or classroom observation for the implementation of the national identity program are still required. It is hoped that the studies might obtain more comprehensive information of how Indonesian national identity is conceptualized in English language teaching.

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