POLITICAL DYNAMICS OF ISLAMIC EDUCATION IN INDONESIA: A SYSTEMATIC REVIEW (2004–2024)

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Abstract:
Various literature often appears discussions about the politics of Islamic education in Indonesia, but they are rarely used as a theoretical basis because this phenomenon is dynamic. This study aims to Identify the study of the political area of Islamic education, we focus on the trend of the study span of years (2004-2024). To achieve the objectives of this study, we used a type of SLR methodology with a qualitative approach. First, we formulated a research question by focusing on two RQs, then we searched the literature through "Google Scholar" and "ScienceDirect". Second, build search terms by focusing on six keywords. Third, conducting the selection and evaluation of studies with the SINTA, SCOPUS, DOAJ, Proceedings International indexes. We acquired 21 books and 45 relevant article documents. Fourth, carry out analysis and synthesis through the "Publish or Perish" (PoP) and "VOSviever" applications. Then we conduct content analysis as the main findings. Fifth, report the results. We adopted a systematic approach to report findings on the politics of Islamic education. This study encourages the integration of Islamic values in education policies to strengthen students' character, improve the competence of teachers, and ensure equitable access to quality education. This study can be the basis for making education policy strategies that are relevant to the socio-cultural context of the pluralistic Indonesian society. By prioritizing a holistic approach, Islamic education policies contribute to the development of superior human resources and sustainable community development.

Abstrak:
Berbagai literatur sering muncul diskusi mengenai politik pendidikan Islam di Indonesia, namun jarang dijadikan landasan teori karena fenomena ini bersifat dinamis. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk Mengidentifikasi studi wilayah politik pendidikan Islam, kami berfokus pada tren studi rentang tahun (2004-2024). Untuk mencapai tujuan penelitian ini, kami menggunakan jenis metodologi SLR dengan pendekatan kualitatif. Pertama, merumuskan pertanyaan penelitian dengan memfokuskan pada dua RQ, kemudian kami melakukan pencarian literatur melalui "Google Scholar" dan "ScienceDirect". Kedua, membangun istilah pencarian dengan fokus pada enam kata kunci. Ketiga, melakukan seleksi dan evaluasi studi dengan index SINTA, SCOPUS, DOAJ, Proceedings International. Kami memperoleh 21 buku dan 45 dokumen artikel yang relevan. Keempat, melakulan analisis dan sintesis melalui melalui aplikasi "Publish or Perish" (PoP) dan "VOSviever". Kemudian kami melakukan analisis konten sebagai temuan utama. Kelima, melaporkan hasil. kami mengadopsi pendekatan sistematis untuk melaporkan temuan tentang politik pendidikan Islam. Kajian ini mendorong integrasi nilai-nilai Islam dalam kebijakan pendidikan untuk memperkuat karakter siswa,

meningkatkan kompetensi tenaga pengajar, dan menjamin pemerataan akses pendidikan berkualitas. Studi ini dapat menjadi landasan pengambilan strategi kebijakan pendidikan yang relevan dengan konteks sosial budaya masyarakat Indonesia yang majemuk. Dengan mengedepankan pendekatan holistik, kebijakan pendidikan Islam berkontribusi pada pengembangan sumber daya manusia unggul dan pembangunan masyarakat berkelanjutan.

INTRODUCTION

The relationship between educational institutions and politics is a mutual relationship that has a significant impact. This shows the importance of an effective management system, where education policies can be implemented optimally with support, approval and agreement by the education stakeholders (Dewey, 2024, p. 77). In various countries, a phenomenon that is often discussed in educational institutions is policy, this aims to formulate strategies so that policies can be implemented in educational practices optimally (Thoma, 2023, p. 1). In the context of Islamic education policy, it is designed as a goal to formulate a curriculum that directs students to improve faith, piety, morals, spirituality, knowledge and understanding in practicing the values of Islamic teachings (Rajaminsah et al., 2022, p. 547). Given the agenda of sustainable development goals (SDGs) in the field of education about the importance of creating access to holistic quality education (Kestin et al., 2023, p. 27). The concept of SDGs encourages the development of education that not only improves literacy and numeracy but also shapes character, critical skills, social awareness and an inclusive environment(Sedwal, 2024, p. 107). So that this can equip future generations to contribute positively to the goals of global development in the quality education agenda.

Currently, Islamic education policies in Indonesia during the Old Order, New Order and Reform governments seem to be more focused on political modernization and tend to be discriminatory towards Islamic education (Alam, 2020, p. 59; Naldo et al., 2020, p. 351). As in Indonesia, there are still various unresolved education problems. For example, such as limited facilities and infrastructure in remote areas, less professional educators, curriculum alignment and character education (Kartila, 2023, p. 1), Other problems such as illegal levies (*pungli*) in schools (Purwadi et al., 2018, p. 115), Cases of harassment and bullying between students (Wallace, 2024, p. 2129). The government should ideally build an inclusive education system by formulating the right policies. However, obstacles hinder if the policy is applied to educational institutions that do not support (Meehan et al., 2021, p. 2). Another fact is that many education policies listed in the National Education System law have not fully supported Islamic education, especially in non-formal institutions (Asiah et al., 2023, p. 19). This causes non-uniform policies in accommodating diversity, regional interests, and even the waste of budget allocation at various levels have not been implemented evenly (Glover & Levačić, 2020, p. 20).

A lot of literature often appears in discussions about the politics of education, but it is rarely used as a theory (Schneider, 2024, p. 32). So far, several relevant studies on the relationship between politics and Islamic education policy contain three main points. First, we map it into four focuses which include (1) the political study of "culture, power and liberation" education (Freire, 1985), (2) a political study of the segregation of Islamic education in Indonesia in the social history of the Dutch colonial era (Mashuri, 2013), (3) political studies of Arabic language education in Islamic and general universities (Nisa, 2018), (4) Political Studies in Legal Reform of Education Policy in Indonesia (Kristiana, 2020). Second, the study highlights education policy in 21st century learning skills (Anisa, 2023; Bayley, 2022; Cristea et al., 2024), including public perception in the implementation of the SDGs agenda as support received by educational institutions (Bautista-Puig et al., 2024; Briggs et al., 2020; Serafini et al., 2022). Third, a study of Islamic education policy in the context of religious moderation that highlights the importance of building religious character, tolerance, and strengthening the spirit of nationality (Ihsan & Abdullah, 2021; Masturin, 2023; Noor, 2020; Nurbayani & Amiruddin, 2024). The entire study has not discussed the politics of Islamic education in the perspective of SDGs through the SLR map. Therefore, this article has the distinction of presenting a theoretical concept of new things and filling in the gaps from previous research that is interesting to study in depth so that it can contribute both in Indonesia and around the world.

Seeing the political dynamics and policies of Islamic education as a complex and growing topic. This article has a significant urgency to understand the politics of Islamic education in order to be in line with the SDGs agenda, especially point four about quality education. This study aims to Identify the study of the political area of Islamic education, we focus on the trend of the study span of years (2004-2024). With the systematic literature review (SLR) research map, this study is expected to contribute to policy makers in the agenda of formulating Islamic education policies that are in accordance with the needs of local educational institutions both in Indonesia and even around the world. So that Islamic educational institutions can play a positive role in forming a generation that has extensive knowledge and is able to compete in the global arena.

RESEARCH METHODS

To achieve the objectives of this study, we used the "Systematic Literature Review" (SLR) methodology, with a qualitative approach. This type of SLR methodology was chosen because of its ability to apply thorough, rigorous, and unbiased search to other literature review processes (Tranfield, 2009, Tharaba & Wahyudin, 2024). To follow the SLR procedure, several steps are taken, including: First, formulating research questions. It starts with the formulation of clear and answerable research questions. These questions help guide the research process, from designing a search strategy, selecting relevant studies, to analyzing and synthesizing the selected studies. We conducted a preliminary search of available

literature in the main databases "Google Scholar" and "ScienceDirect" using six keywords related to (education politics, Islamic education policy, Islamic education management, Islamic education, educational curriculum and SDGs agenda). Through this search, we gained a deeper understanding of the literature related to the six categories, which then led to the "Research Question" (RQ), namely: What are the studies of the political area of education in the discussion trend in Indonesia?

Second, build search terms. Systematic and unbiased article selection in research is an important step in conducting a comprehensive SLR method. The article selection process begins with identifying relevant keywords and search terms. We used a three-step approach to find the most appropriate search terms in collecting articles. (1) The researcher determines keywords related to the trend of educational political books in Indonesia, to answer RQ1. (2) The researcher combines all of these keywords to form a series of search terms such as "education politics" or "Islamic education policy" or "Islamic education management" or "Islamic education" or "educational curriculum". This search term is then applied to extract article documents from the "Google Scholar" and "ScienceDirect" databases.

Third, conducting study selection and evaluation. The researcher used these search terms to find articles that appeared in the title, abstract, and keyword sections. To reduce the potential for bias and credibility of the data obtained, the researcher established inclusion and exclusion criteria with the index "SINTA (5 to 2), SCOPUS, DOAJ, Proceedings and International Libraries such as (Harvard Library)." We include review articles written in Indonesian and English. This data consists of several different types of works such as "trends in educational politics books in Indonesia range studies (2004-2024)" then types of "journal articles, proceedings, and final student research (S2 thesis & S3 dissertation) published in the year (2020-2024)". After the researcher searched the data findings, this resulted in 1546 article documents. Then after we evaluated the relevant data according to the "Research Question", the total documents obtained only got 45 article documents. For more details on the research map in the study selection and evaluation stage, we present it in the image below.
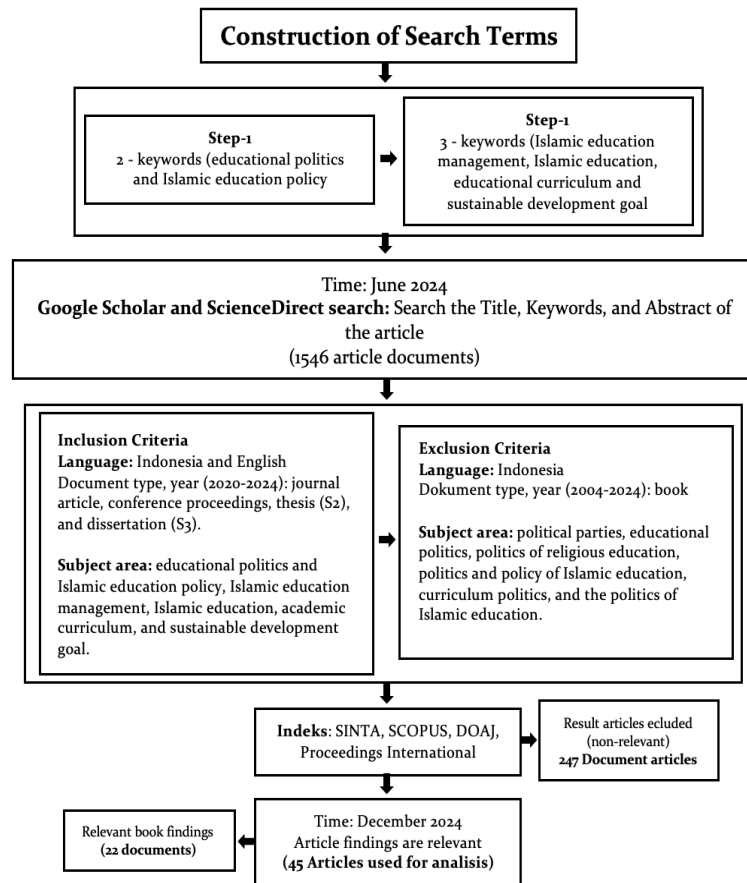
Figure 2. Stages of article search, selection and evaluation

As the image underlines that there are 247 documents that are categorized as irrelevant because they have similarities in topics, methodologies and discussion findings. For more details, we present it in the table below.

Table 1. Topic similarities that are not relevant to the RQ search

No	Kesamaan Topik	Jumlah Temuan
1	Politik dan Kebijakan Pendidikan Islam di Madrasah dan Pesantren	22 dokumen
2	Politik dan Kebijakan di Lembaga Non-Formal (Majelis Taklim dan Diniyah)	4 dokumen
3	Politik dan Kebijakan Pendidikan Islam	107 dokumen
4	Kebijakan Pendidikan Islam (Era Orde Lama, Era Baru, dan Reformasi)	49 dokumen
5	Kebijakan Pendidikan Agama Islam (kurikulum dan anggaran)	25 dokumen
6	Kebijakan Pendidikan di Perguruan Tinggi Islam	12 dokumen
7	Kebijakan Pendidikan di Sekolah	27 dokumen
Total: 247 dokumen artikel.		
Sumber: di proses peneliti 2024.		

Fourth, carry out analysis and synthesis. To analyze 1546 article documents, we used two steps. In the first step we conducted a bibliometric analysis (Aria & Cuccurullo, 2017), this was to understand the bibliographic landscape in the field of research topics through the help of the "Publish or Perish" (PoP) application. Then the data is saved in the ".ris" format and imported into the "VOSviever" application

(van Eck & Waltman, 2010), This is to find out the extent of the relationship between all six predetermined keywords. This aims to ensure the validity of the data systematically, and can make it easier to classify neatly as the findings obtained as a whole. To be clearer about the findings of the bibliometric analysis, we present it in the image below.
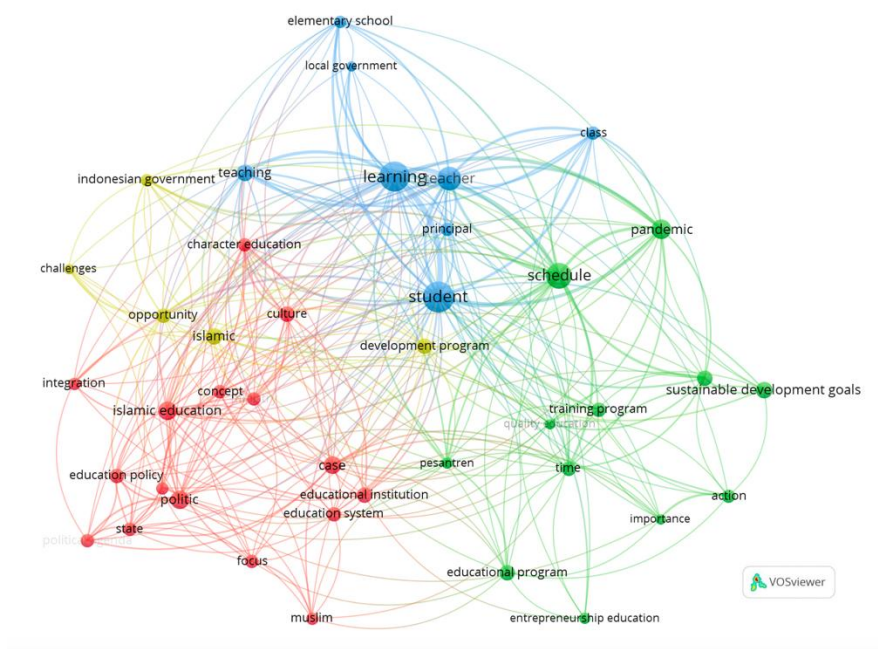

Figure 3. *Political relations and Islamic education policy*

Fifth, report the results. The researcher adopts a systematic approach to reporting the research findings. Our introductory section provides the background to these study and research questions. In this process we analyze in precise detail how the review is conducted. Then after the analysis stage, the researcher filters all the data that has been obtained to report the data found. In this section, the researcher reviews the suitability of data related to education politics, Islamic education policy, Islamic education management, Islamic education, and educational curriculum. Thus, the researcher can provide a framework for future research, the limitations of this study, and summarize the data findings as a discussion material in this study topic.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
Results
A study of the political area of education in discussion trends in Indonesia

The state of education and politics is greatly influenced by many factors, such as government policies, cultural contexts, and social changes. In addition, advances in technological development, global influences, educational infrastructure, public perception, and economic conditions also play an important role in creating the effectiveness and relevance of educational implementation practices in certain contexts(Ouyang et al., 2024, p. 2). To determine relevant topics, we focus on the

keywords "education politics, Islamic education policy, the role of political parties and Islamic religious education". The following is a table of findings of some trends in education politics books in Indonesia.

Table 2. Trends in political education books in Indonesia

No	Author	Topic
1	(Saerozi, 2004)	The Politics of Religious Education in the Era of Pluralism: A Historical Study of Conventional Religious Education Policy in Indonesia
2	(Susetyo, 2005)	The Politics of Ruler Education
3	(Assegaf, 2005)	National Education Politics: Shifting Islamic Religious Education Policy from Proclamation to Reform
4	(Sirozi, 2005)	Politik Pendidikan: Dinamika Hubungan antara Kepentingan Kekuasaan dan Praktik Penyelenggaraan Pendidikan
5	(Arifi, 2010)	The Politics of Islamic Education: Exploring the Ideology and Actualization of Islamic Education in the Midst of Globalization
6	(Rifai, 2011)	National Education Politics
7	(Suardi, 2015)	Contemporary Educational Political Ideology
8	(Suhadi et al., 2014)	The Politics of Religious Education, the 2013 Curriculum, and School Public Spaces
9	(Mahfud, 2016)	The Politics of Islamic Education: Analysis of Islamic Education Policy in Post-New Order Indonesia
10	(Putra, 2016)	Education Politics: Liberalization of Higher Education in Indonesia and India
11	(Fazlurrahman et al., 2017)	The Politics of Islamic Education
12	(Zaini Tamin et al., 2018)	Education Politics: Concepts and Practices of Education Policy in Indonesia
13	(Alhamuddin, 2019)	Politics of Curriculum Development Policy in Indonesia: From the Age of Independence to Reformation (1947-2013)
14	(Munandar, 2019)	Educational Politics Study: Building a System-Based World of Indonesian Education
15	(Wahyudin, 2020)	Curriculum Politics
16	(Nisa et al., 2020)	Political Parties & Islamic Religious Education
17	(Duryat, 2021)	A Blurry Portrait of Power Politics: An Examination of Political, Educational and Religious Policy Issues in Indonesia
18	(Mahmud, 2022)	Educational Politics and Ethics
19	(Qurtubi, 2023)	Education Politics and Policy
20	(Yasdin, 2023)	The Politics of Vocational Education: Theory and Practice
21	(As'ad Isma et al., 2024)	Islamic Education Management: in Political, Economic, Social and Cultural Perspectives
22	(Rohman, 2024)	Education Politics: Strategic Transformation of Education Policy and Governance

Overall, this trend reflects a wide range of topics related to education politics in Indonesia, ranging from national policies that include changes in Islamic religious education policies and general education, to the influence of globalization that affects educational ideologies and practices, including educational ethics that shape

views on education in the midst of social dynamics. In addition, the role of political parties is also very important in shaping the direction of education policy, both in terms of curriculum development, higher education management, and vocational education, which shows how political factors contribute to determining educational policies and practices in this country.

Discussion
Political Region Study of Education

The relationship between politics, power and Islamic education in Indonesia has been closely intertwined since the colonial period until now, thus having a significant influence on the sustainability of the progress of the nation and state(Fazlurrahman et al., 2017, p. 28). In the constitution, the state has the authority to formulate policies that cover the fields of religion, education, politics and various other sectors (Qurtubi, 2023, p. 105; Saerozi, 2004, p. 24). As experts in Indonesia underline the boundaries of the political area of education, including (1) being oriented about strategies used to influence other parties in achieving educational goals. (2) discuss phenomena about how methods to achieve educational missions such as education budgets, government policies, and community participation. (3) talk about the extent to which educational achievements can form a generation that has quality, supports national economic stability, and creates character for students (Putra, 2016, p. 31; Rifai, 2011, p. 30). In the context of the politics of Islamic education, the main indicators are often discussed about power and policy. This leads to curriculum, budget, institutional and welfare policies for educators (Mahfud, 2016, p. 13). We limit the discussion in this discussion to four main indicators, because the dynamics that are often discussed in the study of education politics are inseparable from this phenomenon.

First, curriculum policy. The existence of the curriculum has an important role in education as an instrument that is closely related to public policy that has a significant impact on the life of the nation. The curriculum is closely related to philosophical, juridical, socio-cultural aspects of society, scientific and technological advances according to the needs of the times. As a concept, the curriculum functions as an idea, program, process and system in the implementation of education (Wahyudin, 2020, p. 3). The government's task in formulating education curriculum policies needs to consider (1) The suitability of student needs with learning that can be achieved optimally. (2) Considering competition in various fields to create quality education. (3) Strengthening moral and religious values, seeing the rapid development of science brings challenges that have the potential to erode the character of students. (4) Adapting to technological advancements, teachers can utilize technology as a learning medium, and students can use technology wisely (Alhamuddin, 2019, pp. 132–135). Therefore, the government needs to adjust the curriculum using an anticipatory approach, which is to prepare students to face future challenges. Then the preparatory approach, which emphasizes the stage of preparing students to continue their education to the university level (Mahmud,

2022, pp. 6–7).

Second, budget policy. The conversion of political actors in government is inseparable from the importance of ideal values, theories, and practices embraced by policymakers. Like the education sector in Indonesia, it has the potential to give rise to the dynamics of attraction that have triggered various conflicts until now (Yasdin, 2023, p. 21). Since 2001, the allocation of the education budget has been very low at less than 10% of the State Revenue and Expenditure Budget (APBN). When Indonesian President Megawati proposed in the State Budget to increase the budget to 24.5% in the education, youth, and sports sectors, or an increase of about 19% from the previous budget (Susetyo, 2005, p. 36). Until now, the education budget policy from the State Budget has reached 20%. However, the reality is that there are still doubts by the public, with concerns that the funds are not fully allocated according to the priorities that have been determined (As'ad Isma et al., 2024, p. 224). The government in the education sector needs to pay attention to various important components such as goals, plans, programs, decisions, benefits and impacts, so that the policies taken can be accepted by all parties and contribute to improving the quality of education. That way, the public's negative view of budget allocation that is considered less than optimal can be realized well (Rohman, 2024, p. 161).

Third, institutional policies. As a diverse country, Indonesia must be able to face the challenges of pluralism by considering aspects of exclusivism, permissiveness, secularism, and the influence of global modernization (Assegaf, 2005, p. 264). Several Islamic parties in Indonesia have similar views on the current state of education, especially in the increasing intolerance and exclusivity of the future (Nisa, et al., 2020, p. 211). In the long-term goal, the government must pay attention to elements such as liberalism, secularism, and pluralism that can affect the cultural values of the nation (Suardi, 2015, p. 196). Important education policies in preventing discrimination between students can be carried out through the principles of recognition, representation and redistribution in order to create a multicultural environment (Suhadi et al., 2014, p. 9). This can be realized through collaboration between the government, educational institutions, and the community in supporting such as moderation-based policies. The concept of religious moderation is a religious feature in Indonesia that prioritizes a balanced religious approach, not exaggeration, and far from extreme attitudes in responding to differences. So that this can guide the younger generation about the importance of respecting and appreciating diversity in a pluralistic society (Duryat, 2021, pp. 276–277).

Fourth, the welfare policy of educators. Various problems that are often faced in educational institutions in Indonesia cannot be separated from the problem of quality (quality) and the contribution of institutions in national development, especially in shaping the morality of the nation (Arifi, 2010, p. 33). It is stated in Law No. 14 of 2005 Article 8, about: "Educators are required to have academic qualifications, competencies, educational certificates, physical and spiritual health,

and have the competence to realize the goals of national education." This aims to determine the feasibility of educators, the quality of learning, welfare, dignity, and professionalism for them (Zaini Tamin et al., 2018, pp. 102–106). With the rapid development of the education sector, the state is able to compete with other countries if human resources have superior capabilities, so that creativity and innovation between teachers and students can continue to be improved (Munandar, 2019, p. 3). On the other hand, the success of a leader in the education sector is determined by the ability to understand the important elements in power structures and political dynamics. Without a deep understanding of the political process, a leader risks misunderstanding the extent to which democratic procedures play a role in policymaking. Therefore, leaders need to actively participate in the education policy formulation process. It aims to gain the necessary community support to encourage the development of sustainable education (Sirozi, 2005, pp. 84–85).

Islamic education in Indonesia is strongly influenced by political and power dynamics from the colonial period to the present, which has a direct impact on policy formulation, budget allocation, institutional management, and educator welfare. Four main indicators (curriculum, budget, institution, and teacher welfare) are interrelated in shaping the quality of education, student character, and socio-economic stability. The curriculum needs to balance academic needs, moral-religious values, and technological adaptation, while the budget must be transparent and on target. Institutional policies need to support religious pluralism and moderation, and the welfare of educators is the key to professionalism and quality of teaching. The study shows that the success of Islamic education depends not only on formal regulation, but also on political understanding, effective leadership, and stakeholder participation, so that education can contribute to the development of superior human resources and a sustainable society.

CONCLUSION

The discussion of the political study of Islamic education has a scope between power and policy actors which includes curriculum policies, budgets, institutions, and educators. In the context of quality education, the role of the government and Islamic educational institutions is very important to ensure equitable access to education, eliminate discrimination, provide free education, increase lifelong learning opportunities, increase education budget allocation, strengthen the professionalism of educators, and develop character education. However, there are several gaps due to the challenges of globalization in the consistency of policy implementation in various regions, the lack of supervision of the distribution of the education budget, and the limited number of qualified educators. The need to improve the monitoring mechanism and involvement of central and regional stakeholders to respond to these problems. In addition, policy reforms that are responsive to the needs of the community in the priority of improving the quality of Islamic education must be optimally pursued. In the long-term exploration of Islamic education policies, it must objectively adjust to the needs of students and the

demands of the times, then a comparative study of the implementation of Islamic education policies in higher education is suggested. This study is expected to be a strategic foundation for the development of more relevant Islamic education.

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