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RESEARCH ARTICLE

## A HISTORY AND IDEOLOGY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WRITING OF HISTORY TEXTBOOKS FOR HIGH SCHOOL IN INDONESIA 1994-2013

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### Abstract

This article reveals the results of research on the contents of history subjects in history textbooks for High School that issued in two different government, the New Order Government and Reformation Government, which considered contains ideological messages. History textbooks sourced from the curriculum stated in government policies. That wasn't surprising if the government changed, they will change the curriculum, and also change the content of textbooks, in this case includes the history text books. The change indicates that history textbooks cannot be separated from the interests of the government's ideology. The aim of this research is to reveal the forms of ideology that present in the content of history text books. The method used is critical discourse analysis to know the ideological discourse in history textbooks from two different government periods. The history textbooks that examined based on the 1994 and the 2013 Curriculum to indicate two curriculums results from two reigns. Based on the results of this research, it can be compared with the ideology of writing content of history textbooks in the New Order and Reformation period, includes communism and Pancasila, deceit democracy and freedom for democracy, militarism and anti-militarism, neoliberalism and anti-communism, liberalism and anti-liberalism. However, there is still a single narrative of the nation in the New Order that could not be replaced by the Reformation era.

**Keywords:** history textbooks; ideology discourse; the New Order; Reformation

### INTRODUCTION

The study of the ideological in the history textbooks were have been done by many researchers, as expressed by You (2005) that the composition of the text books published in the PRC is still dominated by the centrality of the communist ideology. But in 1980 and 1990s Mainland China has been experiencing socio-political changes from the domination of communist ideology to socialist ideology, from centralized economy to the market economy and decentralization. Other studies

presented by Ya (2007) who presented the political situation and issues of the ideology and the description of history of culture and ethnic identity in Taiwan in the writing of the history books Taiwan. In this journal also discussed how the ideology in textbooks can be changed along with the changes in the pressure of the political situation and dissatisfaction that happened. Oyeranmi (2016) explained that the history of education in Nigeria realized as the former national future and identity of a country. Other researcher is : Clark (2009) which refers to the persistent concerns on

the students in forward the future of Canada if they are not able to inherit the history of their people and have the low level of their national history knowledge. For history education is developed on the value of respect, responsibility, honest, fair, concern and dedication to democracy.

Spady (2015) who examine the history education in Russia and the United States that are related with the ideology patriotic and nationalistic. Also, with Aktekin (2009) with the express purpose of national education of Turkey is to rebuild the national consciousness, citizenship and patriotism. Korbits (2015) who did the study of textbooks in history of the Soviet Union that saw the events outlined in the textbooks only that is considered as the important thing and determine the course of the Soviet Union's history, such as how the role of Soviet Union in the Cold War with the Soviet mutt positively in building world peace with built Eastern Block as a balancer for Western Block balancer that was built by American. Study of ideology in the text books of history in Japan examined also by the True. Gu (2015) with his critically analysis reveals how Japanese involvement in the events of World War as a positive engagement. It is directed to build a positive image of the Japanese government by its citizens.

In general, it is very clear that textbooks contain the ingredients or subjects that will be taught in learning process. These textbooks are become the reference in school and expected to help the goal achievement of national education. As the text books in the fields of study or certain subjects, these textbooks supposed as the standard books in accordance with the purpose of the lesson. For the writing of text books must refer to the curriculum in force.

Related to the subject of history, the writing text books of history in school can be said to follow the development of the history of historiography in Indonesian and the development of the curriculum. The curriculum is a political policy, then the material was written in the text books of history shall be according to the policy or political interests of the government in power. If the reign changed, then the curriculum is also changed. No wonder if Nordholt (2008: 15) said that the text books of history in schools become the basis in developing the awareness of the national history according to its version of the state authorities. Also, Sjamsuddin (2007: 196-197) explained that:

The interpretation of the textbooks of history in addition to the academic must be accountabe, it need also to pay attention to the vision or education policy and/or political which is valid nationally. The spirit of the age (*zeitgeist*) from the purpose of education policy

or political coloring the text books of history, usually stipulated in the curriculum. Only because it concerns the policy of the government not to textbooks into a "regime" propaganda tool in power.

That change was directed on the search of national identity. Not surprisingly in search of national identity, the writing of textbooks of history on each of its period will have different characteristics. Though it has the different period and government, text books history should remain combine the academic side and the value of education. It was revealed by Darmawan (2010: 100) "the history lesson text book as a historiography work for educational purpose does not ignore the historiographical rules of history science".

The discourse of textbooks of history is directed to support the ideology of government authorities. The textbooks of history become the media that can affect the ideas of citizens. Textbooks become the the ideology tools that can control how people act and subject to the state. Budiono and Lafian Fahmi A (2007) reveals the writing in the text books of history can be used as one of the media to legitimate his authority, deliberately sacred and become the truth that "magic" so it can be accepted by the public. Suharyo (2014) said that the ideology was built by the dominant group with the purpose to reproduce and legitimize them in power. One of the main strategy is to create awareness to the public that domination is accepted as taken for granted.

Ideology is the guide for philosophic, to rule and to educate. Thus, the ideology as a belief system that the community can be corrected by following specific doctrines. The ideology wants action is not just abstract ideas. An ideology that is designed for a specific region is not always suitable when applied to a different situation. The ideology can also be a value system as revealed by Sargent (in O'Neal, 2001: 33) that:

... an ideology is a value system or belief that is accepted as fact or truth by certain groups. It is composed of a series of attitudes toward the various institutions and the process of the community. It provides a portrait of the world as the existence and as it should be for those who believe in it.

The opinion of Sargent was made the ideology as a system of beliefs that explain and justify the political order is preferred for the community, and that proposed and offers strategies for awe. This is as explained by Cristenson dkk (1971: 5) "Ideology is a belief system that explains and justifies a preferred political order for society, either existing or proposed and offers a strategy (processes, institutional arrangements, program) for its attainment". More information Cristenson provide the function of the ideology as: 1) system political beliefs

that provide cognitive structure and the formulation of ideas that can be felt, understood and interpreted; 2) the rules governing the way one must act in politics, simplify purpose and meaning that will achieve; 3) management tools and integration conflict; 4) self-identity in order to see themselves and others see it; 5) and dynamic force in the life of the individual and the group and produce the commitment to act.

The study of ideology and textbooks history in Indonesia revealed by Wirasti (2001) who find the theme of nationalism and unity dominate the writing of textbooks of history of the period 1975-2001. Purwanta (2012) said the discourse on the ideology of nationalism and militarism coloring the writing of textbooks of history in High School (SMA). This Purwanta's research in accordance with findings from Mulyana (2014). Utami (2014) gives the gains that the textbooks of history that circulate could not be separated from the ideological and political interests of the government, especially Pancasila, anti-communism and militarism. If it does not meet the hopes of the ruling government, do not please the book circulated in schools.

Entering the succession of the Indonesian government of the New Order government to reform government, seems to have examined whether the textbooks of history has a new ideology or strengthen the previous ideology that has built by the New Order? Or how the form of ideology representative that has been ideological in textbooks of history in accordance with the curriculum 2013 at the Reformation period that uphold freedom for democracy? The problem is interesting to be examined because two different times.

## RESEARCH METHOD

The method used in this research is a qualitative research method that lead the researcher close to the subjects that examined, those are the context that is in the text of subject of history in High School (SMA) based on Curriculum 1994 and Curriculum 2013. The curriculum 1994 is interesting to be examined for integrating the curriculum of the previous curriculum, namely between Curriculum 1975 and curriculum 1984 laden with matter. Meanwhile the curriculum 2013 was born to replace the 2006 Curriculum. The book reviewed is the text books of history class XII.

Through this qualitative approach, the researcher seeks to understand and interpret the meaning of the discourse of the ideology that is in the text books subjects such history. To understand and interpret the contents of the text, the researcher uses method of Critical Discourse Analysis. The discourse analysis journeyed from social construction approach that explains that

the world is constructed by the views of the community. This is as van Dijk (Eriyanto, 2001) explain that social analysis which consists of the practice of power and access to influence the discourse. To construct using the Bible. So, the Bible reflects a social construction of the society that created the language. In the philosophy of the Bible say that people create the reality and arranging it through the Bible (Sobur, 2015: 16). In addition to using the analysis of Critical discourse, this research also uses the hermeneutic approach as knowledge tool to understand and analyze the text book lessons for high school textbooks history.

## THE RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In the text books of history, the material discussed is an event that is considered as important for the history of its people. The election of this event of course is a political policy and can contain ideological elements with the hope that event can be proud of the society. For that, history into the characteristics important in the writing of the history of the nations, including the history phases compiled in the textbooks of history. The role of government in determining the events has a great influence in the writing of textbooks of history. The other aspect is prominent in ideological is the role of the important figure in the narratives of history. This figure is usually powerful people in the government. Provincialism aspect can also dominate the discourse that appear in the text of the history. This is the following ideological discourse that can be expressed here based on the events and figures that there is in the text books of history in High School (SMA) in the time of New Order and Reformation era.

### 1. Anti-Communist and Pancasila

The New Order government appears can be said as the rescue of Indonesia from communism groups. Pancasila became the ideology of the state to strengthen the defense shield of Indonesian nation of influence. Thus, textbooks of history in the New Order gave negative imaging against other ideology (PKI) which can destroy the integration of the nation and the ideology of the State. This are the follows contents of the textbooks published in 1994:

"In February 1948, Amir Syarifudin with social groups formed Front Demokrasi Rakyat (FDR) or front of people's democracy, and use it to oppose the government and want to turn on PKI. ... FDR/PKI waged agitation attack on and make the chaos in various places including performing sabotage of the economy. PKI do the kidnapping and the murder of his political opponents (Imran and Saleh A. Djamari, 1998:166)."

The same events discussed in the textbooks of history published in 2013 as follows.

The beginning of the year 1948, Muso back from Moskwa offers a “new way” as the nation struggle strategy that is different from the Soekarno-Hatta’s strategy. The doctrine of Muso is affecting the stronghold Amir Syarifuddin by forming the Front Demokrasi Rakyat (FDR) that using “left” ideology. The relationship between the FDR with nationalist stronghold and Islam is increasingly taper. The ideology of the sharp dispute ended on the outbreak the rebellion of PKI in Madiun on 18 September 1948 (Abdurakhman, 2015: 2).

Pay attention to the discourse of “new way” in the text books of history gives the meaning that the idea or Muso’s thought not regarded as something that directly contrary to the Indonesian Nation struggle before. Also, the use of “left” with apostrophe can be interpreted as different ideologies with ideas that already exists that is considered better. Pay attention to the use of the word or the sentence above shows the textbooks of history that issued the Reformation era was in accordance with the condition of the nation that the storm turned everything freedom of speech or democracy. Although considered contrary to the ideology of the state, the ideology of new communist appears again in 1948 is not considered dangerous. In the discussion of the matter “Rebellion 1965” textbooks of history at the time of the Reformation era was no longer lists the PKI as the only one puppeteer who did the rebellion, but there are other men behind the events. This is different from the one written in 1994 in the condition of the New Order which is made of Pancasila as the sole principle of nationhood and statehood, so that if there is a different ideology is considered dangerous.

## **2. Militarism and Anti-Militarism**

The theme of militarism appears in the textbooks of history grade XII based on the curriculum 1994 or 2013. It can be seen from the role of the military in history of the struggle of the nation. For example, starting from the formation of the TNI and its role in resolving social and political turmoil that occurred in many areas in Indonesia. The military comes in various military operations to resolve the conflict and turmoil that related with the ideology (PKI and DI/TII), the conflict and the upheavals associated with the interests (rebellion APRA, Andi Aziz, RMS), and the conflict that relates to the system of government (rebellion of PRRI and Permesta and the problem of federal countries and BFO). So, in the materials diplomacy struggle between Indonesia and Netherlands and the military aggression

that threatens the sovereignty of the state and the formation of Komando Mandala Siaga in the liberation of West Irian, where the military have a role that is very central as implied in the following text.

“As realization of the Trikora, on 11 January 1962 formed Komando Mandala Siaga the liberation of West Irian with major Jennderal Suharto as Captain. Four days later, 15 January 1962, there was an Aru Sea battle that was led by Vice Chief of Staff of the Navy Commodore, Yos Sudarso. Although the Netherlands’ navy is stronger because it is equipped with a master ship, but our navy force the fought valiantly” (Darmawan, 1999: 53).

Entering the time of New Order, the role of the military was showed off to run the UUD 1945 and Pancasila was applied consistently, government did the security approach by formation of institutions such as political stabilization Kopkamtib, National Economic Stabilization Council, and Defense and National Security Council. The implementation of a State dominated by the armed forces as the kingship in the government (Regent, mayor, governor, ministers echelon until the ambassador) charged by ABRI members. In addition, there is the fraction of the ABRI in parliament, the ABRI have travels the foundation in business. The concept of a dual function purpose of ABRI are understood as the soul, determination, and the spirit of the dedication of the ABRI in the field of military and political. Based on historical facts above shows militarism provides security through military force and claimed that the development and maintenance of the military to guarantee the ability. The influence and military strength is calculated in the various decision making in the nationhood and statehood on the regime is no longer a prominent but thus received criticism at the time of the Reformation era. It can be seen from the writing of textbooks of history based on the curriculum 2013, who use the term “abolishing the dual function of ABRI as a reform agenda”. It shows the elimination be according to the absolute that militarization is not appropriate in the reign of Reformation, so it must be eliminated. The benchmark base is TAP MPR No. VII/MPR/2000 about the role of the TNI and the Police role.

## **3. Anti-liberalism and Neoliberalism**

Liberalism wants a free society characterized by freedom of thought for individuals. Liberalism is rejected the limitation, especially from the government and religion. In the modern society, liberalism will be able to grow up in a democratic system. Consider in this sense, the theme of liberalism is very central discussed in both textbooks of history grade XII in specific chapter



to the system and the political and economic structure of the Parliamentary Democracy (1950-1959). But, both authors of the textbooks have a different point of view based on curriculum 1994 and curriculum 2013. If in the New Order is considered as ideas ideology that negatively charged or weak, but by the author of textbooks based on the 2013 curriculum is seen to have a negative and positive side. Liberalism has made the life of the state and society that is marked with the political and social upheaval, as government instability due to falling wake up the cabinet, turmoil in the region, and civil unrest and military against the policy of the central government. Meanwhile the author in the textbooks of history grade XII based on the curriculum 2013 mentions the year 1950-1959 period as the history that shows the spirit of learning for democracy and fair when the succession of the cabinet.

The spirit of learning show on the condition that have not been able to understand the correct liberalism so that fall rise of the cabinet is considered something that can be tolerated. For in the textbooks of history based on the 2013 Curriculum the spirit of liberalism that uphold freedom of speech, for democracy and for politics reviewed differently. The negative side of the liberal democratic political parties in Indonesia are said to be mutually scrambling to hold the position of government influence that interfere with national stability is no longer highlighted.

#### **4. Democracy**

The theme of democracy appears in the textbooks of history in the discussion about the Liberal Democracy, Guided Democracy, democracy in the New Order and democracy in the Reformation era. In the context of the history of democracy in Indonesia, liberal democracy and guided democracy viewed as a bad democracy as it can cause turmoil in the life of the Indonesian Society, it made people compete and put others down to each other. While guided democracy cause central force on President Soekarno. A successful democracy is described in the implementation of the election of the New Order and the election of the Reformation.

But at the end of discussion in these textbooks, New Order government considered failed to provide the good lessons of how to use democracy in a good way. It said that the election on that regime was the facades election because Golkar was in power to ruling the election, two other parties were just for the image for democracy. Also, with the representative system that made it a mask to perpetuate power unilaterally. It was different with the election in New Order, election in reformation period is seen as better than the previous period because it

indicates the basis of election which actually without any pressure from the ruling government.

Decentralization was developed to provide a space to the region in building its territory. Decentralization is also accompanied with a direct election system changes to raise the regional head start from the Regent/Mayor, the governor and the president. The freedom for democracy shown by President B.J. Habibie with giving a referendum for the people of East Timor with based on the opening of UUD 1945 that freedom is the right of all nations, then President Habibie expect MPR acceptable to discuss the results of the traces of this opinion and put it on the decision that provide recognition of people of East Timor.

In addition to the above themes, there is an ideology or other philosophies which developed in the writing of textbooks of history in High School based on curriculum 1994 and curriculum 2013 that is issues of globalization, HAM, NKRI, and development. The development is considered to run well at the time of the New Order with the lamp and Repelita concrete results and are able to create a safe atmosphere for the community improvement of the welfare of the people, the decline in infant mortality and the number of basic education participation increased. But about what happened during the New Order was written differently in the textbooks of history in the time of Reformation period. The New Order period which tend to authoritarian regimes with a focus on economic growth have a negative impact on the formation of the mentality and culture of corruption in Indonesia. The nickname of "Mr Development" for President Soeharto become meaningless. The discussion about the future development policy in Reformation era more directed at restoring the dynamics of the development of the nation that is based on national and international confidence in completing the impacts of New Order development. The reformation in all fields shown as the best way to do by the reign of Reformation, such as the development reform, political reform, economic reform, and law reform.

#### **CONCLUSION**

Based on the analysis of critical discourse about history and ideology in textbooks of history in High School, mainly in grade XII based on curriculum 1994 and curriculum 2013 shows that there are ideology themes that described negative to positive and positive to negative by providing other discourse in accordance with the conditions of government authorities. The narratives of textbooks history are still colored by the black and white picture of history in the past. The history of the ruling government is considered as a negative history (black) by

replacement government (the reign of Old Order to the New Order). Then the events that occurred during the ruling reign are written well. The figures that contributed to the regime will be illustrated as positive. Also, when the succession of New Order to Reformation reign, the rule of the New Order was considered negative by the Reformation reign. Although the previous government gave the good results in the days of its dominion, but it is still viewed negatively by the reign of its successor. This is no other as the form of a different ideological for every decade.

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