

The Influence of the Political System on Education Curriculum Policy in Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to describe the literature review on the influence of politics on changes in education curriculum policy in Indonesia from 2004-2013. This research method employs a qualitative approach with a literature review framework. The research process entails gathering articles, filtering them, presenting them, engaging in discussions, and drawing findings. The primary sources of research data include books, journals, and national articles published during the past seven years. The findings indicated that out of ten articles, four were relevant to the topic of discussion. The curriculum underwent several revisions following the reform era in 1998. These changes included the implementation of the Competency-Based Curriculum in 2004, the introduction of the Education Unit curriculum in 2006, and the adoption of the 2013 curriculum. Curriculum revisions in Indonesia are frequently influenced by the prevailing political system as a way to demonstrate leadership authority during that period. Therefore, curriculum modifications are not grounded on educational requirements.

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1. INTRODUCTION

An issue in Indonesian education is to curriculum policies that frequently undergo unclear and unfocused changes. Changes in curriculum policy occur due to variations in one or more elements of the curriculum across two distinct time periods, resulting from a conscious endeavour (Soetopo & Soemanto via Muhammedi, 2016: 50). Muhammedi (2016: 51) asserts that the issue of curricular policy change in Indonesia is impacted by the intentional socio-political structure. Thirteen policy changes have occurred in Indonesia's curriculum policy over the seventy-eight years of its independence, indicating a clear trend. Istanti (2014) argues that the Indonesian people have come to believe that every change in political regime leads to the implementation of new curriculum policies, due to the frequent changes in curriculum policy.

Bondi (2008) elucidates in his book "Curriculum Development: A Guide to Practise" the impact of the political system on the formulation of educational curriculum policies. Political influence demonstrates that each time there is a change in leadership in a country, there is a corresponding shift in the education curriculum policy. Policymakers employ many strategies to regulate educational curriculum policies and embed political messages inside novel learning materials and methodologies. An instance of this can be observed in communist nations, where a technique known as brainwashing is

extensively employed to mould the thinking in accordance with the principles of communism. Education is commonly regarded as a subordinate aspect of political power. Contemporary education no longer seeks to cultivate a holistic Indonesian individual, but rather, it attempts to foster the influence and agendas of specific factions or collectives (Amelia, 2019).

Sirozi (2010) explains that the general picture between the world of education and politics are two issues that affect each other. In reality, the involvement of the political system is considered to have inserted elements of group power in the world of education. Therefore, the insertion of elements of group power in the world of education is considered a problem that has caused unrest to all parties. The strong relationship between the problems of education and the political system is an attempt to emphasize the beliefs of each ruling group. They put policies in education based on their views and interests. This manifestation has occurred for a long time and the government makes educational curriculum policies based on political system considerations.

The preceding description lends credence to the idea that politics play a significant role in shaping educational policy in a wide range of contexts. To appreciate the extent to which politics influences the educational process, it is vital to grasp the nature of the connection between the two. Numerous studies, such as those conducted by Anugrah, Jalinus, and Abdullah (2021), suggest that a country's philosophical, psychological, sociocultural, and political foundations all play a role in shaping the country's educational curriculum policy. Politics play a pivotal role in shaping the educational reform process, which can shift at any time in response to shifting political conditions.

According to Asrori (2015), the Indonesian government uses the country's educational system to further its own political goals. Therefore, efforts to assert power cannot be divorced from the reality of issues in the classroom. According to Hastuti (2019), curricular shifts are influenced by politics. The timeline of course revisions from 1974 to 2013 demonstrates this. In Indonesia, political shifts coincided with curricular revisions. The preceding discussion of the impact of politics on education policy in Indonesia exemplifies the close relationship between politics and education. That's why our survey of the literature will focus on how politics affects school curriculum guidelines in Indonesia.

2. METHODS

This literature review uses a qualitative method with a descriptive approach. The descriptive qualitative method is a literature method with a focus on documentation studies, derived from published written sources such as journals, articles, magazines, and other sources related to research studies. The purpose of the literature review is to explain, describe, and explain in detail the concept of the problem under study (Sugiono, 2016).

The data in the literature review is in the form of secondary data, namely theoretical studies, expert opinions, journal literature, books, the internet, and articles related to the topic of discussion, so it is not necessary to go directly to the field. Secondary data is data obtained through media, documents such as notes and images, or data obtained indirectly (Miles & Saldana, 2014).

Based on the explanation above, the author used a literature review by analyzing scientific articles from national journals as a research method to carry out the intended research. The stages used in the literature review are as follows.

1. Article collection is a stage carried out by searching and downloading articles related to the research topic and title.
2. Article reduction means summarizing, and selecting things that are the main and important focus in the research. The results of the reduction will provide a clear picture and make it easier for the author to collect further data.
3. The preparation of this article is done in the form of tables, brief descriptions, and relationships between variables.
4. The discussion is carried out based on the type of literature review used, in this case, the literature review chosen is a theoretical study. The type of theoretical study is a special study in which the author describes several theories and concepts related to the research.

5. Conclusions are drawn based on the discussion that has been carried out previously.

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Policy is generally understood as a series of concepts and principles that form the basis for the implementation of work, leadership, and government action in achieving goals. The policy is a general line of decision-making in all areas of the organization including education. The concept of education policy as a consideration is based on situational factors. These considerations are used as the basis for operating institutionalized education can be achieved (Departemen Pendidikan Nasional, 2007). Based on the explanation above, it can be concluded that policy is the government's agenda in formulating and implementing policies. The principles contained in the policy are used as guidelines in determining decisions. Policy in this context is used as a guide in determining the direction of the vision and mission of the education policy system to achieve educational goals.

Arwidayanto, Sukung, & Tune (2018) argue that education policy is part of political policy. Education policy is a form of manifestation of the vision and mission of education based on human and political philosophy in the context of political, economic, social, and cultural situations. Education policy is held by the government that has the authority. Therefore, what has been decided by the government in the field of education must also be implemented. Based on the explanation above, it can be concluded that the concept of education policy merges with the concept of policy in general. It's just that the focus is different, education policy is the result of decisions made by the government or education providers on the emergence of various educational problems. Education policy is also a guideline and solution to achieve the vision and mission of education. In addition, education policy is influenced by the sustainability of the political system, because every policy is based on the interests of organizational groups.

3.1 Education Policy

Law No. 20 of 2003 states that the direction and objectives of education policy in Indonesia are to seek to expand and equalize the quality of education for all Indonesians, improve academic ability and guarantee the welfare of educators so that they function optimally, and reform the curriculum to serve the diversity of students. Education organizing activities are contained in Government Regulation No. 17/2010 Chapter II as follows.

- a. Article 5 paragraph 1 contains the minister's responsibilities in managing the national education system, and formulating and setting national education policy.
- b. Article 6 paragraph 1 contains the national education policy as a long-term plan, national education strategic plan, government work plan, and annual budget plan.
- c. Article 6 paragraph 2 contains national policies covering the strategy and implementation of national development.
- d. Article 6 paragraph 3 states that the national education policy is a guideline for the government, ministries, and all alliances of education providers.
- e. Article 6 paragraph 4 contains that the government in allocating education funds can be implemented effectively, efficiently, and accountably.
- f. Article 6 paragraph 5 states that the allocation of the education budget is determined by the minister.

Based on the above regulations, it can be concluded that the formulation of education policy must pay attention to the components that complement one policy component with another. Each component affects the policy system that is formulated. The components of education policy consist of goals, plans, programs, decisions, and effects (Jenkins, 1978). The first component relates to goals as the results expected by individuals and organizations within an agreed timeframe. Goals are the initial plan that is drawn up in an activity. Educational policies must have objectives so that their implementation is clear. The second component relates to more specific planning. Work plans as education policy management so that the implementation process is clear and directed. The third component is program

development based on pre-designed goals. The program is an effort made to see the success rate of a goal. Educational policymaking is expected to develop alternatives during the decision-making process. The fourth component, decision making a form of action in determining goals, creating programs, implementing, and evaluating decision-making must see the results of trials of alternative education policies. The results of education policy decisions must be rationally adjusted by all parties. The fifth component is related to the impact caused after the planning program runs. The impact can come from within or outside the policy, or be primary and secondary.

3.2 Political System and Education Policy

Politics and education have a very close relationship. This situation can be seen from the role of the political system in determining the direction of educational progress in a country. This relationship can have both positive and negative impacts on the development of education. The positive impact results from the relationship between the government as the holder of an important role in politics can subsidize education. With these subsidies, education can develop as it should.

Experts argue that education is one of the efforts or means to preserve state power. Michael W. Apple via Tilaar (2003) argues that the cultural politics of a country is channeled through its educational institutions so that in education the system of power in a society is channeled. Efforts to instill a state's principles, doctrines, and agreements through education are carried out in a way that cannot be traced at a glance because they are usually implicit in an educational material or curriculum so that unconsciously the people who follow and obtain education have also supported the country's special goals.

The link between education and politics is understood by society in two ways. First, there are groups of people who say that education is politics, and politics is education or the two are separate. Secondly, there is a group of people who state that education and politics are interrelated. Talking about the relationship between education and politics, in formal schools the education policy has been determined from the center even though it has now implemented educational autonomy.

3.3 The Influence of the Political System on Education Curriculum Policy

Handayani (2022) argues that leadership changes have affected changes in education policy. One of these changes is related to the curriculum, which often changes without a clear period. Istanti, (2014) states that changes in education policy are reinforced by the assumption that changing the minister, changing the curriculum. This portrait has become a cultural tradition carried out by the government in office at that time, which will bring changes to the curriculum during its leadership.

The phenomenon of changing educational policies related to the curriculum in Indonesia began in 1947, 1964, 1968, 1973, 1975, 1984, 1994, 1997, 2004, 2006, and finally 2013. Then, during the COVID-19 pandemic, the Ministry of Education and Culture issued a Decree of the Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia Number 719/2022 concerning Guidelines for Implementing the Curriculum in Education Units in special conditions, an emergency curriculum was implemented. Finally, the change in the education curriculum in Indonesia was the implementation of the prototype curriculum in 2500 driving schools throughout Indonesia. The prototype curriculum then changed its name to the Merdeka Curriculum which will be implemented in 2022/2023 (Santika, Suarni, & Lasmawan, 2022). If you look at the skewed view of the stigma of changing the minister changing the curriculum, it seems to position the government and the minister as the sole authority in curriculum change in Indonesia. The curriculum is not only born from the ideas or thoughts of a minister alone because curriculum changes cannot be done carelessly without being preceded by careful consideration or study (Alawiyah, 2013).

Policy problems with changes in leadership regimes make these changes lose the meaning of the policy itself. Policy changes occur without more professional studies and evaluations because it is only a place to show off the abilities of the power holders at that time. However, whatever the background and purpose of its emergence, the tendency to separate and integrate education and politics is an

important issue that needs to be examined, both by educational scientists and political scientists. Understanding the characteristics of the relationship between education and politics is a necessary prerequisite for understanding the politics of education as a field of academic study and some of the myths that surround it (Hartono, 2016).

Table 1. Article Display

No.	Name of Article Author	Year of Issue	Title of Article	Name of Journal
1.	Mohammad Asrori	2015	<i>Politik dan Pendidikan (Tinjauan Hisroris Pengaruh Kebijakan Politik Terhadap Sistem Pendidikan di Indonesia</i>	J-PAI: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam
2.	Ahmad Yani	2016	<i>Penundaan Implementasi Kurikulum 2013 di Indonesia: Perspektif Budaya dan Sosial-Politik di Era Kabinet Jokowi-JK</i>	Sosiohumanika
3.	Maimuna Ritonga	2018	<i>Politik dan Dinamika Kebijakan Perubahan Kurikulum Pendidikan di Indonesia Hingga Masa Reformasi</i>	Bina Gogik
4.	Noer Fadlilah Wening Dwi Hastuti	2019	<i>Politik dan Sistem Pendidikan Nasional: Pengaruh Politik Terhadap Implementasi Kurikulum di Indonesia</i>	UMS

3.3.1 Competency-Based Curriculum (2004)

Indonesia introduced a new curriculum in 2004, following the reform phase that began in 1998. The curriculum implemented in 2004 was designated as the Competency-Based Curriculum (KBK). During that period, the focus was on ensuring that students acquired the necessary skills and knowledge to successfully meet the established competencies. The Competency-Based Curriculum incorporates a wider range of techniques and methods in its learning activities. During that period, the Ministry of National Education aimed to expand the range of educational resources beyond just teachers, to include other materials that effectively incorporate instructional components. The Minister in office during that period was Abdul Malik Fadjar.

3.3.2 Education Unit Level Curriculum

In 2006, the government reintroduced the Education Unit Level Curriculum (KTSP) two years after its initial release. The 2006 Curriculum established competency criteria and fundamental competencies for educational units, as mandated by the central government. Teachers were also required to possess the ability to create syllabi and tests that align with the specific circumstances of their schools and localities. Minister Bambang Sudibyo oversaw the Ministry of National Education that year.

3.3.3 Curriculum 2013

The Curriculum 2013, sometimes referred to as Kurtilas, emphasises the cognitive, emotional, and psychomotor dimensions of students. This curriculum is reputed to prioritise comprehension, proficiency, and moral development. Under the 2013 curriculum, students must possess a comprehensive grasp of the subject matter and actively engage in discussions and presentations. This curriculum also introduces an integrated approach that incorporates all disciplines into thematic units, aiming to ensure that teaching materials are not limited to certain courses. The curriculum was disseminated by the Ministry of Education and Culture (Kemendikbudristek, 2021). Mohammad Nuh was the Minister of Education and Culture at the time, with Fasli Jalal serving as his deputy.

In article 1, Asrori (2015) the influence of the political and educational system on the curriculum after the collapse of the Megawati government. Then, the government created a reliable system to produce quality education products. The Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono administration wanted to

improve the quality of education of the nation's children, compared to the previous government era. The Education Unit Level Curriculum (KTSP) is a reconstruction of the Competency-Based Curriculum (KBK). The Education Unit Level Curriculum and Competency-Based Curriculum are similar, in substance both produce quality output. The Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono government has launched a state budget (APBN) with a target of 20% in the framework of efforts to improve the quality of education, including Islamic education. However, in the process of implementation until now there is still a tug of war that is not to the expectations of the community. The influence between politics and education is an inevitability regarding power. The reality of Indonesian politics in addressing educational problems cannot be separated from efforts to perpetuate power by functionalizing various subsystems, including the education sector as a means of succeeding policies and the main objectives of leadership. Therefore, education in Indonesia is a product of political interests that place education as one of the tools of power.

In article II, Yani (2016) the influence of politics and education on the implementation of the 2013 curriculum in Indonesia during the Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla administration. The implementation of the 2013 curriculum is one of the initial policy breakthroughs of the Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla cabinet government. This breakthrough caused pros and cons among the public because it was considered still politically gray after the 2014 direct presidential election, between supporters of Prabowo and Hatta Rajasa. Many comments are no longer professional academic but rather lead to political partisanship based on likes and dislikes of the policy.

The findings in the research in article II, also explain first the positive perceptions of teachers regarding the 2013 curriculum. Second, based on the findings, the community is disappointed with the policy delays made by the Jokowi-Jusuf Kalla government because it is considered a waste of the government budget. Third, the 2013 curriculum was initiated in a hurry and forced. In addition, it does not provide space for teacher creativity and does not guarantee to improve the quality of education in Indonesia. Fourth, the attitude of teachers who tend to be more "comfortable" with implementing the 2006 curriculum because the learning tools are already available (no need to make new lesson plans and no need to make authentic assessment tools).

In article III, Ritonga (2018) the politics and dynamics of education curriculum policy in Indonesia until the reform period. First, the Competency-Based Curriculum (KBK 2004) is a curriculum model that applies in Indonesia as a consequence of the enactment of legislation on decentralization governing central and regional governments. The implementation of the Competency-Based Curriculum as a form of curriculum innovation along with the emergence of the spirit of educational reform. The Competency-Based Curriculum replaces the 1994 curriculum which emphasizes more flexibility in teaching and learning activities. The Competency-Based Curriculum is an education curriculum that changes and causes confusion for educators and students. Learners seem to be the government's experimental material in finding a curriculum that has a greater influence on the quality of education. So, it is not surprising that the government carried out this policy for not even a year, then the Government replaced it again with the Education Unit Level Curriculum (KTSP).

The Education Unit Level Curriculum is an operational curriculum that is prepared and implemented by each education unit. Curriculum preparation is based on competency standards and basic competencies developed by the National Education Standards Agency (BNSP). The Education Unit Level Curriculum was enacted nationally with the issuance of PP No. 19/2005 and Permendiknas No. 24/2006. Assessment standards have not maximally directed competency-based assessment (process and results) and have not explicitly demanded remediation on a scale.

The presence of the 2013 curriculum is expected to be able to complement the shortcomings that exist in the previous curriculum. The 2013 curriculum is structured by developing and strengthening attitudes, knowledge, and skills in a balanced manner. The emphasis of learning is directed at mastering knowledge and skills that can develop spiritual and social attitudes according to characteristics. This is to the objectives of national education which aims to develop the potential of students to become human beings who have faith and laughter in God Almighty, have a noble

character, are healthy, knowledgeable, capable, creative, and independent, and become democratic and responsible citizens.

In article IV, Hastuti (2019) political influence on curriculum implementation in Indonesia. Based on the history of the national education curriculum, there have been curriculum changes from 1947 to 2013. As is known, the 2004 curriculum during the leadership of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) enacted the Competency-Based Curriculum (KBK). The curriculum during the leadership of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono emphasized the competence of teachers and students. During Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's leadership, the curriculum changed three times. Until finally in 2013 the government established the 2013 Curriculum (Kurtilas). In the implementation of this curriculum, the government also made policies by updating the subject matter and on December 4, 2014, the 2013 Curriculum was dismissed and returned to the 2006 KTSP.

Based on the explanation of several articles above, the influence of politics on education based on Law Number 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System which is the result of political consensus, namely (a) politics has an influence on educational activities in the creation of values and expectations of citizens by what is needed by the state, (b) politics affects educational resources such as infrastructure supporting learning activities, teacher training, and teacher salary allowances, (c) politics affects the education budget, (d) politics influences the quality of graduates seen from the political, cultural, economic, the social behavior of graduates.

a. Politics influences educational activities in the creation of values and expectations for citizens

Politics has an influence on the implementation of the National Education system in determining the values and human character needed. However, political influence often leads to inconsistencies by policymakers such as the legislature and the government regarding the follow-up of educational goals as stated in the 1945 Constitution.

b. Politics affects the education budget

The education budget is stated in Article 31 paragraph (4) of the 1945 Constitution that the state prioritizes an education budget of at least 20% of the state revenue and expenditure budget or regional revenue and expenditure budget with the reality and practice of education funding. However, in reality, the education budget of 20% of the regional and state budgets already includes teachers' salaries and other benefits. The inconsistency in education funding causes education support facilities such as school buildings, sports facilities, and other infrastructure tools to be inappropriate as needed.

c. Politics affects education resources such as teacher salaries, infrastructure to support learning activities, and teacher training.

One of the important requirements in developing a meaningful learning process is the availability of professional teachers. Teacher professionalism is currently in the middle range, out of 2.7 million teachers in Indonesia. The educational qualification is 65% of their teacher education is below 4 years. The provision of professional teachers has been neglected. Based on Law No. 14/2005 on teachers and lecturers, which requires teachers with A1 and D4+ level education. One of the shortcomings in teacher education before serving as a teacher is professional practice. At this stage, for two semesters the students learn to apply various basic professional academic knowledge. In the school environment, students observe, lead, and guide the learning process under the supervision of a team of professional lecturers. The teacher certification policy is an effort to encourage teachers to be professional, but in reality, there are indications that the teacher certification policy has failed to make teachers professional. Most of them only pursue certification benefits.

d. Politics affects the school system, such as school structure, teacher reward system, and student enrolment system.

Expanding access to education is a policy pillar that is directed at accommodating more education units with the aim that all citizens have equal opportunities in obtaining educational facilities. The education access expansion program is the implementation of the main policy of equal distribution

of education facilities and access. This policy includes performance-based education financing, the implementation of school-based management, and the full involvement of community participation in the planning, management, supervision, and delivery of more effective, efficient, and quality education services by the needs of citizens. In addition, to realize healthy and accountable governance of education implementation, it will be carried out intensively through an integrated and sustainable system of internal control, community supervision, and functional supervision.

- e. Politics affects the quality of graduates, which can be seen in how education graduates behave politically, culturally, economically, and socially.

Law No. 20 of 2003 adheres to active learning and student-centered learning models to realize schools as centers for the acculturation of abilities, values, and attitudes. The national exam held at the end of the education level with several subjects included in the form of objective tests is expected to cultivate various dimensions of learning. The national exam is a manifestation of the learning process at school in the form of memorization and practice answering questions.

The National Exam is touted as a way of testing the cognitive dimension. Cognitive abilities in a broad sense include the ability to research, the ability to analyze, the ability to assess, the ability to identify problems, and the ability to solve problems, all of which require the ability to read, the ability to write thoughts and reports, the ability to calculate, all of which need to be cultivated so that all abilities that develop become part of the learners' personality system which includes their character and morals.

The future is anticipated to be influenced by efforts to enhance quality, relevance, and competitiveness. These efforts aim to facilitate harmonious coexistence and interaction among individuals in diverse social and cultural settings. Additionally, they seek to elevate the standard of living within communities, promote the appreciation and adherence to humanistic values such as faith, piety, noble character, ethics, national awareness, strong personality, aesthetic expression, and physical well-being. The objective of enhancing the quality of education is to attain a higher standard of education that aligns with the national benchmarks for education, encompassing aspects such as curriculum, teaching methods, student skills, educators and staff, facilities and infrastructure, administration, funding, and evaluation. To achieve this objective, the focus is on enhancing the calibre, pertinence, and competitiveness of education by promoting the use of efficient, enjoyable, and intellectually stimulating learning methodologies that align with the age, maturity, and developmental stage of students.

4. CONCLUSION

The findings of the literature study on the impact of the political system on education curriculum policy in Indonesia, as presented in the four evaluated publications, indicate that the political system has a significant influence on education policy in Indonesia, particularly in relation to the implementation of the curriculum. Curriculum modifications are frequently employed as a mechanism of authority by each leader in office, resulting in a deviation from educational necessities as the basis for such changes. Following the reform phase in 1998, a new curriculum known as the Competency-Based Curriculum was implemented. The 2004 competency-based curriculum was replaced with the 2006 Education Unit Level Curriculum after a two-year period of implementation. Subsequently, the education curriculum transitioned to the 2013 curriculum and has remained in use since then. The modifications made to the education curriculum in Indonesia aim to enhance the quality of education, independent of any political influence. Nevertheless, alterations that transpire without explicit socialisation render the task arduous for both educators and learners.

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