



Political review of the failure of the revision of Undang-Undang Nomor 20 Tahun 2003 Tentang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional in 2023 and its impact on education in Indonesia

Boyke Azwar¹, Muhammad Sirozi², Sholihah Titin Sumanti³

¹Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Al Hikmah, Tanjung Balai, Indonesia

²Universitas Islam Negeri Raden Fatah, Palembang, Indonesia

³Universitas Islam Negeri Sumatera Utara, Deli Serdang, Indonesia

boyke_aza@yahoo.co.id¹, msirozi@uinradenfatah.ac.id², solihahtitinsumanti@uinsu.ac.id³

ABSTRACT

The national education system, according to Undang-Undang Nomor 20 Tahun 2003 Tentang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional, is considered not to have undergone in-depth study and ignores various important considerations, resulting in discrimination that is contrary to the principle of justice that the government should uphold. Therefore, the government has attempted to revise the law and improve the legal framework for education in Indonesia to align with society's times and needs. However, the revision failed to enter the Priority Prolegnas in 2023. This study aims to examine the political factors that caused the failure of the revision of Law Number 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System (SISDIKNAS) in 2023. This study uses a qualitative case study approach by analyzing various political dynamics during the revision process. The study results indicate that a combination of internal factors, such as differences of opinion between political parties and factions in the DPR, and external factors, such as pressure from interest groups and community organizations, caused the failure of the revision. This study provides an in-depth understanding of the complexity of the legislative process in Indonesia, as well as its implications for future education reform efforts.

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ABSTRAK

Sistem pendidikan nasional menurut Undang-Undang Nomor 20 Tahun 2003 tentang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional dianggap tidak melalui kajian mendalam dan mengabaikan berbagai pertimbangan penting, sehingga mengakibatkan diskriminasi yang bertentangan dengan prinsip keadilan yang seharusnya dijunjung tinggi oleh pemerintah. Oleh karena itu pemerintah telah mengupayakan revisi terhadap undang-undang dan menyempurnakan kerangka hukum pendidikan di Indonesia agar lebih sesuai dengan perkembangan zaman dan kebutuhan masyarakat, namun revisi tersebut gagal masuk Prolegnas Prioritas tahun 2023. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji faktor-faktor politik yang menyebabkan kegagalan revisi Undang-Undang Nomor 20 Tahun 2003 tentang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional (SISDIKNAS) pada tahun 2023. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif studi kasus dengan menganalisis berbagai dinamika politik yang terjadi selama proses revisi. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa kegagalan revisi disebabkan oleh kombinasi faktor internal, seperti perbedaan pandangan antara partai politik dan fraksi di DPR, serta faktor eksternal seperti tekanan dari kelompok kepentingan dan organisasi masyarakat. Penelitian ini memberikan pemahaman mendalam mengenai kompleksitas proses legislasi di Indonesia, serta implikasinya bagi upaya reformasi pendidikan di masa depan.

Kata Kunci: pendidikan; proses legislative; review politik

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INTRODUCTION

Education in Indonesia has become one of the main pillars in efforts to build the quality of superior and competitive human resources. Since the enactment of Undang-Undang Nomor 20 Tahun 2003 tentang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional (Undang-Undang Sisdiknas), various changes and innovations have been made to improve the quality of education at all levels. However, although some progress has been made, major challenges remain, such as the inequality in the quality of education between urban and rural areas, the lack of facilities in remote schools, and the quality of teaching staff that still needs to be improved. The government has made various efforts, including through law revisions, to respond to the times and improve the quality of education in Indonesia (Purwanti *et al.*, 2023). The revision of Undang-Undang Sisdiknas planned for 2023 failed. This failure has significantly impacted the education sector, especially in the context of improving the national education system. Many consider that this failure will slow down the improvement efforts designed to overcome various educational problems in Indonesia, such as inequality of access and quality of education. With this failure, the government, stakeholders, and society are faced with an urgent need to find other solutions that are more effective at sustainably improving the quality of education.

In 2023, efforts to revise Undang-Undang Sisdiknas attracted widespread attention from various segments of Indonesian society. The Sisdiknas Law, which has been in effect for two decades, is considered irrelevant to today's education times and needs. This is based on statements from Rahmadi in his book entitled "*Pengantar Pendidikan Teori dan Aplikasi*" and Mbato in his book "*Pendidikan Indonesia Masa Depan: Tantangan, Strategi, dan Peran Universitas Sanata Dharma*." The revision of Undang-Undang Sisdiknas was expected to respond to various challenges and new needs in the education sector, including improving the quality of education, equalizing access to education, integrating technology in learning, and adapting to global changes and labor market needs. However, the revision process failed. The failure of the revision of Undang-Undang Sisdiknas in that year became a complex political phenomenon, considering that the process involved technical factors, legal substance, and strong political dynamics (Baruno *et al.*, 2021).

The failure of the revision of Undang-Undang Sisdiknas reflects the dynamics of political power, differences in views between factions in the legislature, and interactions between the government, civil society, and other interest groups. On the one hand, the revision was expected to accommodate the aspirations and needs of various parties to improve the quality of national education. On the other hand, the revision process faced various obstacles, ranging from differences of opinion regarding the substance of the changes to challenges in reaching consensus among stakeholders (Fajar *et al.*, 2022). Intense and often political debates over some articles show how complex harmonizing the interests in this plural society is. Meanwhile, with the development of education in the world today, Indonesia needs to change the existing national education system to achieve parity with other countries. (Santoso & Murod, 2021; Sukmayadi & Yahya, 2020).

Based on research that has been conducted, it is found that there have been many studies that have discussed the education system in Indonesia. Some relevant research in this study is previous research that states that one of the government policies that has been criticized and rejected by elements of society and educational elites is Undang-Undang Sisdiknas (Matlani & Khunaifi, 2019). The government, at the time of the establishment of Undang-Undang Sisdiknas, carried out the establishment immediately without an in-depth study through various considerations. Hence, discrimination against the Indonesian people often occurs. Indonesia has the principle of justice that all parties of the government must consider as the nation's leader. However, in the context of Undang-Undang Sisdiknas, several things are not in line with reality and harm certain parties. Undang-Undang Sisdiknas, as a result of thoughts set as a government

policy that will regulate the national education system, is expected to be able to integrate with society and uphold the principle of justice without discrimination.

As a form of fulfilling the principle of justice without discrimination in Undang-Undang Sisdiknas, it can be seen from research that Undang-Undang Sisdiknas guarantees recognition of Islamic educational institutions and is recognized as one of the national education systems (Hayi & Alwi, 2023; Ristanti *et al.*, 2020). In addition, religious education other than the majority religion is also one of the fulfillments of the principle of justice (Baruno *et al.*, 2021). The concept and implementation of non-formal religious education, analyzing Article 52 of the August 2022 version of the Draft Undang-Undang Sisdiknas, shows a comprehensive understanding of the concept and potential implementation of non-formal religious education in the proposed legal framework. The findings also illustrate the potential implications in the context of national education (Jumaah *et al.*, 2024). However, in its implementation in the field, there are still various problems regarding the principle of justice, such as unequal access to education.

The research conducted on the education system in Indonesia shows a variety of critical views on government policy, particularly Undang-Undang Sisdiknas. These views highlight the possibility that Undang-Undang Sisdiknas has not been thoroughly studied and has ignored various considerations, resulting in discrimination contrary to the principles of justice that the government should uphold. Overall, these studies highlight the importance of in-depth studies and the involvement of various parties in establishing education policies to make them more equitable, inclusive, and in line with social realities.

In contrast to these studies, this research discusses the political analysis of the failure of the revision of Undang-Undang Sisdiknas by analyzing the factors that led to the failure of the revision and its impact on education in Indonesia. Through a political review, we will discuss the dynamics of political power, the roles of various actors, and the interaction between public interests and political interests that contributed to the outcome of the revision process, according to Tomasevski's theory in his book "*Education Denied: Costs and Remedies*". The research aims to understand how education policy in Indonesia has been shaped and changed, and the implications of such failures for the future of education in Indonesia.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Interest Group Theory

Interest groups are often defined as "*a group of persons who share a common cause, which puts them into political competition with other groups of interests*" - meaning a group of people who share a common cause, where they are involved in political competition with other interest groups. Interest Group Theory is a theoretical framework in political science and public policy that analyzes the role of interest groups in influencing the policy-making process (Maiwan, 2016; Rasmussen & Reher, 2023). Interest groups include political parties and Organisasi Masyarakat (Ormas), which are often part of interest groups in policy formulation within the government. In its development, interest groups often become a bridge between the community and the government to absorb aspirations or demands from people dissatisfied with government policies (Porta, 2020). The basic principles of this theory include the assumption that interest groups are the leading actors who are more effective in influencing public policy than individuals. They use various lobbying strategies, such as presenting data and arguments, making campaign contributions, and building relationships with politicians and bureaucrats, as stated by Labolo and Averus in their book "*Sistem Politik Suatu Pengantar*".

Principles of Legislation Formation

Undang-Undang Nomor 10 Tahun 2004 concerning the Formation of Legislation states that Undang-Undang Nomor 13 Tahun 2022 concerning the Second Amendment to Undang-Undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2011 concerning the Formation of Legislation regulates various principles that must be adhered to in the process of forming laws and regulations. First, the principle of clarity of purpose ensures that each regulation has a clear purpose and can be understood by all interested parties. Second, the principle of institutional or appropriate organization requires that authorized institutions or officials form regulations in accordance with applicable regulations. Third, the principle of conformity between type, hierarchy, and content material ensures that the material in the regulation is by its type and level in the order of laws and regulations, and does not conflict with higher regulations. Fourth, the principle of implementability means that regulations must be realistic and can be applied in practice. Fifth, the principle of usefulness and efficacy emphasizes that regulations must provide benefits and expected results. Sixth, the principle of clarity of formulation ensures that the language in regulations is simple, straightforward, and easy to understand, thus avoiding multiple interpretations. Seventh, the principle of openness requires the process of forming regulations to be transparent and involve public participation. Eighth, the principle of accountability ensures that the regulatory process is transparent and involves public participation.

Ninth, the principle of efficiency and effectiveness emphasizes that regulations must be made efficiently and positively impact society. Tenth, the principle of order and legal certainty requires regulations to create order and provide legal certainty by clearly regulating rights, obligations, and sanctions. Finally, the principle of balance, compatibility, and harmony emphasizes that regulations must reflect a balance between various interests in society, pay attention to the public interest, and not take sides with specific groups. By applying these principles, it is hoped that the process of forming laws and regulations in Indonesia can run well and produce regulations that are effective, fair, and beneficial for the entire community, as stated by Huda et al. in their book *"Formulasi Konsep Tindak Lanjut Putusan Pengujian Undang-undang oleh Mahkamah Konstitusi yang Bersifat Mengatur"*.

Education Quality Theory

The quality of education covers various aspects, ranging from its inputs, processes, and outputs. The Quality Theory of Education, developed by Joseph Juran, is part of a broader quality management approach, which was initially applied in the context of industry and business but was later adapted for various sectors, including education. Juran was one of the pioneers in quality management, and his concepts, such as "Quality Planning", "Quality Control", and "Quality Improvement," have been widely adopted (Kholifah, 2020). This theory provides a framework to ensure that education policies are well-designed, effectively implemented, and evaluated to achieve continuous quality improvement. In the context of education, rigorous planning means that education policies should be designed based on a comprehensive needs analysis, including understanding the needs of students, teachers, and communities and how the policy can be effectively implemented in the field. Once the policy is implemented, it is important to have a quality control mechanism that ensures that the implementation on the ground is in line with the plan and reaches the desired standard. Juran also emphasized that quality improvement is a continuous process requiring regular impact evaluations to ensure the policy remains relevant and effective in achieving educational goals (Elwijaya et al., 2021; Kholifah, 2020).

METHODS

This research method uses a qualitative approach. This approach was used to analyze the political dynamics during the revision process of Undang-Undang Sisdiknas in 2023. This approach was chosen because it allows researchers to explore complex and contextual phenomena.

The data in this study includes primary and secondary data. Primary data was collected through document analysis and participatory observation with DPR members, ministry officials, political party representatives, interest groups, and community organizations involved in the revision process. In addition, official documents such as meeting minutes, session minutes, and drafts of the revised law were analyzed to understand the political dynamics and debates. Participatory observation was conducted by attending several meetings and public discussions that discussed the revision of the law. Meanwhile, secondary data was obtained from relevant literature in journal articles, conference proceedings, papers, and books. Furthermore, the data collected was analyzed using thematic analysis techniques to identify the main patterns and critical issues affecting the revision process.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Controversial Issues in the Proposed Amendments to the UU Sisdiknas.

Drafting Undang-Undang Sisdiknas (RUU Sisdiknas) has generated debates and criticisms from various parts of society. One of the main criticisms is the lack of public participation in the process. Public participation in forming public policies, especially those related to the education system, is an important element to ensure that the needs and aspirations of the wider community are reflected in policies. This lack of involvement raises concerns that the RUU Sisdiknas does not reflect the genuine public interest (Purqon & Mukhlis, 2022).

The hasty deliberation process of the RUU Sisdiknas has also been highlighted. To streamline and speed up the legislative process, the RUU Sisdiknas is proposed as an *omnibus law* combining three laws. This *omnibus law* approach is intended to simplify regulations and improve the efficiency of deliberations. However, it is feared that the speed of the process will reduce the quality of the deliberations and neglect the importance of an in-depth analysis of the possible impacts of combining the three laws (Monteiro, 2023). Another concern that has been raised is the absence of a comprehensive academic study of the RUU Sisdiknas. In-depth and comprehensive academic studies are essential in policy-making to ensure that decisions are based on scientific evidence and detailed analysis. The absence of such studies raises serious questions about the basis and justification of the policies proposed in the RUU (Yunita & Dewi, 2021).

Lack of transparency is another problem when drafting the RUU Sisdiknas. Transparency in public policy-making is a fundamental principle that must be upheld to ensure that the public can access and monitor the process. Without transparency, it is difficult for the public to understand the contents of the RUU and provide input or constructive criticism (Hutabarat, 2018). The process of drafting the RUU Sisdiknas has also been criticized for violating the principles of good legislative formation, as stipulated in Undang-Undang Nomor 13 Tahun 2022 on Amendments to Undang-Undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2011 on the Formation of Legislation. These principles include the principles of clarity of purpose, conformity with the hierarchy of legislation, openness, public participation, and consideration of input from various parties. Violations of these principles raise doubts about the legitimacy and quality of the RUU produced.

Criticism is also directed at the absence of an Indonesian Education Blueprint or Grand Design, which is the basis for discussing the RUU Sisdiknas. Without this strategic document, the discussion of the RUU Sisdiknas is considered to have no clear direction and objectives in formulating national education policy for the long term. The Indonesian Education Blueprint is expected to guide the formulation of comprehensive, integrated, and sustainable education policies. Controversial issues in proposed changes to Undang-Undang Sisdiknas in Indonesia often cover various aspects related to education policy,

management, accessibility, and quality of education (Kurnianingrum, 2022). The following are some controversial issues that usually arise in discussions about changes to Undang-Undang Sisdiknas in 2023.

Table 1. Controversial articles in the RUU Sisdiknas

No	Article	Controversy of the Article
1	Article 7	This article mandates that Indonesian citizens undergo compulsory education from the initial nine to 13 years, namely 10 years of basic and three years of secondary education. This compulsory education applies nationally. Basic education includes preschool and grades 1-9 (10 years). Meanwhile, secondary education includes grades 10-12 (three years). Meanwhile, secondary education includes grades 10-12 (three years).
2	Article 31	The word madrasah was removed along with the names of other formal educational units, such as SD, SMP, and SMA, and replaced with the terms basic education, secondary education, and religious education.
3	Article 105 letters a to h	Not a single clause was found regarding the right of teachers to receive the tunjangan profesi guru (TPG), including the rights of teachers or educators. This article only contains clauses on income/wages, social security, and rewards adjusted to work performance.
4	Article 109	Prospective teachers must pass the pendidikan profesi guru (PPG). That article explains that every person who will become a teacher is required to undergo the PPG. However, teachers who were already teaching when this law was enacted but have not yet attended or passed the PPG can still continue teaching.

Source of data: (Baruno et al., 2021)

From Table 1 on the four points of the controversial articles in the RUU Sisdiknas, many parties rejected removing the word “madrasa” from the RUU Sisdiknas draft because they considered it could violate the constitution. According to them, this action contradicts Pasal 31 ayat (1) UUD 1945, which guarantees the right of every citizen to receive an education. Pasal 31 ayat (5) also emphasizes the government's obligation to advance science and technology while respecting religious values and national unity. Furthermore, the move contradicts Pasal 17 ayat (2) and Pasal 18 ayat (3) UU Sisdiknas, which recognizes madrasahs as an integral part of the formal education system. These articles explain that madrasahs are included in various forms of education at the primary, junior, and secondary levels. As such, there are concerns that removing the word “madrasah” from the RUU Sisdiknas will only deepen the disparities and discrimination between education units (Baruno et al., 2021).

Ironically, although madrasah are officially recognized as part of Sisdiknas, their role is marginalized in the draft of the RUU Sisdiknas being drafted by the Kementerian Pendidikan, Kebudayaan, Riset, dan Teknologi (Kemdikbudristek). RUU Sisdiknas does not mention the word “madrasah” as one of the types of education in Indonesia. In fact, the discourse became even stronger when a draft prepared by the government was shared with the public, which regulates religious education without mentioning madrasah at all. This is reflected in Article 32 of the draft RUU Sisdiknas, which states that “*pendidikan keagamaan merupakan pendidikan yang mempersiapkan pelajar untuk menguasai pengetahuan, keterampilan, dan sikap yang menjadi landasan untuk menjadi ahli ilmu agama atau peran lain yang memerlukan penguasaan ilmu agama*” (Jumaah et al., 2024).

In this context, the absence of the word “madrasah” in the draft of the RUU Sisdiknas has raised concerns for several parties. Moreover, the focus on religious education without explicit recognition of madrasahs could lead to a lack of clarity about the status and role of religious education institutions in the national education system (Hutabarat, 2018). Concerns also arise regarding the sustainability of religious education and the strengthening of religious identity in Indonesian society (Hermanto, 2020). As traditional Islamic educational institutions, Madrasah has an important role in providing religious education to the younger generation (Rahmat, 2024; Harahap et al., 2024). Therefore, the exclusion or lack of recognition

of madrasas in education regulations can create uncertainty and negatively impact efforts to maintain cultural and religious diversity in Indonesia.

Political Factors Forcing the Government to Postpone the Revision of UU Sisdiknas

The revision of the Undang-Undang Sisdiknas is one of the important steps taken by the government to renew and improve the quality of education in Indonesia. However, the revision process has faced various challenges and obstacles, especially political factors that have forced the government to delay its implementation. The following is an explanation of these political factors:

1. Organizations Rejecting the Revision

Tomasevski in his book *"Education denied: costs and remedies mengatakan bahwa berbagai organisasi pendidikan dan keagamaan menentang revisi UU Sisdiknas"*. These organizations include NU (Nahdlatul Ulama) and Muhammadiyah, Indonesia's two most prominent Islamic organizations that significantly influenced education policy. In addition, PGRI (Persatuan Guru Republik Indonesia), as a professional organization for teachers, is directly interested in any changes in the education system. The National Assembly of Catholic Education, which represents the interests of Catholic education in Indonesia, also expressed its disapproval. So did the FEDERASI Serikat Guru Indonesia, which represents teachers across Indonesia, and the Asosiasi Perguruan Tinggi Swasta Indonesia (Aptisi) and private universities, which are spread across the country. The disapproval of these organizations arose for various reasons, including concerns about the impact of the revision on the independence and quality of education, as well as the potential to harm some parties.

2. Social Situation

The social situation has also played a role in delaying the revision of UU Sisdiknas. Amidst efforts to recover from the COVID-19 pandemic, countries worldwide face unprecedented challenges. The impact of the pandemic has touched almost every aspect of life, from public health to the global economy. In response, governments and international organizations are focusing significant resources on addressing these two major crises: health and the economy. Under these circumstances, revising laws not directly related to handling or recovering from the pandemic is not considered a top priority (Suyana et al., 2024).

The focus on economic recovery is a response to the severe economic contraction caused by lockdowns and other restrictions imposed to control the spread of the virus. Many sectors experienced a drastic drop in income, unemployment rates increased, and many small and medium-sized enterprises faced the threat of bankruptcy. Therefore, allocating resources into economic stimulus packages, assistance for small and medium-sized enterprises, and social assistance programs for affected communities is a top priority. This policy is expected to restore the economy and provide social security for the affected communities (Alifah, 2021).

On the other hand, public health is also a significant focus. Governments worldwide invest in vaccine development and distribution, health system capacity building, and public education campaigns on health protocols. This is important to control the spread of the virus and minimize the long-term health impacts that COVID-19 can cause. In this context, revising laws not directly related to handling or recovering from COVID-19 is often not considered a priority. Government resources, be it time, workforce, or finances, are limited and must be directed to address the most pressing issues. While the revision of specific laws may be important in a long-term context, in a crisis, the government tends to postpone the discussion and passage of such laws until the situation stabilizes (Darman, 2017).

This delay does not mean that the importance of law reform is neglected. Instead, it is a recognition that in an emergency, priority should be given to efforts that can immediately impact recovery from the crisis. Once the situation begins to stabilize, it is hoped that the government can refocus its attention on law revision and legal reforms needed to strengthen the country's foundations to face future challenges. Furthermore, the years leading up to pemilihan umum (pemilu) are a critical period in a country's political dynamics. During this time, political sensitivity increases significantly as governments and political parties become more wary of policies and actions that could affect their electability. They strive to weigh the impact of every decision on public perception and the potential votes they will get in the election (Suyana et al., 2024).

This increased political sensitivity can affect various aspects of public policy and decision-making. Governments and political parties may be more inclined to avoid policies that are controversial or that may trigger adverse reactions from the public. They may also be more active in implementing populist policies designed to attract public support, even though such policies may not always be sustainable or in the country's long-term best interests (Kurnianingrum, 2022). In addition, the years leading up to elections are also often characterized by an intensification of political campaigning and efforts to improve positive images. This can include increased communication about government achievements, the launch of new infrastructure projects or social programs, and efforts to strengthen supporter loyalty through various community initiatives. These efforts aim to build a convincing narrative about the worthiness and competence of the government or political party in power to be re-elected.

This period of political sensitivity can also bring challenges. For example, focusing on short-term policies to win elections can override the need for important structural reforms or investments in long-term initiatives. This can lead to neglect of critical issues such as education reform, health, and climate policy that require long-term commitment and hard work. In addition, increased political competition can lead to sharper polarization in society, where issues are framed in divisive “kami versus mereka” terms. This can disrupt healthy dialogue and consensus processes, essential for a well-functioning democracy (Fajar et al., 2022). Therefore, while heightened political sensitivity in the run-up to elections is understandable as part of a strategy to win votes, governments and political parties need to keep the long-term interests of the country and the overall well-being of society in mind. Ensuring that policies and programs are implemented not only for short-term political gain but also for the long-term progress and stability of the country is key to sustainable development and a healthy democracy.

Controversial issues such as the proposal to allow the president to serve three terms are often a source of significant political tension, potentially diverting public attention and political resources from other important issues, such as the revision of Undang-Undang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional (Sisdiknas). When the political focus is concentrated on debates around constitutional or policy changes that allow for the extension of the presidential term, the energy and attention needed to discuss and improve substantial problems in sectors such as education may be reduced (Wasisto & Prayudi, 2021).

The debate over extending the presidential term has various political and social implications. On the political side, it may trigger intense debate on democratic principles, such as limiting power and healthy leadership turnover, which are essential to prevent excessive concentration of power. Proponents of this proposal may argue that a well-performing president needs more time to continue programs and policies that have already been initiated. At the same time, political opponents and democracy watchers may consider it a step back from democratic principles, as Yunanto and Damayanti argue in their book “Menuju Indonesia yang Aman, Damai dan Demokratis: Tantangan, Disain Kebijakan dan Kelembagaan”.

Socially, the debate may deepen societal polarization, with supporters and opponents sharply divided. This affects national political discussions and can reduce the ability to reach consensus on other

important issues, such as education. The revision of UU Sisdiknas, for example, is a critical issue that requires in-depth attention and cross-sectoral discussions to improve the quality and access to education across the country. However, momentum for important reforms can be lost when political and media focus is diverted to other political controversies (Erlina, 2023). In a healthy democracy, governments and civil society need to be able to maintain a balance between addressing controversial political issues and ensuring that critical issues such as education, health, and the economy are not neglected (Heinzel & Koenig-Archibugi, 2023; McDonough & Rodríguez, 2020). This requires constructive dialogue, transparency in policy-making processes, and active civil society engagement to ensure that political decisions reflect the best interests of society as a whole.

3. Opposing Factions

In parliament, rejection of the revision of UU Sisdiknas did not only come from communities and organizations but also from factions of political parties, which collectively opposed it with a significant number of factions from several political parties such as Partai Golkar, NasDem, Demokrat, Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS), Amanat Nasional (PAN), dan Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP) collectively contributing rejection votes. The total number of votes against reached 311 (54.09%) of the total number, while those in favor of revising the law were 264 (45.09%) (Kurnianingrum, 2022; Matlani & Khunaifi, 2019). These objections from various factions reflect the different political views and interests towards the revision of UU Sisdiknas, which ultimately forced the government to postpone the revision process. These factors demonstrate the complexity and challenges of formulating and implementing education policy in Indonesia.

The Impact of Failure to Revise UU Sisdiknas on Education in Indonesia

Failure to revise the UU Sisdiknas could significantly impact education in Indonesia, covering a range of aspects from education quality to equality of access. Several potential impacts will arise based on the results of the researchers' analysis. First, a decline in the quality of education in Indonesia could potentially occur if the revision of UU Sisdiknas fails to be comprehensive and research-based. A curriculum not integrated with the needs of modern times and technological developments will make graduates less competent in facing global challenges. The curriculum may not include essential skills such as digital literacy, critical thinking, creativity, and adaptability to cutting-edge technologies without proper adjustments. As a result, graduates may not have the skills required by the modern job market and lag behind graduates from other countries whose education systems are more adaptive to global changes.

In addition, failure to implement innovative and research-based teaching policies can lead to stagnant and ineffective teaching methods. Traditional teaching methods that focus more on memorization and theory, without active and practical learning, will reduce students' engagement and motivation and limit the development of their practical skills. Without policies that encourage active learning and continuous training for teachers, classroom teaching may remain dominated by one-way lectures that are less relevant to the needs of today's students. This reduces teaching effectiveness, lowers students' interest in learning, and negatively impacts their academic performance. The lack of support for teacher training also means that many educators may not have the necessary skills and knowledge to implement innovative teaching methods, hindering their ability to adapt teaching to dynamic curriculum demands.

Legislation is formed with the principles of usefulness and efficacy, emphasizing that the regulations can provide the expected benefits and results. In addition, laws and regulations have efficiency and effectiveness, which emphasize that regulations are made efficiently and have a real positive impact on society, according to a statement from Huda et al. "*Formulasi Konsep Tindak Lanjut Putusan Pengujian Undang-undang oleh Mahkamah Konstitusi yang Bersifat Mengatur*". Thus, the failure to revise Undang-

Undang Sisdiknas could result in stagnation in Indonesia's education system, negatively impacting the quality of graduates and their ability to compete at the national and global levels.

Second, inequalities in access to education in Indonesia may worsen if the revision of Undang-Undang Sisdiknas fails to consider equity of access. The gap between urban and rural areas or between developed and underdeveloped areas is a significant problem. Urban areas often have better educational facilities, such as proper school buildings, laboratories, and internet access, while rural or underdeveloped areas often lack these basic amenities. This results in significant differences in the quality of teaching and educational opportunities that students receive, with long-term impacts on their ability to compete in the job market and contribute to the economic progress of their region. These disparities can also exacerbate social inequalities, with students from disadvantaged areas experiencing limitations in pursuing higher education and, in turn, better employment opportunities.

In addition, removing the term “madrasah” from Undang-Undang Sisdiknas may create uncertainty regarding the status and role of madrasahs in the national education system. Madrasah, which has been recognized as an integral part of formal education, may lose its identity and government support if the term is removed from the law. This could reduce the quality of education in madrasah and neglect their important role in providing religious education and maintaining religious values in society. Without clear recognition in the law, the direction and policies related to religious education could become inconsistent, adding uncertainty for religious education institutions and students who choose that educational pathway. As a result, the education gap between public schools and madrasahs will widen, deepening inequalities and reducing opportunities for students to obtain equal-quality education.

Legislation is formed with the principles of balance, compatibility, and harmony, which emphasize that regulations must reflect the balance between various interests in society, pay attention to the public interest, and not take sides with certain groups, as Huda et al. state in their book “*Formulasi Konsep Tindak Lanjut Putusan Pengujian Undang-undang oleh Mahkamah Konstitusi yang Bersifat Mengatur*”. The revision of Undang-Undang Sisdiknas has regulated equal access to education for the people of Indonesia, so the failure of the revision of Undang-Undang Sisdiknas has resulted in difficulties in achieving educational equality. In the revision of Undang-Undang Sisdiknas, the term Madrasah was abolished, which caused controversy in the community. Madrasah is one of the Islamic religious education systems that has long been established in Indonesia. So, removing this term can create a sense of injustice for particular social groups. Then, indirectly, this does not fulfill the principles in forming laws and regulations, namely, balance, harmony, and justice.

Third, obstacles in improving the quality of education can arise if the *omnibus law* approach is not done carefully. Combining several laws into one without careful planning can lead to confusion and difficulties in implementation in the field. The lack of clarity in the new regulations can make it difficult for educators and school managers to apply consistent policies, potentially resulting in gaps in educational and administrative practices. Lack of coordination between agencies and stakeholders can lead to conflicts between new and old regulations, hindering effective policy implementation and impacting education quality. The *omnibus law* approach to improving education quality requires careful planning; otherwise, various obstacles may arise and hinder achieving the desired goals (Elwijaya et al., 2021). The lack of clarity in the merged regulations can lead to confusion in the field, especially for educators and school administrators, which can reduce consistency in policy implementation across regions. Lack of coordination between government agencies and stakeholders can also trigger conflicts between new and old regulations, hindering effective policy implementation (Ahmed et al., 2021; Gao & Yu, 2020; Maiwan,

2016). As a result, disparities in education and administrative practices may occur, negatively affecting the quality of education.

The negative impacts mentioned above arise if the principles in the formation of laws are not met. Because, in general, the quality of good national education starts with reasonable regulations and can accommodate the needs of national education. Then, based on Juran's theory stated above, it can be understood that the Law must be well planned, implemented with strict supervision, and evaluated continuously to ensure that the Indonesian education system continues to develop and can face global challenges (Kholifah, 2020). Policies implemented without considering all variables can be impractical or contradictory, complicating their implementation in the field. Lack of understanding of the effects of new policies can also hamper efforts to evaluate and improve policies after implementation, hindering the achievement of the desired quality of education. Thus, both the ineffectiveness of the *omnibus law* and the lack of in-depth impact analysis can hinder efforts to improve the overall quality of education, according to Huda et al. "Formulasi Konsep Tindak Lanjut Putusan Pengujian Undang-undang oleh Mahkamah Konstitusi yang Bersifat Mengatur" Labolo dan Averus dalam bukunya "Sistem Politik Suatu Pengantar".

Overall, the failure to revise Undang-Undang Sisdiknas could lead to stagnation and regression in Indonesia's education system, ultimately impacting the quality of human resources and the nation's ability to compete globally. However, before the RUU Sisdiknas is passed, some of the controversial articles described earlier need to be studied more deeply to avoid and minimize the negative impacts that could potentially arise in the education system in Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

The failure to revise Undang-Undang Nomor 20 Tahun 2003 on the Sistem Pendidikan Nasional (Sisdiknas) by 2023 can be highlighted in several aspects to understand the dynamics at play. The failure to revise the Undang-Undang Sisdiknas can reflect the complexity of different views and interests between various stakeholders, including the government, parliament, academics, education practitioners, and civil society. Rancangan Undang-Undang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional (RUU Sisdiknas) has raised various controversial issues that have sparked heated debate. One of the main criticisms was the lack of public participation in drafting the RUU Sisdiknas, which sparked concerns that the proposed policies may not reflect the interests of the community. Other concerns include the absence of in-depth academic studies, the lack of transparency in the policy-making process, and violations of the principles of good legislative formation. In addition, opposition has also come from various parties to the removal of the term "madrasah" in the RUU Sisdiknas, which is considered unconstitutional and could exacerbate inequalities in education. Furthermore, failure to revise Undang-Undang Sisdiknas could significantly impact education in Indonesia. A decline in the quality of education is possible if the curriculum and teaching methods are not updated in line with the times. Inequalities in education access may worsen and affect madrasahs, which may lose recognition and support.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

This writing is actual because it is the team's work, and there is no plagiarism. We express our gratitude in this section. We declare that there is no conflict of interest related to the publication of this article.

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