

Critical Discourse Analysis of G30S Representations in Grade XII Indonesian History Textbooks: A Comparative Study Across Different Curricula (1994-2013)

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Abstract—This paper presents a critical discourse analysis of the Gerakan 30 September (G30S) event's portrayal in Indonesian Grade XII history textbooks across various curricula from 1994 to 2013. By analysing four textbooks, the study reveals an evolving narrative of the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) from a predominantly negative portrayal in earlier curricula to more nuanced and multiperspective representations in later editions. Early textbooks, aligned with the New Order's anti-communist ideology, depict the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) as a malevolent force, whereas later texts, especially under the 2013 curriculum, offer diverse viewpoints, reflecting a shift toward critical thinking and balanced historical understanding. This shift indicates changing political ideologies and educational approaches in Indonesia, highlighting the role of textbooks in shaping historical perception and national identity. The findings illuminate the transformation in educational narratives, emphasizing how these changes in textbooks are indicative of broader societal and political shifts and their significant impact on shaping collective memory and national consciousness in Indonesia.

Index Terms—CDA, G30S, textbooks, curriculum, narratives

I. INTRODUCTION

The Gerakan 30 September 1965 (G30S) event remains a critical point in Indonesian history, profoundly influencing the country's sociopolitical narrative. This study focuses on a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of how G30S is represented in Grade XII Indonesian history textbooks across different curricula. This event represents not only a retelling of the past but also a complex intersection of history, politics, and ideology, which manifests differently in educational materials over time (Pratama, 2022; Roosa, 2006). Histories play a significant role in shaping students' understanding of historical events (Widiadi, 2021). However, as Roosa (2006) notes, narratives within these textbooks are often subject to prevailing political ideologies, leading to potential biases in the representation of events such as G30S. This notion aligns with Purwanta's (2013) assertion that textbooks are influenced by the perspectives of their authors and the prevailing political context.

According to Blackwell Wiley (2018) textbooks are crucial tools in the intellectual formation of young generations. They not only deliver historical knowledge but also shape perceptions of national identity and collective memory. The study of historiography, as Gottschalk (1975) explains, involves the imaginative reconstruction of the past based on available data. This approach is particularly relevant in analysing textbooks, where historical events are often reconstructed to align with current educational and political objectives. Kuntowijoyo (2005) identifies three waves of historiography in Indonesia, each characterized by its approach and focus. The third wave, pertinent to this study, involved revisiting and revising controversial historical narratives, particularly those shaped during the New Order regime. This wave is marked by a tendency to challenge established historical narratives and introduce previously unexplored perspectives and interpretations.

This research aims to explore the representation of G30S in Indonesian history textbooks, particularly focusing on how these representations evolved across different curricular reforms from 1994 to 2013. This period is crucial because

it spans the transition from the New Order regime to more recent democratic and educational reforms, likely influencing how historical events such as G30S are portrayed. Previous studies, such as those by Roosa (2006), Purwanta (2012), Arta (2012) and Mulyana (2013), have shed light on the complexities and ideological underpinnings of G30S representations in textbooks. However, there is still a gap in comprehensive analysis of these narratives across different curricula. This study, therefore, seeks to fill this gap by conducting a comparative CDA of textbooks used in different curricular periods, uncovering the underlying narratives and potential biases, and understanding how they reflect broader sociopolitical changes in Indonesia. The goal is to contribute to a more balanced and critical historical education that acknowledges the complexities and multiple perspectives of significant historical events such as G30S.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

A. *Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)*

Critical discourse analysis, as conceptualized by Fairclough (1992), offers a lens through which language is not merely an instrument of communication but a medium for social influence and power relations. Fairclough asserts that discourses are practices that have significant interplay with the cultural and sociopolitical structures within which they operate. These structures are not only reflected in discourse but also shaped and sometimes transformed by it (Wodak, 2011). The analytical focus of CDA on the dialectical relationship between language and society allows for an exploration of how educational content, such as history textbooks, can perpetuate or challenge societal ideologies (Fairclough, 2013b). This framework will guide the investigation into the representation of the G30S event in Indonesian history textbooks, scrutinizing how language serves as a battleground for ideological expression and dominance (Chilton, 2004).

Moreover, the function of discourse extends beyond the confines of text, influencing and being influenced by omnipresent power dynamics and ideologies. Discourses, as explored by Fairclough (2023) are not merely passive conveyors of meaning but also active instruments in the construction and deconstruction of social realities. Through the application of CDA, we can discern how history textbooks do not simply narrate a sequence of events but are, in fact, engaged in a complex process of shaping students' perceptions and collective memories (Van Dijk, 1993).

The way in which G30S events are framed within these texts serves to either reinforce the prevailing power structures or provide a platform for critical engagement and resistance (McGroarty, 2010). By examining the subtle, and often unnoticed, linguistic choices of these educational resources, CDA aims to uncover the underlying messages that contribute to the perpetuation or questioning of historical narratives and the ideologies they espouse (Luke, 1995). In conclusion, the application of critical discourse analysis, as conceptualized by Norman Fairclough and others, provides a robust framework for dissecting the intricate interplay between language, power, and ideology, as reflected in educational texts. By delving into the nuanced linguistic and stylistic choices in Indonesian history textbooks, this study aims to illuminate the subtle yet profound ways in which the representation of G30S is not only a mere recounting of historical events but also a dynamic process that contributes to shaping societal beliefs, ideologies, and collective memory.

The critical examination of these texts through the lens of CDA offers an opportunity to understand not only how history is portrayed but also how it is constructed and disseminated, reflecting broader sociopolitical narratives and agendas. This theoretical framework thus serves as a cornerstone for a deeper, more critical engagement with historical discourse, opening avenues for a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of the role of education in shaping historical consciousness and identity.

B. *Ideology*

The concept of ideology is pivotal in understanding the construction and perpetuation of social realities, particularly in educational contexts. Althusser's (2006) interpretation of ideology as an intrinsic part of societal superstructures plays a central role in this analysis. According to Althusser, educational systems are among the key ideological state apparatuses (ISAs) that propagate dominant ideologies and reinforce existing power structures. This theoretical perspective is crucial for examining how history textbooks in Indonesia might not only convey historical facts but also subtly embed and reinforce specific ideologies.

Gramsci's (2020) notion of cultural hegemony further complements this framework by exploring how consent to the dominant ideology is culturally manufactured and maintained within a society. Gramsci's theory provides insight into how educational content can be a tool for the state and other dominant groups to establish and normalize their worldview as the status quo. Moreover, the work of Foucault (1972) on power-knowledge relationships is instrumental in understanding how knowledge production in textbooks is linked with power dynamics. Foucault's concept that 'knowledge is power' highlights how control over the content and representation of educational materials can be a form of exercising power and shaping societal norms and beliefs.

Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) argue that the education system, far from being a neutral space of learning, actively plays a role in perpetuating social inequalities. They contend that the knowledge and cultural capital transmitted through schools are inherently biased towards the dominant social class. This perspective allows for an exploration of how textbooks not only disseminate knowledge but also serve to maintain the status quo by legitimizing the cultural capital

of dominant groups. The integration of these theoretical perspectives provides a comprehensive approach to understanding how the portrayal of the G30S in Indonesian history textbooks is potentially embedded with ideological messages. This study invites an examination of how these textbooks may reflect and reinforce the beliefs and values of dominant groups, thereby influencing the shaping of historical understanding and social consciousness among students. This ideological lens is essential for a critical analysis of history textbooks, challenging us to question not only what is taught but also how it aligns with broader societal ideologies and power structures. The exploration of these texts through this framework aims to shed light on the subtle yet impactful ways in which education can be a vehicle for ideological transmission, shaping perceptions of history and nationhood.

C. Representation

The concept of representation, as articulated by Hall (1997) is essential for understanding how meaning is constructed and communicated through language and images, particularly in educational materials such as textbooks. Hall argues that the process of representation is central to how societies create and communicate meaning, shaping our understanding of the world around us. This is particularly relevant in the context of history textbooks, where the representation of events such as G30S can profoundly influence students' perceptions of history. Hall's framework suggests that representation is not a mere reflection of reality but rather an active process of encoding and decoding involving the use of symbols and language to convey specific interpretations (Hall, 1997).

This process is inherently linked to power, as the ability to control representations can shape societal narratives and ideologies. Additionally, the work of Barthes (1972) on semiotics provides insight into how signs and symbols in texts carry specific connotations that transcend their literal meaning. In the context of history textbooks, this means that images, language, and overall narrative structure can serve as a means to convey deeper ideological messages. Furthermore, Spivak's (2023) concept of 'subaltern' can be applied to explore how certain groups or perspectives might be marginalized in these representations, potentially perpetuating a biased view of history. This theoretical lens allows for an analysis of whose voices are heard and whose are silenced in the narrative of G30S within Indonesian textbooks. By integrating these theories of representation, this study aims to dissect the construction of the G30S narrative in Indonesian history textbooks, examining how they potentially shape collective memory and national identity. The analysis will focus on how these textbooks use language, imagery, and narrative structures to represent the G30S event and what these representations reveal about the underlying ideologies and power structures in the Indonesian context.

D. Collective Memory

The concept of collective memory, especially in the context of how history is taught and remembered, has evolved significantly in recent years. Recent studies have emphasized the dynamic nature of collective memory, highlighting how it is not only a reflection of the past but also an active construction shaped by present needs and contexts. According to Baildon and Afandi (2018) collective memory in educational settings is a form of 'negotiated remembering', where different versions of the past are contested and reconciled. Building on this, scholars such as Wang (2019) have explored how collective memory is influenced by current societal values and political climates. In the context of history education, this suggests that the way events such as G30S are remembered and taught in textbooks is subject to contemporary reinterpretations, which may align with or challenge prevailing ideological narratives.

Furthermore, the work of Baildon and Afandi (2018) on the social representation of history underlines the role of educational media in shaping collective memory. They argue that textbooks, as a form of media, play a crucial role in mediating the relationship between individual memories and collective narratives. Additionally, the influence of digital media on collective memory has been a focus of recent studies. Olick et al. (2023) discusses how the digitization of information and the rise of social media have transformed the ways in which historical events are remembered and disseminated, potentially impacting how they are represented in more traditional forms of media, such as textbooks.

Recent research in memory studies emphasizes the role of educational materials in shaping collective memory, particularly among younger generations. Orianne and Eustache (2023) emphasize that textbooks are not just vessels of knowledge, but also tools for transmitting specific ideologies. This is particularly relevant for Indonesia, where textbooks play a central role in conveying narratives of significant events such as the G30S.

In the Indonesian context, the interplay between state narratives and collective memory is crucial. According to studies by Yefterson et al. (2020) the way history is taught in schools often reflects the state's perspective, which then becomes ingrained in the collective memory of both students and the broader society. This process illustrates how collective memory is not static but is continually shaped and reshaped by contemporary social and political influences. The impact of digital media on collective memory formation, especially among young people, has been a focus of recent scholarship. Mustafa et al. (2022) discuss how online platforms and social media are becoming increasingly influential in shaping the collective memory of younger generations, often providing alternative narratives to those found in traditional educational resources.

Furthermore, the work of Cordonnier et al. (2021) on the intergenerational transmission of memories underscores the importance of how historical events are discussed and remembered within families and communities, influencing the collective memory of younger generations beyond formal education. Through this framework, the study explored how the collective memories of the G30S event were constructed and transmitted in Indonesian society, particularly

among students. This study aimed to understand the role of textbooks in shaping this memory while also considering the influence of broader societal narratives and digital media.

III. METHODOLOGY

This study employs a qualitative research approach, specifically focusing on critical discourse analysis (CDA), as outlined by Fairclough (2023). This approach is ideal for examining how language and representation in textbooks reflect and construct societal ideologies and power relations, as discussed by Fairclough (2007).

A. *Materials*

The primary materials for analysis are the Indonesian history textbooks for Grade XII, specifically editions published under the 1994, 2004, 2006, and 2013 curricula. These textbooks, as official educational materials authorized by the government, provide a crucial lens into the state-sanctioned narrative of the G30S event.

B. *Procedure*

Textbook Selection: Textbooks will be chosen based on their prevalence and use in the Indonesian education system across the specified curricula, ensuring a comprehensive and representative analysis. 1994 Curriculum: "Buku Sejarah Nasional Indonesia Untuk SMA dan Sekolah yang Sederajat Jilid 3 (Indonesian National History Book for High Schools and Equivalent, Volume 3)" by Moedjanto, Nani Sunarti, Chr. Kristanto Dh., Anton Haryono, AA Padi. Published by PT Gramedia Widiasarana Indonesia, Jakarta, 1992. "Sejarah Nasional Indonesia dan Umum Untuk SMU Kelas 3 (Indonesian National and General History for Senior High School Grade 3)" by I Wayan Badrika (I Wayan Badrika, 1997), published by Erlangga in 1997. 2006 KTPS Curriculum: "Eksplorasi Sejarah Indonesia dan Dunia Untuk SMA Kelas XII Program IPS (Exploration of Indonesian and World History for High School Grade XII Social Sciences Program)" by Ratna Hapsari and Abdul Syukur, published in 2008. 2013 Curriculum (Revised 2018): "Sejarah Indonesia" (Indonesian History) by Prof. Dr. Susanto Zuhdi, M.Hum, Dr. Linda Sunarti, Arif Pradono, S.S., M.I.Kom, and Dr. Abdurakhman, published by Pusat Kurikulum dan Perbukuan, Balitbang, Kemendikbud in 2018.

Critical Discourse Analysis: Applying CDA to textbook content involves a meticulous examination of various elements. This includes delving into the linguistic features where the study scrutinizes the choice of words, use of metaphors, and overall language style to discern how these elements contribute to the portrayal of the G30S event. Special attention will be given to narrative structures, exploring how the sequence of events, characterizations, and the construction of plots serve to frame the historical narrative. Additionally, representational strategies will be analysed to understand how different aspects of the G30S event are highlighted or downplayed. This analysis will extend to the examination of syntax and sentence structure, investigating how the arrangement of words and sentences can influence readers' interpretation and understanding of events. Beyond the textual analysis, the study will explore the discursive practices surrounding the production and consumption of these texts. The chapter will look into the educational context within which these textbooks are used, considering how they are intended to be interpreted by student readers. Intertextual and interdiscursive elements will also be scrutinized to identify references or influences from other texts or discourses, shedding light on how the G30S narrative is connected to or distinguished from other historical narratives or events. The sociocultural analysis will assess the broader social, political, and cultural conditions in Indonesia that may have influenced the representation of G30S in these textbooks. Ideological framing will be a key focus for evaluating how specific ideologies might manifest in the portrayal of G30S based on the previously discussed theories of ideology. Finally, a comparative analysis across textbooks from different curriculum years will be conducted. This diachronic analysis compares how the representation of G30S has evolved or remained consistent from 1994 to 2013, providing insights into the shifts or continuities in historical narratives and ideological underpinnings over time. Comparative analysis: A comparative approach, as suggested by Bray and Thomas, will be used to analyse changes and consistencies in the G30S representation across different curriculum editions, highlighting any shifts in ideological and narrative framing over time (Bray & Thomas, 1995).

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. *Results*

This section presents the findings from the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of Grade XII Indonesian history textbooks, focusing on the representation of the G30S event. The analysis is grounded in the theoretical framework of Norman Fairclough's CDA, which emphasizes the relationships among language, power, and ideology in textual content. By applying this approach, the study aims to uncover the nuanced ways in which language, narrative structures, and semiotic elements in textbooks contribute to shaping students' understanding of this significant historical event. The findings are organized into several key areas, each reflecting a different aspect of the discourse analysis. This includes an exploration of language patterns and narrative framing, the ideological representation of G30S, the comparison of representations across different curricula, and the implications of these representations for collective memory and national identity in Indonesia. Together, these findings offer a comprehensive view of how the G30S event is portrayed

in educational texts and of the potential impact of these portrayals on historical understanding and national identity formation.

(a). *Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of the G30S Representation*

The representation of the G30S event in the history textbook is explored through a detailed CDA, revealing the interplay of language, power, and ideology. The Critical Discourse Analysis of Indonesian Grade XII history textbooks across different curricula (1994-2013) demonstrated a notable shift in the representation of the G30S event and the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI). Curriculum 1994 (1992 Edition): These textbooks portray the PKI in a highly negative light, consistent with the New Order government's anti-communist stance. The narrative is centred around betrayal and vilification, emphasizing the PKI's radical actions. Curriculum 1994 (1997 Edition): While still reflecting some negative aspects, there has been a slight shift toward a more nuanced portrayal, introducing complexity into the narrative, although the core themes remain similar to those of the earlier edition. Curriculum KTSP (2006): A noticeable change in representation appears, with textbooks offering a broader perspective. The portrayal of PKI begins to move away from solely negative depictions, suggesting a shift in educational focus toward more balanced historical interpretations. Curriculum 2013: This curriculum represents the most significant change. Textbooks under this curriculum adopt a multiperspective approach, providing various viewpoints on the G30S event. This indicates an educational shift toward critical thinking and fostering a more comprehensive understanding of historical events. These changes reflect the evolving political landscape and educational reforms in Indonesia. The progression from a unidimensional narrative to a more pluralistic and critical approach in the textbooks mirrors broader societal and political shifts, highlighting the role of educational materials in shaping collective memory and national identity.

(b). *Language Use and Narrative Structure*

The language and narrative structure of the 1994 curriculum textbooks " Indonesian National History Book for High Schools and Equivalent, Volume 3," written by Moedjanto, Nani Sunarti, Chr. Kristanto Dh., and Anton Haryono, exhibit a specific framing of the PKI. The PKI is discussed in various contexts: in the early radical phase of the national movement, during the Indonesian War of Independence, and during the period of Guided Democracy. The portrayal of the PKI is largely negative and characterized by terms such as "pengkhianatan" (betrayal) and descriptions of subversive actions. The narrative suggests that the PKI was divisive, self-interested, and engaged in betrayal, particularly in events such as the Madiun Affair and the G30S/PKI. This representation aligns with the anticommunist sentiment of the time and serves to position the PKI as a primary antagonist in Indonesian history.

The history textbook authored by I Wayan Badrika, published in 1997 for the 1994 curriculum, exhibits a narrative approach to the G30S/PKI event that aligns closely with the prevailing political narrative of the era, echoing similar thematic elements found in other textbooks of the same curriculum, albeit published in different years. This consistency highlights the influence of the broader sociopolitical context on educational content during that period. Both textbooks, despite their different publication years, are entrenched in the anti-communist ideology characteristic of the New Order regime. The PKI is consistently portrayed as a malevolent force, with language and narrative structure employed to frame the G30S as an act of betrayal and subversion. The use of charged terms such as "pengkhianatan" (betrayal) in the chapter titles and the overall depiction of the events constitute a clear discursive strategy, aiming to predispose readers to a specific understanding of the G30S event, one that vilifies the PKI.

The history textbooks by Ratna Hapsari and Abdul Syukur, published in 2008 under the KTSP 2006 curriculum, maintain the consistent narrative seen in earlier textbooks regarding the G30S/PKI event. This book continues to negatively portray the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI), emphasizing its role in the Madiun rebellion of 1948 and depicting it as a significant threat to Indonesia's stability. The textbook positions the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) as defenders against the PKI's subversive activities, highlighting the military's efforts to maintain national stability. It also discusses the complex political dynamics of the time, including the PKI's influence on Indonesian politics and its conflict with the military. This portrayal of the G30S/PKI in the Hapsari and Syukur textbooks aligns with the dominant anticommunist narrative prevalent in Indonesian history education. The consistent depiction of the PKI as the main perpetrator across different textbooks and curricula reflects the enduring influence of state-sanctioned narratives in shaping national identity and collective memory in Indonesia.

The 2018 edition of the history textbook "Indonesian History" by Prof. Dr. Susanto Zuhdi et al. under the 2013 curriculum presents a more progressive and multifaceted approach to the G30S event. This edition is marked by its presentation of multiple perspectives on G30S, moving away from a singular narrative. It offers various theories about the event's orchestrators, ranging from internal military issues to international intelligence involvement, including the CIA, and even implicating figures such as Soekarno and Soeharto. This approach allows readers to view the event from numerous angles, encouraging critical thinking and a more comprehensive understanding of history. However, the inclusion of the "PKI" in the narrative still emphasizes the PKI's primary role in the event, maintaining an element of the traditional narrative. This nuanced presentation reflects a significant shift in Indonesia's educational approach toward a more balanced historical discourse.

(c). *Ideological Representation*

In the narrative of Indonesian history textbooks, the portrayal of the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) has evolved significantly across various curricula. Initially, in the 1994 curriculum (1992 Edition), the PKI was depicted negatively, aligning with the New Order regime's anti-communist ideology. This portrayal emphasizes the PKI's alleged duplicity and propensity for violence, reinforcing its image as a major national threat. The 1994 curriculum (1997 Edition by I Wayan Badrika) continues to follow this trend, portraying the PKI as dangerous insurgents central to the G30S event. A shift begins with the KTSP 2006 curriculum, which presents a less biased and more analytical view of the PKI and the G30S. This reflects a broader political transition in Indonesia, moving away from singular anti-communist propaganda.

The 2013 curriculum (2018 Edition) demonstrated the most significant change, offering a variety of perspectives on the G30S event. This curriculum moves beyond the singular narrative of the PKI as solely villainous, introducing various theories and promoting a balanced and critical historical interpretation. This evolution in the textbooks aligns with broader shifts in Indonesia's educational approach, transitioning from a rigid anti-communist stance to a more multifaceted understanding of historical events. This ideological representation in the textbook is a clear instance of how educational materials can be used to propagate a specific political narrative, influencing the perception of historical events and shaping collective memory in line with state-sanctioned ideologies.

(d). Discursive Practices and Sociocultural Context

The sociocultural context of the New Order period, during which this textbook was published, significantly impacts the portrayal of the G30S event, particularly in terms of its depiction of the military and major general Soeharto. 1994 Curriculum (1992 Edition and 1997): Reflects the New Order's narrative, valorizing the military and Major General Soeharto. The textbook's language frames its actions against the G30S/PKI as divinely sanctioned and morally upright, aligning with religious and nationalistic values. The portrayal of the military's response, described as "the protection of the Almighty God," and aligned with "the loyalty of the people" and "adherence to Pancasila," serves to legitimize the regime's rule through ideological reinforcement. This narrative strategy reflects the broader sociocultural context of the New Order period, where the state sought to establish legitimacy by promoting specific ideological standpoints. This part of the analysis reveals the profound impact of the sociocultural context on educational narratives, highlighting how textbooks can serve as tools for ideological reinforcement and the shaping of collective memory in line with state-sanctioned narratives.

KTSP 2006 Curriculum: This curriculum marks a shift away from the New Order's narrative, introducing a more nuanced perspective on sociopolitical dynamics. The representation of military and political figures becomes less glorified, indicating a departure from the earlier heroic depiction. This shift suggests a changing sociocultural context that no longer strictly adheres to the state-sanctioned narrative, allowing for a more diverse interpretation of historical events. 2013 Curriculum (2018 Edition): This edition demonstrates a significant change in discourse, moving toward a critical analysis of historical events. The narrative no longer solely focuses on valorizing specific figures or institutions but rather presents a multifaceted view of the sociopolitical context surrounding the G30S event. This shift reflects an evolving sociocultural landscape that embraces a more inclusive and analytical approach to history, moving beyond the previous emphasis on ideological reinforcement. The 2013 Curriculum (2018 Edition) represents a departure from the state-centric narrative, highlighting a more diversified perspective on the G30S event and its historical significance.

(e). Comparison of G30S Representations Across Different Curricula

The evolution of G30S representation across different curricula, starting from the 1994 Curriculum (1992 Edition) to the 2013 Curriculum, reflects significant shifts in narrative perspectives, ideological influences, and historical interpretations. The 1994 Curriculum (1992 Edition) aligns closely with the New Order regime's narrative, emphasizing the heroic role of the military and major general Soeharto in countering the G30S/PKI event. The language frames their actions as divinely sanctioned and morally upright, aligning with religious and nationalistic values. The portrayal reinforced the state's political agenda during that period, utilizing a specific lexicon and omitting alternative perspectives.

Wayan Badrika's textbook 1997, developed within the 1994 Curriculum, maintains a similar thematic approach by valorizing the military and major general Soeharto. The language used echoes the New Order's narrative, emphasizing divine protection and loyalty to Pancasila. While providing a more detailed account, it aligns with the prevailing political ideology of the time, reinforcing the state-sanctioned narrative and presenting the PKI as a significant threat. The portrayal of the PKI as the undeniable perpetrator and framing the entire event as an act of treachery by the PKI align with the state's political agenda during the New Order period. This suggests that historical education, through these textbooks, played a role in reinforcing and legitimizing the state's narrative, contributing to a collective memory that may have influenced societal perceptions for several years.

The KTSP 2006 Curriculum marks a notable departure from the New Order narrative. The representation becomes more nuanced, emphasizing the complexities of political dynamics, the discovery of coup documents, and the role of various political entities. This shift indicates a move toward a more critical analysis and a departure from the previous heroic depiction of the military. The curriculum acknowledges sociopolitical nuances, reflecting a changing sociocultural context. The 2013 Curriculum (2018 Edition) represents a significant transformation in discourse, moving toward a critical analysis of historical events. It breaks away from solely valorizing specific figures or institutions,

presenting a multifaceted view of the sociopolitical context surrounding the G30S event. The narrative focuses on historical complexities and encourages students to engage critically with the events, aligning with a more inclusive and analytical approach to history.

The comparison reveals a clear trajectory in the G30S representation. The 1994 Curriculum and I Wayan Badrika's textbook maintain a consistent narrative, emphasizing the state-sanctioned perspective. The KTSP 2006 Curriculum introduces a more nuanced view, acknowledging political complexities, while the 2013 Curriculum takes a critical approach, emphasizing historical analysis and presenting a more diversified perspective. The evolution from a singular narrative emphasizing state legitimacy to a more critical and inclusive approach underscores the impact of changing sociopolitical contexts on history education. This comparison across curricula highlights the dynamic nature of historical representations and the importance of critically engaging with diverse perspectives to foster a more comprehensive understanding of historical events.

(f). Impact on Collective Memory and National Identity

The representation of the G30S/PKI event in Indonesian history textbooks, spanning from the 1994 Curriculum to the 2013 Curriculum, has had a profound impact on collective memory and national identity. These educational materials, shaped by the ideological and political contexts of their respective periods, play a pivotal role in influencing how subsequent generations perceive and remember historical events.

The persistent narrative across earlier curricula, particularly the 1994 Curriculum, and textbooks aligned with the New Order regime has contributed to the construction of a collective memory that frames the military's actions as heroic and morally righteous. The portrayal of the PKI as a central villain, marked by terms such as "betrayal" and "treachery," has ingrained a specific interpretation of the G30S events in the minds of students. This singular narrative has, in turn, influenced national identity by reinforcing a particular version of history that aligns with the state's political agenda. The glorification of military actions and the demonization of the PKI have contributed to a narrative that emphasizes national unity under the protection of divine forces and loyalty to Pancasila.

The impact extends beyond the classroom, permeating societal perceptions and discussions about Indonesia's past. The consistent portrayal of the G30S/PKI event in textbooks has shaped public discourse, influencing how the nation's history is remembered and discussed. It has contributed to the formation of a collective identity that often reflects the perspectives embedded in historical education. However, with the introduction of more critical perspectives in the KTSP 2006 Curriculum and the 2013 Curriculum, there was a potential shift in the impact on collective memory and national identity. The acknowledgement of historical complexities and the encouragement of critical engagement from multiple perspectives may contribute to a more nuanced understanding of Indonesia's past. This shift has the potential to foster a collective memory that embraces diversity of thought and encourages a reflective and critical approach to the nation's history.

The textbook, therefore, is not only a medium for transmitting historical knowledge but also a tool for constructing national identity and collective memory, which are deeply influenced by the sociopolitical context of its creation. The way history is taught in Indonesian schools has profound implications for collective memory and national identity, especially regarding events as charged as the G30S. Educators' approach to teaching this contested chapter of history is critical in shaping how future generations will remember and interpret these events

B. Discussion

The analysis of the representation of the September 30th Movement (G30S) in Indonesian history textbooks, particularly within the frameworks of the 1994 curriculum, the KTSP (education unit level curriculum), and the 2013 curriculum, reveals how history education is often utilized as a tool to promote nationalism and reinforce the legitimacy of the ruling power. As explained in the context of Althusser (2006) theory, education, particularly through history textbooks, functions as a dominant ideological state apparatus (ISA), playing a crucial role in shaping students' consciousness and subjectivity in line with the values and ideologies desired by the state.

Moreover, recent studies emphasize the nuanced ways in which educational materials can both reflect and shape societal values. In the context of Indonesia, Giroux (1984) notes that history textbooks not only convey historical facts but also subtly embed and reinforce specific ideologies, aligning with Althusser's notion of educational institutions as key sites for ideological reproduction. This alignment of educational content with state narratives is seen as a critical factor in shaping collective understanding and national identity, as argued by Hadiz (2006). Who posit that the narratives presented in history textbooks play a significant role in the construction of national memory and identity, particularly in postauthoritarian societies such as Indonesia.

In the context of the G30S, high school history textbooks tend to depict the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) as the primary actor behind the event, following the official narrative developed during the New Order era. This narrative is not only affirmative in building nationalism but also compulsive and manipulative in emphasizing the rulers' superiority and reducing the importance of narratives contrary to "official history". This finding demonstrates the use of history as a tool for legitimizing power, consistent with Pérez Huber and Solorzano's (2015) view of textbooks as "ideological weapons of the dominant group.

For instance, Nguyễn and Rydstrom (2022) highlight the significant role of educational materials in shaping students' understanding of social realities. Educational materials, such as textbooks, can present information and interpretations

of various social, political, and economic issues. These interpretations can influence how students understand the world and shape their views on various matters, recent research by Schmidtke (2023) underscores the pivotal role of textbooks in perpetuating state-endorsed narratives, highlighting their influence in shaping collective memory and identity, especially in societies with a history of political turmoil and ideological shifts. The controversy surrounding the 1965 events, as stated by Ahmad (2016) highlights the complexity of historical narratives and the role of textbooks in influencing collective understanding. According to the "Indonesian History Class XII" (2018) textbook, a more progressive approach is adopted by offering various alternative theories about G30S, aligning with the Indonesian government's efforts to enlighten the nation. However, the use of the phrase "G30S/PKI" in the title and conclusion indicates ongoing subjectivity that continues to influence this event's representation in education.

The controversy surrounding the 1965 events, as highlighted by Ahmad (2016) underscores the intricate nature of historical narratives and the significant influence of textbooks in shaping public perception. In the 2018 edition of the "Indonesian History Class XII" textbook, a commendably progressive approach is evident, as it presents various alternative theories about the G30S incident. This methodology resonates with the broader educational goal of fostering intellectual growth and encouraging a more nuanced understanding of history among students. However, the persistent use of the "G30S/PKI" label in titles and conclusions suggests a lingering bias, subtly guiding the reader's interpretation toward viewing the PKI as the primary antagonist in the G30S narrative. Such framing could be seen as a reflection of the enduring influence of past political ideologies on contemporary educational content.

This aspect of the textbook aligns with recent scholarly discussions about the persistent impact of political ideologies on educational content, even in ostensibly reformed curricula. For instance, Darmawan et al. (2018) argue that textbooks are not only educational tools but also instruments of ideological transmission, often carrying remnants of past political narratives. Similarly Fuchs and Vera (2019) emphasize that while educational reforms aim to depoliticize history teaching, the legacy of previous regimes often lingers in subtle ways, shaping how historical events are framed and interpreted. This phenomenon is particularly pronounced in contexts where political transitions have occurred but without a complete overhaul of the educational apparatus, leaving room for older narratives to persist alongside new interpretations.

This approach aligns with Althusser's view of education's role in maintaining the values necessary for preserving power. While history textbooks attempt to open space for more dialectical and inclusive discussions, dominant representation continues to influence the general public's understanding of G30S. This shows how education, as part of the social institution, becomes a battleground for various interests, resulting in student subjectivity that aligns with the official narrative desired by the state. This perspective is further reinforced by recent scholarship, such as the work of Besgul (2023) who argues that history education often serves as a tool for perpetuating the state's preferred narratives, subtly influencing students' understanding of past events. Similarly Barkan and Lang (2022) underscore the role of textbooks in shaping collective memory and identity, particularly in transitional societies where historical narratives are contentious and politically charged.

While the "Indonesian History" (2018) textbook attempts to offer a broader perspective on G30S, the predominant representation continues to impact the general public's perception of the event, as observed by Wieringa and Katjasungkana (2018). They noted that even with the introduction of alternative viewpoints in history education, the legacy of past political narratives often prevails, subtly guiding the collective understanding of established state narratives. This phenomenon highlights the ongoing struggle within educational systems to balance the dissemination of diverse historical perspectives with the lingering influence of entrenched political ideologies.

V. CONCLUSION

In essence, the case of G30S representation in Indonesian history textbooks exemplifies the complex interplay between education, ideology, and state power, reflecting Althusser's insights into the role of educational institutions as vehicles for ideological transmission and the construction of social realities. Thus, the analysis of G30S representation in Indonesian history textbooks from the 1994 to 2013 curriculums illustrates how the narratives presented serve not only educational purposes but also as tools to maintain and reinforce state-desired ideologies and values. This highlights the importance of a critical approach in understanding and analysing history education materials, given their significant role in shaping collective consciousness and societal identity. Future studies should include a broader range of textbooks across different regions and educational levels to gain a more comprehensive understanding of historical representation in Indonesian education. Incorporate testimonies and perspectives from various stakeholders, including survivors, historians, and educators, to enrich the analysis and understanding of historical events.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work was supported by Universitas Sebelas Maret Research Grant under the contract number 260/UN27.22/HK.07.00/2021.

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