



Indonesian's pre-service history teachers' perspectives on teaching difficult history in the framework of peace education

Aditya Nugroho Widiadi^{a,*}, Sydney J. Shep^{b,†}, Lutfiah Ayundasari^{a,†}, Wahyu Djoko Sulistyo^{a,†}, Arif Subekti^{a,†}, Ivy Maria Lim^{c,†}

^a Department of History, Faculty of Social Science, Universitas Negeri Malang, Malang 65145, Indonesia

^b Wai-te-ata Press, Victoria University of Wellington, Kelburn 6012, New Zealand

^c Humanities and Social Studies Education, National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore 637616, Singapore

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Abstract

Teaching traumatic violent events of the past is part of difficult history for most teachers. These burdens manifested and escalated when pre-service history teachers were asked to conceptualize lesson plans to teach difficult history topics, such as the killings of alleged *Dukun Santet* (sorcerers) in East Java around 1998. Through a sequential explanatory design, this study aims to explore the perspectives of 49 prospective history teachers in Indonesia. The results of this study indicate that their teaching perspectives are influenced and shaped by their historical perspectives in viewing the events to be taught. Meanwhile, their historical perspectives depend on their critical thinking level in analyzing primary sources. Three levels of critical thinking emerged, each determining the teaching perspective chosen by research participants. These three teaching perspectives can be implemented by history teachers who intend to teach difficult history in the context of peace education. In this framework, students are expected not only to understand what happened in the past but also be able to acquire lesson learned to prevent similar dark events being repeated in the future.

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Introduction

Teaching past conflicts and violent events with contested historical narratives can be difficult and frightening for teachers (Ahonen, 2018). However, it opens up opportunities to bring new strategies into the

teaching of history (Lewis, 2021). More importantly, history lessons should be able to encourage students not only to learn about the past but also to learn from the past. This is because valuable lessons learned from the past can be beneficial for the present as well as the future, ensuring that the dark events of the past will not be repeated.

* Corresponding author.

E-mail address: aditya_widiadi@um.ac.id (Widiadi, A.)

† Co-first authors.

Difficult history is an attempt to teach a sensitive, traumatic, or violent past (Ahmad et al., 2024), which sometimes has conflicting and controversial versions of history. One of the most violent conflicts in Indonesian history was the killings of alleged *Dukun Santet* (sorcerers) in 1998. In early 2023, the Indonesian government, through President Joko Widodo, acknowledged that this event was one of 12 serious human rights violations in the past (Ng, 2023). Various studies have been carried out to analyse this event historically (Brown, 1999; Cribb, 2000; Kasdi, 2001; Kusairi, 2021) as well as through the lens of other social sciences (Herriman, 2006; Retsikas, 2006). Unfortunately, there has been no study focusing on how this conflict should be taught to students so that it will not be repeated in the future. Of the 12 cases of gross human rights violations, most studies on teaching difficult history only focus on the 1965 affair (Djono et al., 2021; Pratama, 2022).

History lessons can enable students to have wisdom, including in building a more peaceful life. History education is believed to contribute positively to implementing peace education (Kayış & Pamuk, 2022). However, this contribution depends on the role and impact of teachers' affective practices in teaching difficult history within the framework of peace education (Zembylas & Loukaidis, 2021). Peace education practice should lead to benefits for students and society to experience and respect humanity (Reardon & Snauwaert, 2015). In providing beneficial experiences to students, teachers can utilise different learning strategies depending on their teaching perspectives.

To teach difficult history material requires an appropriate teaching perspective to be chosen in order to equip students with historical content and procedural knowledge. Therefore, it is also essential to study the historical perspective of pre-service history teachers on the material to be taught. This is because difficult history often burdens teachers with formidable challenges, which are often avoided (Kitson & McCully, 2005), although they can be used to stimulate students' historical thinking skills. By examining teachers' historical perspectives on difficult historical subjects, such as the killing of alleged sorcerers in East Java in 1998, a more complete background can be obtained regarding which teaching perspectives they believe are the best ways to teach.

The controversy behind the killing of the alleged sorcerers in East Java in 1998 is reflected in various historical sources which provide different accounts of the actual incident (Kusairi, 2021). Both primary and secondary sources have different explanations for the killings. Consequently, historians' interpretations of these

incidents vary and often contradict each other (Brown, 1999; Kasdi, 2001; Herriman, 2006). This situation provides a tough challenge for teachers, especially pre-service teachers, in teaching these incidents to students. In addition, it is not easy to explain the killings caused by the belief that magic exists—something that cannot be explained logically and scientifically. However, many people in East Java—including teachers and students—believe that magic is real.

This study aims to explain the extent to which the historical and pedagogical perspectives of Indonesian pre-service history teachers influence their teaching of the killings of alleged *Dukun Santet* in East Java in 1998. This study focuses on the teaching perspectives of pre-service teachers so that they would not avoid difficult history when they teach in schools. Therefore, it is necessary to first review the existing literature on the killings of *Dukun Santet*, in order to elicit their historical perspectives, consider the teaching perspectives that can be used, and to reflect on the utilization of history for peace education.

Literature Review

Historical and Socio-Cultural Context

The mass killing of alleged sorcerers in East Java from the second half of 1998 marked the beginning of political reform (*Reformasi*) in Indonesia after the fall of Suharto in May 1998. Prior to the *Reformasi*, there had also been several similar incidents, but they occurred in separate isolated cases in various East Java cities at different times. After the *Reformasi*, there was an explosion of cases that started in Banyuwangi and then spread to other cities in East Java. As in other parts of the world (Koning, 2013), most people in East Java still believe in occult powers, including the supernatural abilities possessed by the *Dukun Santet* (Campbell & Connor, 2000; Geertz, 2017). The term *Dukun* is commonly used in Indonesia to refer to someone who has supernatural power, which they use to resolve issues or even cause harm to others (Campbell & Connor, 2000; Gershman, 2022). *Dukun* who use their abilities for harmful purposes are often called *Dukun Santet* or sorcerers (Sartini & Ahimsa-Putra, 2017).

The main difficulty in reconstructing the historical context of the massacre is uncovering who was the mastermind behind the killing and what the motive was. Although there is no definite answer, from various previous studies, such can be grouped into two main

possible causes: namely, political motives and purely criminal reasons (Kasdi, 2001; Herriman, 2016; Juang et al., 2016). According to Juang et al. (2016), the central government pitted two Islamic organisations, Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah, against each other. Unfortunately, Juang et al.'s (2016) arguments were not supported by historical data, and they mistakenly thought that Suharto had not been overthrown when the mass killings occurred. More robust historical data and arguments are presented by Cribb (2000), who considers that the primary motive for the incident was the military's attempts to return to power. Kasdi (2001) weighed the two motives in a balanced and comprehensive manner. They argue that, initially, the killings had a purely criminal intention to kill the alleged *Dukun Santet* but then shifted to being used for the political interest of certain parties. Herriman (2016) who conducted an in-depth anthropological study in East Java, concluded that the killings were caused by the opportunity that arose when the government was weak during the reformation era, and thus communities took advantage of this instability to eradicate the *Dukun Santet* through community justice. All the motives mentioned above could be true because a historical event may have multiple causes.

Historical Perspective

Historical perspective is the processing of thinking by historians to judge what might have happened in the past (Lévesque, 2008). Historians do this by attempting to look at the past through the eyes of those who lived at that time and are fully aware that the past was different from the present (Seixas & Morton, 2013). Therefore, historians must understand not only what happened in the past and how it occurred, but they must also be able to comprehend why people acted the way they did in the past. The results of the judgments made by historians sometimes differ, depending on the sources used and the interpretation they produce. Thinking processes like this should not only be carried out by historians but also by teachers who teach history and students who study history. Thus, a historical perspective is needed in thinking historically, even though it can be challenging in practice.

Pre-service teachers' historical perspectives are shaped by their developing epistemic beliefs towards history, which in turn influence their approach to teaching history for peace building. Therefore, it is necessary to study their current epistemic beliefs towards difficult history. Teachers' epistemic cognition can be divided into three levels based on their cognitive processes

to consider criteria, boundaries, and the certainty of knowing (Maggioni et al., 2009). Similar criteria can also be used to assess teachers' own historical perspectives. The first level is 'the copier' (Maggioni et al., 2009) or 'naïve objective' stance (VanSledright, 2014), which is characterised by teachers who have a historical perspective who simply follow the version of historical sources studied without being analysed and evaluated. The second level is 'the borrower' (Maggioni et al., 2009) or naïve subjective stance (VanSledright, 2014), which is characterised by teachers who have a historical perspective after assessing and evaluating historical sources based on interpretations according to their own desires or pre-conceptions. The third level is 'the *criticalist*' stance (Maggioni et al., 2009; VanSledright, 2014), which is characterised by teachers who construct their historical perspective through critical analysis and evaluation of historical sources. Teachers' disciplinary perspectives influence their goals for instruction (Wineburg, 2001), so it is necessary to know in advance about their historical perspective before looking at their teaching perspective.

Teaching Perspective

A teaching perspective is a set of interrelated beliefs and intentions that provide meaning and justification for the actions taken by a teacher (Pratt, 1998). Every action the teacher takes reflects the belief that their action is considered the best way of teaching students. The teacher's teaching perspective will determine the strategies and methods they use in delivering the material. As a perspective, each teacher can have a different view of what approach is considered the best for teaching. For this reason, it is important to study the teaching perspectives of pre-service history teachers who do not have much experience in teaching difficult history. Freire (2005) introduced two major views on the educational approach. First, the "banking concept of education" suggests that the best way to educate is by transmitting information from teachers to students, thus rejecting dialogue, inhibiting creativity, and domesticating student consciousness. Second, the "problem-posing education" aims to help students develop their strength critically through dialogue to understand their existence in the world and view it not as a static reality but as a transformative process.

Freire's two major approaches align with the three educational goals envisioned by Biesta (2015). In Biesta's view, education is a teleological practice with three-dimensional and interrelated educational goals:

qualification, socialisation, and subjectification (Biesta, 2015). Qualification views education as a process of transmitting and acquiring knowledge, skills, and understanding by students until they are deemed capable of doing something (Biesta, 2015). This goal has a similar perspective to Freire's banking concept of education. The function of socialisation enables students to become members of a particular social, cultural, and political order (Biesta, 2015). Subjectification views education as aiming to make students more independent in thinking and acting as a process of individuation (Biesta, 2015). Freire's 'problem posing education' has similarities with the educational purpose of subjectification. Freire's two approaches and Biesta's three educational goals, which are considered the best by teachers, will influence their teaching perspectives.

While teaching perspectives are implemented through technique, it is much more than teaching actions or strategies (Pratt, 1998; Pratt & Collins, 2000). All teaching actions reflect the decisions about what is right or wrong, effective or ineffective, based on their own criteria. Pratt (1998) introduces five teaching perspectives, namely, transmission, apprenticeship, developmental, nurturing, and social reform. The transmission perspective believes that the best way of teaching is through delivering content from the teacher to students accurately so that they reproduce the same content (Pratt, 1998). This perspective has similarities with Freire's banking concept of education. The apprenticeship perspective believes that teaching is a process of enculturating students into a specific community (Pratt, 1998), which aligns with Biesta's socialisation goal of education. The developmental perspective considers that the teacher's role is to develop students' way of thinking by giving them problems to solve (Pratt, 1998). The nurturing perspective aims to help students become more confident and self-sufficient learners so that they believe they can learn something valuable and relevant to their lives on their own (Pratt, 1998). The social reform perspective believes that teaching is ideological and aimed at changing society (Pratt, 1998). The five perspectives on teaching above can be used in all subjects, including history education.

Peace Education in History Education

Peace education is a responsive pedagogy that develops knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values for peace-building, solving conflicts by preventing or stopping violent frictions peacefully, and contributing to an environment of peace both individually and socially

as well as nationally and internationally (Carter, 2008; Gurdogan-Bayır & Bozkurt, 2018). Peace education's central goal is teaching that proactively addresses violence (Carter, 2010). History education can play a pivotal role in creating peaceful relations because it studies the conflicts seen in the past through different historical narratives that are valued as essential features of a democratic and dynamic society (Elmersjö, 2015). Previous studies have shown that history education can be used to teach peace education in several ways, including through historical memory education (Corredor et al., 2018), historical empathy and inquiry (Kayış & Pamuk, 2022), multiple-perspective analysis (Carter, 2010), or teaching human rights with recent history (Almanza, 2022). It is crucial to study the teaching perspectives of pre-service history teachers in Indonesia when dealing with difficult history, such as the killings of *Dukun Santet* in East Java in the context of peace education, since in-service history teachers tend to avoid teaching difficult history. Through teacher professional education program, pre-service teachers can be trained to develop lesson plans that address difficult history topics in a way that promotes peace and understanding.

Methodology

Research Design

This study used a mixed-methods design because it combined both quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis to answer research questions (Creswell, 2015). Specifically, it applied explanatory sequential design methods in order to use qualitative data to explain the quantitative data obtained in the first phase (Creswell, 2015; Creswell & Clark, 2018). Quantitative data was obtained from an open questionnaire that explored Indonesian preservice history teachers' historical and teaching perspectives before and after reading some historical sources. Qualitative data were obtained from classroom observations and interviews during and after participants were asked to make a lesson plan regarding the killing of the alleged *Dukun Santet*.

Research Participants

The participants in this study consisted of 49 pre-service history teachers who were taking the Teacher Professional Education (PPG) program at a teacher training institution in East Java. The selection of participants in this study was carried out through

purposive sampling based on consideration that they were taking a teacher education program in East Java and would later have the opportunity to teach history in this province. They were following a course on the Principles of Effective Teaching and Assessment, while involved in a workshop on the difficult history learning design examined through this study. The participants in this study voluntarily gave their consent before conducting the research. The names of the participants in this study were pseudonymized before the data analysis process to protect their privacy and confidentiality.

Data Collection

Quantitative data collection in this study used questionnaires to explore the historical and teaching perspectives of the participants. This study used an open-ended questionnaire to explore the participants' various perspectives to be then analyzed using descriptive statistics based on the emerging themes (Creswell & Clark, 2018). The questionnaire was administered twice, before and after the lesson plan workshop, which focused on teaching related to the killings of the alleged *Dukun Santet* in East Java. The result of the workshop was a lesson plan presented through group discussions.

Data collection through observation was conducted during a two-week workshop, with two weekly meetings, from June to July 2023. The purpose of the observation was to observe any changes, stagnation or regression in the participants' historical perspectives and teaching perspectives in a natural setting (Creswell, 2012). Before the workshop and after the first questionnaire, participants were asked to read extensively (Renandya, 2007) a total of 293 articles from newspaper sources throughout 1998. All the articles came from Jawa Pos, the largest newspaper in East Java and the third largest in Indonesia at that time, so the coverage was comprehensive and, at the same time, influenced the incident (Campbell & Connor, 2000; Herriman, 2015). This learning resource was used to enrich the historical perspective of the preservice history teachers who became research participants.

Qualitative data were collected through semi-structured interviews to deepen the findings obtained from questionnaires and observations (Creswell, 2012). These interviews explored the participants' historical and teaching perspectives. Informants were selected through purposive sampling related to the various findings of the themes that emerged from the observations and questionnaires (Seidman, 2006). The interview results were transcribed, and then member checking was carried out on the ten informants who were interviewed.

Data Analysis

Quantitative data from the questionnaires were analyzed using descriptive statistics to obtain the frequency of data based on the themes that appeared in the respondents' answers. Theme analysis of the qualitative data obtained from observations and interviews was carried out by encoding excerpts in interview transcriptions and observation fieldnotes. These excerpts were reviewed to find overarching patterns and generate a small number of codes which captured deeper patterns and themes.

Findings and Discussion

Demographical Background

The background of the research participants is important to this study's findings, especially regarding their belief in witchcraft. In terms of gender, of the forty-nine participants, 73.5 percent were female, and 26.5 percent were male. Their age range was 23-30 years, 44.9 percent of whom were born before 1998, and the remaining 55.1 percent in 1998 or after. All participants, both those born before and after 1998, admitted to being unaware of this incident either because at that time they were still children and did not know what was happening or simply because they had not yet been born. This finding is interesting because it turns out that Seixas & Morton's (2013) suggestion to pay attention to the perspectives of people who lived in that era cannot be used as an instant benchmark if the witnesses do not know precisely what happened or such happened when they were children.

Ethnically, most of the participants consisted of Javanese (93.9%), followed by Madurese (4.1%), and Mandarese (2%). Interestingly, even though they can be categorized as educated people in Indonesia because they have graduated from undergraduate programs, either in history (10.2%) or history education (89.8%), it turns out that most of them believe in the existence of sorcery (59.2%). There were only three persons among the participants who did not believe in sorcery solely because they felt they had never experienced it. As Nelvita stated, "because I still haven't experienced real witchcraft incidents in my environment." Likewise, the rest who said indecisive (34.7%) also reasoned, as stated by Aghmima, that "actually I myself don't really believe in witchcraft but seeing cases circulating in my community makes me more or less believe it."

The finding above could refute Gershman's (2022) claim that people with higher levels of education tend not to believe in witchcraft. However, this finding supports what Wessing (1996) found three decades ago, that many people in East Java still believe in witchcraft, including those with higher education and even university lecturers. Given the people in East Java still believe in witchcraft, opportunities to kill people accused of being *Dukun Santet* may be possible in the future. Therefore, through peace education, history teachers play a vital role in educating students as part of their society so that they do not repeat the same tragic events.

Historical Perspectives of the Participants

The provision of primary sources in the form of a collection of articles from the Jawa Pos newspaper affected the historical perspective of prospective history teachers who were participants in this study. In the first questionnaire, most of them (95.9%) admitted that they did not understand the details of the 1998 killing of the *Dukun Santet* in East Java. This is because their history teacher did not teach these killings when they were still in high school, even though the event was part of the material content of the 'Reformation 1998 in Indonesia' which must be taught in grade XII. Thus, it can be assumed that their teacher probably ignored the content because it was considered difficult history. However, two of them (4.1%) claimed to have learned about the incident since high school, not from a history teacher but from a religion subject teacher. Vitasari stated that the incident was "explained, but in religious subjects, not history subjects" and supported by Ritama's statement that "the discussion was more focused on how *Dukun Santet* works, nothing more."

After they read extensively the 1998 newspaper articles, the historical perspectives of each participant began to emerge. Through the second questionnaire, they were asked to describe the chronology, causes, motives, and consequences of the 1998 *Dukun Santet* massacre. In answering the four questions, each participant had different perspectives on what happened at that time. Despite these differences in perspectives, several themes emerge from the findings. These themes reflected intertwined patterns bound by similarities regarding how critically the participants read and analyzed sources. The findings' patterns show three levels of participants' critical thinking abilities in reading sources.

The first level is the lowest ability in reading sources and can be categorized as the 'uncritical thinking' group. Based on their answers to the questionnaire,

their proportion was 24.5 percent among the participants. The pattern of their answers tended not to pay attention to the historical context, did not try to infer what the historical actors thought and felt as reported in the newspaper, and did not explore the range of perspectives and opinions (Enright, 2014). Participants who represent this group are those who, when asked what caused the *Dukun Santet* massacre, immediately referred to only one version of the news article without trying to analyze or compare it to other articles. Riswanti's answer can exemplify this: "According to an article I read, the community believed that witchcraft is very dishonorable and deserves to be eradicated." The historical perspectives of this group can be categorized as being at the level of 'the copier' or 'naïve-objective' (Maggioni et al., 2009; VanSledright, 2014).

The second level is the 'semi-critical' group, which has an intermediate historical perspective ability. Based on their answers to the questionnaire, this group constituted the majority, 61.2 percent among the participants. Unlike the previous group, they tried to explore and analyze different news articles to build their perspective. In addition, they also paid attention to the historical context of the killing of the *Dukun Santet* implied in the articles they read. Although they have explored various perspectives and opinions in newspaper articles (Enright, 2014), nevertheless, they seemed to create a perspective according to their own preferences after feeling that it was impossible to truly know what had happened in the past. When responding to a questionnaire asking what the motive for the killing of the *Dukun Santet* was, Nelvita, for example simply answered, "pure criminals, because none of the various newspaper articles provided clear arguments, from the [statements] of high-ranking officials to the public." When her answers were explored further through an interview, Nelvita replied, "yes, it's criminal [motive]. Even though there was no clear evidence, still as conjecture. That's why I also consider it to be political [motivated], so because the evidence isn't there yet, that's all." Her answer gave the impression that she had analyzed the sources, but her arguments were still superficial and, ultimately, were arbitrary conclusions without basis. Therefore, those at this 'semi-critical' thinking level can be categorized as 'the borrower' or 'naïve subjective' stance (Maggioni et al., 2009; VanSledright, 2014).

The third level consists of those who have been able to adopt a critical historical perspective. This 'critical' group were able to build a critically-inflected historical perspective because their answers in questionnaires and interviews tended to pay close attention to the historical

context, analyze what people thought and felt in the past, and explore various ranges of perspectives and opinions (Enright, 2014). The number of participants who could be included in this category was only seven prospective history teachers or around 14.3 percent. One of them was Elnindi, who, when asked to explain in the questionnaire what the cause, effect, and motive of the incident was, gave arguments containing multiple causes, multiple effects, and various possible motives by referring to newspaper articles and other sources. She explained her argument in the interview by providing a historical context analysis. Elnindi explained that the factors causing the massacre were influenced by the conditions at that time “because the situation in that year, 1998, was not yet stable, then there were many interests of certain people to take advantage of the incident, resulting in a crisis of public distrust of the government.” Therefore, since they have been able to construct historical perspectives critically, this third level is equivalent to ‘the *criterialist*’ stance (Maggioni et al., 2009; VanSledright, 2014). Referring to the three levels found above, what follows is a discussion about how they relate to their teaching perspectives.

Teaching Perspectives of the Participants

The data about participants’ teaching perspectives presented in this section were obtained from questionnaires, observations during lesson plan workshops, and interviews. The three data collection techniques focused on exploring the participants’ perspectives on the best way to teach the killing of *Dukun Santet* in East Java. The participants’ responses were transcribed and coded based on frequently emerging themes until overarching patterns were obtained. Through the theme analysis, three categories of teaching perspectives emerged. Therefore, these three categories emerged from the teaching perspectives of pre-service teacher participants when responding to the questionnaire, preparing lesson plans, and were then confirmed through interviews.

The first teaching perspective is those who think that the best way to teach the content of the massacre of *Dukun Santet* in East Java is to explain it directly to students. This category can be called a ‘delivering’ teaching perspective and has similar characteristics to Pratt’s (1998) ‘transmission’ perspective, Freire’s (2005) ‘banking concept of education’, and Biesta’s (2015) ‘qualification’ perspective. There were 22 participants (44.9%) who fell into this category. This teaching perspective category is related to the participants’ historical perspective category; it turns out that they

come from two levels of critical thinking. Those with a ‘delivering’ teaching perspective came from participants at the ‘uncritical’ (40.9%) and ‘semi-critical’ (59.1%) thinking levels.

The teaching perspective in the ‘delivering’ category was reflected in the views of some of the participants in the questionnaire. For example, this was conveyed by Merithor, who believes, “I will tell this dark history [to students] in a coherent manner starting from the causes and consequences of the incident.” In the same vein, Madyawati said, “I will convey more positive values or what lessons can be drawn from the incident so that it does not happen again in the future.” The two examples above show that the teaching is teacher-oriented: teachers transmit information to students (Pratt, 1998) in a narrative manner (Lévesque, 2008). When examined more deeply through interviews, the explanation for the emergence of this ‘delivering’ perspective could be due to the difficulties teachers face in teaching controversial material. This was explained by Merithor that “because it’s too controversial, Sir. [I’m afraid] the students will perceive it differently, that’s too controversial.” Therefore, according to this perspective, the easiest way to overcome this trouble is to teach the controversial history according to the teacher’s version so that students are not presented with conflicting views.

The second teaching perspective is those who think that the perfect way to teach difficult history is by allowing students to explore the incident themselves. The core patterns of this category are related to Pratt’s (1998) ‘developmental’ teaching perspective, Freire’s (2005) ‘problem-posing’ education, and Biesta’s (2015) ‘subjectification’ function of education. This category can also be called a ‘collecting’ teaching perspective because students are given the freedom to construct their own historical perspective based on the sources they have collected. There were 24 participants (49%) who could be categorized as having this ‘collecting’ teaching perspective. Those with this teaching perspective apparently came from historical perspectives at the ‘semi-critical’ (70.8%) and ‘critical’ (29.2%) thinking levels.

Those whose teaching perspective is in the ‘collecting’ category were identified from their answers in questionnaires and interviews. A striking example is the answer from Nitrilia, who stated that she would teach the incident of the alleged *Dukun Santet* killing ‘by assigning students to do a mini-investigation with newspaper sources so that they know about the incident.’ Regarding the learning model to be used, Elnindi stated, “I will use a problem-based learning (PBL) model.”

She explained it further through interviews, “I will provide various newspaper articles from various regions [in East Java] and give enough time [to investigate] so that students know that it didn’t happen once and knowing the pattern so that they can take the underlying causes.” Thus, participants in this category emphasize the importance of using primary sources as learning resources that are studied independently by students.

The third teaching perspective is those who believe that the best strategy to teach incidents related to witchcraft is to relate it to the cultural aspect prevailing in the environment around the school where students come from. This category can be called a ‘connecting’ teaching perspective and has similar characteristics to Pratt’s (1998) ‘apprenticeship’ perspective and Biesta’s (2015) ‘socialization’ purpose of education. Within this perspective, teaching is the process of enculturating students into specific community, social-cultural, and political orders. Only three participants (6.1%) fell into this category, and all came from groups with a historical perspective at the ‘uncritical’ level. Previously, the three participants fell into the ‘uncritical’ category because they were at the ‘naïve-objective’ level who did not dare to draw conclusions regarding the cause of the incidents due to too many conflicting sources, even though they had tried to analyze the background and context of various sources.

The three participants in the ‘connecting’ teaching perspective category believed that the best way to teach the incident was through the Culturally Responsive Teaching (CRT) approach. Riswanti’s response to the questionnaire stated, ‘We can use the CRT approach so that students can understand the material within the scope of the surrounding environment so that this event does not happen again in the future.’ In the interview, Riswanti reiterated that “by taking the CRT approach, we chose incidents that were around Malang area that could be studied in class. Then I gave them the problem: did this incident really happen or not? and then, how to prevent this from happening again?” In the same perspective, Anjaya gave the reason for using the CRT approach was to comprehend the cultural background of historical actors in order “to understand from the point of view of perpetrators and victims.” Therefore, they emphasize the importance of the context and situation in which they teach and the significance of training intending to adapt students to local cultures (Pratt, 1998).

The three categories of teaching perspectives described above are the participants’ views on teaching difficult history, using the killing of alleged *Dukun Santet* in East Java in 1998 as the case study. All these

teaching perspective categories simply reflect the results of participants’ decisions about what is wrong or right, effective or ineffective, based on their own criteria (Pratt, 1998). The findings of this study indicate that the participants’ teaching perspectives are more or less influenced by their historical perspectives in studying the events to be taught. These findings can also be used to consider how to teach the killing of alleged *Dukun Santet* in East Java in the context of peace education.

Peace Education in Teaching Difficult History

Referring to the three categories of teaching perspectives in the findings above, three ways are offered to teach the incident of the *Dukun Santet* massacre in East Java within the framework of peace education. The three teaching perspectives have the same goal of how to prevent similar killings from happening again in the future. Because the people of East Java, in general, still believe in the existence of magic and sorcerers who can harm other people, this does not preempt future incidents, but at least enables the teachers and their students to be more aware of the causes and consequences.

The first strategy is to explain directly to students how the massacre of alleged *Dukun Santet* occurred. Teachers can choose this strategy if they are worried that there will be differences and disputes in students’ views because the material being studied is too controversial. This kind of material delivery also makes it easier for teachers to convey advice to students so that the same incident does not happen again. However, this strategy has weaknesses because it is teacher-centered and does not allow students to construct their own knowledge or draw valuable lessons learned to avoid a similar massacre. Teachers who want to use this strategy can complement the narrative with historical memory education (Corredor et al., 2018) which conveys the memory of historical actors or witnesses.

The second strategy is to provide opportunities for students to study independently the incident through analyses of historical sources, especially in the form of newspaper articles published in 1998. So, the historical knowledge obtained and what efforts can be made to prevent the occurrence of the same killings are the results of the students’ own construct. The weakness is that the teacher or students must collect their own resources, and there can be protracted differences of opinion in class. Teachers who want to use this strategy can emphasize the application of teaching multiple perspectives and analysis to students, as offered by Carter (2010).

The third strategy that can be offered from the findings of this study is teaching peace education through connecting with students' cultural backgrounds. Teachers must pay attention to the culture that is believed by students and their community environment so that the material and manner of teaching do not conflict with these beliefs. The advantage of this strategy is that it will not undermine the students' local culture, but it will become an obstacle if the local culture justifies and supports the practice of witches. To implement this strategy, teachers can apply historical empathy suggested by Kayış & Pamuk (2022). The relation between the historical perspective and the teaching perspective described above can be visualized through the following Figure 1

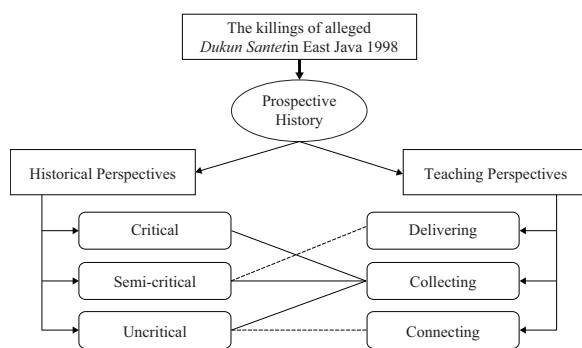


Figure 1 Patterns of historical and teaching perspectives of the participants

Conclusion and Recommendation

Teaching difficult history is challenging for most teachers. This is evident from the results of this study, which showed that pre-service history teacher participants' experienced difficulties when asked to develop a lesson plan for teaching the killing of alleged *Dukun Santet* in East Java in 1998. In the quantitative phase, when asked to analyze primary sources related to the incident, it turns out that the participants' historical perspectives were influenced by their level of criticality in analyzing the sources while in the qualitative phase, when asked to prepare a lesson plan, it was discovered that the participants had different teaching perspectives which were influenced by their historical perspectives. Therefore, it can be concluded that to teach difficult history, teachers must have a critical historical perspective in order to have a solid teaching perspective. This study also recommends further research to examine the three teaching perspectives that emerged in this study to be

tested on their influence on students' critical thinking skills in learning difficult history.

Conflict of Interest

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest.

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