



Militarism in Indonesian and Turkish History Textbooks

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Abstract: The present article discusses militaristic narrative found in Indonesian and Turkish history textbooks. The analysed textbooks are history textbooks that is currently in use for twelfth grades. The aim of this analyses is to clarify our understanding of the nature of textbooks and history teaching in Indonesia and Turkey. This study will be focusing on militaristic narratives in history textbook in each country on the levels of text and discourse. Two textbooks are compared with corpus-based Discourse Analysis Method. The aim is to find if discourses pertaining to militarism dominate each country's textbook. The results, however, find out that militaristic discourse does dominate Turkish textbook, but not Indonesian one.

Keywords: History Textbook, Militaristic Discourse, Context



Introduction

To the best of the present author's knowledge, there has been no comparative study between Indonesian and Turkish education; whether its system or its practice. This probably happens due to the remoteness of both geographical distance and historical experience between the two countries. One might juxtapose this with Malaysia being a comparative object quite often here in the field of education or elsewhere. For instance: Mulyana (2021) compared narrative of nationalism in Indonesian and Malaysian textbooks. The study concluded that the two countries' history textbook contains elements of nationalism which are the myth of past glory, ethnicity and diversity, and anti-Western Colonialism.

Nationalist values have become essential part of history teaching in each country. Malaysia is viewed as approximate to Indonesia in geographical, cultural, and historical terms: both is located in Southeast Asia and had undergone colonialism. That proximity and similarity is not enjoyed by Turkey.

With that being said, this research is going to be a pioneer in Indonesia- Turkey comparative study, at least for the field of textbook analysis. On one hand, the absence of precedent makes this research seem impossible. On the other hand, comparative analysis of textbook in general has produced numerous literatures and its quantity as long as its quality have been increasing day by day. The study by Purwanta, Santosa, & Haryono (2015) attempts to compare national identity discourse of English and Indonesian history textbooks. It found out that history textbooks in England represent the British as the centre of the history of humanity.

On the other hand, Indonesian history textbook represent the nation as a victim of European colonization. Anamaria Dutceac Segesten (2011) compares myths and the discourse of identity in Romanian and Serbian history textbooks. Segesten found that myth of the two countries is related to national identity and itself underwent some changes following regime changes.



Studies mentioned above asserted that every textbook has its peculiarity. Jason Nicholls (2006) in *School History Textbooks across Cultures* put forward the fact that history textbook is tied to the context around which it is being produced. One will come across this very phenomenon when reading Indonesian and Turkish textbook. Every nation has its distinct history and ideology so much so that each has a peculiar history writing and teaching. But it does not imply that a comparative study between countries as far as Indonesia and Turkey is impossible. History teaching in both countries has been criticised by many writers for being militaristic (Altnay, 2004) (White, 2013) (Mulyana, 2013) (Purwanta, 2017).

This article is going to verify the assumption that history textbooks in Indonesia and Turkey are too militaristic. In doing so, it is going to answer the following question: 1) Does the text in history textbooks being analysed here support the aforementioned assumption? 2) If it does (and if it does not), what is the best explanation for it?

Methods and Research Design

Methods. The subject of this study is history textbooks for middle school in Indonesia and Turkey that are still being in use. Indonesian history textbooks are published between 2017-2018 and is based on revised 2013 curriculum (Kurikulum 2013 Edisi Revisi). History textbooks used in Turkey are published in 2019. Another criterion of inclusion is the textbook should be published by the government, not by private publishing company. Indonesian history textbook is published by Pusat Kurikulum dan Perbukuan, Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan (shortened: Kemendikbud), while in Turkey by Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı (Ministry of National Education). Lastly, for the sake of brevity, this study will only focus on history textbook for twelfth grades.

Table 1 Research Subject

No.	Title	Author(s)	Publication year
1.	Sejarah Indonesia Kelas XII	Abdurakhman, dkk.	2018
2.	Ortaöğretim Türkiye Cumhuriyeti İnkılap Tarihi ve Atatürkçülük 12 <u>Ders Kitabı</u>	Akif Çevik, dkk.	2019

Research Design. The textbooks are analysed using discourse analysis (DA) on two levels: textual dimension and discourse practice (Fairclough, 1995). Two forms of textual analysis were employed: textual analysis and intertextual analysis (Fairclough, 2003). Textual or corpus analysis treats language as a tool to construct assumptions, ideology, and messages conveyed by the textbooks to the pupils (the audience). This form of analysis consists in an examination of the words in texts including their cohesion, pattern, and context (Tognini-Bonelli, 1996).

Additionally, intertextual analysis shows how text sources selectively draw upon the “orders of discourse” available to text producers and interpreters in particular social circumstances. In the present study, I examined the role of other texts in the production of the newly written texts, focusing on militaristic discourse by contrasting it with other discourses such as politics. These are the steps taken in this study:

- a. Each textbook is read thoroughly to find any heading mentioning military or any word pertaining to military. Table of content is very helpful in this step.
- b. Words in each textbook is analysed by the help of a word analyser software (countwordsfree.com). This will allow us to find words that are used predominantly.
- c. Results from step a and step b are then contrasted and put in each country’s context.

Results and Discussion

In his paper, Hieronymus Purwanta (2017, p. 47) argued that Indonesian history textbook “still contained a strong element of militaristic discourse; in fact, the

space allotted to the narration of military events was lengthened”. The findings of the present study, however, tell otherwise. Of 68 headings displayed in Indonesian history textbook’s table of content, only 8 contain words pertaining to military such as *konflik* (conflict), *pembebasan* (liberation), *konfrontasi* (confrontation), *ABRI* (Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia – Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia), and *integrasi* (integration).

Most of militaristic headings (4) are concentrated in the first chapter; *Perjuangan Menghadapi Ancaman Disintegrasi Bangsa* (A Struggle against National Disintegration Threats), referring to Soekarno’s period, i.e., between 1948 and 1965, in which Indonesia faced many “revolts” (*pemberontakan-pemberontakan*). Certainly, militaristic discourse is not absent in the textbook, but it is far from being dominant or strong. Although militaristic narratives take 30 pages out of 46 pages of the first chapter, it is the only chapter dominated by such narratives. Overall, of 254 pages within the book, 209 pages do not fall into headings related to militarism. Moreover, no word related to militaristic idea is present in the top 10 keywords in the textbook.

Table 2 Top 10 keywords in Indonesian history textbook for 12- grades, excluding prepositions (e.g.: dari, untuk) and particles (e.g.: yang)

No.	Word	Count	% of the text
1.	Indonesia	2238	2.0%
2.	<i>Presiden</i> (president)	582	0.9%
3.	<i>Politik</i> (politics)	479	0.7%
4.	<i>Pemerintah</i> (government)	408	0.8%
5.	<i>Negara</i> (the state)	352	0.4%
6.	<i>Sejarah</i> (history)	272	0.4%
7.	Soekarno	270	0.4%
8.	<i>Ekonomi</i> (economy)	266	0.4%
9.	<i>Nasional</i> (national)	249	0.4%
10.	<i>Pemerintahan</i> (regime)	246	0.4%

Turkish history textbook, on the other hand, does contain a strong element of militaristic discourse. The first two chapters of the book is full of narrative of wars. The first chapter is opened by a concise biography of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, who happened to be a soldier himself. It then goes on to describe how weak and fragile the Ottoman Empire was at the beginning of twentieth century. The empire then collapsed mostly because of World War I and Atatürk along with other Turks fought for Turkish independence. This fight is told in great detail in the second chapter. Words like *cephe* (battle or front) and *savaş* (war) is repeatedly found in the first and second chapter. It is also worth noting that the book describes and narrates conflicts in the Middle East after World Wars, such as Arab-Israeli Wars, Iraq-Iran War, Israel- Palestinian Conflicts, and War on Terror, in the remaining 6 chapters.

However, the true centre of Turkish history textbook is but Atatürk (meaning: The Father of Turkish People). This is perhaps to no surprise because the aim of the book is to present the life and ideas of Atatürk which has become the foundation of modern day Turkey known as Atatürkçülük or Kemalism. The name Mustafa Kemal Paşa (his name before Turkish Independence) is mentioned 18 times and Atatürk (his surname after Turkish Independence) 267 times throughout the book.

Table 3 Top 10 keywords in Turkish history textbook for 12-grades, excluding prepositions (e.g.: sonra, için) and particles (e.g.: oldu)

No.	Word	Count	% of the text
1.	Türkiye	578	0.8%
2.	<i>Türk</i> (Turkish people)	502	0.4%
3.	<i>Millî</i> (national)	317	0.3%
4.	<i>Dünya</i> (world)	306	0.3%
5.	<i>Savaş</i> (war)	286	0.3%
6.	Atatürk	267	0.3%
7.	Osmanlı (Ottoman)	260	0.3%
8.	<i>Devlet</i> (the state)	227	0.3%
9.	İstanbul	203	0.3%
10.	<i>Asker</i> (troop)	171	0.2%



The stark difference between Indonesia and Turkey is perhaps best understood in the light of present circumstances. Indonesians have not war in decades. It is true that ethnic conflicts were quite common around 20 years ago and there were guerrillas in Aceh and Papua, but most of these conflicts were resolved via negotiations not warfare, even when the president is an ex- army (Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono) (Maeswara, 2009). There are also insurgencies in Myanmar and the Philippines, but these are not included in the national history textbook, unlike the Turkish counterpart. In Turkey, on the other hand, the presence of military is felt to this day.

Although the current president, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, has no military background, threats of Armenian and Kurdish radical groups (Zürcher, 2017) as well as Turkey's involvement in wars in Syria and Azerbaijan make the country is always in need of militant men and women (Altınay, 2004).

Conclusion and Recommendations

History teaching in Indonesia and Turkey has been criticised by many for being militaristic. However, as we have seen, this is true for Turkey but not for Indonesia. Textual findings analysed by the help of a word analyser software tell us that words pertaining to military is very common in Turkish history textbook but not in Indonesian one. This can be explained by looking at the present political circumstances. While Indonesians have enjoyed stability and peace for years, Turkish is always wary of military coup, armed radicals, and wars in neighbouring countries. Hopefully, Turkey is going to get better soon.

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