

# Politics of Education in Curriculum Development Policy in Indonesia from 1947 to 2013: A Documentary Research

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## Abstract

*The dynamics of curriculum development in Indonesia from 1947 to the latest 2013 curriculum cannot be separated from political influence. This paper investigates the politics of educational policy in Indonesia's curriculum development from 1947 to 2013, a critical analysis of various polemics about Indonesian education's aims and contents in schools. This paper is documentary research, which refers to related previous documents or literature. The study results indicate that the development of Indonesia's education curriculum is closely influenced by political, economic, social, cultural, and globalization factors. The formulated curriculum content cannot be separated from these factors' influence, as the 2013 curriculum was recently implemented. Of all these factors, government interests and political paradigms have the most significant influence in changing, developing, and refining the curriculum from time to time. The 2013 curriculum policy is intended to improve the various deficiencies that existed in the previous curriculum. The 2013 curriculum is structured by developing and strengthening attitudes, knowledge, and skills in a balanced manner. This research's*

implication is hoped that policymakers can consider it in developing curriculum in Indonesia.

**Keywords:** Curriculum Development, Indonesia, Politics Education

### **Abstrak**

Dinamika pengembangan kurikulum di Indonesia sejak tahun 1947 sampai dengan kurikulum terbaru 2013 tidak bisa lepas dari pengaruh politik. Tulisan ini bertujuan untuk menyelidiki politik kebijakan pendidikan dalam pengembangan kurikulum di Indonesia sejak tahun 1947 sampai 2013, analisis kritis terhadap berbagai polemik tentang tujuan dan isi pendidikan Indonesia di sekolah. Tulisan ini merupakan *documentary research* yang mengacu pada dokumen atau literatur terdahulu yang terkait. Hasil studi menyatakan bahwa pengembangan kurikulum pendidikan di Indonesia erat dipengaruhi oleh faktor politik, ekonomi, sosial, budaya, dan globalisasi. Muatan kurikulum yang dirumuskan tidak bisa lepas dari pengaruh faktor-faktor tersebut, begitu pula kurikulum 2013 yang belum lama ini diterapkan. Dari semua faktor tersebut, kepentingan pemerintah dan paradigma politik dinilai memberikan pengaruh yang paling signifikan dalam mengubah, mengembangkan dan menyempurnakan kurikulum dari waktu ke waktu. Kebijakan kurikulum 2013 dimaksudkan untuk menyempurnakan berbagai kekurangan yang ada pada kurikulum sebelumnya. Kurikulum 2013 disusun dengan mengembangkan dan memperkuat sikap, pengetahuan, dan keterampilan secara berimbang. Implikasi penelitian ini diharapkan dapat menjadi bahan pertimbangan pengambil kebijakan dalam pengembangan kurikulum di Indonesia.

**Kata Kunci:** Pengembangan Kurikulum, Indonesia, Politik Pendidikan

### **Introduction**

The curriculum is interpreted to mean all organized courses, activities, and experiences pupils have under the school's direction, whether in the classroom or not (Romine, 1945)<sup>1</sup>. "If the minister of education changes, the curriculum will be changed" is a funny and authentic expression that usually arises when Indonesia's leadership changes. Based on the reality that we can track from history, it is true that our national curriculum of education has changed so many times. The changes occurred in 1947, 1952, 1964, 1968, 1975, 1984, 1994, 2004, 2006 and the most recent one was the 2013 curriculum<sup>2</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> Mutu D A N Relevansi, "Kurikulum Pendidikan Tinggi Keagamaan Islam," *Al-Murabbi* 3, no. April (May 20, 2016): 1-15.

<sup>2</sup> Alhamuddin, *Politik Kebijakan Pengembangan Kurikulum di Indonesia: Sejak Zaman Kemerdekaan hingga Reformasi (1947-2013)* (Prenada Media, 2019), <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=9ByVDwAAQBAJ>.

change happening is a logical consequence of a political system, socio-culture, economic, science, and technology. The changes also happened because the curriculum considered a set of educational plans that needed to be dynamically developed based on society's demands and changes<sup>3</sup>.

Based on the historical view reviewed from time to time, the political paradigm determinant and power all colored and strongly influenced the Indonesian education system. A country's educational system's characteristics will finally be decided by the stakeholders who have full authority to decide. In this scheme, the political system has its power. Those who have the power in a certain period will use their power to decide what and how the education will be conducted. This tendency becomes the reference of the expression which says, "*If the minister of education changes, the curriculum will be changed.*" The tendency also becomes the reference for the educational curriculum, the causes of political content, value, ideology, and the specific intentions in which the authorities want them to be applied in curriculum scheme.

Various reasons or rationalizations are considered the references to decide the curriculum often change from period to period. This case is considered a normal phenomenon because of the changes that always occur around us. A Curriculum is one of the critical aspects of a country's educational system. It is why every aspect that directly influences its application will also influence its design and development. As the central core of the foundation, the curriculum guides the education given in an educational process, and it becomes a tendentious thing to lead the achievement of the national education objectives. This writing was composed in order to help the writers know deeper and could comprehend and compare our education from period to period, so that they, as educational actors, could acquire the information from this case and use it as their knowledge to comprehend the main problem in Indonesian education related to curriculum perspective. This research use documentary research<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> Laurie Brady, *Curriculum Development* (Prentice Hall, 1995), 21, <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=MvTCAAAACAAJ>.

<sup>4</sup> Louis Cohen, Lawrence Manion, and Keith Morrison, *Research Methods in Education* (Routledge, 2013), <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=LYzhAQAAQBAJ>.

## The History of Indonesian Curriculum Development

### 1. 1947-1964 Curriculum: Old Order Era

The first curriculum, which was born in the period of Indonesian Independence day, used the Dutch term called "*leer plan*." This term means "course plan." This term at that time was more popular than the term "*curriculum*." The changing of the educational objectives was related to the political situation, from Dutch education orientation to the national importance. To support this change, *Pancasila* was put as the educational foundation. The curriculum which was conducted at that time was known as the "1947 Course Plan". This curriculum was conducted in 1950. Some of the educational historians said that the history of the curriculum was started from the 1950 curriculum. This curriculum had two main contents: (1) the subjects and their learning hours, (2) the primary guidance of the learning.

At that time, the Indonesian curriculum was still being influenced by the Dutch and Japanese educational system; it seemed that Indonesia's educational system only conducted the system that had already existed. The 1947 Course Plan can be considered as the substitute for the Dutch educational system at that time. Since the country's condition was still in the spirit of taking the independence from Japan and the Dutch, the education as *development conformism* stressed more to the Indonesian human character development that was free and equal with other people of other countries in this world. The orientation of the 1947 Course Plan was not objected to students' cognition, and it stressed its objectives more to character education and the awareness as a citizen in society. The lesson materials were connected to daily occurrences in life, the attention to art and sports education.

After "1947 Course Plan", the Indonesian curriculum was reviewed and developed in 1952. This curriculum described every lesson in more detail. This curriculum then was named "1952 Descriptive Course Plan". This curriculum had led to the system of national education. The most significant and characteristic of this curriculum was that every course plan had to pay attention to the material contents connected to the

students' daily lives. The syllabus of the course clearly defined that a teacher taught a subject.

Between 1952 and 1964, the government reviewed and developed the Indonesian Curriculum System again. This development was named the 1964 Education Plan. The main ideas of the 1964 curriculum were to make the people of Indonesia acquired academic knowledge as the source of knowledge they had before joining Elementary School. This idea then centered the lessons on *Panca Wardhana* Program<sup>5</sup>, which had the following items: moral development, intelligence, emotional/artistic skills, and sport. Some people called/stated that *Panca Wardhana* focused on developing innovation, empathy, intention, creation, and morality. The subjects were qualified into five subjects: morality, intelligence, emotional/artistic, skills, and sport. Primary education stressed more knowledge and practical functional activities.

In the era of guided democracy from 1959 to 1965, the national education design tended to be a socialist conception<sup>6</sup>. Guided democracy attained its peak in 1965 and the failure of the September 30<sup>th</sup> Movement of 1965 by the communist party of Indonesia (CPI), which wanted to create Indonesia as a communist state. Then, the people's urge came to President Soekarno to dissolve the CPI and the party's organizations. President Soekarno was precisely reluctant to respond to it<sup>7</sup>. Even President Soekarno intended the CPI to survive, which led to the emergence of leadership dualism at the time. *First*, Sukarno is reluctant to meet the demands of the people. *Secondly*, Suharto and his army appreciated the people's demands to dissolve the CPI because it was considered to have committed a rebellion<sup>8</sup>.

In 1946-1964 greatly affected Islamic subjects' curriculum in particular and religious subjects in general. Religious education in public

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<sup>5</sup> Oemar Hamalik, *Model-Model Pengembangan Kurikulum* (Bandung: PPs Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia (UPI), 2004).

<sup>6</sup> Suhadi, *Politik Pendidikan Agama. Kurikulum 2013 Dan Ruang Publik Sekolah* (Yogyakarta: CRSC Sekolah Pascasarjana UGM, 2014).

<sup>7</sup> Husnan Bey Fananie, "Dinamika Partai Islam Kontemporer Di Indonesia. Studi Kasus Partai Persatuan Pembangunan Tahun 1999-2016" (Sekolah Pascasarjana UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2015), 48.

<sup>8</sup> Baasyir Faisal, *Politik Jalan Lurus* (Jakarta: Dharmapena, 2001), 75-76.

schools was held at the beginning of independence. However, the parents determined whether their children would take the subject or not, religious subjects were not compulsory, but it became the elective subjects. Adult students could decide whether to take the subject because it was not a requirement and a decisive factor for grade-promoting students to the next level. It can be seen in Law No. 04 of 1950<sup>9</sup> on Fundamentals of Education and Teaching in School Chapter XII about religious teaching in state schools article 2 paragraph 1 and 2 which read:

(1) religious subjects are held in public schools, and parents determine whether they will participate in the lesson. (2) How to conduct religious instruction in state schools is regulated by the minister of teaching and culture and the minister of religion.

In the era of guided democracy (1959-1965), national education focused more on socialist matters. At this time, the government determined religious education from public school to university level, but it was not mandatory. Students might choose or not. It was stated that the students who might be objected to the subjects, subsequently it was acceptable not to participate. The educational ideology of this era was to form a socialist man. It is stated in Tap MPRS no. II / MPRS / 1960 Chapter II Article 2, the noble character, the purpose of education was “the formation of experts in the development following the requirements of Indonesia’s socialist human, the noble character.”

## 2. 1968-1994 Curriculum: New Order Era

The birth of the 1968 curriculum was related to the political situation. The 1968 curriculum was considered the replacement of the 1964 curriculum, famous as Old Period’s Product. The 1968 Curriculum objectives were too stressed to create faithful Pancasila people who were strong, healthy inside and outside, had adequate intelligence and skills, morality, good attitudes, and religion. It was evident that in this curriculum, there was a change in the education curriculum structure from *Panca Wardhana* to the creation of Pancasila soul, basic knowledge,

<sup>9</sup> Sekretaris Negara, “Undang-Undang No. 04 Tahun 1950 Tentang Dasar-Dasar Pendidikan Dan Pengajaran Di Sekolah” (Jakarta, 1950).

and exceptional skill. 1968 Curriculum was considered the existence of the orientation change on the 1945 Republic Indonesian Constitution, which was purely and consequently conducted. 1968 Curriculum stressed on the subjects' organization: the groups of Pancasila development, basic knowledge, and special skills. The subjects were grouped into nine main subjects. Djauzak (in Alhamuddin, 2019)<sup>10</sup> called the 1968 Curriculum a rounded curriculum. "It only contained main subjects." The contents of the materials were theoretical. They were not related to real problems in the field. The focus was only on the materials considered suitable for the students based on their levels. The education contents were objected to add students' intelligence and skills and develop students' strength and health.

In the historical-political context, religious education was obliged in schools up to universities since 1966. it was established as a protection against the educational world of communism. The government did not want the same thing to happen again. Suhadi<sup>11</sup> stated that education in general and religious education, in particular, was to "strengthen religious belief," which also started to grow at that time. This enforcement became necessary because of the ideology of education held during the New Order up to the reformation era, placing religion as a significant framer of education.

The 1975 Curriculum had its objective to create more effective and efficient education. This curriculum's background was influenced by the management concept, famous as MBO (Management by Objective). The method, material, and objective of the learning were described in the Instructional System Development Procedure (ISDP), known as the "Learning Package." The learning package was defined as the plan of learning for every lesson. Every lesson was discussed in detail as a general instructional objective (GIO), particular instructional objective (SIO), learning materials, learning aids, learning activities, and evaluation. Most involved people criticized the 1975 Curriculum. This curriculum also

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<sup>10</sup> Alhamuddin, *Politik Kebijakan Pengembangan Kurikulum di Indonesia: Sejak Zaman Kemerdekaan hingga Reformasi (1947-2013)*.

<sup>11</sup> Suhadi, *Politik Pendidikan Agama. Kurikulum 2013 Dan Ruang Publik Sekolah*.

made the teachers busy to write the details to be achieved in every learning activity.

The 1994 Curriculum referred to the skill approach process. Though the process approach mainly dominated its main idea, the objective factor was still significant. This curriculum was also often called as “1975 Curriculum, which was developed.” The students were positioned as learning subjects. They observed something, grouped it, discussed it, and finally reported it. This model was popular with the term “How the Students Learn Actively” or Student Active Learning (SAL). SAL’s concept was excellent theoretically and had good results during its trial in the schools where it was tested. It experienced many deviations and reductions when it was nationally conducted. Unfortunately, many schools were not capable of conducting this method correctly. We only saw many students noisily discussed out of the theme they were supposed to discuss. Many unnecessary sticky pictures and the most disturbances of all were many teachers did not do speech method anymore to explain important information to their students because of this teaching method’s availability. Finally, many opinions came up to deny this method applied at schools.

1994 Curriculum was the product that combined the previous curriculums, mostly the 1975 curriculum and 1984 curriculum. Unfortunately, the combination of the objectives and the process had not been successful yet. Many people came with their critics as they felt students’ learning burden was too much, from national contents to local contents. The local content materials were adjusted to each region’s necessity, such as art, the local language, and local skill. Various groups of society also proposed their intentions to let specific issues become part of the curriculum. Finally, the 1994 curriculum was available as a very ‘bulky’ one. The fall of the Suharto regime and the 1999 Curriculum Supplement changed that ‘bulky’ curriculum, but it was not significant because it only added some lesson materials considered to complete the prior materials.



### 3. 2004-2013 Curriculum: Reformation Era

2004 Curriculum was considered as the replacement of the 1994 curriculum. 2004 Curriculum was also called Competence Based Curriculum (CBC)<sup>12</sup>. To be considered a competency-based program, the education program must have three main elements: selecting suitable competence, evaluating evaluation indicators to determine the success of competence achievement, and learning development. CBC had the following characteristics: stressing students' competence achievement individually and classically, having an orientation to the learning outcomes, and having varieties. The CBC learning activities used various approaches and methods. The CBC learning sources were the teacher and the other learning sources, which fulfilled the educative elements. The CBC evaluation stressed the process and result of the learning to achieve competence mastery or achievement. The basic structure of CBC was defined in detail based on the components of aspects, classes, and semesters. The skills and knowledge in each subject were arranged and grouped based on the aspects of those lessons. The statement of learning result was determined for every lesson aspect on every level. The form of learning result was to answer the question, "What should the student know and be able to do as the result of their learning process on this level?" The learning process described flexibility, comprehension, and curriculum complexity was stated by verbs that could be measured using various evaluation techniques. Every learning result had a set of indicators. The form of the indicator was provided to answer the question, "How do we know that the students have achieved the learning result that we hope they achieve?"

The application of SBC (School-Based Curriculum) was still in a limited trial, but in early 2006, the trial was stopped. When the Government Letter Number 24 in 2006 confirmed the Government Letter Number 24 in 2006 about the curriculum's content standard and the Government Letter Number 23 in 2006 about graduation standard, the 2006 Curriculum was formally set. 2006 Curriculum was similar to the 2004 Curriculum. The difference was mainly on the authorities who

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<sup>12</sup> Wina Sanjaya, *Pembelajaran dalam implementasi Kurikulum Berbasis Kompetensi* (Kencana, 2006), <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=QL9hNwAACAAJ>.

designed it. This curriculum was centered on the soul of education system decentralization

In the 2006 Curriculum, a central government set the competence standard and basic competence, while the schools, in this case, were the teachers, had to be able to develop its syllabus and evaluation based on the condition of the school and the region. The development results from all subjects were combined with being a package called School-Based Curriculum (SBC). The design of SBC became the schools' responsibility under the training and observation of the regional education department and the local area.

The government did the curriculum mapping on competency-based curriculum, which had ever been in trial in 2004. The competence became the guidelines and references for the handling of education to develop all the educational elements such as knowledge, skills, and attitude for all educational levels and lines, especially the school line.

2013 Curriculum, which was based on competence, focused on how the students acquired specific competences<sup>13</sup>. This curriculum covered some of the competencies and set of learning objectives that were carefully stated so that their achievement could be observed in students' attitudes or skills, considered successful criteria.

The learning activities were focused on helping the students master minimum competence to achieve the objectives that had been determined. This idea was related to the concept of mastery learning and talent development. Every student needs to be allowed to achieve the objectives based on their ability and how fast they could acquire them<sup>14</sup>.

The central theme of the 2013 Curriculum was to create Indonesian people who were productive, creative, innovative, and effective by observing their attitudes, skills, and integrated knowledge. To realize that, the teachers were asked to design the learning process effectively and valuably professionally. They also had to organize the

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<sup>13</sup> Alhamuddin Alhamuddin, "Studi Perbandingan Kurikulum Pendidikan Dasar Negara Federasi Rusia dan Indonesia" 3, no. 2 (January 6, 2017): 123-41, <http://ejournal.kopertais4.or.id/mataraman/index.php/murabbi/article/view/2586>.

<sup>14</sup> Mulyasa, *Pengembangan Dan Implementasi Kurikulum 2013* (Bandung: Rosdakarya, 2013).

learning process, choose the appropriate learning approach, decide the learning procedure, effectively form the competence, and determine achievement criteria.

Curriculum development at this time (2004-2013) had entered the reform era. It affected the policies taken by the government in setting the goals and orientation of education. The political system of reformation was more open and democratic. In Indonesia, the era of reformation had different characteristics from the era. Haris<sup>15</sup> mentioned that *first*, the power and president position service were confined in maximum for two terms of tenure or two times five years. *Second*, constitutional guaranteed and legislation for having political rights, civil liberties, and human rights were inherent in every citizen. *Third*, there was a guarantee for independence and freedom of the press. *Fourth*, there had to be free, fair, and democratic elections held by an independent electoral commission. *Fifth*, all members of parliament (House of Representatives {HR} and Regional Representative Council {RRC}), as well as regions (Regional Representative Board), were elected by the general election. *Sixth*, the guarantee of association freedom allowed every citizen to establish a political party to participate in the election formed from more than 100 political parties ahead of the 1999 election. *Seventh*, the military withdrew from politics. Therefore, all formal political positions in the legislature and executive could only be held by civilian politicians.

The dynamics of Islamic politics during this reformation had also become an interesting phenomenon. Husnan<sup>16</sup> stated that in the 2004 elections there was none of the candidate pairs were nominated exclusively either by a coalition of nationalist or Islamic party alone. The emergence of awareness from the cooperation of the nationalist-Islamic parties also appeared in several presidential elections.

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<sup>15</sup> Syamsuddin Haris, *PPP dan politik Orde Baru* (Gramedia Widiasarana Indonesia, 1991), <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=EzmKAAAAMAAJ>.

<sup>16</sup> Fananie, "Dinamika Partai Islam Kontemporer Di Indonesia. Studi Kasus Partai Persatuan Pembangunan Tahun 1999-2016."

## Curriculum Development Process

The curriculum development is a dynamic process that can change the government structure, technology, knowledge development, or globalization. This case tells us that curriculum development is influenced by supporting resources, such as a human resource with dominant curriculum development roles. It is why the development and training of human resources must be continually conducted informal or non-formal.

Besides the previously mentioned factor, other factors such as universities' or schools' management, the making use of learning sources, the using of available learning medium, the using of learning strategies and models, teachers' and lecturer's performance, the monitoring of classroom learning, and the management of educational quality itself become the supporting factors. Beey<sup>17</sup> mentioned three things that influenced the curriculum development: (1) *the essential curriculum* covers the skills and knowledge which are minimum, and we must use the techniques of quality control to measure their achievement, (2) *the potential curriculum* covers the skills and knowledge those are obliged for every child, related to the students' development, school levels, and the necessity of the involved society. This case needs to be evaluated continually. (3) *The vocational curriculum* covers specific skills and knowledge that some students must have because some societies need workers to do this skill or knowledge. The curriculum development quality is measured in two aspects: the prediction and its degree of accuracy. In its application, it is necessary to consider: (a) what is learned, (b) how it is taught, (c) who the learners are and how they learn, (d) the relevancy of the material with students' and societies' real needs, (e) the efficiency, effectivity and productivity of education process included its planning, organization and management, and (f) the changes that occur through the processes of some innovations in order to adjust the continuous changes. We cannot deny that the inhibitions we face in developing the curriculum for the universities. Those inhibitions among all are:

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<sup>17</sup> Oemar Hamalik, *Dasar-Dasar Pengembangan Kurikulum* (Bandung: Remaja Rosdakarya, 2006).

1. The people's growth, which is increasing continuously in the end, will cause a lack of learning facilities and teachers. It needs the most appropriate curriculum.
2. The development of knowledge and technology needs curriculum adjustment to not be one step behind other countries' people, especially in world socialization.
3. Human aspiration is getting broader and broader. It is because of the freedom to think and let out the ideas. This case needs appropriate ways to be facilitated based on the religious norms and culture's values. This case certainly needs the review and development of the curriculum.
4. The dynamic of society, which is caused by some factors contributing to society's movements vertically and horizontally, will significantly affect educational development.

To eliminate the problems that often arise in curriculum development, Smith mentioned some of the needed attention. According to him, some of those things are (1) the selection of development turning point, (2) the analysis of available strength effectively, (3) the techniques to apply it, (4) the conventional way in doing the changes, and (5) the control of the curriculum. Nurgiyantoro<sup>18</sup> said that some basic principles, which are referred to as the foundation in the curriculum development to make the developed curriculum, can facilitate the hopes of the institution, students, parents, and the stakeholders that use the graduated students. That is why it is necessary to determine the basic principles which can support and become the necessary foundation in developing the curriculum. Those principles are relevancy, affectivity, efficiency, continuity, flexibility, objectively oriented, and synchronized. Those principles are needed to be understood by all parties, especially the teacher as the actor on the stage. Those principles are also needed to be well conducted in the learning process. In this case, the curriculum developer must comprehend and understand those principles well.

The opinions above are some factors that need to be well-paid attention to by the involved parties in curriculum development in order to make it get

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<sup>18</sup> B Nurgiyantoro, *Dasar-Dasar Pengembangan Kurikulum (Sebuah Pengantar Teoretis Dan Pelaksanaanya)* (Yogyakarta: BPFE, 1988), 149.

along with the aim and objectives that are hoped. By having the well-connected aim and objectives, it is hoped that the graduated students will acquire leading competence and can compete well in the local, national, and global scopes.

If we overview through its concept, we will find that we have already had an excellent curriculum. Nevertheless, we also find that the implementation aspect and how it does not involve the teachers' role in changing the curriculum are significant weaknesses. The weaknesses have arisen because we focus more on the curriculum's content itself. We must realize that curriculum implementation is an integral part of curriculum development since it is the planned curriculum's actualization. That is why, in curriculum development, we need the concepts, principles, procedures, and strategic approach. The success of implementing the curriculum is mainly determined by the strategy that we use. Those elements of strategy consist of handling certain factors, such as resource preparation, facilities, learning strategies, and social factor. In this case, the academic unit tasks must be able to observe and understand such dimensions.

In some cases, the changing of curriculum occurred only in material changes. In reality, the changes must involve teachers' attitudes and thoughts. Besides that, Fulan and Park in Seller and Miller<sup>19</sup> proposed a formula related to a change's meaning. They defined that the changes must be comprehended by all components involved in education. It will be the changes which are being conducted can be well implemented. The teacher plays a central role as a facilitator of instruction and agent of change<sup>20</sup>.

Based on the observation since our independence day until now, we have the impression that Indonesia's curriculum implementation conducted on the field has failed. Surakhmad<sup>21</sup> said that four main factors caused the failure. The first one was the factor that *came from bureaucracy*, mainly the

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<sup>19</sup> John P Miller and Wayne Seller, *Curriculum: Perspectives and Practice* (New York: Addison-Wesley Longman Ltd, 1985), 13, <https://www.amazon.com/Curriculum-Perspectives-Practice-John-Miller/dp/0582284759>.

<sup>20</sup> Alhamuddin Alhamuddin and Bukhori Bukhori, "The Effect of Multiple Intelligence-Based Instruction on Critical Thinking of Full Day Islamic Elementary Schools Students," *Ta'dib: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 21, no. 1 (January 6, 2016): 37, doi:10.19109/td.v21i1.590.

<sup>21</sup> Winarno Surakhmad, *Pendidikan nasional, strategi, dan tragedi* (Penerbit Buku Kompas, 2009), 24-26, <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=vysnLWPXKSIC>.

authorities' overestimate intentions related to curriculum roles and considered the teacher's element was not a primary one. The second factor came from the *curriculum designer*. It occurred because of the weak fundamental of philosophy and psychology in curriculum description, so it was not appropriate for social reality and the demands of changes in society. The third factor came from *the curriculum does*. This case was related to the lack of competence and professionalism among the teachers. The last factor was related to the *education ecosystem*. It could happen because of weak social support and the lack of educational infrastructure in educational task units, especially for schools located in small regions.

The four factors considered to cause the failure of curriculum implementation are integrated. They are combined and synergized to be considered an element that could cause the curriculum's failure and changes in the field. The failure becomes a reality on the teachers' part. It is due to their limited comprehension of how to do their job description. However, it is not wise to conclude that this failure's main problem is mainly on the teachers' side and generally on the low education quality. In this case, the teachers' side is only one of the failure elements.

Based on the case being described above, the government must help the teacher comprehend more about the fundamental consideration of why the new curriculum is developed. The government must actively involve the teacher in the overview, do the trial, and evaluate all curricular aspects. The government can then empower the teachers to continue to improve their professional ability as curriculum note speakers.

Changes and developments are very fast, and the demands and guidance of the community are increasing. The education unit must anticipate these changes and demands. Surakhmad<sup>22</sup> stated that there would be significant life changes and that these changes would take place more accelerated. He added that science and technology would take a central position that directly influenced everyday human lifestyles and affected moral values, art, and religion.

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 448.

Secondly, the struggle and competition for life among nations will not be limited to the economic field and various other fields, including culture and ideology. Third, the influence of the rapid development of science, moral and religious values will be directly challenged, and it is not impossible to create a value system of “give” that is different from what is known to date. Fourth, the influence of technology that increasingly dominates everyday human life patterns, technology is no longer limited due to technology experts. However, it extends to ethical and aesthetic problems requiring ethics, social reintroduction, reconciliation, and even ordinary people. These four possibilities will increasingly emerge as life realities that cannot be underestimated. Schools must feel obliged to work around this. Surakhmad<sup>23</sup> added no developing nation that could withstand these changes and influences if the nation did not prepare itself because, after all, developed countries were more anticipatory, productive. Therefore they were more prepared, and they were in more favorable conditions. Therefore, developing countries must immediately take a stand to anticipate.

## **The Correlation Between Politic and Curriculum Development Policy**

Politics and policy are two things that are somewhat difficult to separate and stand-alone. The policy is closely related to politics, and vice versa. Chomsky<sup>24</sup>, in the excerpt of his quote: “*the public is not to see when power lies, how it shapes policy and for what ends. Rather, people are to hate and fear one another*”. There are policy, political forces, interests, and political actors who “work” and form interactions, or sometimes even intersect, which lead to conflict. Thus, every policy is not entirely neutral<sup>25</sup>.

Policy refers to a series of actions or decisions taken by the government or a group of powerful elites to solve public problems. Budiardjo<sup>26</sup> explained the public policy as a collection of decisions taken by an actor or political

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 449.

<sup>24</sup> Noam Chomsky, “Democracy Lite,” *Index on Censorship* 26, no. 3 (January 6, 1997): 56–58, doi:10.1177/030642209702600311.

<sup>25</sup> Redaksi Jurnal Politik, “Politik Dan Kebijakan (Publik),” *Jurnal Politik* 3, no. 1 (January 6, 2017): 1–4, doi:10.7454/jp.v3i1.78.

<sup>26</sup> Miriam Budiardjo, *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik* (Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2003), 20, [https://books.google.co.id/books?id=\\_dZ247rCydIC](https://books.google.co.id/books?id=_dZ247rCydIC).



group to choose goals and ways to achieve that goal. In general, those who make these policies have the authority to implement them. Tilaar and Nugroho<sup>27</sup> defined policy as a decision made by the state, especially the government, to realize the concerned country's objectives.

Thus public policy does not arise suddenly or from a vacuum, but it is born from a context of specific problems or needs. Even public policy is born not merely as a response to specific problems, needs, or pressures but also from a set of specific values. Harman<sup>28</sup> said that

“... policy does not emerge within a vacuum. Rather it is developed within the context of particular sets of values, pressures and constraints, and within particular structural arrangements. It also is a response to a particular problem, needs, and aspirations”.

Although the purpose of public policy-making is projected to represent the interests of many people, there are often gaps between existing public problems and the capabilities or resources of the government. This gap often creates a conflict of interest for the parties involved. Interests or aspirations that dominate public policies are highly dependent on individuals' access and power or interest groups in decision-making. Therefore, it is not surprising that public policy-making is often “the result of negotiations, bargaining, competition, and the cooperation of various groups”<sup>29</sup> rather than reflecting the broader public interest.

Public policy-making also better represents the partisan political interests of a group of elites rather than solemnly to solve public problems. Lindblom<sup>30</sup> stated that a public policy was often compiled from a political compromise among several policymakers and was not always a serious effort

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<sup>27</sup> H A R Tilaar, *Kebijakan pendidikan: pengantar untuk memahami kebijakan pendidikan dan kebijakan pendidikan sebagai kebijakan publik* (Pustaka Pelajar, 2008), 184, <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=62QQAQAAMAAJ>.

<sup>28</sup> Harman G., “Conceptual and Theoretical Issues,” in *Educational Policy: An International Survey*, ed. J R Hough (London: New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1984), 17, <https://www.amazon.com/Educational-Policy-International-J-Hough/dp/0312238045>.

<sup>29</sup> I McNay and J Ozga, *Policy-Making in Educations* (Open University Set Book Pergamon, 1985), 1.

<sup>30</sup> Charles E Lindblom and Edward J Woodhouse, *Policy Making Process, The*, 3rd editio (Englewood Cliffs, N.J: Prentice Hall, 1992), 1, <https://www.amazon.com/Policy-Making-Process-Charles-Lindblom/dp/0136823602>.

to respond to agreed policies. Policy-making frequently comes from new opportunities, not from “problems” that arise.

As stated above, the policy-making dilemma is a classic problem in almost all forms and government levels. On the one hand, the government and policymakers face many public problems that are to be solved, but the government faces limited resources and must make decisions with all the consequences. In this state of attraction between the two poles, policy distortions are difficult to avoid in public policy-making. Therefore, producing public policies that genuinely accommodate all public interests broadly is almost impossible. As stated above, policy-making contains confirmation and negation aspects, namely, the choice to make a particular decision means negating the other choices.

Therefore, Tilaar and Nugroho<sup>31</sup> stated that public policy was more a strategic fact than a political fact or a technical fact. As a strategy, actors’ political preferences in the policy process have been summarized, esp in public policy especially in the formulation process. As a strategy, public policy is positive and negative, meaning that decision choices are always accepting one and rejecting the other. Although there is room for a win-win solution in which demand can be accommodated. In the end, the space for a win-win solution is minimal, so that public policy is more in the zero-sum-game domain, that is accepting this, and rejecting others.

In the modern social system, the “state” is the only institution considered valid, representative, and has the authority to realize its citizens’ hopes and aspirations. The state even has the authority to “force” to realize the hopes of the community. For this reason, the state is also equipped with various authorities or instruments, both legalistic authority (law and rule) and institutional authority (apparatus), to support the achievement of common ideals and to uphold social order. In this case, the state is nothing but the incarnation of the ideals of its citizens.

Therefore, education policy is nothing but “the whole process and results of the formulation of strategic educational steps outlined from the vision, mission of education, to realize the achievement of educational goals

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<sup>31</sup> Tilaar, *Kebijakan pendidikan: pengantar untuk memahami kebijakan pendidikan dan kebijakan pendidikan sebagai kebijakan publik*, 185.

in a society for a certain period.” Education policy, thus, is public policy in the field of education. As one of the public domains, education policy must be in line with public policy. “Educational policy is an education policy aimed at achieving the nation-state development goals in the field of education, as one part of the overall nation-state development goals.”<sup>32</sup>

From the characteristics of public policy, it is understood that education is one of the essential public domains. It is not only influencing the individual concerned but also the country. The right to obtain an education is also related to economic or material aspects and aspects of each individual’s values and self-actualization needs. Therefore, in the macro context, to find out how the perspective of the development of a government/state is formulated and the nation’s reading of future history can be seen from its political development, especially its policies in education.

Because “every education policy reflects political choices, traditions, values and the future conception of a country.”<sup>33</sup> Here education does not only function to develop the potential of individuals in society but also contribute to the quality of life of the country, as asserted by Razik & Swanson<sup>34</sup> that “education deals with matters that relate to the heart and soul of the individual citizen and, the same time, is critical to the political and economic welfare of the nation and its security.” At the micro-level, education, along with various other resources, has a direct effect on the quality of a job:

Resources are traditionally grouped into three categories, called factors of production: land, labor, and physical capital. The land refers to the earth’s dry surface area and its vegetation, wildlife, and mineral content. Labor represents the human resource that goes into production. Originally, economic analysts defined labor in quantitative terms as the number of workers and their time. With the advent of human capital theory, labor quality has been considered an essential economic characteristic of labor. Formal education, of course, essential means of improving the quality of the workforce. Physical capital refers to the produced means of productions, such as machinery, factory

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 268.

<sup>33</sup> UNESCO, *Learning To Be* (Paris: UNESCO, 1972), 170.

<sup>34</sup> Taher A Razik and Austin D Swanson, *Fundamental Concepts of Educational Leadership and Management* (Pearson Education, 2017), <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=7mUuDwAAQBAJ>.

buildings, and computers ... The workforce's education level correlates directly with the level of sophisticated capital reasonably used in the production process<sup>35</sup>.

However, it does not mean that education policy is merely projected to develop economic resources and enhance individual social mobility. However, it must also be able to "integrate the complete physical, intellectual, emotional and ethical dimension of the individual as a fundamental goal of education."<sup>36</sup> Therefore, given the strategic role of education as the public domain, involving the public in the formulation of education policy is very important because "it will have strong economic implication for individuals and the business world as well as for society, the state, and nation."<sup>37</sup> However, education policies are frequently made do not always reflect the public interest at large:

Education brings essential benefits to both the individual and society. If public benefits were simply the sum of individual benefits, there would be no problem, but this is not the case. Frequently there substantial differences between societal and individual interest

Harman<sup>38</sup> explained that education policy could be grouped into four categories if it was seen from its contents. *First*, policies are relating to the essential functions of schools and tertiary institutions. Most of these functions are related to the curriculum, including the policy of determining goals and objectives, student recruitment and level of participation, the value of student abilities, awarding degrees, and student discipline. *Second*, policies related to establishing, structure, and managing private institutions and all education systems. *Third*, relating to all staff's recruitment, employment, promotion, supervision, and welfare, mostly based on professionalism. *Fourth*, policies relate to provisions regarding the allocation and sources of funding, maintenance, and equipment.

If it is observed, what Harman stated above is still in the context of micro education policies, which is related to policies at the internal level of

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 381.

<sup>36</sup> UNESCO, *Learning To Be*, 156.

<sup>37</sup> Razik and Swanson, *Fundamental Concepts of Educational Leadership and Management*, 380.

<sup>38</sup> G., "Conceptual and Theoretical Issues," 15.

the school, even the progress and quality of education at the school level itself is influenced and determined by more macro policies, namely policies made at the state level. As part of political decisions, policies at the education unit level are also determined by macro policies. Macro policies also reflect the ideals and hopes of a nation. Seeing the different visions of one nation and another can be seen from education's vision. According to Tilaar and Nugroho<sup>39</sup>, education policy could be understood from two aspects, namely (1) education policy as part of public policy, and (2) education policy was standing independently or equal to public policy, or education policy is public policy. Both of these approaches had different implications.

If education policy is considered part of public policy, it causes education policies not to differ from the authorities' aspirations of power or political aspirations. As a result, the meaning of "education" itself is reduced to a subdivision of the development process or process of change. Education is not considered a determinant of change or human life and society, whether political power. Education as a fact of humanity and civilization can easily be ignored<sup>40</sup>.

If education policy is seen as part of other development policies, education will be treated equally with other economic, social, military, and other policies. In this context, as a region of government responsibility, education is also often "forced" to adjust to general administrative patterns and prevailing norms. As a result, "public education is funded and controlled by the government as the government finances and controls other fields such as agriculture, health, or social services."<sup>41</sup> Whereas as a humanizing effort, education policy requires a humane approach and treatment pattern.

## **Relationship between Education and Politics**

Every development policy development, including education policy, cannot be separated from the political process, while the political process itself reflects a particular ideology. Therefore, education policy cannot be separated from the political interests of the authorities in power.

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<sup>39</sup> Tilaar, *Kebijakan pendidikan: pengantar untuk memahami kebijakan pendidikan dan kebijakan pendidikan sebagai kebijakan publik*, 306.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 306-7.

<sup>41</sup> M Sirozi, *Politik Pendidikan* (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 2005), 17.

Consequently, as a part or derivative of the political system, “understanding education policy in a country means learning education policies in different political systems.”<sup>42</sup> In turn, the relationship between politics and education policy raises philosophical and practical implications as explained by Sirozi<sup>43</sup> that the relationship between education and politics has implications for all plains, both on philosophical plains and on the plain of policy. For example, the philosophy of education in a country is often a reflection of its ideological principles. In Indonesia, for instance, the philosophy of national education is the pedagogical articulation and the values contained in Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. On the plain of policy, it is not very easy to separate the government’s education policies in a country with political perceptions and beliefs in the government.

Recognizing the symbiotic relationship between education and politics, then in modern society, generally, education is an essential political commodity. Not infrequently, the elites make education an issue to mobilize support and maintain political power. In practice, although not in direct contact with political processes and institutions, educational processes and institutions have several essential functions that impact the political system, stability, and daily practices. In modern society, education is the responsibility of a big government. Public education is political because it is controlled by the government and influences the government’s credibility because of the enormous political nuances. These various political factors have nothing to do with education influence how control of education and how education policies are made<sup>44</sup>. Furthermore, the relationship between education and politics forms a complex fabric.

Between education and politics were two essential elements that would influence community character formation in developed and developing countries. Both of them influence each other. Educational institutions and processes played an important role in shaping the political behavior of people in the country. Likewise, the country’s political institutions and processes significantly impacted education characteristics in the country<sup>45</sup>.

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<sup>42</sup> Tilaar, *Kebijakan pendidikan: pengantar untuk memahami kebijakan pendidikan dan kebijakan pendidikan sebagai kebijakan publik*, 271.

<sup>43</sup> Sirozi, *Politik Pendidikan*, 12.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

Furthermore, as studied in political science, the political system consists of input, throughput, and output. Public policy is in the political system by relying on input, which consists of two things, namely demand and support<sup>46</sup>. Meanwhile, unlike Razik & Swanson, who only emphasized the economic dimension, Olsen et al. Tilaar and Nugroho<sup>47</sup> explained that education policy had a strategic role for excellence and continuity of global life and democracy:

... education policy in the first place is the key to global security, sustainability, and survival ...education policies are central to such global mission... a deep and robust democracy at the national level requires healthy civil society is based on norms of trust and active response citizenship and that education is central to such a goal. Thus, a healthy state is necessary to maintain democracy at the national level so that the forms of international governance and ensure that globalization becomes a force for global sustainability and survival.

Thus, the impact of education policy on one country is no longer limited regionally but also globally. It is natural because, in the increasingly globalized world order, relations among countries are borderless (the beardless world) regionally and culturally. On the other hand, globalization is causing the citizens of the world to live in an atmosphere of interdependence, so that any policy or incident that takes place in one country will also have implications for other countries.

In the context of education policy, as a “political” decision, then “various educational policies will directly impact the access, interests and educational interests of education stakeholders, especially parents, students and the community in general.”<sup>48</sup> Therefore, the community needs to be aware of the importance of education for society’s continual change. In this connection, the importance of public policy facilitates the process of education for human liberation. Herein the affiliation or goal similarity of educational policy (educational policy) exists with public policy (public policy). The meeting of the two types of policy only occurs in a democratic society because both open themselves to the growth of independent

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<sup>46</sup> Tilaar, *Kebijakan pendidikan: pengantar untuk memahami kebijakan pendidikan dan kebijakan pendidikan sebagai kebijakan publik*, 158.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 267–68.

<sup>48</sup> Sirozi, *Politik Pendidikan*, 12.

individuals who are creative and responsible in this era of globalization<sup>49</sup>. Education policy does not merely fulfill the needs of technical or pragmatic oriented ones, but it must be a means of human liberation and uphold human values. For this reason, future education policies “must be coordinated in all social sectors in an integrated manner.”<sup>50</sup>

Even education policy is recognized as very important for the social transformation of individuals and society, both economically and the actualization of human values, education policy is not something that stands alone. Education policy is influenced by other factors such as politics, culture, and economics. Education policy also shows different nuances in an interstate context, for example, between developed and developing countries. Suppose in most developed countries, education is in the mainstream of national political life and becomes an important issue in public discourse<sup>51</sup>, then in developing and third-world countries. In that case, education policy cannot be separated from the economic condition of the concerned country. The limited economic resources lead to education policies in these countries, which are defeated by other problems such as hunger, disaster, and poverty. Tilaar<sup>52</sup> stated:

Thus the education sector frequently suffers, loses its importance when other sectors--- usually economic or defense---become more important, often because of political considerations. Education is always weak in most developing countries where quick or unexpected responses are needed because of famine, disease, malnutrition, and poverty and prompt actions that cannot be postponed. Because of humanitarian considerations, education must be bowed to these budgetary imperatives, giving way to allocate resources to meet these humanitarian needs.

Therefore, as an unprecedented decision and action, due to economic, political, and ideological factors, each country’s education policy tends to show a different face. In developed countries, education policy is in an equal position, even to a certain extent, higher than other public policies, while in

<sup>49</sup> Tilaar, *Kebijakan pendidikan: pengantar untuk memahami kebijakan pendidikan dan kebijakan pendidikan sebagai kebijakan publik*, 150.

<sup>50</sup> UNESCO, *Learning To Be*, 163.

<sup>51</sup> Sirozi, *Politik Pendidikan*, 17.

<sup>52</sup> .A.R. Tilaar, *Manajemen Pendidikan Nasional: Kajian Pendidikan Masa Depan* (Bandung: Rosdakarya, 2008), 138.



developing countries, education policy is only subordinated to other policies such as economic, military, social, and other policies. Therefore, in such countries, the birth of development policies that take the side of education is a serious challenge because it is related to political commitment and leadership and other communities' basic needs.

## **Conclusion**

The development of Indonesia's educational curriculum from independence to the reformation period was built on political, economic, cultural, and globalization factors. The formulated curriculum content cannot be separated from these factors, as the 2013 curriculum has not been implemented for a long time. Of all these factors, the government's interests and the political paradigm have the most significant influence in changing, developing, and refining the curriculum from time to time. There is nothing wrong with changing change. Change the language change in the problem or ten times in misinformation, if the situation is required. The problem is why changes need to be made, whether the goals and reasons are reasonable, related to current needs, and in anticipation of the future.

The new curriculum will not have the same goals as the previous curriculum. This new curriculum can brighten the thinking paradigm of field actors and facilitate and help increase students' competence to compete nationally and internationally with other countries—curriculum 2013 policies to correct various deficiencies in the previous curriculum. The 2013 curriculum is structured by developing and accessing attitudes, knowledge, and skills in a balanced manner.

This study is documentary research on education curriculum development policies in Indonesia, sourced from the literature that the authors found. There may be some related data or facts that have not been included in this paper. Therefore, future research needs to be carried out more comprehensively.

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