



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

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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.

ARTICLE INFO

Article History:

Received: 5 Jun 2024

Revised: 31 Aug 2024

Accepted: 2 Sep 2024

Available online: 10 Sep 2024

Publish: 29 Nov 2024

Keyword:

education; legislative processes;
political review

Open access

Inovasi Kurikulum is a peer-reviewed open-access journal.

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

How to cite (APA 7)

Azwar, B., Sirozi, M., & Sumanti, S. T. (2024). 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. *Inovasi Kurikulum*, 21(4), 1847-1860.

Peer review

This article has been peer-reviewed through the journal's standard double-blind peer review, where both the reviewers and authors are anonymised during review.



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INTRODUCTION

Education in Indonesia has become one of the main pillars in efforts to build superior and competitive human resources. Since the ratification 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, significant challenges remain, such as the disparity 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 revisions to laws, to respond to developments and improve the quality of education in Indonesia. (Purwanti *et al.*, 2023). Revision towards Undang-Undang Sisdiknas planned for 2023 failed. The failure of this revision has had a significant impact on the education sector, especially in the context of improving the national education system. Many parties believe this failure will slow down the improvement efforts designed to address various education problems in Indonesia, such as inequality of access and quality of education. With this failure, the government, stakeholders, and society are faced with the urgent need to find other, more effective solutions to improve the quality of education in a sustainable manner.

In 2023, efforts to revise Undang-Undang Sisdiknas attracted wide attention from various circles of Indonesian society. Undang-Undang Sisdiknas, which has been in effect for the past two decades, is considered no longer entirely relevant to current developments and educational needs. This is in accordance with Rahmadi's statement in his book titled "*Pengantar Pendidikan Teori dan Aplikasi*" and Mbato in his book "*Pendidikan Indonesia Masa Depan: Tantangan, Strategi, dan Peran Universitas Sanata Dharma*". This revision of Undang-Undang Sisdiknas is expected to answer various new challenges and needs in the education sector, including improving the quality of education, equalising access to education, integrating technology in learning, and adapting to global changes and job market needs. However, the revision process failed. The failure revision of Undang-Undang Sisdiknas in that year it became a complex political phenomenon, considering that the process not only involved technical factors or legal substance alone, but also strong political dynamics. (Baruno *et al.*, 2021).

The failed revision of Undang-Undang Sisdiknas reflects the dynamics of political power, differences of opinion between factions in the legislative institution, and interactions between the government, civil society, and other interest groups. On the one hand, the revision is expected to accommodate the aspirations and needs of various parties to improve the quality of national education. On the other hand, the revision process faces various obstacles, ranging from differences of opinion regarding the substance of the changes to challenges in reaching consensus among stakeholders (Fajar *et al.*, 2022). The intense and often political debates in several articles show how complex it is to try to align interests in this pluralistic society. Meanwhile, with the development of education today, Indonesia needs to change the existing national education system to achieve balance with other countries. (Santoso & Murod, 2021; Sukmayadi & Yahya, 2020).

Based on the research that has been conducted, it was found that many research results 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 received criticism and rejection by elements of society and educational elites is Undang-Undang Sisdiknas (Matlani & Khunaifi, 2019). The government at the time of the enactment of the Undang-Undang Sisdiknas was carried out immediately without reviewing it in depth through various considerations, so that discrimination against the Indonesian people often occurs. Indonesia has a principle of justice that all parties in government must consider as leaders of the nation. However, in the content Undang-Undang Sisdiknas, several things are not in accordance with reality and are detrimental to certain parties. Undang-Undang Sisdiknas, as a result of thinking that

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

As a form of fulfilling the principle of justice without discrimination, *Undang-Undang Sisdiknas* can be seen from research that states that the *Undang-Undang Sisdiknas* guarantees recognition of Islamic educational institutions and is recognised as part of the national education system. (Hayi & Alwi, 2023; Ristanti *et al.*, 2020). In addition, religious education other than the majority religion is also one way of fulfilling the principle of justice. (Baruno *et al.*, 2021). The concept and implementation of non-formal religious education analysing article 52 Rancangan *Undang-Undang Sisdiknas* August 2022 version that has been conducted shows the results that a comprehensive understanding of the concept and potential for implementing non-formal religious education in the proposed legal framework. These findings also illustrate 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, considering unequal access to education.

Research conducted on the education system in Indonesia shows various critical views on government policies, especially *Undang-Undang Sisdiknas*. This view highlights the possibilities of *Undang-Undang Sisdiknas*, which have not been studied in depth and ignore various considerations. This results in discrimination contrary to the principle of justice that the government should uphold. Overall, these studies highlight the importance of in-depth studies and the involvement of various parties in determining education policies that are more just, inclusive, and in accordance with social reality.

In contrast to the studies mentioned above, this study discusses the political analysis of the failure of the revision of *Undang-Undang Sisdiknas* by analysing the factors that caused the failure of the revision of the law and its impact on education in Indonesia. Through a political review, the dynamics of political power, the role of various actors, and the interaction between public interests and political interests will be discussed, contributing to the final results of the revision process by Tomasevski's theory in his book "Education Denied: Costs and Remedies." The research aims to understand how education policy in Indonesia is formed and changed, and the implications of these failures for the future of education in Indonesia.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Interest Group Theory

An interest group is often defined as "a group of persons who share a common cause, which puts them into political competition with other groups of interests" - a group of people who have the same goals 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 Community Organizations (Ormas), which are often part of interest groups in policy formulation in government. In its development, interest groups often become a bridge between society and 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 main 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 Legislative Formation

In Undang-Undang Nomor 10 Tahun 2004 tentang Pembentukan Peraturan Perundang-Undangan, it is mentioned that Undang-Undang Nomor 13 Tahun 2022 tentang Perubahan Kedua atas Undang-Undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2011 tentang Pembentukan Peraturan Perundang-Undangan 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 proper institution or organization requires that authorized institutions or officials form regulations in accordance with applicable provisions. Third, the principle of conformity between type, hierarchy, and content material ensures that the material in the regulation is by the type and level in the order of laws and regulations, and does not conflict with higher regulations. Fourth, the principle of implementation means that regulations must be realistic and can be applied in practice. Fifth, the principle of usefulness and effectiveness emphasizes that regulations must provide the expected benefits and results. Sixth, the principle of clarity of formulation ensures that the language in the regulation is simple, straightforward, and easy to understand, thus avoiding multiple interpretations. Seventh, the principle of openness requires that the process of forming regulations is transparent and involves public participation. Eighth, the principle of accountability ensures that the process of forming regulations can be accounted for by its drafters.

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, harmony, and alignment emphasizes that regulations must reflect a balance between various interests in society, pay attention to the public interest, and not side with specific groups. By implementing 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 to the entire community, according to the statement of Huda et al. in their book "*Formulasi Konsep Tindak lanjut Putusan Pengujian Undang-undang oleh Mahkamah Konstitusi yang Bersifat Mengatur*".

Educational Quality Theory

Educational quality covers various aspects of education, starting from input, process, and output. The Educational Quality Theory developed by Joseph Juran is part of a broader quality management approach, initially applied in the context of industry and business but later adapted to various sectors, including education. Juran is one of the pioneers in quality management, and his concepts such as "Perencanaan Mutu", "Pengendalian Mutu", and "Peningkatan Mutu" have been widely adopted (Kholifah, 2020). This theory provides a framework for ensuring that educational policies are well-designed and effectively implemented and evaluated to achieve continuous quality improvement. In education, careful planning means that educational policies should be designed based on a comprehensive needs analysis, including understanding the needs of students, teachers, and the community, and how the policy can be implemented effectively in the field. Once the policy is implemented, it is essential to have a quality control mechanism in place to ensure that the implementation in the field is in accordance with the plan and reaches the desired standards. Juran also emphasizes that quality improvement is an ongoing process, which requires periodic evaluation of the impact to ensure that the policy remains relevant and effective in achieving educational goals. (Elwijaya et al., 2021; Kholifah, 2020).

METHODS

This research method uses a qualitative approach to analyze the political dynamics that occur during the revision process Undang-Undang Sisdiknas pada tahun 2023. This approach was chosen because it allows research to explore complex and contextual phenomena.

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

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Controversial Issues in the Proposed Changes of UU Sisdiknas.

The drafting process of Rancangan Undang-Undang Sisdiknas (RUU Sisdiknas) has raised various debates and criticisms from various social groups. One of the main criticisms was the lack of public participation in the process. Public participation in the formation of public policy, especially those related to the education system, is an essential element to ensure that the policies made are in accordance with the needs and aspirations of the wider community. This lack of involvement raises concerns that RUU Sisdiknas does not reflect the genuine public interest. (Purqon & Mukhlis, 2022).

The discussion process of RUU Sisdiknas has also come under the spotlight. RUU Sisdiknas proposed an omnibus law combining three laws into one to streamline and speed up the legislative process. This *omnibus law* approach is intended to simplify regulations and increase the efficiency of discussions. However, the speed of this process is feared to reduce the quality of discussions and ignore the importance of in-depth analysis of the possible impacts of combining the three laws (Monteiro, 2023). Another emerging concern is the absence of a comprehensive academic study on 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 in the drafting process RUU Sisdiknas. Transparency in public policymaking is a fundamental principle that must be upheld to ensure the process is accessible and monitored by the general public. Without transparency, it is difficult for the public to understand the contents of RUU and provide constructive input or criticism (Hutabarat, 2018). The drafting process of RUU Sisdiknas is also criticized because it is considered to violate the principles of good legislative formation, as regulated in Undang-Undang Nomor 13 Tahun 2022 tentang Perubahan Atas Undang-Undang Nomor 12 Tahun 2011 tentang Pembentukan Peraturan Perundang-Undangan. These principles include the principles of clarity of purpose, conformity with the hierarchy of laws, openness, public participation, and considering input from various parties. Violating these principles raises doubts about the legitimacy and quality of the resulting RUU.

Criticism was also directed at the absence of a Blueprint or Grand Design for Indonesian Education which would form the basis for discussion of RUU Sisdiknas. Without this strategic document, discussions of RUU Sisdiknas are considered to have no clear direction and objectives in formulating national education policies for the long term. The Indonesian Education Blueprint is expected to guide

the formulation of comprehensive, integrated, and sustainable education policies. Controversial issues in the proposed changes of Undang-Undang Sisdiknas di Indonesia often cover various aspects of education policy, management, accessibility, and quality of education (Kurnianingrum, 2022). Here are some controversial issues that typically arise in discussions about the change of Undang-Undang Sisdiknas tahun 2023.

Table 1. Controversial articles in RUU Sisdiknas

No	Pasal	Kontroversi Pasal
1	Pasal 7	This article requires Indonesian citizens to undergo compulsory education from the age of nine to thirteen, namely primary education for ten years and secondary education for three years. This compulsory education applies nationally. Primary education includes pre-school classes and classes 1-9 (10 years), while secondary education includes classes 10-12 (three years).
2	Pasal 31	The word <i>Madrasah</i> was removed along with the names of other formal education units, such as elementary, middle and high schools, but replaced with the terms primary education, secondary education and religious education.
3	Pasal 105 huruf a hingga huruf h	Including the rights of teachers or educators, not a single clause was found on the rights of teachers to receive Tunjangan Profesi Guru (TPG). This article only contains clauses on the rights to income/wages, social security, and awards adjusted to work performance.
4	Pasal 109	Prospective teachers must pass the Pendidikan Profesi Guru (PPG). The article explains that everyone who will become a teacher is required to have the PPG. However, teachers who were teaching when this Law was issued but have not followed or passed the PPG can still teach.

Sumber data: (Baruno et al., 2021)

From **Table 1** regarding four points of controversial articles in RUU Sisdiknas, Many parties reject the idea of removing the word *madrasah* from the draft of RUU Sisdiknas because it is considered to be able to violate the constitution. According to them, this action is contrary to Article 31 paragraph (1) UUD 1945 which guarantees the right of every citizen to receive education. Article 31 paragraph (5) also emphasizes the government's obligation to advance science and technology while respecting religious values and national unity. Furthermore, this step is considered to be contrary to Article 17 paragraph (2) and Article 18 paragraph (3) UU Sisdiknas, which recognizes madrasahs as an integral part of the formal education system. The articles explain that madrasahs are included in various forms of education at the elementary, junior high, and secondary levels. Thus, there is concern that removing the word *madrasah* from RUU Sisdiknas will only deepen the gap and discrimination between educational units (Baruno et al., 2021).

Ironically, although madrasahs are officially recognized as part of the National Education System, their role is marginalized in the draft of RUU Sisdiknas which is being compiled by Kementerian Pendidikan, Kebudayaan, Riset, dan Teknologi (Kemdikbudristek). RUU Sisdiknas law does not mention the word *madrasah* as one of the types of education in Indonesia. In fact, the discourse grew stronger when the draft prepared by the government was distributed to the public, which actually regulates religious education without mentioning madrasahs at all. This is reflected in Article 32 of the draft in 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 RUU Sisdiknas raises concerns for several parties. Moreover, the focus on religious education without explicit recognition of madrasahs could lead to unclear status and role of these religious educational institutions in the national education

system. (Hutabarat, 2018). Concerns also arise regarding the sustainability of religious education and the strengthening of religious identity within Indonesian society. (Hermanto, 2020). *Madrasah*, as traditional Islamic educational institutions, has a vital role in providing religious education to the younger generation. (Rahmat, 2024; Harahap et al., 2024). Therefore, the exclusion or lack of recognition of madrasahs in education regulations can create uncertainty and negatively impact efforts to maintain cultural and religious diversity in Indonesia.

Political Factors That Forced the Government to Postpone the Revision of UU Sisdiknas

The revisions of Undang-Undang Sisdiknas are one of the crucial steps taken by the government to renew and improve the quality of education in Indonesia. However, this revision process faces various challenges and obstacles, especially political factors that force the government to postpone its implementation. The following is an explanation of these political factors:

1. Community Organizations that Reject Revision

In Tomasevki's 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, the two most prominent Islamic organizations in Indonesia that significantly influence education policy. In addition, PGRI (Persatuan Guru Republik Indonesia), As a professional teacher organization, is directly interested in every change in the education system. Majelis Nasional Pendidikan Katolik, who represents the interests of Catholic education in Indonesia, also showed his disapproval, likewise with FEDERASI Serikat Guru Indonesia, who represents teachers across Indonesia, as well as Asosiasi Perguruan Tinggi Swasta Indonesia (Aptisi) and perguruan tinggi swasta, which spread across the country. The disapproval from these organizations arose for various reasons, including concerns about the impact of the revisions on the independence and quality of education and the potential to disadvantage certain parties.

2. Social Situation

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

The focus on economic recovery is a response to the severe economic contraction caused by the lockdowns and other restrictions imposed to control the spread of the virus. Many sectors have experienced drastic declines in revenue, unemployment rates have increased, and many small and medium-sized businesses are facing the threat of bankruptcy. Therefore, top priorities are allocating resources to economic stimulus packages, assistance for small and medium-sized businesses, and social assistance programs for affected communities. These policies are expected to encourage the wheels of the economy to move again and provide social security for affected communities. (Alifah, 2021).

On the other hand, public health is also a significant focus. Governments worldwide are investing in vaccine development and distribution, increasing the capacity of health systems, and educating the public about health protocols. This is essential 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 considered a non-priority. Government resources, be it time, manpower, or finances, are very limited and must be directed to addressing the most pressing

issues. Although the revision of certain Undang-Undang may be necessary in the long-term context, in crises, governments tend to postpone discussions and enact such laws until the situation is stable. (Darman, 2017).

This delay does not mean ignoring the importance of legal reform as a whole. Instead, it is a recognition that in an emergency situation, priority must be given to efforts that can immediately impact recovery from the crisis. Once the situation has stabilized, it is hoped that the government can refocus its attention on revising laws and legal reforms needed to strengthen the country's foundations in facing future challenges. Furthermore, the years leading up to a general election are often a critical period in the political dynamics of a country. During this time, political sensitivity increases significantly as the government and political parties become more aware of any policies and actions that could affect their electability. They strive to weigh the impact of each decision on public perception and the potential votes they will get in the election. (Suyana et al., 2024).

This increased political sensitivity may affect various aspects of public policy and decision-making. Governments and political parties may be more inclined to avoid controversial policies that may provoke negative 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 an election are often marked by intensified political campaigns and efforts to improve a positive image. This can include increased communication about the government's 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 eligibility 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 critical structural reforms or investments in long-term initiatives. This can lead to the neglect of critical issues such as education reform, health care, and climate policy that require long-term commitment and hard work. In addition, increased political competition can lead to greater societal polarization, with issues framed in divisive "us versus them" terms. This can disrupt the healthy processes of dialogue and consensus, which are essential for a 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 in mind the long-term interests of the country and the welfare of society as a whole. Ensuring that policies and programs implemented are aimed at short-term political gains and the country's long-term progress and stability is critical 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 vital issues, such as the revision of Undang-Undang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional (Sisdiknas). When the political focus is concentrated on debates around constitutional changes or policies that allow for presidential term extensions, the energy and attention needed to discuss and fix substantial problems in sectors such as education can be diminished. (Wasisto & Prayudi, 2021).

The debate on extending the presidential term raises various political and social implications. From a political perspective, this could trigger intense debate on democratic principles, such as the limitation of power and healthy leadership turnover, which are essential to prevent excessive concentration of power. Supporters of this proposal may argue that a well-performing president needs more time to continue the programs and policies that have been started, while political opponents and democracy observers may consider it a step back from democratic principles, as argued by Yunanto and

Damayanti in their book “*Menuju Indonesia yang Aman, Damai dan Demokratis: Tantangan, Disain Kebijakan dan Kelembagaan.*”

On the social side, the debate could deepen societal polarization, with supporters and opponents sharply divided. This affects national political discussions and could reduce the ability to reach consensus on other important issues, such as education. Revision of UU Sisdiknas, for example, is a critical issue that requires in-depth attention and cross-sectoral discussion to improve the quality and access of education across the country. However, momentum for necessary 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 must 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 the policy-making process, and active civil society engagement to ensure that political decisions taken reflect the best interests of society as a whole.

3. The Rejecting Faction

In parliament, rejection of UU Sisdiknas revision not only from the community and organizations but also from political party factions, who collectively oppose 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 contributed votes of rejection. The total votes of rejection reached 311 (54.09%) of the total, while those supporting the revision of the law were 264 (45.09%) (Kurnianingrum, 2022; Matlani & Khunaifi, 2019). The objections from various factions reflect the differences in political views and interests regarding the revision of UU Sisdiknas, which ultimately forced the government to postpone the revision process. These factors show the complexity and challenges in formulating and implementing education policies in Indonesia.

The Impact of Failure of UU Sisdiknas Revision on Education in Indonesia

Failure to revise the UU Sisdiknas could significantly impact education in Indonesia, covering various aspects ranging from the quality of education to equality of access. Several potential impacts will emerge based on the results of the researcher's analysis. First, a decline in the quality of education in Indonesia can occur if the revision of UU Sisdiknas fails to be carried out comprehensively and based on research. A curriculum that is not integrated with the needs of the modern era and technological developments will make graduates less competent in facing global challenges. Without proper adjustments, the curriculum may not include essential skills such as digital literacy, critical thinking, creativity, and adapting to cutting-edge technology. As a result, graduates may not have the skills needed by the modern job market and lag behind graduates from other countries whose education systems are more adaptive to global change.

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 student engagement and motivation and limit their development of practical skills. Without policies that encourage active learning and ongoing training for teachers, classroom teaching may remain dominated by one-way lectures that are less relevant to students' current needs. This reduces teaching effectiveness, discourages students from learning, and negatively impacts their academic performance. Lack of support for teacher training also means that many educators may not have the skills and knowledge needed to implement innovative teaching methods, hampering their ability to adapt their teaching to the demands of a dynamic curriculum.

Legislation is formed with the principle of utility and effectiveness, emphasizing that the regulation can provide the expected benefits and results. In addition, legislation has efficiency and effectiveness, which emphasizes that regulations are made efficiently and provide real positive impacts for society, according to the statement from Huda et al., "Formulasi Konsep Tindak Lanjut Putusan Pengujian Undang-undang oleh Mahkamah Konstitusi yang Bersifat Mengatur." Thus, the failure to revise the Undang-Undang Sisdiknas could result in stagnation in the Indonesian education system, negatively impacting the quality of graduates and their ability to compete at the national and global levels.

Second, inequality in access to education in Indonesia could worsen if the revision of Undang-Undang Sisdiknas failed to address 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 adequate school buildings, laboratories, and internet access, while rural or underdeveloped areas often lack these basic facilities. 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 areas. This gap can also exacerbate social inequalities, with students from underdeveloped areas experiencing limitations in continuing their education to higher levels and, in turn, better employment opportunities.

In addition, removing the term *madrasah* from UU Sisdiknas may create uncertainty regarding the status and role of *madrasah* in the national education system. *Madrasah*, which have long been recognized as an integral part of formal education, may lose their identity and government support if this term is removed from the law. This may reduce the quality of education in *madrasah* and ignore their essential 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 may become inconsistent, adding uncertainty to religious educational institutions and students who choose this educational path. As a result, the educational gap between public schools and *madrasah* will widen, deepening inequalities and reducing opportunities for students to obtain an equal quality education.

Legislation is formed on the basis of balance, harmony and alignment, which emphasizes that regulations must reflect a balance between various interests in society, pay attention to the public interest and not side with certain groups, in accordance with the statement of Huda et al. in his book "Formulasi Konsep Tindak Lanjut Putusan Pengujian Undang-undang oleh Mahkamah Konstitusi yang Bersifat Mengatur". The revision of Undang-Undang Sisdiknas has been regulated regarding equal access to education for the Indonesian people, so the failed Undang-Undang Sisdiknas revision resulted in difficulties in achieving educational equality. Then, in the revision of Undang-Undang Sisdiknas, the term *Madrasah* was removed, which caused controversy in the community. *Madrasah* is one of the Islamic religious education that has long been established in Indonesia. So, if this term is removed, it can give a sense of injustice to specific community groups. Then, indirectly, this does not fulfil the principles of forming laws and regulations: balance, harmony, and justice.

Third, obstacles to improving the quality of education can arise if the *omnibus law* approach is not carried out carefully. The combination of several laws into one without careful planning can cause confusion and difficulties in implementation in the field. Ambiguity in new regulations can make it difficult for educators and school administrators to implement consistent policies, potentially resulting in gaps in educational and administrative practices. Lack of coordination between various agencies and stakeholders can lead to conflicts between new and old regulations, hindering effective policy implementation and impacting the quality of education. The *omnibus law* approach in efforts to improve the quality of education requires meticulous planning because otherwise, various obstacles can arise and hinder the achievement of the desired goals. (Elwijaya et al., 2021). Ambiguity in the combined regulations can create confusion in the field, especially for educators and school administrators, which

can ultimately reduce consistency in policy implementation across regions. Lack of coordination between various 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, gaps in educational and administrative practices may occur, negatively impacting education quality.

The negative impacts above arise if the principles in the formation of *Undang-Undang* are not met. In general, the quality of good national education begins with reasonable regulations and can accommodate the needs of national education. Based on Juran's theory, it can be understood that *Undang-Undang* 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, making it challenging to implement in the field. Lack of understanding of the effects of new policies can also hamper efforts to evaluate and improve policies after implementation, hampering 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 hamper efforts to improve the quality of education as a whole, in accordance with the opinion of 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*".

Failure to revise *Undang-Undang Sisdiknas* could result in stagnation and decline in the Indonesian education system, ultimately impacting the quality of human resources and the nation's ability to compete on the global stage. However, before *RUU Sisdiknas* is ratified, several controversial articles that have been explained previously need to be studied in more depth to avoid and minimize negative impacts that have the potential to arise in the education system in Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

The failure revision of *Undang-Undang Nomor 20 Tahun 2003 tentang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional (Sisdiknas) pada tahun 2023*, Several aspects can be highlighted to understand the dynamics that occur. Failure to revise *Undang-Undang Sisdiknas* can reflect the complexity of differences in views and interests between various stakeholders, including the government, DPR, academics, education practitioners, and civil society. *Rancangan Undang-Undang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional (RUU Sisdiknas)* has raised various controversial issues that have sparked heated debates. One of the main criticisms is the lack of public participation in drafting the National Education System Bill, which has raised concerns that the proposed policy may not reflect the interests of the community. Other concerns include the absence of in-depth academic studies, transparency in the policy-making process, and violations of the principles of good legislative formation. In addition, rejection has also come from various parties against removing the term *madrasah* in *RUU Sisdiknas*, which is considered contrary to the constitution and could worsen inequality in education. Furthermore, the failure to revise *Undang-Undang Sisdiknas* can significantly impact education in Indonesia. A decline in the quality of education may occur if the curriculum and teaching methods are not updated in accordance with the times. Inequality in education access can worsen and affect *madrasahs*, who may lose recognition and support.

AUTHOR'S NOTE

Tulisan ini benar adanya, bahwa hasil karya tim dan tidak adanya plagiasi. Kami ucapkan terima kasih pada bagian ini. Kami menyatakan bahwa tidak ada konflik kepentingan terkait publikasi artikel ini.

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