

HISTORY IN THE CLASSROOM: THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE HISTORY CURRICULUM IN INDONESIA

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Garis waktu Diterima : 30/10/2025 Direvisi : 01/12/2025 Online : 28/01/2026 Diterbitkan : 31/01/2026	This article examines the dynamics of changes in the history curriculum at the senior high school (SMA) level during three periods of the Indonesian government: the Old Order, the New Order, and the Reformation. This study uses a library research method by reviewing curriculum documents, textbooks, and relevant academic literature. The results show that changes in the history curriculum cannot be separated from the ideological and political interests of each ruling regime. During the Old Order era, the curriculum focused on the formation of post- independence national identity. In the New Order era, history was used as a tool for legitimizing power and systematically instilling state ideology through a centralized curriculum. Meanwhile, the Reformation era brought the spirit of decentralization, critical approaches, and strengthening historical thinking competencies. Through this analysis, it can be seen that the transformation of the history curriculum reflects the changing orientation of the state in shaping the character and historical awareness of the younger generation.
Keyword: Curriculum, History Education, Transformation	<i>A B S T R A K</i> <i>Artikel ini membahas dinamika perubahan kurikulum sejarah selama tiga periode pemerintahan Indonesia: Orde Lama, Orde Baru, dan Reformasi. Kajian ini menggunakan metode studi kepustakaan (library research) dengan menelaah dokumen kurikulum, buku pelajaran, serta literatur akademik yang relevan. Hasil Penelitian menunjukkan perubahan kurikulum sejarah tidak lepas dari kepentingan ideologis dan politik masing-masing rezim yang berkuasa. Pada masa Orde Lama, kurikulum berfokus pada pembentukan identitas nasional pascakemerdekaan. Di era Orde Baru, sejarah dimanfaatkan sebagai alat legitimasi kekuasaan dan penanaman ideologi negara secara sistematis melalui</i>



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kurikulum yang terpusat. Sementara itu, era Reformasi membawa semangat desentralisasi, pendekatan kritis, dan penguatan kompetensi berpikir historis. Melalui analisis ini, terlihat bahwa transformasi kurikulum sejarah mencerminkan perubahan orientasi negara dalam membentuk karakter dan kesadaran historis generasi muda.

INTRODUCTION

History education at the high school level plays a strategic role in shaping the nation's identity, strengthening collective awareness, and instilling national values in the younger generation. In the high school curriculum, history is a subject that has a very important position (Suparjan, 2020). History subjects not only present the facts of the past, but also frame the way students understand the relationship between the past, present, and future of the nation. According to Sumaludin, (2018), History subjects aim to shape the character of the nation, so that the content and direction of learning are inseparable from the country's ideology and politics. Through history lessons, students are invited to think critically in evaluating and analyzing historical events and relate them to the current condition of the nation (Jufri et al., 2025).

History learning in the classroom is often a reflection of the ruler's interest in shaping a narrative that is considered legitimate, as well as a tool to instill state ideology in students. National curriculum courses on history subjects in high school reflect the complex dynamics of national politics. Curriculum policies continue to be developed to respond to changes that occur in society and the nation (Hasan, 2012). Since independence, Indonesia has experienced three regimes of government that have different political, social, and ideological characteristics: the Old Order (1945-1965), the New Order (1966-1998), and the Reformasi era (1998-present). During

the Old Order period, there were three curriculums including the 1947 curriculum (Rentjana Pelajaran 1947), the Curriculum 1953 (Rentjana Pelajaran unraveled), and Curriculum 1964. History education in the current curriculum is still experimental and seeks to assert a post-colonial national identity. The philosophy of the mass curriculum of the early independence movement was more oriented towards instilling the attitude and spirit of patriotism, which aimed to ignite the spirit of independence and fighting spirit of the younger generation, so that courage emerged in defending Indonesia's independence (Zulkarnain, 2017).

This is different from the New Order period, when the government under Suharto's leadership implemented a centralized approach in the education system. According to Kurnia & Hudaidah (2021), quoted from (Novita et al., 2024), education policies in this period are aimed at creating political stability and economic development, with a focus on increasing the number of formal education graduates. There are several curricula that were applied during the New Order government, including the 1968, 1975, 1984, 1994, and 1999 Education Supplements. The curriculum in the New Order period, especially the subject of history, was designed in such a way as to support the grand narrative of national development and stability. The writing of history has become highly selective, with the main focus on the legitimacy of New Order power and the demonization of groups considered to threaten the integrity of the state, such as the Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI).

Entering the Reformation era, there were attempts to deconstruct the historical narrative built during the New Order period. The decentralization of education provides greater space for regions and

schools to develop a more contextual and inclusive approach to teaching history. The Competency-Based Curriculum (KBK 2004) marked the change of subjects from the beginning as politically indoctrinated indoctrination that led to the competency base of historical science. The goals of national education are adjusted to the demands of reform, namely the adjustment of the central curriculum to the regions we know as KTSP (Suparjan, 2020). The curriculum begins to accommodate local history, broaden the scope of topics, and encourage learning based on critical analysis and reflection. This can be found in the K13 Curriculum and the Merdeka Curriculum.

The transformation of the history curriculum in the three periods of the Indonesian government shows that history education has never been neutral. Each of these periods presents changes in terms of curriculum structure, material selection, pedagogical approach, and the goals of history education itself. He has always been in a tug-of-war between the ideological interests of the state and the ideal educational goal: to form citizens who think critically, have a historical awareness, and can appreciate the diversity of perspectives.

This article aims to critically examine the development of the history curriculum in Indonesian high schools from the Old Order, New Order, to the Reformation period. Therefore, a critical study of changes in the history curriculum in high school is essential to understanding how historical narratives are constructed, conveyed, and passed on to younger generations. With a historical and comparative analytical approach, the author seeks to provide a critical view of the history curriculum in the three governments and its impact on the application of history lessons in the classroom.

METHOD

This research applies library research methods. Literature study or literature review is the activity of searching, reading, understanding, and evaluating various literature sources, research results, and studies relevant to the topic being researched (Amruddin et al., 2022). The main focus of this approach is to collect and critically analyze relevant literature, such as journal articles, books, and other scientific publications (Turcios et al, Subhaktiyasa, 2024). This process is carried out by researching various written sources to gain a deep understanding of the Curriculum applied in Indonesia from the Old Order Period to the Reform Period. The data sources in this study include books, scientific journals, research articles, and historical documents that discuss the national curriculum, from its background, application, and perceived results. The analysis was carried out by browsing through available references, identifying key concepts, and comparing the results of previous research.

RESULTS

Old Order Era History Curriculum

During the Old Order period (1945–1966), education in Indonesia underwent various changes in line with the political, social, and ideological dynamics of the country, which was still in the post-independence consolidation stage. As one of the important instruments in shaping the nation's identity, the history curriculum plays a central role in building a national narrative and instilling ideological values that are in line with the vision of the government at that time. Research conducted by Zulkarnain shows that in the range of 1945-1951 at the high school level, the AMS Curriculum (Sekolah Algemene Middelbare) was still used, which was a

legacy of the Dutch East Indies Colonial government (Zulkarnain, 2020). Along the way, there were several curricula that were applied during the Old Order period, including the 1947 Curriculum (Rentjana Pelajaran 1947), the 1952 Unraveled Curriculum, and the 1964 Curriculum.

1. Curriculum of Rentjana Pelajaran 1947

The first curriculum developed after independence used the term "curriculum", taken from the Dutch "leerplan", which means lesson plan. The term is used more often than politically, marking a shift from the orientation of Dutch education to national interests (Alhamduddin, 2016). The 1947 curriculum, as the first post-independence national curriculum, was still heavily influenced by the Dutch and Japanese colonial education systems. The history lessons in this curriculum are narrative and informative, with an emphasis on world and European history. Indonesian history has not received a large portion, although it has begun to be introduced to foster a sense of nationality in the midst of limited teaching staff and national textbooks (Ministry of Education and Culture, 1994). This is because the focus of the 1947 Curriculum does not emphasize cognitive abilities, but only character education, state and community awareness. The subject matter is also related to daily life, attention to art, and physical education (Anas et al., 2025).

Nevertheless, the 1947 Curriculum places history as an instrument for the formation of the nation's identity and character after independence. The historical material is focused on the struggle for independence, colonialism, and national narratives, which aims to introduce students to the nation's struggle to achieve independence and form a sovereign state (Sulmi & Bahri, 2025). The system of division of education levels at the beginning of

independence inherited education during the Japanese occupation (6-3-3), six years of basic education with the educational institutions being Sekolah Rakyat, three years of junior high school, and three years of upper secondary (Nasution, 1989). History subjects taught in public schools begin to be taught in the fourth year, or fourth grade, with one hour of lessons, fifth and sixth grades become two hours of lessons each.

The learning approach is still descriptive and normative, with a strong emphasis on instilling national values. In the 1947 Curriculum, history material is designed selectively and normatively with the main goal of building a post-independence national identity. The struggle for Indonesian independence was placed as the pinnacle of the historical narrative, with an emphasis on heroism and national unity, so that national history functioned primarily as an instrument of nation-building, not as a critical scientific discipline.

2. Curriculum of Rentjana Pelajaran Terurai 1952

The 1952 curriculum focuses on the Pancawardhana program, which includes creativity, taste, *kasra*, work, and morals. Subjects have been classified into five groups of study areas, namely, moral, intelligence, emotional/artistic, skills, and physical. The government's policy in issuing Law No. 4 of 1950 on national education has placed the Indonesian history curriculum in a respectable position (Zulkarnain, 2017). The philosophy of developing the history curriculum is more towards the discussion of materials and topics related to the period of the national movement. The struggle for independence is presented as the result of a long historical process involving social, political, and cultural dynamics. This is as expressed by Sanjaya (2008), History is used as a means to strengthen the

spirit of nationalism and build citizens who are aware of the identity of their nation.

In this curriculum, the history of the independence struggle is placed at the core of history teaching to instill a sense of nationalism and pride in the nation. Hero figures such as Soekarno, Hatta, Diponegoro, and others were appointed as role models, depicting the spirit of struggle and sacrifice for independence (Sulmi & Bahri, 2025). The subject matter is designed to shape the character of students who love their homeland and appreciate the services of heroes.

3. Curriculum 1964

The peak of the politicization of history education occurred in the 1964 Curriculum, which was designed in the spirit of guided democracy under President Soekarno. The historical narrative focuses on the people's struggle, anti-imperialism, and revolutionary figures, including the positive portrayal of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), in accordance with the political direction of Nasakom (Nationalist, Religious, Communist) adopted by the government at that time (Mujid & Rochman, 2015).

The 1964 curriculum was formulated in the context of Guided Democracy and was strongly influenced by the revolutionary orientation and political ideology of the country at that time. This curriculum is directed to form the concept of "Indonesian socialist man," which is in line with the goals of national development, namely the realization of a just and prosperous society based on Pancasila. In this framework, history learning is no longer presented as neutral knowledge but functions as an ideological means to instill national consciousness and strengthen the spirit of revolution. In line with MPRS Decree No. II/MPRS/1960, education is

directed to produce citizens who have morals, have work readiness in various sectors, and can mobilize the power of the people. Therefore, historical material focuses on the narrative of the independence struggle and revolutionary figures, such as the depiction of Soekarno's heroism, while the learning strategy is designed to form a generation that has high loyalty to the country's leadership and ideology, making history education a strategic instrument in the formation of national political identity.

The 1964 curriculum carried the Pancawardana Program and still contained an integrated social science approach. Historical material has not yet stood as a completely independent discipline, but is integrated with other sciences, especially geography. The distribution of material includes: Earth science in the Southeast Asian region, the Prehistoric period, the Development of early kingdoms, and History as part of integrated social education.

The explanation and explanation of the findings obtained by the author from various previous sources can draw a common thread that related to history lessons in the Old Order, history lessons in the Old Order era developed from an informative form of teaching to a stronger ideological and political function. Each curriculum reflects a change in the state's orientation towards the role of education in shaping the nation's collective identity and consciousness.

New Order Era History Curriculum

History is not only about the past, but also a mirror of power. During the New Order period, mirrors were directed, polished, and even manipulated to display the shadow the state wanted. The New Order government seems to understand very well that the subject of history can

be used as a strategic means to carry out its political policies. This is based on the belief that history plays an important role in shaping the morals, national spirit, and character of students so that they grow up to be individuals with noble character. This reality was evident in 1983, when a political document demanded the strengthening of nationalistic values, which then led to the birth of the 1984 Curriculum. This curriculum presents a new course, namely Education in the History of the Nation's Struggle (PSPB), which actually has a focus of study that is almost similar to the previous National History subjects (Safitri & Purwaningsih, 2016).

1. Curriculum 1968

The 1968 curriculum, which replaced the curriculum of the Guided Democracy era, emphasized political stability and the cultivation of Pancasila values. In history lessons, emphasis is placed on the importance of national unity, the history of Indonesian nationalism, and the role of the military in the struggle for independence. The material is structured chronologically and fact-oriented, with the elimination of narratives that are considered communitarian or potentially triggering ideological conflicts. In the early days of the New Order, the government used the history lessons in the 1968 Curriculum to shape the character and way of thinking of the younger generation by instilling their identity in Pancasila, as well as dissolving the influence of the PKI and Soekarno through the narrative of accusations of betrayal and deviation from Pancasila (Safitri & Purwaningsih, 2016). The direction of history learning is focused on instilling the values of unity, nationalism, and political stability.

The History material in the 1968 curriculum was adjusted to the condition of the nation related to political stability. History materials or

history teaching materials in this curriculum, such as Indonesian History from the prehistoric period to the early New Order, the suppression of the G30S/PKI, the state version of national history, and Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution in a historical context.

2. Curriculum 1975

History subjects in the 1975 curriculum have integrated status in social studies and are included in subjects that instill Pancasila educators. However, if we examine the social studies syllabus, especially the history material at the junior high and high school levels, it can be seen that this curriculum not only serves to strengthen the state ideology, but also inherits the values of the 1945 Proclamation and acts as an instrument for delivering New Order development programs to students (Safitri & Purwaningsih, 2016). Furthermore, Safitri and Purwaningsih (2016) underlined the 1975 curriculum as an effort to support the policy of development of the old order period and the inheritance of 1945 values, including, 1) History subjects as the legacy of 1945 values; 2) History subjects to support the development policies of the New Order Government; and 3) History Subjects as the Cultivation of Pancasila Ideology.

In the 1975 Curriculum, the history subject material is arranged in a directed manner to instill a chronological understanding of the nation's struggle while building ideological awareness and national development. At the junior high school level, based on GBPP IPS history subjects, the Proclamation of Independence on August 17, 1945 was positioned as the peak of the struggle of the Indonesian nation, which was followed by a discussion of the struggle to defend and fill independence. This material emphasizes the continuity between physical struggle and post-

independence responsibility. Meanwhile, at the high school level, the instructional objectives emphasize students' awareness of the historical background of the birth of the Proclamation and the internalization of the spirit and soul of 1945 as the moral foundation of the nation's life.

History learning is also directed to understand the role of the government in national development, especially in the economic field through price, finance, and taxation policies, with the aim of increasing the prosperity of the people. In addition, the historical material contains the cultivation of an understanding of active free foreign policy based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, as well as the appreciation and practice of Pancasila values in daily life. Thus, history in the 1975 Curriculum not only serves as a narrative of the past, but also as a means of forming citizens who are ideological, development-oriented, and loyal to the foundation of the state (Safirti, 2016).

The 1975 curriculum emphasized the determination of learning objectives to improve the effectiveness of education, as well as the implementation of MBO Management based on the goals that were popular at that time. The focus includes teaching methods, material selection, and implementation efficiency. The birth of this curriculum is influenced by the concept of unit-based learning, where each topic is designed as a structured learning unit (Alhamduddin, 2016). The division of material in the 1975 curriculum is normatively still the same as the previous curriculum structure, but there is an addition of material on Indian influence on culture in Indonesia.

3. Curriculum 1984

The 1984 curriculum applies the Skills Approach as the basis of the learning process. Despite the focus on the learning stage, learning objectives remain a major concern. Therefore, this curriculum is often referred to as a refinement of the 1975 Curriculum, by placing students as the main subject in the learning process (Wardhana, 2021). The CBSA Learning Model (active student learning method) began to be introduced in this curriculum. The application of this CBSA model allows students to observe things, group, discuss and report, so that students have an active role in the learning process.

The History subject matter is still integrated with the Social Science subject in high school, containing World and National History which examines various historical events, ranging from the rise of the national struggle to the development of the Indonesian state order. These two subjects are designed to examine the journey of civilization from global events to the process of formation and development of post-independence Indonesia with the aim of providing students with a comprehensive understanding of historical dynamics while generating comprehensive historical awareness. The main material includes the events of independence, the formation of the state, and the political and social dynamics after independence, with the aim of forming a collective memory and critical understanding of the nation's journey. The 1984 Curriculum is a refinement of the 1975 Curriculum and uses a process skill approach. The historical material is focused more specifically on the history of the nation's struggle. The distribution of materials includes the preparation of Indonesian independence, the process of the proclamation of

independence, the figures of the proclamation, and the effort to defend independence.

Major changes occurred in the 1984 Curriculum, which introduced the National History of Struggle Education (PSPB) course as a complement to National History (Safitri & Purwaningsih, 2016). History subjects with more emphasis on understanding concepts so that students have the ability to understand the core of the material to make it easier to connect one historical event with another. Meanwhile, the subject of PSPB (Education of the History of the Struggle of the Nation) emphasizes the struggle of the Indonesian nation in the period of the proclamation of independence on August 17, 1945 until the era of filling independence which is divided into three classes, with the following teaching materials: 1) Dutch colonialism to the establishment of state ministries; 2) about the comparison between Indonesia and the Netherlands to the unilateral actions of the PKI that are contrary to the values of the 1945 Constitution; 3) around the unity of the Indonesian Student Action Unit (KAMI) until the National Development Plan as (Nury Batubara & Aman, 2019).

4. Curriculum 1994 and Educational Supplement 1999

The 1994 curriculum retains the structure and main content of the 1984 curriculum, including the existence of the PSPB, but begins to apply a thematic and integrated approach between subjects. However, history lessons are still single narrative and have not made room for a critical or multivocal approach to looking at the past.

It was only during the transition period after the fall of the New Order that the government published the 1999 Supplementary Curriculum as the first step in reforming history education. This curriculum eliminates PSPB

subjects and restores the focus on Indonesian National History (SNI) with a more open approach. This supplement aims to straighten out previously indoctrinated historical writing, while also introducing new ideas that encourage critical attitudes toward historical sources and narratives. In it, events such as the G30S began to be discussed more carefully, making room for a balanced and scientific approach.

The 1994 curriculum is a refinement of the 1975 and 1984 curriculum, both in terms of objectives and learning process. The historical material is expanded and deepened by adding global and cultural dimensions. The content of the 1994 curriculum material is not much different from the previous curriculum which means that the difference is almost the same is the addition of the material, namely by giving rise to the ancient American Civilization, Hindu-Buddhist culture and its influence on Indonesian culture to inter-regional relations in Indonesia towards unity.

The New Order history curriculum was consistently used as a political tool: from the emphasis on stability and Pancasila (1968), purpose-based structures (1975), the dual path of National History – PSPB to reinforce the heroic narrative and military loyalty (1984), to thematic-integrated (1994), all aimed to shape the character, nationalism, and legitimacy of the regime.

Curriculum of History of the Reform Era

Entering the post-Reformation era of 1998, the history curriculum underwent a paradigm shift from a single narrative oriented towards the legitimacy of power to a more open, critical, and pluralistic approach. Under the spirit of decentralization and regional autonomy, the curriculum emphasizes the development of historical thinking competencies—digging into different sources, weighing different points of view, and connecting

past events with current challenges. So far, there have been four curricula implemented in that era, including the 2004 Competency-Based Curriculum (KBK 2004), the 2006 Education Unit Level Curriculum (KTSP), the 2013 Curriculum, and the Merdeka Curriculum.

1. Competency-Based Curriculum 2004 (KBK)

In the 2004 Competency-Based Curriculum (KBK), history lessons are designed to develop historical thinking competencies, national attitudes, and the ability to apply knowledge in contemporary contexts. At the junior high school level, history is integrated as one of the main components of Social Sciences (IPS). Students are directed to explain the timeline of important events in the world and Indonesia, analyze the cause and effect of historical events, and show tolerance and appreciation for cultural diversity through local study projects (Ministry of National Education, 2006).

At the secondary school level, history is divided into two independent subjects: Indonesian History (grades X–XI) and Modern World History (grade XII). Core competencies include the ability to critique various historiographic interpretations, process primary sources (e.g., inscriptions, archival documents), and relate local dynamics to global contexts. In Permendiknas No. 22 of 2006, the assessment was carried out with specific indicators, including the quality of source analysis, depth of reflection on cultural values, creativity in the presentation of papers or presentations, and collaboration in history projects in accordance with the principles of learning outcomes that emphasize learning outcomes and diversity of methods (Sanjaya, 2006).

2. KTSP 2006

History learning in the KTSP curriculum focuses on local history that is relevant to local politics. This statement is relevant to (Nury Batubara & Aman, 2019). In the Curriculum at the Education Unit Level (KTSP), History and Social Studies teachers have wide freedom to design teaching materials that are tailored to the conditions and needs of their regions.

At the high school (SMA) and Madrasah Aliyah (MA) levels, history is again standing as an independent subject. All students majoring in social studies are required to study Indonesian History, which presents the nation's journey from the pre-colonial period to the Reform era with an approach to analyze historical and historiographic sources. In the Supreme Court, there is also an Islamic Cultural History (SKI) option that highlights the contribution of Islamic civilization to Indonesia's socio-cultural life. The KTSP also gives schools full autonomy in compiling the syllabus and Learning Implementation Plan (RPP), including incorporating local history studies, project-based learning methods, or field studies, as well as authentic assessment models such as portfolios, work products, and essay questions to measure students' overall historical thinking skills.

In general, the subject matter of History at the high school level in the Curriculum at the Education Unit Level (KTSP) for grades X to XII includes several main aspects, namely the basic principles of history, the early civilization of the world and Indonesian society, the development of traditional countries in Indonesia, Indonesia during the colonial period, the period of the national movement, and the proclamation and development of the nation state. These six aspects are the main scope of historical material in the KTSP, which is further elaborated and detailed into a number of subjects according to the grade level. The breakdown of the material is

outlined in the Competency Standards and Basic Competency as a reference for history learning in high school (Pratama & Hidayat, 2022).

Curriculum 2013 (K13)

The 2013 curriculum positions history as a vehicle for developing critical thinking competencies, understanding the global, national, and local context, and shaping national attitudes and interdisciplinary skills. At the high school level, History is divided into two subjects: Compulsory History and History Specialization. Various innovations in History lessons have changed their position significantly. In the 2013 Curriculum, history education is designed to emphasize historical skills and mindsets, instill national values, generate inspiration, and combine national and local historical events into an integrated historical narrative (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2014).

In the 2013 curriculum, history subjects are divided into two, namely compulsory Indonesian history subjects and history specializations. Indonesian history as a subject must contain ten scopes of material that are arranged chronologically and oriented towards the course of national history. The material includes the pre-literacy period, the development of the Hindu-Buddhist and Islamic kingdoms, the colonial period of Western nations, national movements, the Proclamation, and the struggle to defend independence, as well as the political development of post-independence Indonesia, which includes Liberal Democracy, Guided Democracy, New Order, and the Reformation period. This structure affirms Indonesian history as a narrative of continuity from the early period to the contemporary period.

The History Specialization is designed to deepen the understanding of history as a science. The material covers the basic principles of history, the early civilization of the world and Indonesian people, the development of traditional countries, Indonesia during the colonial period, the great revolution of the world and its influence, the rise of heroism and nationalism, the proclamation and development of the Indonesian state, the struggle to defend independence, world dynamics during the Cold War, the development of Indonesian politics during the Liberal and Guided Democracy period, the New Order, Reformasi, and the development of the world during the Cold War. Information and Communication Technology Revolution. This structure shows the integration between national history and global history.

Merdeka Curriculum

The Merdeka Curriculum is one of the programs in the Independent Learning Policy established by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology. In the Merdeka Curriculum, History lessons are designed to be more flexible and contextual, emphasizing the development of historical thinking competencies, national attitudes, and students' ability to connect the past with current challenges. Constructivism is a paradigm used in the Merdeka Curriculum (Armiyati & Djono, 2023). This is not only done in the principles of student-centered learning, but also in the process of preparing Learning Objectives and learning steps.

Teachers can design a Pancasila Student Profile Strengthening Project that explores local historical themes such as village origins, the role of local community leaders, or cultural heritage sites as part of project-based learning. Students are invited to collect field data, interview resource

persons, and present their findings, so that the learning process becomes lively, relevant, and fosters a sense of ownership of the surrounding historical heritage.

The scope of the History subject includes an introduction to history that provides a basic understanding of the concepts, methods, and uses of history, followed by a discussion of the origins of the ancestors of the Indonesian nation and the role of spice routes in shaping early global interactions. The next material highlights the development of the Hindu-Buddhist and Islamic kingdoms in Indonesia as the foundation of civilization and the socio-cultural dynamics of the archipelago. The period of colonization and resistance of the Indonesian nation became an important focus to understand the impact of imperialism and the birth of national consciousness, which then developed in the phase of the national movement towards independence. History lessons also include the struggle to defend independence as an effort to consolidate a new state, as well as the dynamics of Indonesia's post-independence political life, which includes the period of Liberal Democracy, Guided Democracy, New Order, and Reformasi. The entire scope of the material is arranged chronologically to build a comprehensive understanding of the historical journey of the Indonesian nation from the early period to the contemporary period (Armiyati & Djono, 2023).

The overall structure of History learning in the Independent Curriculum is directed to produce Pancasila students who are creative, critical, and collaborative, and able to connect historical knowledge with actual issues, ranging from climate change, cultural diversity, to Indonesia's

role on the global stage through peer teaching methods, virtual/field history tours, and reflective portfolios.

DISCUSSION

1. History as an Instrument of Nation-Building in the Old Order Era

The findings of the study show that in the Old Order era, the subject of history functioned mainly as an instrument for the formation of national identity and the ideological consolidation of the state after independence. The 1947 Rentjana Pelajaran curriculum began to introduce Indonesian history as a means of fostering national awareness. History has not been developed as a critical academic discipline, but as a medium of character education and state awareness.

This development was further strengthened in the 1952 Curriculum, when history was placed as the main vehicle for the cultivation of nationalism through narratives of struggle and heroic figures. The peak occurred in the 1964 Curriculum, where history was explicitly politicized and functioned as an ideological tool of the state. In the context of Guided Democracy, history is no longer presented as an objective reconstruction of the past, but as a revolutionary narrative to form an "Indonesian socialist" loyal to national ideology and leadership. Thus, these findings confirm that in the Old Order era, history learning shifted from an informative function to an increasingly strong ideological-political function.

2. Standardization, Indoctrination, and Legitimacy of Power in the New Order Era

The results of the study show that in the New Order era, history was systematically used as a tool for power legitimization and political stabilization. The 1968 curriculum marked an attempt to depoliticize the

Old Order version by replacing it with a state version of the national historical narrative, which emphasized Pancasila, stability, and the role of the military. History is arranged chronologically and factually, but selectively in the selection of events and their interpretation.

The 1975 curriculum reinforces this function through the structuring of measurable and structured instructional objectives. History not only inherits the values of the 1945 Proclamation, but also serves as a means of socializing development ideology and Pancasila. The placement of the Proclamation as the pinnacle of the historical narrative and the emphasis on active foreign economic and political development show that history is directed to form obedient, productive, and loyal citizens to the state.

In the 1984 and 1994 Curricula, despite the introduction of the process approach and the CBSA, the substance of the historical material remained within the framework of a single state narrative. The presence of PSPB subjects specifically emphasizes the orientation of indoctrination, with a focus on heroism, anti-communism, and the legitimacy of the New Order. Thus, these findings show that pedagogical innovation in the New Order era was not necessarily followed by epistemological freedom in writing and learning history.

3. Paradigm Shift Towards Critical History in the Reform Era

In contrast to the previous era, the research findings indicate a significant paradigm shift in the Reform era. The post-1998 curriculum, starting from KBK 2004, KTSP 2006, Curriculum 2013, to the Independent Curriculum, shows an effort to deconstruct a single narrative of history. History is no longer solely positioned as a tool for legitimizing power, but

rather as a means of developing historical thinking competencies, critical awareness, and a multivocal understanding of the past.

The KTSP gives teachers and schools broad autonomy to develop local and contextual history, while the 2013 Curriculum affirms the integration of national and global history through the separation of compulsory history and specialization. At its peak, the Independent Curriculum places history in a constructivist paradigm, with an emphasis on project-based learning, exploration of local history, and strengthening the Pancasila Student Profile. This shows the historical transformation of the state narrative into a space for dialogue between the past, the present, and the challenges of the future.

4. Patterns of Continuity and Discontinuity of Historical Material

Despite the paradigm change, this study also found the continuity of core themes in history materials throughout the curriculum, such as prehistory, Hindu-Buddhist and Islamic kingdoms, colonialism, the struggle for independence, and post-independence political dynamics. However, what distinguishes each era is the way in which material is chosen, emphasized, and interpreted. In the Old Order and New Order, the continuity of the theme was framed in the ideological narrative of the state, while in the Reformation era, the same theme was studied with a more open, analytical, and contextual approach.

Table 1. Comparative Analysis of History Subjects Across Curriculum Eras

Era	Curriculum	Historical Position	Material Characteristics	Main Orientation
Old Order	1947	Limited, the formation of national identity	Moral education of the nation's consciousness	Nation building awal

Old Order	1952	The essence of nationalism	Struggle, heroes, national movements	Nationalism
Old Order	1964	Ideological	Revolution, anti-imperialism, Nasakom	Ideological loyalty
New Order	1968	National version of the country	Anti-PKI, Pancasila, stability	Legitimacy of the regime
New Order	1975	Social studies & ideology	Proclamation, development, Pancasila	Pembangunan
New Order	1984	History , PSPB	Heroism, the Struggle of the Nation	Indoctrination
New Order	1994/1999	Limited thematic	National–global, the beginning of correction	Transition
Reformasi	KBK 2004	Competency-based	Source analysis, historiography	Historical thinking
Reformasi	KTSP 2006	Autumn	National & local history	Decentralization
Reformasi	K13	Compulsory & specialization	National–global integrated	Critical & character
Reformasi	Independent Curriculum	Flexible & contextual	Projects, local history	Constructivism

Overall, this discussion emphasizes that history subjects in Indonesia have never been neutral, but are always intertwined with the ideological, political, and paradigm interests of education in each era. The transformation of the historical curriculum from the Old Order to the Independent Curriculum reflects a shift in the function of history—from a tool of legitimacy of power to a means of forming citizens who are critical, reflective, and aware of the complexities of the past.

CONCLUSION

The transformation of the history curriculum reflects the struggle of each regime in formulating the collective narrative and goals of the nation's education. In the Old Order era, the curriculum evolved from colonial heritage to an emphasis on the spirit of independence and the formation of national identity. During the New Order period, history was politicized into an instrument of state legitimacy that turned into a dual path between National History and the National Struggle for History Education to instill the values of Pancasila, unity, and loyalty to the regime.

Entering the Reform era, the curriculum underwent decentralization and democratization: starting from the KBK, which emphasizes the competence of historical thinking, the KTSP, which provides regional autonomy, until 2013, and the Independent Curriculum, which encourages contextual, critical, and project-based learning. This trip emphasizes how the history curriculum not only records the past but also models the present and shapes the future discourse of Indonesia's young generation.

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