



## Representation of political conflicts in history textbooks

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### ABSTRACT

This research scrutinizes the representation of political conflict within contemporary Indonesian history textbooks. The research question is about how the contemporary history textbooks present political conflicts in Indonesian historiography for the younger generation within the frame of political interests, nation-building, and the demand of conflict reconciliation and transformation. Discourse Historical Analysis was used as the research method, particularly in investigating conflict representation from the analysis of nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivation, and intensification. The object is Indonesian History textbook used in schools. Data analysis techniques are carried out with discourse historical analysis techniques through analysis of nominations, predicates, arguments, and perspectives. The findings show that historical conflicts in the textbooks are represented in two forms of historical narrative logic. The first is a simple plot and heroism narrative logic to present the conflicts in Indonesia from 1945 to 1965. The second is a cooperative-constructive narrative logic that emphasizes the conflict reconciliation rather than the conflictual process in presenting the conflicts in Indonesia from 1965 to 1998. Those logics consist of the binary system and schizophrenic feeling that shows the confusion of the historians in narrating conflict within the history textbook. Therefore, the chance to take advantage of the textbook in supporting conflict transformation in Indonesia can be hard to achieve. The historian has to find an alternative approach to solve the problem of conflict representation within the Indonesian history textbook. This alternative approach is carried out as an effort to support the transformation of conflict in Indonesian society.

### KEYWORDS

Conflict Representation, Indonesian History, Textbooks, Nation Building

## CITATION

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## Introduction

The representation of conflict within history textbooks comes to be an essential issue nowadays especially in the term of conflict reconciliation and transformation. The point of issues about the possibility to provide an alternative approach in writing a history textbook as part of conflict transformation, cultivate social trust, and diminish structural and cultural violence (Marková and Gillespie, 2011). This issue is always contested and negotiated by many political and social agents inside of a nation, including the government, historians, communities, social-cultural or religious entities. It is because, as mentioned by Carretero (2011) and Bentrovato, Korostelina, and Schulze (2016), the shadows of historical conflicts still useful for contemporary collective struggles such as for nationalism, radicalism, separatism, or even terrorism. The contestation and negotiation mostly locate the question about the role of history textbooks, whether the history textbook serves as a material for strengthening integration and supporting social justice inside of a nation or it is merely used to legitimate the political regime and violence (Purwanta, 2017).

Those contestations have made the government of many nation-states across the globe set an educational policy to regulate the writing of history textbooks. In South Asian nations, the conflict and disintegration have forced the governments in that area to revise and rewrite history textbooks based on the political dynamic in that region. Nair (2010) marked that history textbooks were used to build memory and national identity of each South Asian country, especially when they separated from India. Other patterns related to conflict representation appear in Israel's history textbooks that substantially describe the conflict between Israel, Arab, and Palestine. Podeh (2010) highlighted that in the conflict of Israel, Arab, and Palestine, the history textbooks tend to create a worldview and negative stereotype towards other groups, which result in the continuing silent conflict. Meanwhile, Rwanda used a pragmatist approach by deleting the conflict narrative from school historiography (Bentrovato, 2017). From that exploration, it can be seen that every nation-state had developed and adopted a particular approach to present their historical conflicts based on social and political interests.

In the context of Indonesia, the issue of conflict representation becomes more complicated under the historical legacy and the nature of multiculturalism inside of the nation. Historically, Indonesia can be categorized as a nation-state comprising a complex society. Some scholars, such as Anderson (1983), argued that Indonesian is an imagined community. The nation has been integrated into one nation as the result of collectivity based on printed capitalism. The consciousness of the nation-state could not be perceived from solid ideological consensus, but it was a dynamic form of cognitive consensus of society (Reid, 2009). The internal conflicts that are mostly caused by political and ideological contestation always threaten the nation-state. Since the early independence era in 1945 until nowadays, many political and ideological conflicts, which mostly related to elite political rivalries and economic gaps between local and central governments occurred in Indonesia (Cribb, 2001). Moreover, conflicts in some areas of Indonesia, such as Aceh and West Papua, occurred as the result of regionalism and separatism movements (Legge 1965). Those conflicts have made the issue of conflict representation within the Indonesian history textbook become critical.

However, the study about conflict representation in the Indonesian history textbook is still unexamined. Most of the researchers who tackle the problem of Indonesian school historiography tend to investigate the politics of education and political discourse within history textbooks. The findings of the research regarding Indonesia's history textbooks mainly relate to the issue of politics of education, such as the development of national identity and power legitimation (Purwanta, 2017). The recent critical study of the Indonesian history textbook presented by Abidin (2017) and Joebagio and Djono (2019) had given a little portrayal of conflict representation. Abidin scrutinizes the logic of historical narrative in the Indonesian history textbook. The finding of his research shows that the textbooks tend to use binary opposition logic as a frame in narrating the historical event.

On the other hand, Joebagio and Djono indicated the unequal position between unity and diversity within the history textbook. They believe that this inequality will result in the marginalization of others. To a certain degree, those researchers display a fundamental problem in the Indonesian history textbook that tends to use binary logical opposition, emphasize merely on nationalism, and neglect diversity and other aspects of human life include historical conflicts. The author assumed that Indonesian society struggles to deal with past conflicts. The society refers to society that has experienced national conflicts in the past, such as the society in the era of the old period (1945 - 1965) and the new period (1966 - 1998). In the shadow of binary opposition logic and the lust of blind nationalism, the fundamental problem is to represent conflict in transformative and productive ways. Nevertheless, this assumption should be more deeply examined by further research. Based on those problems, this paper aims to analyze the conflict representation within Indonesian compulsory history textbooks. The question proposed in this research is about how is the form of historical narratives used in the Indonesian history textbook to present historical conflicts.

## **Conflict representation**

Theoretical discussion regarding conflict representation should be understood in the term of representation theory. In general, representation refers to the process of interpretation as well as knowledge production and distribution through the use of language, texts, images, illustrations, signs, and other forms of objects (Saussure 1914; Foucault 1980). Representation stands between two mechanisms of human interpretation. The first system related to the process of calibrating the meaning of an object with human cognition and mental representation. The second system related to the process of representing the concept from human cognition and mental representation. The linking process between meaning, representing, and objectification is called representation. It means representation attains with human cognition, mental representation, objectification about an object. Representation could not be directly associated with reality. Foucault (1980) believed that representation is a mere imitation of reality; it is not a purely realistic representation of an event or objects. Foucault added that representation constructed in and by discourse in which it engaged with the problem of power/knowledge and the question of subject. Based on this critical stance, Hall (1997) then categorized three accounts of representation, namely reflective, intuitive, and constructionist. The assumption in the reflective account posits representation as to the image of reality. The intuitive account believes that inside of representation lies an expression of the intended meaning of writer or speaker. Meanwhile, the constructionist account stated that representation was constructed through language and discourse. Based on those theoretical discussions, it can be highlighted that conflict representation refers to a process of knowledge production and distribution of historical conflicts in the form of texts, illustrations, images, visualization, language, or other forms of media.

Consequently, based on this theoretical framework, in discussing conflict representation within history textbooks, the content of the history textbook should be posited as historical discourse. It means the representation of conflict within history textbooks can only be observed from all presented forms of discourse and discursive practices in the textbooks encompassing the texts, description, assessment, narratives, images, and illustration. Among those of forms, the

narrative comes to be the dominant form of representation in the textbook. The history textbooks contain historical narratives derived from the historian's works, which are commonly perceived by academicians as a form of school historiography. White (2011) gave a more critical stance towards the nature of historical narratives as merely a narrative and could not directly represent historical events. Therefore, in the same way with Foucault's stance, conflict representation within history textbooks should be seen as only a narrative of historical conflicts. As a form of narrative, the representation of conflict within history textbooks can be examined through its narrative logic. Ankersmit (1983) articulated the logic of historical narratives as a law of historical representation used by the historian to narrate historical events. The logic of historical narratives shows the position of the subject, the objects, the nomination, and also perspectivization taken by historians to narrate a particular object. In the narrative constructed by the binary system, the position determines the side of the actors or parties within historical events. It will show the good and the wrong side in the narratives arranged in history textbooks. By examining the logic of narratives, the representation of conflict within history textbooks can be traced. Therefore, the analysis of conflict representation in this study will be focused on the narrative logic within Indonesian history textbooks to reveal the law and system of representation in narrating historical conflict in Indonesian history.

### **Conflicts of the learning of history in the 2013 curriculum**

The 2013 curriculum is an integrated curriculum with skills, themes, concepts, and topics both within single disciplines, across several disciplines, and within and across learners. The essence of the 2013 Curriculum is simplification and thematic-integrative nature. The 2013 curriculum aims to make students have a better ability to observe, ask, think, and communicate (Ulhaq et al., 2017).

During the implementation of 2013 curriculum related to history learning, there are many problems faced by teachers since the government do not examine the implementation of the 2013 curriculum in designated schools. In the learning of history, 2013 curriculum has not been evaluated based on the suitability of ideas, designs, documents, and curriculum impacts (Umam & Cahyadi, 2020). In addition, conflicts about the similarity of themes throughout the classroom, learning methods, content, and textbooks indicate to be contrary to the National Education System Law. There is inequality between core competencies and basic competencies in history lessons. The crucial issue is the government unprepared in printing and circulating history books, causing delay and unavailable of history books (Rofik, 2019).

The function and purpose of historical education have benefit to nation-building. The learning of history is no longer separate from the values and exemplification of national figures. Through the study of history, students are introduced to their people in the past. As Hunt (2007) explains, that learning of history in schools aims (1) to understand the present in the context of the past, (2) to arouse interest from the past, (3) to provide the identity of the students (nationality), (4) to give students an understanding of their roots and cultural heritage, (5) to contribute on the students' understanding and knowledge about the past countries and cultures in the modern world, (6) to develop the mind with the study of historical disciplines, (7) to introduce students about typical historical methodologies, (8) to encourage other parts of the curriculum, (9) to prepare students for adult life.

The conflict analysis in Indonesia on the learning of history is available in textbooks so that students recognize and experience past events as well as illustrate abstract things (which are not yet known) into a series of stories that become whole stories and are easy for the general public to understand (Yefterson et al., 2020). Through this conflict analysis, it is also a way to combine the facts of the whole field with the concept of the 2013 curriculum. This blend will demonstrate the relevance of history learning needs in the 2013 curriculum.

### **Method**

Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) was used as the method to examine conflict representation within the history textbook. Methodologically, DHA provides a tool to examine the conflict representation and the logic of historical narratives by examining three related aspects: discourse-immanent critique, socio-diagnostic critique, and prospective critique. A critical analysis of discursive strategies was used to investigate those aspects covering the analysis of nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivization, and intensification (Reisigl, 2017). Those discursive strategies were intended to reveal 'a law of narrative logic' that can be observed from the dichotomy and structural narratives of conflict narratives within the history textbook.

Five compulsory history textbooks published by the Indonesian Ministry of Education for the learning history process in senior high school were posited as the research subject. Those five books are written by professional historians as follow:

1. Amurwani D. Lestari, Restu Gunawan, & Sardiman A. M. (2014). *Sejarah Indonesia (History of Indonesia) for the first semester of tenth Grade*. Jakarta: Ministry of Education and Culture;
2. Amurwani D. Lestari, Restu Gunawan, & Sardiman A. M. (2014). *Sejarah Indonesia (History of Indonesia) for the second semester of tenth grade*. Jakarta: Ministry of Education and Culture;
3. Sardiman, A. M., Amurwani D. Lestari. (2014). *Sejarah Indonesia (History of Indonesia) for the first semester of eleventh grade*. Jakarta: Ministry of Education and Culture;
4. Sardiman, A. M, & Amurwani D. Lestari (2014). *Sejarah Indonesia (History of Indonesia) for the second semester of eleventh grade*. Jakarta: Ministry of Education and Culture; and
5. Abdurakhman, Arif Pradono, Linda Sunarti, & Susanto Zuhdi. (2014). *Sejarah Indonesia (History of Indonesia) for the twelfth grade*. Jakarta: Ministry of Education and Culture.

The content of those textbooks included periods of early civilization in Indonesia until Hindu-Buddha Empires; economic-political activities during the Hindu-Buddhist era and Islamization; colonialism-imperialism and Indonesian identity; Japanese occupation until the Indonesia independence; and the early period of independence until the contemporary era.

Based on those five history textbooks, for further analysis, the author selected the history textbook for the twelfth grade (Abdurakhman et al., 2014) that contains the narratives of conflict representation. The focus of the analysis was the narration of conflict during the early period of independence to the contemporary era, including the narration of nation-state development, which was full of conflicts and consensus both at local and national levels. The sequence of those conflicts can be seen in Table 1 below.

**Table 1**

*The Content of Conflict Narratives in Indonesian History Textbooks*

Lesson Topics	Pages	Total number of pages
<b>A. Domestic Upheaval (1948-1965)</b>		
1. Conflict and Upheaval based on Ideologies	8 - 22	15
2. Conflict and Upheaval based on Interest	22 - 24	4
3. Conflict and Upheaval based on Governmental System	25 - 28	4
<b>B. Conflicts and Learning Consensus</b>		
1. Awareness of State Integration Importance	31 - 31	3
2. Unity Figures as Role Model	33 - 40	8
3. Realizing Integration through Art and Literature	41	1
4. Female Warriors	42 - 44	3

The representative narratives were then examined by using DHA by emphasizing system and form of conflict representation'. Data analysis techniques were carried out by discourse analysis through analyzing the nomination, predication, argumentation, and perspectivization in the conflict narratives. The analysis of nomination aims to reveal the discursive construction of social events, actors, actions, and process within narratives. Nomination is related to information about an actor or group regarding an issue that is not clearly displayed. Analysis of nominations is carried out by answering the question "How are persons, objects, phenomena/events, process, actions named and referred to linguistically?" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). The analysis of predication focuses on examining the discursive qualification of social actors and events. The analysis of argumentation aims to examine the justification of the claims of truth and normative rightness in the conflict narratives. Meanwhile, the analysis of perspectivization aims to examine the positioning of the writer's point of view within conflict narratives. Based on those analyses, the author then deciphers the form of conflict representation within Indonesian history textbooks.

In addition, content analysis was also applied in the study. Content analysis discusses research in-depth on the content of written or printed media / information. It aims to analyze any form of material from various documentation, such as textbooks. Content analysis describes the content of a message from different contexts.

### **The representation of conflict in Indonesian contemporary history textbooks**

In history textbooks, the narratives of the conflict from 1945 to 1965 are posited in a chapter, namely 'Struggle toward National Disintegration,' which consisted of two sub-chapter: 'The Domestic Upheaval (1948-1965)', and 'Conflicts and Consensus.' The conflicts are categorized into three types of conflict: ideological conflict, political interests, and government system. The historical conflicts categorized as the ideological problem are The Communist Movement in Madiun Affair 1948, 30 September 1965 Movement, and Islamic State Movement, such as *Darul Islam* Movement. The textbook emphasized that ideological conflicts are essential to be narrated to build national awareness.

The textbook also explains the conflict based on the political interest between local and central elites through the narrative of the uprising of three movements: *Angkatan Perang Ratu Adil* (APRA) or The Messianism Army led by Raymond Westerling, the desertion of Colonel Andi Aziz, and the rebellion of the *Republik Maluku Selatan* or the South Moluccas Republic. In the textbook, the conflicts are narrated in the form of National Army repulsion of the United Republic of Indonesia at the local and regional level.

Furthermore, the conflicts regarding the governmental system are narrated in the textbook as the form of regional dissatisfaction towards the central governmental system. The textbook categorizes two historical conflicts as the governmental system conflict: the establishment of *Pemerintahan Revolusioner Republik Indonesia* or The Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia in the West of Sumatra and the movement of *Perjuangan Rakyat Semesta* (Peremesta) or The Total Struggle of People.

From this point, the author identifies an identical plot of narrative in presenting those conflicts. Firstly, the textbook narrates the existence of fragmented factions in the national stage caused by ideological contestation and regional interest. Contestation and disagreement could escalate that was marked by disintegration, demonstration, massacred, and military movement. The central government attempted diplomatic policies to diminish the conflict escalation but failed. Moreover, the government used military operation as a final step to eradicate the rebellion movement. In this plot, the textbook narrates the military operation as a turning point of conflict escalation. The textbook emphasizes that military power can muffle the conflict. This plot was used in most of the conflict narratives within the Indonesian history textbook, especially in the representation of the 30 September 1965 Movement and local upheaval movements.

The history textbook narrates the history of 30 September 1965 Movement and the role of the military operation as follows: 'In this uncertain situation, the Commander of Army Command Strategy Major General Suharto soon decided to take over the highest command of the army, and after being successful in gathering the faithful troops to Pancasila, the subjugation of the 30 September 1965 Movement's operation was conducted (Abdurakhman et al., 2014). The textbook also emphasizes the military role in the PRRI and Permesta Movement that 'The central government does not hesitate to act decisively. The military operation was conducted to act upon rebels' (Abdurakhman et al., 2014).

The presence of a binary system that is used to distinguish the bad and the good in the conflictual process appears in that identical plot of conflict narratives. The protagonist, who is always right, is the central government. On the other hand, the movements against the government are negated as the hostile act that threatened the national existence. Those movements are stigmatized in the textbooks as the rebellion, regional turmoil, and disintegration.

The traces of the binary system used to perceive the historical conflict come into sight at the beginning of every sub-chapter that describe the learning objectives. The writers of textbooks try to harvest the values from historical conflicts. The writers emphasize that wisdom can be generated from the history of humankind. The students can feel the historical experience and connect it with the present contexts. The textbook states that success in the past will give experience in the present. Vice versa, the mistakes of the past will be a valuable lesson for the present. The wisdom from those incidents will be a lesson in facing the threat of conflicts nowadays.

From the above analysis, it can be highlighted that the textbooks use an identical and straightforward plot to narrate historical conflict from 1945 to 1965. The general plot of narratives can be described in the sequence from conflict uprising, conflict escalation, and the intervention of the military operation. The center of that plot is the binary opposition in which the protagonist and antagonist are posited and nominated.

After describing the conflictual process from 1945 to 1965, the textbook then narrates the role of national heroes, which are described in the sub-chapter 'From Conflict to Consensus.' Six national heroes are narrated in the textbook, namely Frans Kaisiepo, Silas Papare, Marthen Indey, Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX, Sultan Syarif Kasim II, Ismail Marzuki, and Opu Daeng Risaju. The first three names of those national heroes have a unique role besides the fact that they are the heroes from the eastern region of Indonesia. They were selected to be narrated in the textbook because many students in Indonesia have yet to recognize these figures despite their magnificent roles in fighting and defending for Indonesia's independence (Abdurakhman et al., 2014). The nomination of heroes from the Eastern Indonesian region indicates the tendency of pragmatism in Indonesian school historiography. The narrative exposed the role of heroes as the reflection to defend the nation-building (Zinn, 1990). Those heroes are perceived to be able to represent the importance of national integration.

After 1965, there were frequent conflicts in Indonesia. The events of the G30S PKI in 1965 became one of the dark records in the history of the Republic of Indonesia. This started from the power struggle between a number of Indonesian Army officers and the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) people and ended with the killing of several military officers (Hartono & Huda, 2020). In 1966, there was anti-communist in Jakarta involving tens of thousands of people, including the Indonesian Student Action Unit (KAMI) movement. The communist purges led to inter-people's unrest. A rally was held in front of the Jakarta State Palace which led to clashes with the Presidential Guard Regiment and claimed lives.

In 1974, the events of the Fifteen January Catastrophe (Malari) became the first mass riots in the new periode regime. The mass movement was dominated by students walking from the University of Indonesia to Trisakti University. They burned buildings and damaged in the capital (Sahasrad & Ridwan, 2020). From this incident, President Soeharto began to apply stricter rules to students.

In 1984, there was a bloody event in Tanjung Priok precisely after Malari. There were riots between Muslims and New Periode officials and almost all the victims died due to army fire (Saibih, 2018). In 1998, President Soeharto were attending the G-15 summit in Cairo during a demonstration in Jakarta. The mob began to damage and burn vehicles in the neighborhood so that Suharto declared a departure from the presidency. At that time, there were many destructions of Chinese assets and many cases of sexual harassment, rape, and murder (Plat et al., 2018). In 2019, there was chaos in various points of the Capital City. The mob pelted the police with stones and fireworks because of the public's disapproval of the results of the announcement of the pair of presidential candidates and vice presidential candidates.

On the other hand, the selection of Frans Kaisiepo, Silas Papare, and Marthen Indey related to the current situation of Papua, where the Free Papua Organization movement demands independence from Indonesia (Setiawan, 2014; Norotouw, 2012). Thus, it was expected for students to become fully aware that there are many figures from the Eastern region of Indonesia who actively strengthened the national integration and independence. From this point of view, the narrative of national heroes from the Eastern region of Indonesia tries to overthrow the propaganda of the Free Papua Movement that commonly uses the narrative that historically Papua is not part of the Republic of Indonesia.

Meanwhile, Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX and Syarif Kasim, two local leaders in Indonesia, represent primordial-traditional community loyalty to the Republic of Indonesia. The textbook narrates that from the historical perspective; the nation-state of Indonesia was established based on consensus and visions of primordial communities. Thus, the narratives are intended to conserve the awareness of unity in a nation-state. The same pattern also can be found in the selection of Ismail Marzuki, a national artist, and Opu Daeng Risaju, a female leader. These two figures are selected to represent artists and females in the process of national integration. Previously, in the textbook narrations of the New Order era, artists and females have yet to be placed in the nation-building narration. The New Period is the name for the reign of President Soeharto in Indonesia. It is approximately 32 years on March 11, 1966 to 1988. The naming of the New Period is used as a comparison with the Old period. During this new period, the system of government is the presidential that executive decisions are in the hands of the president and have a form of government, namely the republic. The constitutional basis of the Indonesian state is the 1945 Constitution. In the grand narrative of Indonesia's history, the artists and the females were silenced during the New Order era. Their appearance in nation-building narrative after Reformation 1998 is the new phenomenon in Indonesia school historiography.

The narratives of selected national heroes represent the uses of historical figures to enhance national consensus. Even though they are not narrated in the term of a conflictual process, the textbook tries to deliver a message that many elements of the society support the nation-building process including artists and females.

For historical conflicts from 1965 to 1998, the textbook narrates the historical conflicts in the term of 'stabilization of uniformity.' From 1965 to 1998, Indonesian was governed by President Soeharto, the former general of the military party, which was known in Indonesian historiography as the New Order era. The textbook explains that the New Order tries to prevent the issue related to ethnicity, religiosity, races, and groups that is the sensitive issue in Indonesia and often triggering conflict or social unrest.

The conflicts occurred at the end of the New Order era are represented as the socio-economic phenomenon triggered by the economic gap between the central and regional government. The textbook narrates the economic gap as the legacy of the New Order era. The textbook blames the New Order for the economic crisis in 1997 and, at the same moment, portrays the Reformation era as the birth of new hope of Indonesian society. During the new period, there were many economic issues in the central and regional regions due to economic policies that led to development in all fields. The result is inflation, increasing foreign debt, soaring basic needs, low per capita of the Indonesian population, and inequality (Lutfi et al., 2020). The peak occurred in 1998, namely the monetary crisis that resulted in the resignation of President Soeharto at that time.

The textbook does not focus on the explanations of the chronologies of conflict. The discussion is focused on conflict resolution through reconciliation. The framework of reconciliation in the textbook is similar to Deutsch's (2012) concept. Conflict reconciliation can be defined as a particular condition that posits conflicts as the problem that must be settled down through cooperation. In conflict resolution, there is neither winner nor loser. Every party tried to gain agreement, reducing the demands that are acceptable as a consensus in conflict resolution. Two complementary psychological processes occurred in the reconciliation are substitutability, which refers to an act of how one party can complete the demands of other parties, and inducibility, which refers to the readiness of accepting others' influence.

In the textbook, the government takes a protagonist role, who always attempts to reconcile the conflict by minimizing the demands and reaching the agreements with other parties in the conflict. In the opposite, the textbook narrates the obstacle of the reconciliation from the local interests. In the case of conflict narratives of Aceh, the textbook narrates Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono as the President of Indonesia tries to promote dialogues from the local stages in negotiating with Gerakan Aceh Merdeka (GAM) or Free Aceh Movement. The textbook narrates that during his visit to Aceh on 26 November 2004, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono emphasized the importance of special autonomy implementation in Aceh and amnesty for GAM members. President emphasized that military solutions cannot solve the Aceh conflict permanently (Abdurakhman et al., 2014, pp. 179-180). The challenge of conflict reconciliation is the stubbornness of the local citizens who do not accept government kindness. The narratives in the textbook only perceive from the central government perspective; on the other hand, the rejection of the locals is un-narrated.

In comparison with the previous pattern, it can be seen the shifting of narrative logic in the textbook from explanative-pragmatist, which is used to narrate the conflicts from 1945 to 1965, comes into cooperative-constructive logic of the narrative, which is used to narrate the conflicts from 1965 to 1998. In the cooperative-constructive logic of the narrative, the willingness to solve conflicts without violence becomes the central discourse to be brought in the narratives. The government is predicated as the party that always tries using dialogues rather than military operations. The cooperative-constructive logic of the narratives aims to create a robust national integration as the top of the conflict reconciliation process.

The cooperative-constructive logic of the narratives demands the selection of essential historical events that are in line with the nation-building process. Consequently, the history textbook does not discuss the background and the process of conflict as well as the settlement effort by using the repression methods and violence. The omission of the background and the process of conflict can be seen in narratives of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) and the Free Papua Organization (OPM). The textbook describes the conflict of GAM and OPM only on the reconciliation process during President Megawati Soekarno Putri and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. GAM and OPM are nominated as the disintegration and the separatist movement in a subchapter of 'disintegration and sovereignty problems' and also in the 'domestic affair conflict settlement.' Meanwhile, the backgrounds and chronology of the conflict had not explained clearly in the textbook. GAM and OPM are two local movements that always destabilize the position of central government at the national scale (Ricklefs, 1993).

The omission of GAM and OPM in the textbook can be sensed the part of the active forgetting process or a denial process of acceptance of something outside of individual awareness. In this context, the textbook encouraged the active forgetting process by selecting, deleting, as well as proposing information regarding historical conflict to the students. The historical information displayed in the textbook creates collective memory regarding the historical conflict that must be remembered and forgotten by the students. The omission creates a partial understanding of conflicts in Indonesia. By this omission, the conflict regarding Aceh and Papua will be only partially understood by the students.

The above description shows the conflict narratives from 1965 to 1998 focuses on the conflict reconciliation process. The focus shows the shift in conflict narrative logic heading toward cooperative-constructive. The shift does not change the central construction of the textbook

narrative that is mainly constructed by the frame of nation-building progress. Conflicts are only seen as the disturbance from regional citizens toward the nation-building programs. This selective process created an omission and forgotten conflict memory in the Indonesian history textbook, which headed to the narration of marginalization. Consequently, the roots of the conflict are never narrated in the textbook, causing students' incomprehension in understanding historical conflicts.

### **Schizoid history in conflict representation**

Based on the above findings, it can be seen that historical conflicts are represented in the history textbook in three logic narratives. As mentioned before, the conflicts from 1945 to 1965 are represented in a simple plot, from the episodes of conflict uprising, conflict escalation, and military intervention as the end of the conflict. This plot is constructed in a binary system in which the textbook clearly distinguishes the protagonist and antagonist parties. The occurrence of the history of the national heroes in the conflict representation shows a tendency for emphasizing consensus and integration after the conflictual process. The presence of national heroes was then supported in the conflict narratives from 1965 to 1998, which tend to emphasize the reconciliation process by simplifying the plot of the conflict only in the reconciliation process. The contemporary history textbooks are trying to create a moderate model of conflict representation. Those models of the logic of historical narratives in Indonesian history textbooks are different from the other policy and strategy implemented by other nation-states across the globe. The Indonesian history textbook accommodates the historical conflicts in comparison with other states such as Rwanda. Rwanda decided to write an absolute narrative and deleted the multiperspectivity in the history textbooks (Bentrovato, Korostelina, & Schulze, 2016; Bentrovato, 2017). Three models of historical narrative logic indicated in the Indonesian history textbooks show a tendency of the government and the writers to diminish single authoritative narrative even, unfortunately, it seems to have failed. The Indonesian textbooks tend to select and provide a guideline for history teachers to teach historical conflicts. This pattern is similar to the case of Israel (Bekerman & Zembylas, 2011) and Cyprus (Klerides & Philippou, 2015), in which the textbooks tend to provide a guideline to narrate the conflict following their political interest.

The main problem in the Indonesian context is the schizophrenic feeling in narrating the historical conflict, especially when the conflict related to controversial issues such as communism, violence, and genocide. In the context of school historiography, this feeling can be sensed in the term of schizo-history, which refers to a paradoxical phenomenon when the curiosity of the past collided with fear of the defacement of national integration narration. This feeling leads to the marginalization and stigmatization of a particular group as part of the separatist movement. The result is that they can be detached from the collective memory of the nation. The memory marginalization relates to the present and future identity omission, and it threatens the existence of a particular group (White 2011).

The schizophrenic feeling can be sensed in the paradox of conflict representation within the history textbook. The paradox means that it seems the historians and also the government tries to promote transition in the textbook from the narratives based on the framework of the New Order era into the post-reformation framework that is hopefully more democratic and critical than before. However, they are also still haunted by the historical legacy that significantly related to the social-political problems in society, such as the issues of communism, disintegration, and nationalism. It makes the writers of the textbook afraid to critically represent the historical conflict within the history textbook.

This feeling derives from the philosophical contestation regarding the direction of Indonesian school historiography between the demands of nation-building and the spirit of scientific culture that occurred in the first history conference 1957 (Abidin, 2017). It seems the historian who concerns school historiography still feels that contestation between choosing the direction to strengthen nationalism and sacrifice the critical aspect of history, which is deeply rooted in the school historiography or tries to promote a middle way to solve this contestation.

From the above discussion, it can be highlighted that conflict representations within Indonesian history textbooks are narrated in the paradoxical models. The inconsistency of conflict representation indicates the confusion of the government and also the writers to narrate historical conflict. The writer of the textbook seems to realize that many essential parts in history textbooks remain as the legacy of New Order narratives. The writers of the textbook tend to revise the narratives, but unfortunately, they are still haunted by historical legacy. In this circumstance, the conflict representation could not generate a productive outcome of society and tend to preserve the conflict as a memory of violence and disintegration of the past. Therefore, the chance to take advantage of the textbook to support conflict transformation in Indonesia will be hard to achieve. The historian has to find an alternative approach to solve the problem of conflict representation within the Indonesian history textbook.

## Conclusion

The textbook narrates conflicts in the frame of nation-building progress. In this narrative, the historical conflicts are predicated with the term 'the rebellions,' 'regional upheavals,' and 'disintegration.' The representation of those words indicates that conflicts are the disturbance or excessive episode in the progress of the nation-state. The textbook uses two types of narrative logics in the textbook. First is the explanatory-pragmatic logic for narrating the conflicts from 1945 to 1965. The second is the cooperative-constructive logic for narrating the conflicts from 1965 to 1998. In the explanatory-pragmatic logic, conflicts are described in detail and settled in receiving lessons for the present time.

Meanwhile, in the term of cooperative-constructive logic, reconciliation becomes the focus of conflict narratives. The cooperative-constructive logic encourages the selective process of essential events, which are in line with nation-building progress. The selection process resulted in the omission and oblivion of conflict memories appearing in Indonesia history textbooks, such as in the narratives of GAM and OPM. The omission can be seen as the symptoms of schizoid-history. This can lead to the oblivion of history and endangered the continuity of the nation-state. In this situation, the expectation of transforming the conflict to become productive seems to be hard to achieve. Therefore, historians or educators who are concerned in school historiography should provide a middle way to solve those problems and transform the conflict representation to be more transformative.

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