

**Building the Ideal Citizen through Children:  
The New Order's Doctrines in Indonesian Children Story Books**

Thesis Master

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## I. Introduction

### I.1. The New Order and Pancasila

The New Order (*Orde Baru* in Indonesian) is the term marked for the three decades' leadership of the second president of Indonesia, Soeharto (1967-1998). It was first coined in 1966, but became famous as the common appellation of the regime in the 1990s (Aspinall & Fealy, 2010: 4). Soeharto introduced the New Order regime by distinguishing it with the Old Order of Soekarno, Indonesia's proclaimer and first president—an ambitious novelty and correction of the previous regime (Budiman, 2002: 133; Taher, 1994: 184). Discussing the New Order government in the past, one does not simply take a single explanation. Instead, its political culture has a multilayered and multidimensional aspect. However, there are at least two prominent features of the New Order that could be highlighted; one is the incredible economic transformation achievement, and second is the repressive Pancasila (Five Moral Principles) doctrine (Aspinall & Fealy, 2010: 5). The term 'bureaucratic polity' used by Jackson (1978), 'bureaucratic authoritarian' by King (1982), and 'the status quo state' by Anderson (1983) have been the most important political characteristics of the New Order. Shiraishi's 'familyism' concept (1997) where Soeharto played a role as the 'father' of the nation also uncovered the New Order's politics in a sociological perspective comprehensively. Mackie and MacIntyre (in Hill, 1994: 5-7) described the New Order's salient features are authoritarian with the military's prominent role, plus great personal authority of Soeharto and selected patrimonialism as the key role of the New Order policy. The New Order was a 'patronage system from top to bottom' (Hill, 1994: 45) which offered stick and carrot for its people. In short, its extensive control over economic resources, licenses, and social values in a patron-client relationship in managing Indonesia's political orientation have been essential to the nature of the New Order.

The evolution timeline of the New Order's regime comprised of three stages: 1965-1974 political consolidation and economic recovery; 1974-1983 steady growth and financial boom; 1983-1990 the peak of presidential authority (Hill, 1994: 9). The second stage determined the embodiment and manifestation of the New Order's firm system as Soeharto in 1978 enforced the state's foundation, Pancasila<sup>1</sup> and its indoctrination program called P4 (Guidelines for the Permeation and Implementation of Pancasila / *Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila*), a course on the Pancasila as the state-citizenship moral doctrine<sup>2</sup>. P4 was set up to establish ideological conformity based on the national philosophy. Soeharto then sturdily encouraged the Pancasila declared as the one and only ideology (*azas tunggal*) and philosophical basis of political parties and all other socio-political organizations in 1982-1983 (Hill, 1994: 15). The P4 program has been one of the New Order's successful instrument in solidifying Indonesia's national unity. It was crucially significant in welding the diverse population within the state-run education system and the political outlook. Through this compulsory program<sup>3</sup>, the New Order's regime created a powerful instrument of social control in the Indonesian nationhood by restraining people's expression (Hill, 1994: 25-27) within the norm of not offending other's

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1 Pancasila is the state ideology of Indonesia which consisted five principles as follow: belief in one God; humanitarianism; nationalism; representative government; and social justice.

2 The central figure in arranging this was Roeslan Abdulgani, formerly an active promoter of Sukarno's guided democracy ideology (Ricklefs, 2008: 351).

3 P4 courses were obligatory at all education levels in Indonesia as well as for all civil servants and many other groups in the society.

ethnicity, religion, race, and inter-group relations<sup>4</sup> to maintain security and order. Although the P4 course attracted criticism from many intellectuals, the values (and relevance) of Pancasila itself were unquestioned because of the fact that it was designed as a tool in protecting the people from threats both from the left and the right groups (Ricklefs, 2008: 351) as well as in maintaining collective harmony in which crucial for uniting the people. It was designed to encompass all aspects of social, spiritual and political life—and rules out of alternatives (Vatikiostis, 1993: 106). The regime also established an austere censorship system through layers of both formal and informal process and ownership in which criticism and dissident expression employed only a little space in the culture industry (Sen & Hill, 2000: 12). Thus, every activity conducted whether individually or collectively has to be under the state's creed and principles.

The New Order regime prioritized the enforcement of nation-building and had an excessive control in almost every aspect of the citizen's lives. Along with the economic development urgency, the government integrated its national political interest into various means—child education was one of the most significant. Indonesia's New Order school system put the uniformity and domestication with military ideology and practice on the top of its principle (Yamin, 2009: 96-97). The famous motto was 'to develop a genuine Indonesian citizen and Indonesian society'<sup>5</sup> and its application had to be aligned with the Pancasila philosophy<sup>6</sup>. In this connection, the national education was significantly involved with the people development in instituting the nation-building process.

## I.2. The New Order and Children Books

The Indonesian Government in the period of 1973-1983 launched one of the largest national primary school construction projects in history, known as Inpres SD<sup>7</sup> to eradicate illiteracy and to

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4 Commonly known as SARA (*Suku, Agama, Ras, dan Antar golongan*) in Indonesian.

5 Indonesia's 1978 Great Lines of the State Policy (*Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara/GBHN*) defined the true Indonesian as: believing in God; noble in character; intelligent and skilled; physically and mentally healthy; and in possession of national identity. According to the official document of the Indonesian education policy issued by the Ministry of Education and Culture (1976: 14), it was stated that "Education covers all human potentials for developing and safeguarding the existence of the Indonesian nation and state. This will surely have to be the essence of national resilience, to wit the resilience of the Indonesian man... in safeguarding the national defense."

6 One of the general guides to textbook writing issued by the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture (1990: 18) is that the "material developed should not endanger the state security, nor should it trespass the standing laws and regulations, and it must not in contradiction with the spirit of Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, and the Great Lines of the State Policy".

7 *Instruksi Presiden* (grant by Presidential Instruction/Decree) or INPRES is a sequence of Central Government transfers to regional governments for funding physical and social development projects both in general and sectoral, such as infrastructure, education, and public health. The Indonesian government in 1973-1983 imposed the annual INPRES Elementary School Construction Support, known as INPRES SD. During this period, 61,807 primary schools were constructed at a cost of over US\$500 million or 1.5% of the country's GDP in 1973 and enrollment rates among children aged 7 to 12 increased from 69% in 1973 to 83% by 1978 and 90% by 1984 (World Bank, 1990). The

stimulate growth in increasing enrollment rates. The project included the procurement of children literature as a reading material support and complimentary of the children textbook. These story books, known as *Bacaan Anak* (BA) in Indonesian were provided by the government for free to primary schools throughout Indonesia. Many local publishers involved in printing and publishing the story books, but the once-colonial state publishing house Balai Pustaka (BP) executed the main project—as the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture has always been its patron. The purchase made within the period of 1975-1990 by the government amounted to no less than 2,100 titles of children reading books (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1990: 28). However, many have regretted the implementation of this project as it was only attributed to the quantity target while abandoning the quality material in which the government had made it as a false indicator for highlighting the state's development achievement (Yamin, 2009: 94). The low quality of reading materials in school for children has triggered some concerns that the literature teaching in school is considered as a traumatic experience (Sarjono, 2001: 96). As Shiraishi (1995: 169-183) explored in her brief analysis on children stories in the New Order era, the children were depoliticized due to state's control in education and they were "forced" to accept the Indonesian language as their lingua franca—out taken their mother tongue—aimed at creating homogenization through the Indonesian national citizenry.

In this connection, this paper argues that in line with the purpose of nation-building, children stories that published under the Inpres project were embedded with patriotism doctrine and educational values; the characters were constructed correspondently with the state's ideology, Pancasila to create an ideal Indonesian citizen. The implementation of Pancasila indoctrination through children books aimed to shape and guide children's behavior as the new generation who will build the nation-country. It is also one of the state's political strategies to maintain its power and hegemony in making a generation that obedient and pro-state. The content of BA had also followed the national education curriculum. Therefore, the themes, stories, and characters in the children books were much influenced by the government's interests. In short, the paper offers a study of the Indonesia's New Order political agenda translated in children stories that were published under the Inpres project, particularly by BP.

Furthermore, in the course of book publishing in Indonesia, Sen & Hill observed that there have been "attempts to set down state-sponsored literary ethics and aesthetics within the scope of political agenda as well as resistance to those codes" (2000: 22). The lack of control by the New Order's central government in restricting the book publishing endorsed a growth of private publishing ventures. Gramedia, Indonesia's largest publisher that founded in 1970, was one of them. In this connection, this study will try to find "irregularities" in the children stories published by Gramedia during the period of the mushrooming state-sponsored Inpres children books via Balai Pustaka. To sum up, the paper suggests that there had been a form of resistance against the government through the writing of children stories at that time. Therefore, the study also looks at differences in children characters and moral values between the state-ordered BP children stories and private independent publisher Gramedia in the period of 1973-1985. As the study will find out the concept of an ideal citizen and nationalism in the perspective of the New Order regime, it will question what kind of "message" is being transferred and how does resistance occur in the children stories.

### 1.3 Source, Limitation, and Relevance

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project was recorded as the largest and the fastest national education project at the time it was launched.

The primary sources of this research are the children story books that were published by the national publisher, Balai Pustaka under the project of Inpres SD, and children story books published by the private independent publisher, Gramedia. In total, there are 29 children story books published in the period of 1976-1987 that would be examined as random samples, comprised of fifteen BP's children story books and fourteen Gramedia's children story books. These books will be categorized and compared by looking at their themes and children's characters presented in the stories. The study will conduct a literature-based review through textual analysis by collecting the samples of children story books for the age group 9 to 12 years old (middle-grade novels). This category is selected due to the massive scale of production in such period. The research is limited to the study in children stories characterized as realistic fiction for elementary school children and originally published in Indonesia (not a product of foreign works or translated/adapted). The stories are narrated in a child's viewpoint.

This qualitative research would provide a preliminary description of modern Indonesian children literature in the New Order era and a general overview of similarities and differences between children story books published by government publishing company and independent/private corporation. Furthermore, it helps to understand better how the New Order's regime enforces its hegemony in creating ideal Indonesian citizens through children literature by assuring the Pancasila values put into the stories and characters. The results of my research hopefully would become a contribution in the broad scope of Indonesian study for international scholars. Moreover, since there is still a little attention in the Indonesian children literature research that creates a gap in the Indonesian contemporary literature, this study could be extended to a discourse analysis of the relations of power, politics and culture as well as to fill the gap of the study of modern Indonesian literature.

This study will be an endeavor in understanding the translation of Pancasila consent as the Indonesian New Order's hegemony doctrines in children literature for the purpose of making a good citizen. A new approach to political history and children literature needs to be further elaborated for advancing the discourse of Indonesian studies. The research will also serve as a future reference to other scholars who are undertaking the Indonesian studies, particularly in the scope of children literature related to politics and hegemony power. Moreover, it will be helpful as one of the breakthroughs in the discourse of modern Indonesian children literature since much of the Indonesian children literature research focuses on the traditional genre and structural approach. The study creates opportunities as well as challenges in analyzing the substance and context of the Indonesian children literature.

The following chapters will look further into the translation of the New Order's political agenda in BP children books and the resistance attempts in Gramedia children books. Chapter 2 concerns the regime's doctrines and indoctrinations in the scope of nationalism and nation-building, its views on children and development as well as the familyism concept. Chapter 3 gives an insight overview about the development of modern Indonesian children story books with a little background of BP and Gramedia in the Indonesia's publishing history. Chapter 4 explains in-depth analytical comparison at themes and children characters expressed in the children story books published by BP and Gramedia. Chapter 5 is the final chapter to draw a conclusion of this study.

## **II. Pancasila's Doctrines and Indoctrination in the National Education**

As I have mentioned before, this chapter will discuss the Pancasila doctrines and indoctrinations and how it is being implemented in the scope of children education for the purpose of power

legitimacy. This chapter will also elaborate an overview of modern children literature in Indonesia, particularly in the national education system and the basic concept of familyism as the foundational element of the New Order's political regime incorporated in Indonesia's children literature.

## 2.1. The New Order's Legacies

For more than thirty years, the New Order government had left marks and legacies of Indonesia's history. The most prominent legacy was its political doctrines through Pancasila, the savior of the nation that had "protected" the people from every threat against the unity of Indonesia, such as communism and radicalism. The second one was the goal of development (*pembangunan*) which referred to the process of advancing the state's economy but eventually applied to all fields. This two confirmed in the educational course of Pancasila taught in schools in which stated that the New Order was a "constitutional and development order" meaning that it put the constitution of the Republic (1945 Constitution and Pancasila) above all structure and both the government and people must pulled all efforts in developing the nation and the state (Kansil, 1985: 56-57).

Pancasila democracy is "a system of the order of the life of a state and that of the society which based on the sovereignty of the people being inspired by the lofty values of Pancasila" (Department of Information, 1986: 5) and it constitutes a pledge as a product of Indonesia's independence. Founded by Soekarno in 1945, Pancasila was meant to be a "device to express the unity of such diverse people as a vague philosophical rationalization of a plural society" (Vatikiostis, 1993: 95) and its principles were significant as the human values for nation-building process to create unity and integration. Although the creation of this models was manifested by the founding fathers, the state emphasized its meaning by declaring that Pancasila was not an individual nature nor refers to personal thoughts, instead, its values had been originated way before as it unearthed in the Indonesian society from time to time. Another characteristic is to put people's rights, including the freedom of expression, to be balanced with the sense of responsibilities through deliberation (*musyawarah*) to reach a consensus (*mufakat*). Pancasila was perceived as a remedy to cure the difficulties posed by the nation's diversity, such as ethnic and religious differences in which all of the groups and communities in Indonesia stayed under a big umbrella that could hold up the collective interests for the greater purpose of integrity. In the meantime, developmental issues were erected as important as domestic politics due to the notion that a stabilized economy walked the same line with the political stability, and to maintain balance there must be a firm guideline—in this case, Pancasila.

According to Foulkes (1983: 11), Soeharto's New Order formed as a sociological propaganda means that when the people acknowledged or adjusted the political ideology and economy, they made it as a foundational belief of their life choices and value judgments until they were fully integrated with the system. The cycle continued to a self-reproducing propaganda which aimed to create stability in social behavior and finally, conformity. If there is one thing that an Indonesian must be proud of, it is the "magical" unity of Indonesia—as stipulated in the Constitution as the national motto of Indonesia, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. Comprised of more than 300 ethnics with 600 regional languages and distinctive traditions lived in 17000 islands, it is uneasy to imagine that all Indonesian citizens are united as a nation. Many Indonesians believed that the struggle against colonialism which brought Indonesia's independence proclamation in 1945 had only been achieved with the principle of people's unity and tolerance. This principle embedded in the Constitution, whereas the tools of this process of unification were the Indonesian language (*Bahasa Indonesia*), the state's official language, and Pancasila as the constitutional and legal foundation. The wide formal use of the Indonesian language is

essential as a device to spread the ideology that can function as integration propaganda to make people oblivious of having been socialized (Foulkes, 1983: 38-40).

The nation-building process through the dissemination of Bahasa Indonesia lesson and Pancasila in national education was very significant to develop the love for the nation and to create a less primordial individual. Every student from elementary to senior high must learn Pancasila Moral Education (PMP) as one of the most valuable course to study. The core of the curriculum consisted of thirty-six (now forty-five, amended in 2003) points of values that had to be impregnated practically. Indonesia's education in the New Order aimed to form an actual Pancasila man in which the primordial and chauvinistic identity transformed into a patriotic and nationalistic one to achieve the ideal personality. It was stipulated in the Appendix of the 1966's Parliament Decision (Tap MPRS No. XXVII/MPRS/1966) on education that one of its roles was to be as "a conscious rehabilitation in restoring Pancasila ideology to a treacherous individual against it" (Fauzan, 2003: 77). The Manuscript of the Guide to the Living and the Practice of Pancasila<sup>8</sup> (Centre for Strategic and International Studies, 1978: 15) stated that Indonesians should make the practice of Pancasila their primary objective in social and political life to be able to exercise their self-control and to carry out responsibilities as a citizen of the State and a member of society. Soeharto himself claimed that Pancasila has resulted "positive" signs in Indonesia's social life that it "has taken root in society, with people becoming more convinced of the validity of the philosophy in the past" (Dwipayana & Ramadhan KH 1991: 288). He convinced that the promulgation of the P4 course is one of the important element in the development of the national ideology in assuring Pancasila as the state's foundation and philosophy of life and therefore, may strengthen the national unity as well as advancing the economic development progress (Dwipayana & Ramadhan KH 1991: 290).

Schwarz (2000: 41) argued that "by equating Pancasila with Indonesia's national essence and by using it as an ideological justification for the authoritarian rule, Soeharto is able to give his brand of rule a flavor of permanence". Regarding Indonesia, which has a diverse and complex society, the national unity was indispensable that Pancasila was the guidance from the "threat" of communism, radicalism and Westernization that could suffer the union. Therefore, as Schwarz (2000: 41) added, "the political choice available was not between authoritarianism and democracy, but between Pancasila democracy—that is, the status quo—and chaos." However, many officials, including the President himself treated Pancasila as a cover of their irregularities and irresponsible acts. They referred to Pancasila in resolving almost all public policy disputes in which made the essential values in Pancasila became vague and useless.

Increasingly, the Pancasila doctrines along with its holy values and high expectations affected people's lives by setting a behavioral prerequisite circle to be a good citizen. Freedom of expression was limited and often blamed for disturbing the state's orderliness. The New Order viewed freedom as a factor needed to produce creativity which is important in development, but it has to be guided with national responsibility in which the ultimate goal is to preserve the unity and integrity of the nation (Department of Information, 1986: 11) as also confirmed by Soeharto himself:

"We have the same view of freedom of expression. One should not think only of his rights but also of his responsibilities... (that) is to serve the interests of the public at large

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<sup>8</sup> The manuscript is a further explanation on the implementation of the Decree of the People's Consultative Assembly of Indonesia Number II/MPR/1978 concerning The Guide to the Living and the Practice of Pancasila (A Single Vow in Fulfillment of the Five-Fold Aspiration).

and of the country. Should anyone be free to say anything at will, irrespective of the damage he does to the interests of the state, the nation other people? This is contrary to Pancasila democracy!" (Dwipayana & Ramadhan KH, 1991: 364).

Two notorious laws that stripped the freedom of expression during the New Order were the 1963 Law on Anti-Subversion (*UU Anti Subversi*)<sup>9</sup> and the Hate Sowing Articles (154, 155 and 156) of Indonesia's criminal code (*Kitab Undang Undang Hukum Pidana / KUHP*)<sup>10</sup>. These laws had been used to mute criticism and criminalized any person or party who opposed the government with up to seven years' incarceration. In the 1990s hundreds of people were jailed under both laws (Hoadley, 2005: 6). The effect of the strict implementation of these statutes was massive and involved from political silence to books banning<sup>11</sup> and media censorship when gradually the Indonesian government in general and Soeharto in particular "regarded himself as the embodiment of Pancasila and his personal interests as its proper fruits" (Rickelfs, 2008: 351).

The condition was far worse due to the oppression of freedom of expression by books banning and stringent rules in academic activity. Schwarz (2000: 35) wrote that in 1975-1985 Soeharto increasingly strengthened his control, particularly through government policies that related to freedom of expression in which he deliberately prevented manifestations of dissatisfaction and criticism gone out to the surface. The examples were the 1978's Campus Normalization Law—every academic activity in public was being monitored by the government—in which triggered the scholars' protest in 1979-1980 called the Group of Fifty that demanded political reform. As if it was not enough to silence the opposition and young generation, the regime implemented strict rules on censorship in book publishing. Book censorship has been institutionalized in Indonesia—the decision makers vary from the Ministry of Education and Culture concerning school textbooks to Indonesia's High Court in general. The most important reason of the book banning was that the book's content would "disturb public order" which could be interpreted in various ways. The banning criteria imposed by the Indonesia's High Court were as follow: contradicts with the Pancasila and 1945 Constitution; contains the ideology of Marxism and Communism; disrupts the unity of Indonesia; damages the national leadership trust; degrades morals and contains pornography; desecrates religion; disrupts economic development and its implementation; insults one's ethnic, race or religion; and controverts with the GBHN (Fauzan, 2003: 142-143). One mark of these criteria would be enough to impose the ban. The implementation of the law has resulted in hundreds of novels, historical studies and scholarly works banned.

Due to the regime's priority to stability and security for the purpose of advancing Indonesia's economy, many important aspects of social life were "sacrificed", particularly the education system. What can be said about the education system in the New Order is the indoctrination of

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<sup>9</sup> The term 'subversion' was characterized in the Law's appendix in 1969 as: (1) engage in activities which might distort, undermine, or deviate from the state ideology as contained in the Pancasila and the Great Outlines of State Policy (GBHN); (2) challenge or undermine the authority of the state, the government, or governmental institutions; and (3) disseminate feelings of or arouse hostility, disturbances, or anxiety among the population or even broad sections of society (Hoadley, 2005: 6).

<sup>10</sup> Previously known as *Haatzai Artikelen* that originated from the colonial era, the hate sowing articles' purpose was to prevent criticism of the rulers and governmental institutions by punishment (Hoadley, 2005: 7).

<sup>11</sup> One of the biggest Indonesian media publishing, *Tempo* in January 1996 recorded that there had been over than 2000 books banned during the New Order regime (Prasetjo, 1996).



Pancasila. Indoctrination<sup>12</sup> presented to designate the total educational process and diminished freedom (Snook, 1972: 11, 101). The principle of unity, integration, and stability is the core of a national Indonesia which has been “traumatized” from both the international and domestic political turbulences during the Old Order and the failed attempt Communist Coup in 1965. The New Order claimed that only because of the army’s strength, the Coup had been prevented. This credence has been maintained since then and became the basis of Indonesia’s official national history in which subjugated in the school textbooks (Hoadley, 2005: 2-3). As indoctrination intends to limit choice, the participant would be directed to succeed with a sole purpose and in this case, the unity of Indonesia. Snook (1972: 152) characterized the precise means of indoctrination in three categories: a) teaching an ideology as if it were the only possible one with any claim to rationality; b) teaching, as if they are certain, propositions the teacher knows are uncertain; c) teaching propositions which are false and known by the teacher to be false. In this connection, the application of the PMP lesson taught in Indonesian schools fell into the point a) and b) in which the teacher only followed the material and substance given by the state without further consent or discussion. No critics on Pancasila ever allowed due to its “sacredness” even until now. A dissent over Pancasila would be regarded as treason against the state and its constitution (Fauzan, 2003: 71).

The education system in the New Order era served a primarily political function to maintain the unity, the stability, and the predictability of the nation-state by limiting ideological boundaries (Leigh, 1999: 37-38) to support the state’s economic purpose. Herlambang (2013) observed some characteristics in the New Order’s educational system: uniformity with the militaristic element; and quantity, not quality oriented which have resulted in a skilled-worker but anti-reality generation; a ready-to-be-used-labor. Dichotomous teaching method was the manner in schools where only black and white matters and the “colorful” elements regarded as off from the boundaries. Indonesian schools were not a democratic place as the teachers were always right and criticism was taboo. Instead, they have been the place for the “expression of correctness, not for the engagement of dialogue” (Leigh, 1999: 39). The regime put the national education in the first place to accelerate economic development. The importance of economic progress in Indonesia pervaded all aspect including in primary schools where students first learned about modernization and development. Indonesian children carried a heavy burden in which as the next generation they have to participate in the “movement” to achieve national development. The concept even condensed in various ways related to discipline behavior such as Monday flag ceremony attendance or boy scout participation that were perceived as an essential rite which integrated the person into the state. Through education, the New Order formulated an image of a future *homo economicus* citizen. As noted by Fauzan (2003: 79), the education system aimed to be a selective, controlling as well as a socializing tool for the New Order’s power legitimacy and labor mobilization which later resulted in intellectual impoverishment.

To sum up, the two New Order’s legacies—Pancasila and development’s doctrines—much affected people’s daily life, especially in the field of education where the government viewed education as a way to create the Pancasila man who would serve the country (or the regime) unconditionally and also an “investment” to achieve economic purpose. The “goodness” of unity, stability, and security had created a legitimized power for the government to launch a systematic intellectual repression in which resulted in the attenuation of creativity.

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<sup>12</sup> Kilpatrick (in Snook, 1972: 47-48) explains that indoctrination means, literally, implanting doctrines. Used to be associated with the Christian doctrine, the meaning changed in the 20<sup>th</sup> century along with the development of democracy and modernization. Since then, the term indoctrination has been associated with an improper inducing of uncritical belief opposed to democracy in which emphasized the individual’s right to be taught freely and critical.

## 2.2. Children and Development

We have previously discussed the New Order's goal to create an ideal citizen of Indonesia—the Pancasila man—through education (PMP lesson and P4 course). But by what means that goal could be achieved? The regime's answer was by making the heroes of development. Soeharto once stated that “the younger or succeeding generation has every opportunity to become heroes of development... (that) fully understand and are deeply convinced of the ideal that we uphold” (Dwipayana & Ramadhan KH, 1991: 376).

One is worth to focus on is the significant concept of heroes which is crucial in nation-building and nationalism. As Shiraishi (1992: 147) argued, the idea of heroes in Indonesian children was established by familial relations between mother and child in the “principle of giving love and returning appreciation”. The government translated the concept as the compliance to love and serve the country in returning the grace given by the country to the society (read: the child). The New Order heroes (*pahlawan*) were born, at their death, to the Motherland (Shiraishi, 1992: 147). The death of national heroes who defended the nation from invading colonials was interpreted as sacrifices needed for the nation's independence and being valued highly—if not excessively. During the New Order era, patriotism and nationalism were incorporated into daily activity mainly at schools and government institutions due to the strong influence of militaristic practice in the society. Every formal occasion such as on Independence Day and Monday flag ceremony required a repetition of independence proclamation and Pancasila five principle as well as prayers and hymns dedicated to the heroes. The practice was mandatory in every school. Children had to understand the meaning of the “price of independence” by looking at the heroes' sacrifice to the nation. Borrowing Shiraishi's (1992: 147), “it is this return-sacrifice-gift” that must always be remembered by the children in viewing their “duty” to the country.

The concept of heroes is also important to create a positive meaning in children in which the heroes are always doing the good and the right thing. Every activity related to heroes means for the greater good of the people because heroes have the responsibility to protect. Children were taught and expected to be heroes. Along with the principle of mother's love, this simple idea was developed into the love for the nation, the urge to protect the nation and the obligation to return the heroes' favor for their sacrifice in liberating the nation.

According to Stephens (1995: 23) in relation to the politics of culture, children are the object of “divergent cultural project”. In the case of the New Order's expectation of the Indonesian children as the heroes of development, it pulled an effort to shape the young generation within the boundary of no option to become themselves but the Pancasila man in the future. Also, it was not enough just to become a hero, but a hero of development. The word “development” was emphasized in line with the regime's top policy on the importance of economic progress, and this was implemented in the state's education system. Soeharto confirmed it when he stated, “Our educational system must prepare our children with the knowledge and ability... so that they will become useful members of society and be able to participate in development.” (Dwipayana & Ramadhan KH, 1991: 349). In short, the purpose was to impregnate the children with a pro-state and patriotic notion to serve the country by contributing to economic development. Another option is indeed to serve the country by joining the army (or the government) to become “a real hero”. There was no third option.

As practiced in school through studying activity, this concept was also incorporated and adjusted in Indonesia's modern children literature published during the New Order era. Shiraishi (1992: 28-29) suggested that the Indonesian children (and the Asian region in a wider area)

were depoliticized because state-controlled education system presented their programs into timeless, traditional cultures. She further argued that the Indonesian language was sufficient for the mass-produced, state-supported children's stories aimed at creating a homogeneous Indonesian national citizenry. In her study about the Indonesian children stories in the New Order (in Stephens, 1995: 169-193), she put examples of how children learned the relations between desire and duty as well as national identity upon ethnic or religious identity by reading fictional stories in which the story narratives were precluded children's criticism upon their parents.

Furthermore, children books were not inseparable from Pancasila doctrines. As stated by Hunt (1999: 6), "adults can and do control the production of children's literature—however subversive the child's reading might be." Children books in the early period of the New Order were more or less identical with textbooks and abundant with moral values because they often perceived as merely for educational purpose and disregarded the recreational purpose. For example, many of children (fictional) books described a character of an ideal child who obeys their parents and their teachers and has a hobby in scouting activity with high patriotic spirit. The stories often integrated government policies comprised in a dialogue between a child's father and patrons/officials such as the head of the village or the school principal or even written as a nationalistic speech/poem by the characters in the stories. These narratives, which not mostly echoed in Indonesia's social reality, could be found in almost every state-sponsored children book. The "alternate reality" in the children stories was deliberately given to encourage the children to be the Pancasila man. Wibawa's research on the identity of the Indonesian children during the New Order period (2011) made a clear line that the children's identity processed through the most critical environment in the children's life, such as family and school was designed to establish a model of citizenship. He concluded that the Indonesian children's identity was influenced by the Javanese culture and this repeated in the classroom which put the children as subordinates. The media who was under the regime's control also played a key role in forming children's life in which the media created a portrait of an ideal child, and in the future, an ideal citizen.

However, it is important to note that the indoctrination of Pancasila and the call for development in children books was not as effective as the television programs and radio in the New Order era due to the less circulation and uneven distribution of children books throughout Indonesia compared to television and radio. The high rate of illiteracy and poor school facilities were also important reasons. As described by Kitley (1999) in analyzing *Si Unyil*, a television series screened in the state's channel from 1981 to 1993, children television program was one of the medium used by the government as a "machinery of state hegemony" to encourage the young generation's commitment to contribute the national development. *Si Unyil* was very popular not only in the eyes of Indonesian children but also their parents and family (adults) that the soft "social propaganda" of the government policy in economy development infused in the stories was accepted. The ideal citizen adorned in the series was an individual "who is communally minded-one that accepts the regime of improvement determined by the state and energetically and enthusiastically contributes to its implementation" (Kitley, 1999: 136).

The development of the modern Indonesian children literature is not as flourish as in other countries due to many socio-cultural and economic factors<sup>13</sup>, but the obvious one I believe, is

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13 Miller (1990: 64-65) addressed several issues related to the development of the Indonesia's book publishing: the low quantity of books published, the state's standard in publishing, copyright matters, the low public interest in reading, and the flourishing trade in popular magazines.

because the modern children books in Indonesia are not designed to appeal the children. Decades ago, Sarumpaet (1976: 23) analyzed three characteristics of the Indonesian children literature: taboo in connection with the story's theme and morality, direct story-telling or simple plot, and its substance with educational purposes. These characteristics had not much changed until the end of the millennia. Trimansyah (1999) analyzed 42 samples of stories published in the 1990s by various publishers in Indonesia—according to his research, there were 420 children books published during the period. Interestingly, he found that there was no significant theme development in the Indonesian children stories and that the theme served as a repetition from the ones produced for the purpose of Inpres project in the 1980s. His critics were that the Indonesian writers have not followed the development of the international children's literature and have not paid attention to the children's interest in books in which he claimed that the books were only to fulfill the government's demand and not for the mass market purpose (Trimansyah, 1999: 127). Most of the themes were about independence struggle, a child's effort to survive from poverty, environment, and socialization on developmental policies. He also emphasized that there is no clear line in defining the characteristics of the modern Indonesian children's literature and that didactic values were rampant in those books (Trimansyah, 1999: 27-28).

In short, the lush of normative didactic values and national interests inscribed in the modern Indonesian children books during the New Order era had declined the development of the children literature itself. The fact that there is no sharp formal division in categorizing Indonesian children literature except for the general split between the traditional stories and modern stories—and sometimes in themes, such as historical and religious stories, fairy tales, and so on—also show much to concern. Nevertheless, we would further discuss this argument in details in the next chapter.

### 2.3. Familyism

What is an ideal child of Indonesia according to the New Order? Soeharto answered,

“For children to become model Indonesians of the future... formal education alone is not sufficient. The Indonesian man we are developing is one who has high moral and ethical standards... many of these character traits can only be nurtured at home. A good child, to my mind, must always obey and respect his parents... who should teach him high moral standards and devotion to God.” (Dwipayana & Ramadhan KH, 1991: 372-373).

Following this statement, it is clear that the ideal Indonesian children expected is the ones who always obey and respect their parents that teach them “high moral standards” and in this connection, the moral and ethical standards aligned with the national interest. The ideal children are not expected to have their own minds because they have to do as they are told. They would be dependent on their parents at home, follow their teachers at school, and when they grow up, they oblige to serve the nations.

Moreover, Soeharto often expressed himself as the father of the nations—after all, the famous title accredited to him was the “Father of Development”. In 1991 he launched a book<sup>14</sup> and

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14 In the book's prologue, Soeharto himself wrote, “I have received thousands of letters sent by the Indonesian children in which the substances were not free from childish elements, but they had quite brave to express their hearty feelings and wishes. A team had been ordered to handle those letters, but not all wishes could be fulfilled by means not to spoil them. Some of the letters will be published in hoping that it could be read by other children. Soeharto, 11 March 1991.” (Dwipayana & Ecip, 1991).

published almost a hundred letters from elementary school children addressed to him for expressing his closeness and concern to the young generation. It was said that the president received over than 43,000 letters from children in the 1980s and early 1990s. The image described in those letters was intriguing in which all the children view Soeharto as if he was their father, grandfather, or they friends. Soeharto also appeared in children's related occasion such as Children's Day and received visits from elementary school students. His attempt to "socialize" the image of a father to the children of Indonesia describes his interest in children and his expectation for the youngsters to be the next generation who would see him in a positive manner.



President Soeharto received primary students at Bogor Palace (no dates)  
Source: <http://www.hmssoeharto.id/2015/05/pak-harto-dan-anak-anak-indonesia.html>

The New Order regime emphasized the importance of family's roles in nurturing a child. The state's view was that the nation is "akin to a family to which all societal groups belong and contribute." (Schwarz, 2000: 235) or *azas kekeluargaan* (family principle) as the foundation stipulated in the 1945 Constitution. The regime's consent of a nuclear family, heteronormative family man as the head of the household and the woman as a housewife with two children was endorsed through government's programs in the media. The kinship and family concept is crucial in the regime's agenda to control power, reduce the impact or minimize conflict between the ruler and the ruled. The relationship is based on familyism in which everything can be discussed mannerly, but "in the end, the father makes the decisions" (Schwarz, 2000: 235). The family is regarded as the smallest unit in the society that also has responsibilities to serve the country. The importance of this familyism appeared, for example, under the auspices of public healthcare campaign, as noted by Bonneff (1998: 65) that in the 1970s the government often used a visual image (in this case, comics) of a happy family consisted of parents with their two children to attract people's attention in which the National Family Planning Board showed how the contraception could change the life of a family to prosper more than before.

According to Shiraishi (in Stephens, 1995: 170), familyism appears in almost every aspect of the Indonesian life and is regarded as national identity even it "functions as an obstacle to social and political justice." Her observation on children literature in Indonesia showed that despite its various themes, every story exposes an imagery of a new nation and encourages the forming of the national community in which the family life stories are the most common. The characters of

the family in the stories are even more striking that they show regularity and similar pattern compares to Indonesia's cultural diversity. For example, there is always a story about a child makes a mistake but eventually corrected by their parents. The moral guidance of *Tut Wuri Handayani*<sup>15</sup> which is impregnated in Indonesia's education system has been twisted off that children supposedly be good and ones who make mistakes will be punished. As Shiraishi (in Stephens, 1995: 173) claimed, "this is the basic principle that any writer has to learn in order to survive in Soeharto's Indonesia". She concluded that the Indonesian children stories were expressing a-regime-made family construction in which "state politics penetrated and shaped Indonesian society" (in Stephens, 1995: 180). In this connection, it is not surprising that there were many children books contained the Pancasila's values or government policies during the New Order era. While the absolute reason indeed is because of the authoritarian rule's influence in the society in which created less critical mind and creativity due to "fear", another factor, I believe, is the self-censorship—deliberately or unconsciously—conducted by the writers themselves as mostly of the writers' background were teachers or journalists that closely monitored by the government.

The children stories published during the New Order era were based on the familyism concept as this was also the foundational principle of the national ideology. The principle acknowledges differences occurred in the Indonesian society that all problems must be solved in the spirit of cooperation with a particular manner accordingly. This concept has been embedded in the social context of the society, from private to public matter. Finally, it is a way of understanding the children stories published in Indonesia as the regime incorporated the concept into the daily life of the Indonesian society.

### III. Modern Indonesian Children Story Books

As previously mentioned in the first chapter, this chapter will discuss the development of the modern Indonesian children story books in the New Order era. The section aims to give a brief overview of the situation of the Indonesian children literature in which it is important that we have a mutual understanding in the definition and development of modern Indonesian children books with further elaboration on the background of Balai Pustaka and Gramedia publishing.

According to Huck, et.al (1987: 6), children's books are books that have "the child's<sup>16</sup> eyes at the center". By this meaning, a children's story is not a story *of* a child, but a story *for* children (Liotohe, 1991: 17) which put the children as characters in the theme, plot, and narrative. Hunt (1995:61) defined children's book as it is deliberately written for the children's consumption according to the children's world and interest and based on their emotional and intellectual development in which the book could satisfy them. Karin Lesnik-Obersten (in Hunt, 1999: 15-16) wrote that the meaning of children's literature "absolutely depends on supposed relationships

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<sup>15</sup> *Tut Wuri Handayani* is a prominent educational concept in *Javanese*, the short version of the ideological foundation of the education system in Indonesia—the complete version is "*ing ngarso sung tuladha, ing madya mangun karsa, tut wuri handayani*". Its literal meaning is "the teacher encourages and guides the students from behind" which means that the teachers should let their students to be themselves and to express their minds and feelings. It was founded by the well-known Javanese educator, Ki Hajar Dewantara.

<sup>16</sup> Huck (1987: 64-72) divided five categories of children literature: 1) babies 1-2 years; 2) preschool and kindergarten 3-5 years; 3) early school years 6-7; 4) middle-aged school children 8-9 years; 5) elementary school 10-12 years. Therefore, a child here is defined from 1 to 12 years old.

with a particular reading audience: children” and books that provide benefits for children concerning “emotional and moral values.” Children are often identified or associated themselves with characters in the book. Therefore, didactic stories with the main characters that usually have positive attitudes are preferred to encourage children to imitate or to learn positive behavior through the characters. However, not all good stories are considered helpful for children because eventually, the one that decides a good book for children is adults<sup>17</sup>.

Nurgiyantoro (2005: 5-10) emphasized the themes that are suitable for children are a simple one and easy to understand. Therefore, complicated emotional feelings such as desperation and heart-broken, as well as nonverbal experiences such as nostalgia, politics, and religious/spiritual experience are not the elements of children literature. Another important thing is that sophisticated words and plot are not suitable for children. On the contrary, these kinds of books that filled with compound words and plots were used to be the “norms” of the children readings in Indonesia. One of the reason is reflected in Sugihastuti’s argument that the language in Indonesia’s children stories has resulted from a dialectical process between regional and national idioms (1996: 76-77). The young official *Bahasa Indonesia* in which the children learned in schools—different from their mother tongue—is the “gate” to literacy and readings. Yet, original Indonesian children story is still struggling to find its place in the children’s lives, particularly against the massive scale of popularly translated children stories from abroad. Unlike many parts of post-colonial countries which have “an uneasy relationship with indigenous culture and suffered from severe censorship” (Hunt, 1999: 5), the connection between traditional stories and children literature is inseparable—before the national independence, children stories in the archipelago were based on oral tradition and classic stories such as folktales and fables. In connection with censorship, there has not been an absolute case of banning children books on their contents although they were cautiously selected and obvious cases related to “non-suitable materials for children” such as violence and adultery were forbidden.

A distinctive category of the Indonesian children literature is mainly between fiction and non-fiction in which children fiction is divided into the group of the traditional and modern stories through its various forms. Without the intention of excluding the other, further discussion would be mainly focused on the modern category due to its relations with the context of this paper. A modern Indonesian children literature, by timeline, means children literature created, written or published after the independence of Indonesia in 1945, and by substance, it contrasts with the traditional stories. There are six categories of children literature: realism (realistic stories), formula fiction, fantasy, traditional literature, poetry and nonfiction (Lukens, 2003:14-34). In this connection, what would be highlighted in this paper is the realistic children stories<sup>18</sup> during Indonesia’s New Order.

According to May (1995: 114), writers create good stories about life—they are not simply creating *didactic literature*. However, this is not the case in the children books presented during

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17 For example, there are popular children books that were banned or removed from schools in the United States, including classics such as Mark Twain’s *Huckleberry Finn* and Harper Lee’s *To Kill a Mockingbird* for reasons related to racism, and the famous *Harry Potter* series by J.K. Rowling for promoting witchcraft (Parker, 2015).

18 Mitchell (2003: 260) and Huck (1987: 464) stated that a realistic fiction is capable of giving a child preference for understanding the life process as a metaphor or a real-life model. Some types of realistic stories include adventure, historical realism, family story, modern fable, school story, and sport story in which the themes are closely related with a child’s daily life, such as awareness of other cultures, changes in family, problems at home, death or loss, friendships/relationships, inner conflicts, survival, prejudice/discrimination, etc. (Mitchell, 2003: 268-269).

the New Order era. Nurgiyantoro (2005: 293) argued that most themes in modern Indonesian children literature are related to the child's struggle to survive such as a child who lives in poverty and must help their parents and pay their expense. The child usually has a positive and honest character that a good man or an "angel" would offer help or what they wish for, such as education, jobs or gifts. While the development of children literature internationally has been robust, "old norms" to direct and construct a child's behavior through their readings are still pervasive in Indonesia. As stated by Stephens (1995: 14), "modern children are supposed to be segregated from the harsh realities of the adult world and to inhabit a safe, protected world of play, fantasy, and innocence." Therefore, the harsh reality of the Indonesian children literature is pervasive that the dual function of literature, *dulce et utile*—to entertain and to educate—is unbalanced: more to educate, less to entertain.

Furthermore, the development of modern Indonesian children literature was quite good by quantity<sup>19</sup>, yet it was poor by quality—at least until Indonesia's Reformation era in 1999. In general, the publishing industry in the New Order era had not strikingly succeeded<sup>20</sup>, but the children genre was the most severe one. The low-quality of children books has been noted by Bonnef (2001: 94) who mentioned that of all the difficulties<sup>21</sup> in the Indonesian literature and publishing world, the children's genre is amongst of the concerning. As previously noted in the first chapter, the government's policy which had a significant impact on the quantity of book publishing was the launch of the Inpres project and support for children literature and textbooks. In the period of 1973 and 1984, the government poured Rp604.6 billion to publish 200 million books for the primary school children of Indonesia (Miller, 1990: 64). The Indonesian book publishing had expanded larger than before since 1974 where Balai Pustaka experienced an upturn in the same year when it bonded under the supervision of the Department of Education and Culture as its patron and main client (Altbach & Hoshino, 1995: 479). Several important developments were the official establishment of the Indonesian Publishers Association (IKAPI) in cooperation with the government to flourish the publishing industry in Indonesia in 1977<sup>22</sup>; the

19 The total volume of the Indonesian children book publication in 1995 was 900 titles or 11,250 copies, while the total volume of the book publication was 6,212 titles or 215,000 copies (Taryadi, 1999: 231).

20 Taryadi's research on book publishing in Indonesia showed that the national book production since a decade ago was only about 4000 new titles per year in average and insufficient compared to the vast Indonesian population (Taryadi, 1999: 97).

21 Some of the problems are the lack of capital and professionalism, high cost of production (paper, printing, etc) and people's low purchasing power on books which are likely regarded as tertiary items; as well as the lack of reading habit in the society due to the preference on visual (television, movies) activity. Many publishers preferred to produce school textbooks than literature to gain more profits from selling. Another problem besides these factors is the unavailability of accurate data to analyze the real situation of the publishing industry in Indonesia (Altbach & Hoshino, 1995: 475-487).

22 Through the Minister of Education and Culture Decree in September 1977 IKAPI started to work under the ministry's guidance and control (Setiawan, 2000: 59). In relation to the Inpres project, IKAPI stated both the government and IKAPI's programs to increase the reading interest of the Indonesian have never succeeded and it took the Inpres project as an example that it had too much focused on the textbook production—90 percent on textbook while only 10 percent of story books in which the percentage should be the opposite (Setiawan, 2000: 70). IKAPI viewed the project failed because there was no significant increase in book circulation in which only a few titles from dozens sent by publishers that selected by the government to be published. For



establishment of the governmental body National Book Development Advisory Council (BPPBN) in 1978 in devising book-related policies; and the establishment of Books Center (Pusat Perbukuan) in 1987. Despite that the financial support has been criticized for letting low-quality books and has not been developed a better publishing industry specifically, yet it provided a better opportunity for children to access books needed to improving their reading skill. As argued by Miller (1990: 65), the project led to an expanded publishing industry where print runs of a minimum of 10,080 were the norm and writers were paid off better in a lump sum—not in installments.

Hunt (1999: 829) also claimed that apart from traditional stories and songs, modern children literature in Indonesia has been slow to develop. For example, there are only a few specialists in the academic world of the Indonesian children literature, such as Murti Bunanta, Riris Sarumpaet, and Nurgiyantoro<sup>23</sup>. The course of the Indonesian children literature is only a part of the Indonesian literature in a whole and not as an independent genre. Many Indonesian writers publish their works in various types of children literature—comic, short story, picture book, encyclopedia, and so on—but only several of them stand out exclusively<sup>24</sup>. The need to grow a positive habit of reading from childhood is crucial to improve a critical understanding in a child's mind as argued by May (1995: 13), "Childhood readings create questioning adults". However, the quality of children books, particularly in the New Order era was not impressive due to the view that the books were only useful as a reading-improvement-material and to learn moral values. Consequently, the indigenous stories made by locals are often not capable of competing with the massive foreign translated children literature<sup>25</sup> which offered the children many aspects of entertainment and fantasy. This could be permissibly understood as the state is still young and underdeveloped. Riris Sarumpaet (in Harahap, 1997: 182) also mentioned that in the 1970s only five publishers in Indonesia that put a real effort in producing children books: Indra Press,

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example, the government bought 200 titles annually and supposedly in 25 years (1975-2000), the children book production must have reached 5000 titles. However, in practice, the publishers were never published that amount of children books (Setiawan, 2000: 86). IKAPI also mentioned that they did not know the exact number of books published in Indonesia annually because of the jumbled and inaccuracy calculation in the IKAPI's List of Books (Setiawan, 2000: 101).

23 Dr. Murti Bunanta is one of the prominent children literature scholars and authors who founded *Komunitas Pecinta Bacaan Anak* (KPBA) in 1987, a national organization for promoting the children literature in Indonesia which has been an official partner with the International Board on Books for Young People (IBBY). Prof. Dr. Riris Sarumpaet of the University of Indonesia is the forerunner for the research on the Indonesian children literature, her latest book (2010) becomes an academic guidance to conduct research on children literature in Indonesia. Prof. Dr. Burhan Nurgiyantoro of the State University of Yogyakarta is a specialist on Indonesian language and literature.

24 Some of them are Hardiyono—author and illustrator—the first winner of the Indonesian IBBY Competition for Illustrations in 1991; Suyadi (famously known as Pak Raden), the founding father of *Si Unyil* TV series; Arswendo Atmowiloto—author of the famously *Keluarga Cemara* in the 1980s that was adapted into serial television in the 1990s; and Dwianto Setyawan, a specialist in adventure serials mainly for 11 to 13 years old.

25 Popular children literatures in Indonesia are mostly translated or adapted from abroad. The most famous ones are Japanese manga and serial adventure novels by Enid Blyton.

Djambatan, Balai Pustaka, Gunung Mulia, Pustaka Jaya. By the 1990s Gramedia has been the market leader in the Indonesia's publishing industry while the others were way left behind including BP. All of these factors added to the lack of data resources in the publishing industry in Indonesia made it difficult to conduct a comprehensive research as confirmed by Taryadi (1999: 100).

Since the colonial era, Balai Pustaka (BP) has been proficient as a state-sponsored book publishing. Originated from *Commissie voor Inlandsche School – en Volkslectuur* or People's Reading Commission (*Komisi Bacaan Rakyat*) which was founded in 1908, BP developed independently apart from the supervision of the Dutch government in 1917 (Christantowati, 1996: 40, 51) to select and publish reading materials for the people. After Indonesia's independence, it became the state's publishing house of the new republic and has been experienced some ups and downs<sup>26</sup>. BP published mainly textbooks and children books, national and regional literature as well as scientific works in education and humanity field<sup>27</sup>. BP's cultural mission in educating its readers has prevailed over time in "preserving and distributing printed materials of constructive and noble value in the interest of the national education" (Ruwiyanto, 1997: 11). Under the direct supervision of the Ministry of Education and Culture, in the 1970s BP upheld the state's policy to participate in its poverty elimination programs (Inpres) by publishing books which aimed to "enhance the productive and constructive behavior of people in rural areas" (Ruwiyanto, 1997: 11). In the first year of the program (1973/1974) BP produced 50 titles of children books from total 305 titles published collectively by 23 publishers consisted of non-fiction (such as scientific and historical books) and fiction/story books (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan RI, 1983: 1-11).

On the one hand, BP has been known for its endurance and tradition in publishing educational books since the colonial era, and its prestigious canon-literature publication that started the modern era of the Indonesian literature<sup>28</sup>. On the other hand, it has also been criticized for being too patronizing its readers with government's propaganda or interest and moral values. Riris Sarumpaet (in Harahap, 1997: 180-183), wrote a strong critic over the development of the

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26 Sen & Hill (2000: 22-23) noted that in order to survive the financial crisis in the 1960s, BP was "forced to reprint endlessly well-known novels used as school texts" and was highly influenced by the domestic interest of the left/right politics at that time. Then in the early years of the New Order regime, BP was overtaken by other publishers, notably Pustaka Jaya, Jakarta's local government publishing house established in 1971 due to its lack of economic strategy in selling, distribution, and promotion. Pustaka Jaya played BP's role to encourage reading habit among Indonesians and to distribute affordable books on a greater scale (Bonnet, 2001: 95). It was revitalized in 1974 through its integration to the Ministry of Education and Culture to support the government education policy.

27 As reported by Ruwiyanto (1997: 45), up to its 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary in 1997 BP had published some 5,000 titles covering 1,825 scientific books including 500 titles of the rural series; literary books with 1,654 titles and books for the young fellow with 1,501 titles (1,334 in Indonesian, while the rest were in other regional languages, such as Javanese and Sundanese). In the scope of publishing books for children, between the period of 1985-1990, BP produced 11,5 million copies of children story books—in average 1,9 million copies annually—and 81,3 million copies of children textbooks.

28 The pre-independence Indonesian canon literary works such as *Sitti Nurbaya* by Marah Rusli (1922), *Salah Asuhan* by Abdul Muis (1928), and *Layar Terkembang* by Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana (1936) published by Balai Pustaka are the landmark of the modern Indonesian literature apart from its traditional literature.

Indonesian children books in which she directly expressed disappointment on BP's children books. In almost BP's books, she argued, children were only objects and were filled with lectures as if they were adults—this was the fatality of most BP's books for children. Her recent research on Indonesia's realistic children fiction in the 1990s also found similar cases—a child as adults' object—in a broader scale (Sarumpaet, 2010: 76-77).

In the meantime, several commercial publishers rose in the 1970s, especially in Jakarta with Pustaka Jaya and Gramedia. First started as a bookstore, the now-Gramedia Pustaka Utama (GPU) under Kompas-Gramedia-Group (KKG)<sup>29</sup> is the country's largest publishing house (Sen & Hill, 2000: 27). Nowadays, Gramedia is the nationwide chain of more than a hundred bookstores across the archipelago, and it is prominent in almost every market sector of the publishing industry, particularly foreign popular novels, comics, and magazines<sup>30</sup>. Its first published book was *Karmila*, a romance novel by Marga T. in 1973. In the following year, Gramedia began to publish original and translated/adapted foreign children books—the first was *Cerita dari Lima Benua* series (Stories from the Five Continents) which consisted of 200 titles of popular children stories both international and local/indigenous stories, such as fairytales and folktales. Gramedia then continued to publish children and teenage stories by launching other book series, namely Si Kancil and Rajawali from 1976 to the 1980s. Its efforts in “enlightening people”<sup>31</sup> through good readings encouraged Gramedia to be the pioneer for opening the big opportunity of the young Indonesian as a new segmented market in the publishing industry.

There are many different elements in BP and Gramedia's publication, but I argue that the fundamental contrast between the two established and legendary<sup>32</sup> publishing houses is their mission (establishment purpose): BP is to educate its readers, whereas Gramedia is to enlighten them. Another distinctive aspect of this perspective is their approach to the readers/consumers: BP is up-bottom under the guidance of the government policy, while Gramedia is bottom-up without much consent from the state. These factors would be an essential point of view in determining their products' material, especially in children story books that will be further analyzed in the next chapter.

#### **IV. Themes and Children's Characters in the New Order's Children Stories: Balai Pustaka and Gramedia**

29 Started from an informative magazine to enhance people's knowledge, *Intisari* in August 1963, the Kompas-Gramedia Group (KKG) was founded by Petrus Kanisius (PK) Ojong and Jakob Oetama in collaboration with J. Adisubrata and Irawati SH. Since then, for more than five decades, the largest media and publication company has become the fastest-growing group in various sectors in Indonesia from publishing to media industry (<http://www.kompasgramedia.com/about-kg/history>).

30 The most popular Indonesian children's magazine, *Bobo* is the national leader in children's magazine sector. Began as a joint cooperation with *Bobo* magazine in the Netherlands, it was founded in April 1973 to encourage reading habits for children. *Bobo* was first consisted of sixteen pages monographic newsprint with 50,000 exemplar in circulation, but then became the first colored children magazine in Indonesia. As it has developed widely, the company encroached into various segments: teenager, women, men, automotive and technology—all under the Kompas-Gramedia Group (<http://www.kompasgramedia.com/about-kg/history>).

31 “Enlightening people” (*mencerdaskan bangsa*) is the company's motto.

32 In 2016, BP has reached its 99<sup>th</sup> anniversary, while Gramedia has celebrated its 52<sup>nd</sup>.

The themes and children's characters in children books published by Balai Pustaka (BP) and Gramedia during the peak of New Order era in the 1970s and 1980s will be analyzed thoroughly in this chapter. There are two subchapters which will be focused on firstly, story themes; and secondly, children's characters with additional elaboration on a children story titled *Anak Tiga Jaman* by Agus Setiadi due to its distinctiveness from other children stories analyzed in this paper. The findings are categorized by the publishers, BP and Gramedia respectively.

### 3.1. Story Themes

#### Balai Pustaka (BP)

Of fifteen BP's children story books (published in the period of 1982-1987) that have been analyzed, I argue that there is only one main theme served in the stories: an unfortunate child will be succeeded through hard work and with "guidance" or help by his/her parents or patrons whose moral values are in accordance with the Pancasila's principles. The theme is narrated in five variations<sup>33</sup> (further references, please see Appendix Table 1: Variations of theme in BP's children stories).

- a) Unfortunate children from a poor family in rural villages try to help their parents' financial problem or make their family happy and proud of by their "obedience" and their achievement at school or social-life
- b) Children pursue their dream of serving the country/people by contributing or dedicating their life to the people
- c) Young generation continues the "struggle" of the old generation with a new spirit of developing the country
- d) Children become role-model for their friends or juniors
- e) Children find their identity by living up their parents or patrons.

In addition to strengthen the intrusion of the Pancasila's principles, I argue that BP's children stories also featured several ideological values that supported government's mission in building an ideal Indonesian child characters, as follow (further details kindly see Appendix Table 2: State's ideology in Balai Pustaka's children stories):

- a) Education is crucial for the developing of the nation
- b) Implementing or practicing Pancasila's values in daily life is a must to be a good children and eventually, to be a successful adult in the future
- c) The concept of a national hero is carried out through "independence hero" in the time of revolution and "development hero" in the era of modernization or post-independence
- d) The love for the nation or nationalism is mandatory as the principal duty of the people to the country.

Furthermore, the stories were dominated by moral values encouraged by the parents or patrons through explicit contents in the form of formal speech, lecture, preach/sermon, flashback/nostalgia story and message in which often were not necessary for the story plot. For example, we may find this long conversation below in the story:

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<sup>33</sup> It is important to note that the variation of narration theme is not exclusive to one category in which this could be overlapped or be found in other stories as well.

“My sweet and smart little fellows, listen. Nina, do not be afraid, the meaning of continue the struggle of our national heroes is not to make wars... The spirit that you have to revive is the unyielding patriotic spirit, honesty, obedience, loyalty and responsibility. This is the true soul of a hero. It should not be outages. You have to rejoice the spirit in your life. Despite that Indonesia is now an independent state, you have to continue the fight against enemies. The enemies are sloth, arrogance, jealousy, falsehood, craftiness, and untrustworthy. Fight these enemies, make war with them! Do not lose! Do you understand?” (as translated and quoted from *Aku Calon Penggantinya* by Elisabeth Inggriani, 1983: 50).

The stories also mentioned children’s social activity that are encouraged by the state, namely boy/girl scout and Paskibraka (*flag hoisting troop*) as well as government public policies, such as transmigration program, environmental program, eradication of illiteracy program, and national integration—particularly the assimilation for the Chinese-descendants society (further details kindly see Appendix Table 3: New Order’s policies in BP’s children stories). In this connection, I argue that the main reason is due to the writers’ background that almost all writers are teachers in their capacity as civil servants that have to support government policies.

We have discussed in the second chapter that the concept of familism has been entrenched in the Indonesian society. The New Order regime viewed the family as the basic unit in the society in preserving state’s stability and political economy development. In relation with the children stories, the family’s bond and the role of parents or patrons are very important to maintain and to guard a child in their growth until they become an adult. The family and schools are the first circle in a child’s life. Therefore, the behavioral construction of children to be adults must be nurtured at home with their family and at school with their teachers. However, it often described in the stories that if the child’s life does not meet this situation model due to some resistor factors, for example if the child is an orphan or lived in a difficult condition where no family or relative is able to properly guide him/her due to poverty or lack of education, then the role of patrons through prominent figures, such as teachers, army retirees, village chiefs or leaders, etc. would present to fill or to complement the parents/family’s role. Children must be shaped through this manner, otherwise, the “immature individuals” would grow to become deficient generation that likely disrupt the national unity and integration and “interrupt” the regime’s interest and policy. I believe this is why the spirit of nationalism is pervasive in all of BP’s children stories and the moral values based on Pancasila ideology are also implemented in the stories.

Another interesting aspect of these stories is how they are similar with the life story of Soeharto. The child is commonly described as a farmer’s child lived in a rural village. He/she comes from a poor family, yet never gives up on hope to change the unfortunate situation into a better one. The children often told to have a foster family that helped their education to fulfil their dreams. Looking back at Soeharto’s biography, the Indonesia’s once most powerful ruler has always been depicted as a farmer’s child in which he was no one and never have dreamt to be a president, but somehow with hard work and opportunities he became “someone”. It is striking that through these stories, the children are being identified as in similar case with the child-Soeharto for all we know that not all Indonesian children are coming from the same family situation—although many live in the village, some live in the city; many are poor, but some are rich as well. The children are expected to be “inspired” by the story of a farmer’s child who succeeded and served the country. Therefore, the question is, what is the purpose of creating this kind of stories? I argue that the description of Soeharto as a farmer’s child together with the caring image as the Father of Development has deliberately presented a positive character to children that the young generation would identify him as the father, the protector of the family

(read: nation) which has to be honored and obeyed. It serves the notion: the love and loyalty for the country equals to the love and loyalty for the New Order's president.

In short, by these findings, we may conclude that BP's children story books were embedded with the state's ideology and interest in implementing Pancasila values as the guidance for the young generation (read: children) to become a true Indonesian man in the future which loyal to the country as well as to the regime.

### Gramedia

Looking at fourteen children stories under *Si Kancil* series published by Gramedia from 1976 to 1984, I found that the themes brought in the stories are more diverse and appealing. The stories are mostly telling about a child's interesting experiences that make differences or change their life. Classic realistic stories such as family life and life's struggle<sup>34</sup> are existed, but modern stories such as adventure/new experience, mystery and detective/action<sup>35</sup> stories are presented as well. Nationalistic theme related to independence struggle<sup>36</sup> also still occurred, yet not common. However, I believe that the most intriguing aspect in the Gramedia's stories is not the theme itself, but its narration and plot. The story narrative showed from the viewpoint of a "real" child—natural, innocent and playful—whether the plot flowed smoothly, often with unpredictable twist. The stories are simple and focuses on the main character: the child.

In brief, there are four major differences in connection with the story theme and narration between BP's and Gramedia's children stories. First, there is only a little influence of state's ideological values. For example, no story emphasizes the crucial role of education in determining a child's life. Yet, the narrative inspires children to be creative and independent in which they could solve a problem by their own understanding. Nevertheless, the notion of "economic development" that was prioritized by the New Order regime was occurred through entrepreneurial practices introduced in the stories. The children are encouraged to be self-employed in the future. For example, we may find detailed technical steps or knowledge on how to make shoe-polish or how to purify turbid water in which a child could do it in a simple and practical way as shown below:

" 'As an experiment, pay attention to the ingredients,' the teacher walked forward to the whiteboard and wrote, 'One liter turpentine oil, 70 gram dyes, 200 gram wax, and 15 gram *gummi arabicum* all mixed together... put it in a bottle... Shake it well, then set aside for three hours.'" (as translated and quoted from *Entang Pengusaha Semir* by Slamet Mashuri, 1983: 54-55).

"Kumbo poured four sand buckets into the well. He waited a while until the froth in the water surface has broken out. It happened because the sand absorbed the water. The

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34 See *Agus Menemukan Ayahnya Kembali* (Marga T, 1977), *Berpacu dengan Waktu* (Mase Edhi 1983), *Demi Ayah Tercinta* (Majadi HS, 1983), *Kembalikan Ayah Kami* (Nimas Herning, 1983), *Entang Pengusaha Semir* (Slamet Mashuri, 1983), *Anak Tiga Jaman* (Agus Setiadi, 1977).

35 See *Hantu Menangis* (JS Hadi, 1984), *Bazar* (Istijah Tajib Ananda, 1977), *Di Bawah Ancaman* (Dwianto Setyawan 1976), *Tante Rosi* (Dwianto Setyawan, 1977), *Tiga Siaga* (Mase Edhi, 1983), *Si Amin Berlibur* (B. Sitohang, 1976), *Ben Sang Penyulap* (Ayu Widuri, 1983).

36 See *Pasukan Diam-diam* (Sofi Krishnamurti, 1983).

sand would be evenly distributed in the well's bed..." (as translated and quoted from *Tiga Siaga* by Mase Edhi, 1983: 44).

Second, parents and patrons' roles are no longer dominant in children's life because the children would find other ways to answer their question/curiosity or solve their problem independently. Despite that they are still under moral guidance of their parents, the moral values taught are not just being told, but by actions through children's observation and learning on their surroundings. For example, we may find stories about children's first self-adventure or learning something new and exciting as pictured below:

"The airplane began to move. Amin's heart pounded. Sadness, happiness, excitement and fear mixed. Especially because it was his first flight. He looked out the window. Pressed his nose tight to the window's glass. He wanted to break the glass with his head, so that he could be outside again with her mother." (as translated and quoted from *Si Amin Berlibur* by B. Sitohang, 1976: 9).

Third, despite that the family and schools are still a child's first circle, friendship as the second circle mostly appeared in the stories and became an essential part of the child's life. The values of kinship contributed to children's behavior—by playing or doing something together, they learn to cooperate, collaborate, understand each other and eventually grew independently apart from parents' or teacher's role. For example, in *Tiga Siaga* (Mase Edhi, 1983) three friends went on vacation by themselves. Due to their experiences in scouting, they managed to make a simple water purifying system for the villagers. Another example is when Jarot, the main child character in *Hantu Menangis* (J.S. Hadi, 1984) asked his friend to help investigating a ghost-rumor that everyone's avoided to in the village. Due to his persistent and smart collaboration with his friends and the villagers, the mystery solved—it was not a ghost, but a mongoose.

Fourth and lastly, the stories described "a gray area" or many sides of viewpoint which intrigued a dilemmatic feeling experienced by the child character. Unlike the "black and white" viewpoint in BP's stories, Gramedia's children stories raised an intriguing side of a bad/antagonist character or when the child faced a difficult situation. Let us see two examples below:

"Dargowo locked the door's room in the attic and kept the keys. He slept with his gun ready on his stomach. Before he fell asleep, Dargowo told his stories to Tonny and Yuni... Silently, Tonny was touched by the story. Tonny felt sorry for Dargowo that if the story was true on how he was defamed and was imprisoned mistakenly... In his deep heart, Tony hoped for Dargowo's freedom..." (as translated and quoted from *Di bawah Ancaman* by Dwianto Setyawan, 1976: 29-30).

"Poleng looked down sadly. Ah, since the beginning he did not like violence. He even disliked fighting, especially at this time of war. Human killed each other. Oh, when would the world be peace? Indonesia was a nation who loved peace, so Mr. Kelap said. But this people loved their independence more!" (as translated and quoted from *Pasukan Diam-diam* by Sofi Krishnamurti, 1983).

### 3.2. Children's Characters

#### Balai Pustaka

By examining the main child character in BP's children stories, I found that the children are described as subordinates and passive. What I mean by passive is that they often could not

express their own opinions or their true feelings because they are afraid that they would make a mistake or they would do it in improper ways. Another aspect of this passive action is because the conversation or dialogue in the stories are dominated by adults who remind the child to be a good person. Children must respect their parents, teachers and seniors, be polite and gentle with others as well as devoted to their obligation as a child (to work hard and help their parents), as a student (to study hard and become top achievers), as a citizen (to love, serve, and contribute something to their country), and as a God's worshipper (to pray and to be pious). Children have this heavy burden to follow rules and to adapt if they want to succeed, otherwise, they will fail. Although the failure does not appear as the final result of a child's life because all of the stories finish with happy endings, it is emphasized with a child's happiness in the future because he/she does the "right thing" and would be praised by everyone—their family, relatives and friends. In short, the child becomes a role model for others and I argue, it is part of the reason why the main child characters in the stories are usually the firstborn child. To summarize, there are fifteen dominated child's personality characteristics<sup>37</sup> described in the stories as follow:

- 1) Obey and dutiful to their parents/teachers and the country
- 2) Family-oriented
- 3) Diligent, hard work, strong-willed, stoic, uncomplaining
- 4) Smart and active at schools
- 5) Pious and be thankful for God's bless
- 6) Striving to be a role model for others (especially their younger siblings)
- 7) Compassionate
- 8) Patriotic
- 9) Independent but also able to cooperate with others
- 10) Be responsible
- 11) Willing to self-sacrifice for the greater good (unyielding)
- 12) Patient
- 13) Tolerant and merciful
- 14) Optimistic
- 15) Curious.

These angelic personality characteristics are matched with the 45 Pancasila's principle values. I would provide some of the examples as quoted from the stories to show the connection between the child's personality and Pancasila values. The first Pancasila principle is "Believe in the One and Only God" which consisted of seven values that basically implied the importance of religion and belief in the society as well as religious tolerance among the followers. Point 5) and 13) on the list are closely linked with this principle. An example as quoted is given below:

"In the monument, Pandu prayed. 'God, please guide my heart to defend my country's independence, please foster the good seeds in our hearts to continue this fight and dream. Under this monument my heart hopes as well as my strong will to see my grandfather. Please allow me...'" (as translated and quoted from *Pandu Cucu Seorang Pejuang* by A. Malik Thachir, 1986: 17).

The second principle is "Just and Civilized Humanity" which consisted of ten values that emphasized equality of human rights in the spirit of humanity. Point 3), 7), 9), 10), and 12) are incorporated through this principle. An example as quoted is given below:

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<sup>37</sup> The list is not particularly in the sequence of the dominant child's personality in the stories, but in a random order.



“ ‘I never thought you have a gold heart. You do not hold grudges even though I hurt your heart... Now I feel sorry if I remember what I did to you.’ Said Mbok, painfully. I smiled hearing Mbok’s sincerest words... ‘Mbok, please eat this porridge. I made it myself for you’ ... Seeing her condition made me feel sorry.” (as translated and quoted from *Buah Ketabahan* by Dwianto Setiawan, 1985: 78-79).

Noted that in the story, the main child character named Irma treated a maid respectfully despite all the mistreatments the maid did to her, and she even paid back with goodness—making porridge when the maid was ill.

The third principle is “The Unity of Indonesia” which consisted of seven values that embraced nationalism (the love for the nation-country), national unity and integration. Point 8) and 11) are depicted as the translation of this essential principle. An example as quoted is given below:

“The fighting spirit blazed and enlightened them despite that these young men only had modest weapons seized from the Dutch. They had only one willpower: to repel invaders from the soil of Indonesia.” (as translated and quoted from *Argo Berjuang* by Retnaning Winastuti, 1985: 35).

The fourth principle is “Democracy guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst representatives” which consisted of ten values that prioritized collectivism upon individualism and upheld consensus upon decision-makings. The principle also reiterated that every Indonesian citizen has the same status/position, rights and duties in the society. Point 1), 4), 6), and 10) are significant in implementing the principle’s values. An example as quoted is given below:

“ ‘We have just did an election for the class president. What kind of Pancasila’s implementation of this?’ asked the teacher to his students after the election, ‘The fourth one!’ said Darni. ‘This is one of the works of Kartini, not only men who are capable to lead, but also women. With this result, your friend Darni served as the class president. Let us follow all the rules that you have agreed mutually.’” (as translated and quoted from *Darni Perintis Jalan* by Rustono, 1987: 16-17).

The fifth and last principle of Pancasila is “Social justice for the people of Indonesia” which consisted of eleven values that called for the equitable spread of welfare, social justice, and protection of the weak. Point 1), 2), 3), 4) 6), 9), 10) and 11) are strongly linked with this principle. An example as quoted is given below:

“Yes. We need to work. Farming, selling, teaching, those are our calling. In this independent era, we work for our mutual needs. For people’s welfare. Contrary to the era of colonialism, when people were forced to work only for the purpose of the invader’s interest... That is why, we have to work for our mutual needs.” (as translated and quoted from *Pandu Cucu Seorang Pejuang* by A. Malik Thachir, 1986: 82).

### Gramedia

The children’s character in Gramedia’s stories are described as natural as they could be. The most important aspect is that children are depicted in various backgrounds with no “ideal behavior”. Unlike children’s character in BP’s stories that somehow similar to the image of child-Soeharto who obeyed their parents and always tried to be a good child, children’s character in Gramedia’s stories are “allowed” to be different—they have more freedom to be

themselves. Therefore, we may see a “naughty” child, dare and brave as Ben in *Ben Sang Penyulap* (Ayu Widuri, 1983); a curious and serious child as Rubido in *Bazar* (Istijar Tajib Ananda, 1977); a calm, honest and innocent child as Agus in *Agus Menemukan Ayahnya Kembali* (Marga T, 1977); a playful, creative and funny child as Porkas in *Tiga Siaga* (Mase Edhi, 1983); and indeed, a caring and hard work child as siblings Asmarani and Asmadi in *Berpacu dengan Waktu* (Mase Edhi, 1983) as well as Dika in *Demi Ayah Tercinta* (Marjadi HS, 1983).

Despite that almost all the characters are put positively, they are not flawless—they do a mistake and learn from it. When a child lives in a difficult time or in an unfortunate situation, the “heavy burden” does exist, but with hard work, trust, optimism, creativity and a little help from others, they make progress independently and eventually succeeded. It is true that they still have to follow certain moral values, but they implement it with their own understanding without being repeatedly told or reminded by adults. The children could even inspired their parents to evaluate to be a better person. Let us see an example below:

“ ‘That child is amazing... he works tirelessly and this is the result. I do not expect him to be as great as he is now... I am ashamed to claim as his father. I am not smarter than him. I lost. I have spent months just sitting and complaining on my fate... A father has been taught by his son.’” (as translated and quoted from *Demi Ayah Tercinta* by Marjadi HS, 1983).

Another essential aspect is that a child’s character would grow from time to time as they find their true self-identity. In BP’s stories, there is no development of a child’s character—it is positive and mainly flat, whether in Gramedia’s stories the character is diverse and dynamic. Each child character has different attitudes and responses toward a certain situation. We may find a very good example of this in the story of *Anak Tiga Jaman* (Agus Setiadi, 1977) in which it presents a story of an Indo child who lives and struggles in the period of Dutch and Japanese colonial era in Indonesia, and in the transition period of the national independence of the new republic. Andy, the main child character in the story was born in the Dutch East Indies era. He spoke Dutch and only knew Dutch culture. He was a very naughty child. He used to be friends with Dutch-born children, but after several insults from his Dutch friend about his Indonesian father as well as his race and skin color, he had thoughts upon his identity. When a World War II broke out, he moved with his family to Jakarta and stayed there. He made friends with Indonesians, learned Indonesian, and in touched with the people and culture he had never known before. In the Japanese colonial period in Indonesia, Andy got inspired with the Japanese spirit and wanted to become a soldier, but his father did not allow it because he was too young—his age was 10 at that time. His father was recaptured several times and was tortured by the Japanese due to the accusation of helping the Indonesian independence movement. He realized that the Japanese were invaders. As time went by, his nationalistic identity grew and finally, he saw himself as an Indonesian. In this connection, the concept of a child’s identity in the story is very important that the child character shaped his identity by observing things through his own eyes and experiencing moments through his own actions—and not being shown by other people. This basic understanding is supposedly presented in Indonesian children stories in which to nurture a child is to let him/her grow naturally because a child has the right to express their views freely. As Indonesia’s educational motto, *Tut Wuri Handayani*, “a guide from behind” is needed necessarily, but the more important is that the child’s view in the front should be not blocked away.

## V. Conclusion

The Indonesia's New Order ruled by Soeharto was a constitutional and development order which emphasized the Pancasila ideology and economic developmental approach respectively. The legacies have resulted in a notion of the importance of creating and building an ideal citizen, a Pancasila man who served his country and contributed to the state's development as unity, stability, and prosperity were the top priorities of the regime. The active military influenced during the New Order era had encouraged the birth of a hero concept which strongly connected with nationalism. The idea was translated into people's life through government policies, mainly in education. The New Order put the young generation, especially children in the first place to shape the country's future. Therefore, the practices that fortified the growth of nation-building were invigorated at schools, and through children's readings. Aligned with this purpose, children stories that produced by the state-sponsored publisher, Balai Pustaka (BP) were embedded with patriotism and educational values based on the state's interest to develop the Pancasila man, a loyal citizen with high moral standard based on Pancasila values in the future.

The New Order's view of what a child's character should be is one who must obey and respect his/her parents. The parents must teach their children high moral values and devotion to God. The moral values referred have to be in accordance with Pancasila values. Children who obey their parents at home and teachers (as the ones who guide and educate them at school) are expected to respect the state and the government eventually when they become adults. The basic principles of familyism and nationalism play significant roles as the keys to unlock and turn the children's love for their family to their country. The strategy is to develop a pro-state generation. As a family is regarded the miniature or the smallest unit in the society, it becomes the first base of nation-building in the state's hierarchy.

The concept of familyism and nationalism are translated thoroughly in the children readings—in this case, BP's children stories which were published under the government project with a direct supervision of the Department of Education and Culture. However, it is not the case with Gramedia's children stories. Gramedia was never part of the project. Different approach exercised by both well-known publishers to their readers has also determined their products—BP (as a state's agency) from top to bottom purposely to educate its readers, whereas Gramedia (as an independent private publishing company) from bottom to top intendedly to enlighten its consumers. Despite that both apply similar concentric circles of a child's life, family and school, yet the viewpoint is altered—BP's stories are likely presented from adults' consent, while Gramedia's stories are more in a child's perspective. Therefore, although there are still similarities in portraying a child, for example one must love their family and respects their parents, the child's characters depicted in BP's and Gramedia's stories are quite different: an ideal, angelic and flawless child in BP's stories versus a natural, playful and even naughty in Gramedia's stories. Moreover, BP put a specific emphasis on moral values' doctrines and how to shape a child's goodness through parents and teachers' role, whether Gramedia underlines the importance of practicality on how a child could learn by observing and practicing. This opposite approach could influence the way of thinking of a child in which children who read BP's stories are more passive and uninspired, while children who read Gramedia's stories are more critical and creative.

In connection with the state's ideology of Pancasila and its agenda of economic development, both indeed support public improvements, but interpret them inversely. BP's stories encourage children to support the government with loyalty and contribution through a given path, but Gramedia's stories offer alternative doors for children to think outside of the box. This is why we may find the children's characters in BP's stories imagine themselves to become a teacher, a soldier, a successful farmer or a civil servant, whereas children's characters in Gramedia's

stories are likely to become an entrepreneur. I believe it is not only because of the different philosophy adopted by the two respective publishers, but also because of the different background of the story writers—most of BP's writers are teachers, while Gramedia's writers come from various backgrounds, such as journalists, scholars, and freelancers. Moreover, what can be assumed is that Gramedia's approach in children's stories could be a form of resistance of the established hegemony in shaping children's life in which by providing "alternate reality stories", the children would be able to grow in a critical mind environment that eventually they would question or challenge the New Order's hegemony. Nonetheless, it is important to note that both BP and Gramedia have a similar purpose in strengthening children's motivation to read more and to make a better generation to build the country although in contrasting approach.

As final words, this paper is framed as preliminary efforts in conducting research of cross-cultural fields related to political culture policies implemented by the government in the society, particularly in Indonesia's New Order regime. The studies could be extended into a broader sphere in analyzing the trends in the modern Indonesian children literature and its impact on children's development. Further comprehensive research in the areas of children literature is needed to deepen the understanding of Indonesia's children literature about its enormous benefits to the children's growth.

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## APPENDIX

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**TABEL 1**  
**VARIATIONS OF THEME IN BALAI PUSTAKA'S CHILDREN STORIES**

NO.	VARIATION	REFERENCE
1.	Unfortunate children from a poor family in rural villages try to help their parents' financial problem or make their family happy and proud of by their "obedience" and their	<i>Wiraswasta yang Berhasil / The Little Successful Entrepreneur</i> (S. Alwis, 1982)
		<i>Jono yang Pernah Putus Sekolah / Jono, the Child who Once Dropped Out from School</i> (Imam Mahfid, 1982)
		<i>Sebuah Perjalanan / The Journey</i> (Kasno, 1985)



	achievement at school or social-life	<i>Buah Ketabahan / The Fruit of Fortitude</i> (Dwianto Setiawan, 1985)
		<i>Hari Esok yang Cerah / A Bright Day for Tomorrow</i> (Samir Amiruddin, 1985)
		<i>Pahlawan Tak Dikenal / The Unknown Hero</i> (Romli H.M., 1982)
		<i>Aku Calon Penggantimu / I am your Successor</i> (Elisabeth Inggriani, 1983)
8.	Children pursue their dream of serving the country/people by contributing or dedicating their life to the people	<i>Darni Perintis Jalan / Darni, the Pioneer</i> (Rustono, 1987)
		<i>Argo Berjuang / Argo's Struggle</i> (Retnaning Winastuti, 1985)
		<i>Pengorbanan / The Sacrifice</i> (Sudami, 1986)
		<i>Yang Patah Tumbuh yang Hilang Berganti / The Broken Grew, The Lost Replaced</i> (Suharjo Notohamijoyo, 1982)
12.	Young generation continues the "struggle" of the old generation with a new spirit of developing the country	<i>Aku Calon Penggantimu / I am your Successor</i> (Elisabeth Inggriani, 1983)
		<i>Pandu Cucu Seorang Pejuang / Pandu, The Grandson's Hero</i> (A. Malik Thachir, 1986)
		<i>Yang Patah Tumbuh yang Hilang Berganti / The Broken Grew, The Lost Replaced</i> (Suharjo Notohamijoyo, 1982)
15.	Children become role-model for their friends or juniors	<i>Pahlawan Tak Dikenal / The Unknown Hero</i> (Romli H.M., 1982)
		<i>Dirgahayu Indonesiaku / Happy Independence Day, My Indonesia</i> (Sihman Wibowo, 1983)
		<i>Butir-butir Mutiara / The Maxim</i> (Imam Hidayat, 1985)
18.	Children find their identity by living up	<i>Lubang Perlindungan di Rumah Kakek / The Foxhole in Grandfather's House</i> (Andy Wasis, 1983)

	their parents or patrons	<i>Pandu Cucu Seorang Pejuang / Pandu, The Grandson's Hero</i> (A. Malik Thachir, 1986)
		<i>Argo Berjuang / Argo's Struggle</i> (Retnaning Winastuti, 1985)
		<i>Butir-butir Mutiara / The Maxim</i> (Imam Hidayat, 1985)

**TABEL 2**  
**STATE'S IDEOLOGY IN BALAI PUSTAKA'S CHILDREN STORIES**

NO.	VARIATION	REFERENCE
1.	Education is crucial for the developing of the nation	<i>Jono yang Pernah Putus Sekolah / Jono, the Child who Once Dropped Out from School</i> (Imam Mahfid, 1982)
		<i>Darni Perintis Jalan / Darni, the Pioneer</i> (Rustono, 1987)
		<i>Hari Esok yang Cerah / A Bright Day for Tomorrow</i> (Samir Amiruddin, 1985)
4.	Implementing or practicing Pancasila's values in daily life is a must to be a good children and eventually, to be a successful adult in the future	<i>Sebuah Perjalanan / The Journey</i> (Kasno, 1985)
		<i>Butir-butir Mutiara / The Maxim</i> (Imam Hidayat, 1985)
		<i>Aku Calon Penggantinya / I am your Successor</i> (Elisabeth Inggriani, 1983)
7.	The concept of a national hero is carried out through "independence hero" in the time of revolution and "development hero" in the era of modernization or post-independence	<i>Pandu Cucu Seorang Pejuang / Pandu, The Grandson's Hero</i> (A. Malik Thachir, 1986)
		<i>Wiraswasta yang Berhasil / The Little Successful Entrepreneur</i> (S. Alwis, 1982)
		<i>Hari Esok yang Cerah / A Bright Day for Tomorrow</i> (Samir Amiruddin, 1985)
		<i>Sebuah Perjalanan / The Journey</i> (Kasno, 1985)

11.	The love for the nation or nationalism is mandatory as the principal duty of the people to the country	<i>Pahlawan Tak Dikenal / The Unknown Hero</i> (Romli H.M., 1982)
		<i>Argo Berjuang / Argo's Struggle</i> (Retnaning Winastuti, 1985)
		<i>Pengorbanan / The Sacrifice</i> (Sudami, 1986)
		<i>Dirgahayu Indonesiaku / Happy Independence Day, My Indonesia</i> (Sihman Wibowo, 1983)

**TABEL 3**  
**GOVERNMENT POLICIES IN BALAI PUSTAKA'S CHILDREN STORIES**

NO.	POLICY	REFERENCE & QUOTE
1.	Children's social activity such as Scouting and Paskibraka ( <i>flag hoisting troop</i> )	<p><i>Aku Calon Penggantinya / I am your Successor</i> (Elisabeth Inggriani, 1983)</p> <p>"In a short moment, our tent has been built solidly... I did not call Yohana and Adi as a little brother or sister, but as my senior because they were my Trustees Scout now although we did not wear a scouting uniform." (pp. 27)</p> <p><i>Dirgahayu Indonesiaku / Happy Independence Day, My Indonesia</i> (Sihman Wibowo, 1983)</p> <p>"The school principal went to the podium to lead the Independence Day ceremonial. Darto prepared his troops, and led them to give honor to the head of ceremony... then it was my time. Well-knit in my Paskibraka steps, I walked to the flag pole." (pp.13)</p>
2.	Eradication of illiteracy program	<p><i>Hari Esok yang Cerah / A Bright Day for Tomorrow</i> (Samir Amiruddin, 1985)</p> <p>"Mr. Hasan who became the head of Gintung village intended to start his work plan. His main goals were to save the young generation in his village from the three blindness: illiteracy, lack of Indonesian language, and lack of general knowledge." (pp.53)</p>

3.	Transmigration program	<p><i>Pandu Cucu Seorang Pejuang / Pandu, The Grandson's Hero</i> (A. Malik Thachir, 1986)</p> <p>"Ramu followed his father's speech closely. 'Transmigration is a government program. It aims to disseminate the population in Java Island to other islands in Indonesia. In the new place, they have to create jobs, especially in agriculture. There, the farmland has to cultivate. Then, it has to be planted with rice and crops.'" (pp.23)</p>
4.	Environmental / reforestation program	<p><i>Yang Patah Tumbuh yang Hilang Berganti / The Broken Grew, The Lost Replaced</i> (Suharjo Notohamijoyo, 1982)</p> <p>"On that day there was a movement to replant deforested lands with special plants. It was called Reforestation. Various kinds of seeds such as mahogany and acacia were provided by the government through Reforestation program and green project." (pp.30-31)</p>
5.	National integration i.e. assimilation for the Chinese-descendants society	<p><i>Lubang Perlindungan di Rumah Kakek / The Foxhole in Grandfather's House</i> (Andy Wasis, 1983)</p> <p>"We went to the foxhole... Ching Sia sat beside me. I told her all of my experiences in my father's village. She listened cheerfully. But, I did not tell her that I had been circumcised." (pp.109)</p>