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## Political Exploration and Islamic Education Methods in Indonesia: A Systematic Literature Review in the Perspective of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

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### Abstract

*This study aims to identify studies in the field of Islamic education politics, which then analyzes the role of the government in formulating Islamic education policies and methods to provide access to quality education from the perspective of the SDGs agenda. This research is a type of SLR methodology with a qualitative approach. We used index searches (SINTA, SCOPUS, DOAJ, Proceedings International) to select and evaluate by obtaining 21 books and 45 relevant article documents. The results of this study highlight that the political area of Islamic education has boundaries that lead to curriculum policies, budgets, institutions, and the professionalism of educators. Then, to create an Islamic education method in achieving the SDGs agenda on quality education, the role of the government and educational institutions must prioritize seven main points, namely: ensuring fair access to education, eliminating discrimination, ensuring free education, increasing lifelong learning opportunities, increasing the fulfillment of the education budget, strengthening the professionalism of educators, and strengthening the development of character education. This study can be the basis for taking a strategy for Islamic education policy relevant to the socio-cultural context of the diverse Indonesian society. By prioritizing a holistic approach, Islamic education policy contributes to developing superior human resources and a sustainable modern society.*

**Keywords:** education politics, Islamic education policy, Islamic education methods, Islamic Religious Education, SDGs achievement agenda.

### Introduction

The relationship between educational institutions and politics is reciprocal and has a significant impact. This shows the importance of an effective management system, where education policies

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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, this is designed as a goal to develop a curriculum that directs students to increase their faith, piety, morals, spirituality, knowledge and understanding in practicing the values of Islamic teachings (Rajaminsah et al., 2022, p. 547). Remembering the sustainable development goals (SDGs) agenda in the education sector regarding the importance of creating holistic access to quality education (Kestin et al., 2023, p. 27). The SDGs concept encourages the development of education that not only increases literacy and numeracy but also shapes character, critical skills, social awareness and an inclusive environment (Sedwal, 2024, p. 107). So, this can equip future generations to contribute positively to global development goals in the quality education agenda.

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

Much literature often appears in discussions about educational politics, but it is rarely used as a theory (Schneider, 2024, p. 32). So far, several relevant studies on political relations and Islamic education policy contain three main points. First, we map it into four focuses, which include (1) the study of educational politics, culture, power, and liberation (Freire, 1985), (2) the study of the politics of segregation in Islamic education in Indonesia in the social history of the Dutch colonial era (Mashuri, 2013), (3) study of the politics of Arabic language education in Islamic and general universities (Nisa, 2018), (4) political studies in educational policy legal reform in Indonesia (Kristiana, 2020). Second, the study highlights educational policies in 21st century learning skills (Anisa, 2023; Bayley, 2022; Cristea et al., 2024), including public perceptions in implementing 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 religious moderation highlights the importance of building religious character, attitudes of tolerance, and strengthening the national spirit (Ihsan & Abdullah, 2021; Masturin, 2023; Noor, 2020; Nurbayani & Amiruddin, 2024). Overall, no research discusses the politics of Islamic education from an SDGs perspective through the SLR map. Therefore, this article has the distinction of presenting new theoretical concepts and filling gaps in previous research that are interesting to study so that they can contribute both in Indonesia and worldwide.

Politics and Islamic education policy dynamics a complex and continuously developing topics.

This article has significant urgency to understand the politics of Islamic education to align with the SDGs agenda, especially point four regarding quality education. This research aims to (1) Identify studies in the political area of Islamic education, we focus on study trends over the years (2004-2024). (2) Analyzing the government's role in formulating Islamic education policies to provide access to quality education by the target perspective of the SDGs agenda, which focuses on research studies spanning the year (2020-2024). With a systematic literature review (SLR) research map, it is hoped that this study can contribute to policymakers in formulating Islamic education policies that suit the needs of local educational institutions in Indonesia and worldwide. This article is also a reference for future research and a framework for building new theories based on the SDGs agenda to align with 21st-century learning skills. So that Islamic educational institutions can play a positive role in forming a generation that has broad knowledge and can compete on the global stage.

### **The Politics of Islamic Education**

Politics is a science exploring the concept of a state in a government with supreme or legitimate power that all its people must obey (Shively, 2022, p. 2). Political interaction ultimately encourages involvement between national and local interests by the main departments of the central government; this presence aims to influence a country's educational, social, cultural, and economic conditions and security stability (Ashford, 2023, p. 19). Apart from the administrative functions of government, politics contains elements that are the main concept, which includes decision-making and formulating policies (Rosenbloom et al., 2021, p. 48), the idea of state, power, and division or allocation (Nurdin, 2017, p. 3). Meanwhile, in the political context of Islamic education, it is involved in achieving goals and achieving them. The main focus of educational politics lies in the role of the state, whose study can reveal patterns, policies, academic processes, goals, and results of various educational change strategies for the needs of society (Putra, 2016, p. 30). In addition, the role of politics in government can influence the supervision and regulation of education in schools and madrasas by formulating curriculum and teaching materials at various levels of education (Mujiburrahman et al., 2024, p. 540).

### **Islamic Education Policy in Achieving SDGs**

Islamic Education Policy is a series of public concepts in Islamic education that serve as a reference in making legal and neutral decisions in a moderate Islamic education environment (Isri, 2021, p. 5). Islamic education policy has three main characteristics, which include, firstly it is designed by the state through educational institutions, secondly it aims to regulate shared goals and interests, thirdly it must answer the collective problems and interests of society (Kosim et al., 2023, p. 15). Increased discussion regarding the sustainability of the 17-point target of the 2030 agenda regarding sustainable development goals (SDGs), which aims to balance economic growth, quality education, social equality, and environmental protection inclusively for both developed and developing fair countries without leaving anyone behind (Kioupi & Voulvoulis, 2020, p. 16). The SDGs framework places education as an important center in driving transformational change (Leal Filho et al., 2023, p. 564). As the main goal of the SDGs, quality education requires policies that provide an understanding of the roles that can be played by individuals, educational and training institutions, stakeholders, and the government in achieving optimal educational targets (Boeren, 2019, p. 278).

## Method

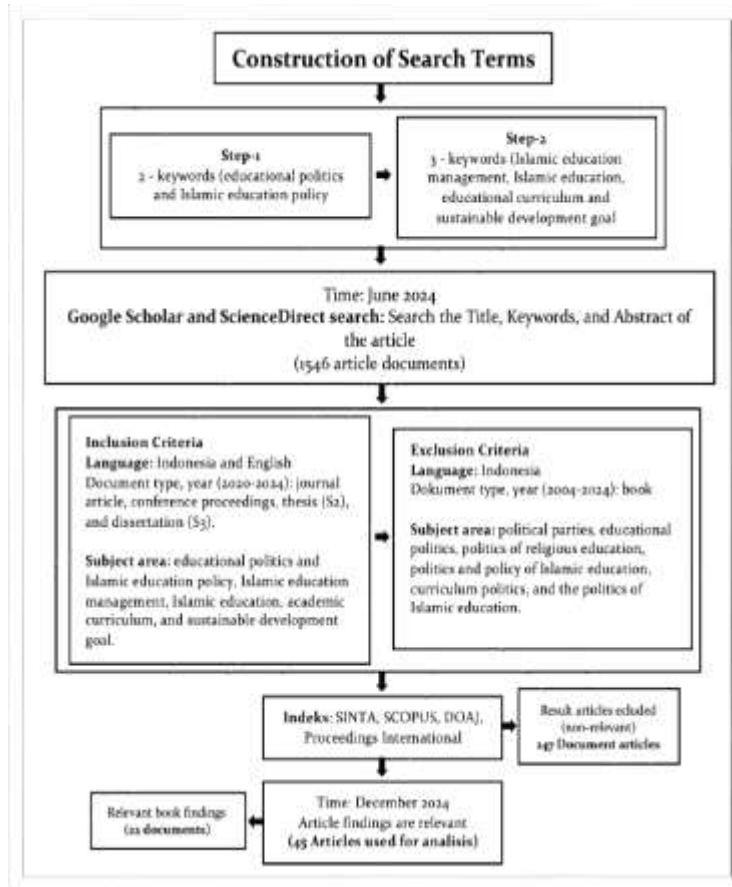
To achieve the objectives of this research, we used the *systematic literature review* (SLR) methodology with a qualitative approach. This SLR-type methodology was chosen for its ability to apply a thorough, rigorous, and unbiased search to other literature review processes (Tranfield, 2009). To follow the SLR procedure, several steps are taken. First, formulate research questions. This begins with the formulation of clear and answerable research questions. These questions help guide the research process, from designing a search strategy and selecting relevant studies to analyzing and synthesizing the selected studies. We conducted an initial 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, education curriculum, and SDGs agenda). Through this search, we gained a deeper understanding of the literature related to these six categories, which then led to the Research Question (RQ), namely:

RQ1: What are the regional studies of educational politics in discussion trends in Indonesia?

RQ2: How to implement Islamic education policies from the perspective of the SDGs agenda?

Second, build search terms. Systematic and unbiased selection of articles in research is an important step in carrying out 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 to collect articles. (1) Researchers determine keywords related to the trend of educational political books in Indonesia to answer RQ1. (2) Researchers determine keywords related to the politics of Islamic education from an SDGs perspective to answer RQ2. (3) Researchers combine 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,” OR “sustainable development goals (SDGs) agenda” in point 4 about quality education. These search terms were then applied to extract article documents from the “Google Scholar” and “ScienceDirect” databases.

Third, carry out study selection and evaluation. Researchers used these search terms to find articles in the title, abstract, and keyword sections. To reduce potential bias and credibility of the data obtained, researchers set inclusion and exclusion criteria with the index “SINTA (5 to 2), SCOPUS, DOAJ, Proceedings and International Libraries such as (Harvard Library).” We included review articles written in Indonesian and English. This data consists of several different types of work, such as “book trends in educational politics in Indonesia, study range (2004-2024)” and then types of “journal articles, proceedings and final student research (master's theses & doctoral dissertations) published in (2020-2024)”. After researchers 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 were only 45 article documents. We present the research map in the study selection and evaluation stage in the image below for more details.

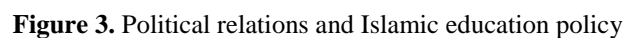


**Figure 2.** Stages of article search, selection, and evaluation

As the figure highlights, 247 documents are considered irrelevant because they have similar 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

N0	Topic Similarity	Number of Findings
1	Politics and Policy of Islamic Education in Madrasas and <i>Pesantren</i>	22 documents
2	Politics and Policy in Non-Formal Institutions ( <i>Majelis Taklim</i> and <i>Diniyah</i> )	4 documents
3	Politics and Policy of Islamic Education	107 documents
4	Islamic Education Policy (Old Order Era, New Era, and Reformation)	49 documents
5	Islamic Religious Education Policy (curriculum and budget)	25 documents
6	Education Policy in Islamic Higher Education	12 documents
7	Education Policy in Schools	27 documents
Total: 247 article documents.		
Source: in the 2024 research process.		



Fifth, report the results. Researchers adopted a systematic approach to reporting research findings. Our introductory section provides background to this study and research questions. In this process, we precisely analyze how the review was conducted. Then, after the analysis stage, the researcher filters all the data obtained to report the data found. In this section, researchers review the suitability of data relating to educational politics, Islamic education policy, Islamic education management, Islamic education, and educational curriculum, which aligns with the SDGs agenda. So, researchers can provide a framework for future research, limitations of this study, and briefly summarize the data findings as material for discussion in this study topic.

**RQ1: What are the studies on the political area of education in the discussion trends in Indonesia?**

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influence, 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 focused on “education politics, Islamic education policy, the role of political parties, and Islamic religious education.” Below, we present a table of findings on several trends in political education books in Indonesia.

**Table 2.** Trends in political education books in Indonesia

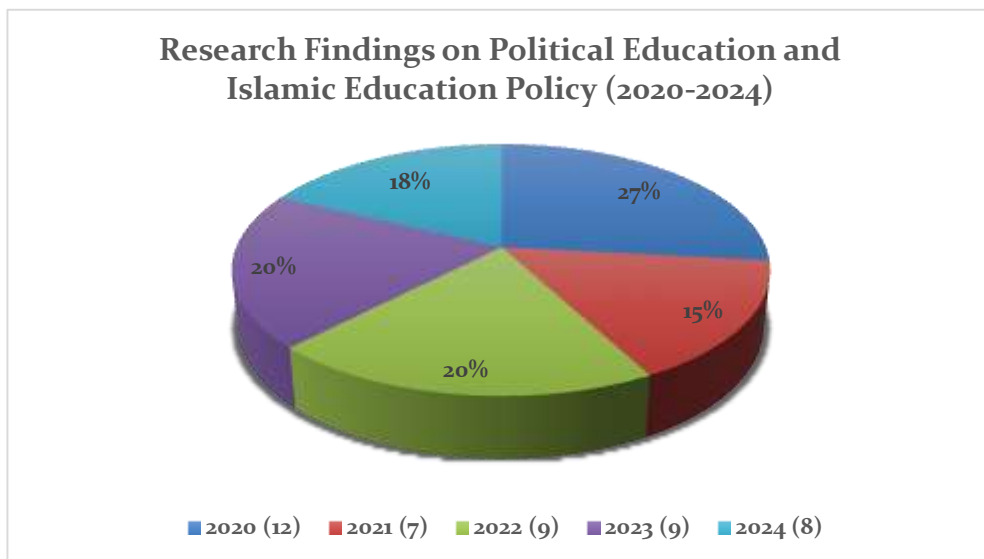
No	Author	Topic
1	(Saerozi, 2004)	The Politics of Religious Education in the Era of Pluralism: A Historical Study of Conventional Religious Education Policy in Indonesia
2	(Susetyo, 2005)	The Politics of Ruler Education
3	(Assegaf, 2005)	National Education Politics: Shifting Islamic Religious Education Policy from Proclamation to Reform
4	(Sirozi, 2005)	Educational Politics: Dynamics of the Relationship between Power Interests and Educational Implementation Practices
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

## RQ2: How is Islamic education policy implemented from the perspective of the SDGs agenda?

The concept of the SDGs agenda reflects sustainable development efforts, while implying continuity between the past, present and future. The SDGs not only aim to change the direction of ongoing development but are also projected as positive progress by groups such as the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) as a new era in development. The SDGs agenda shows fundamental differences in three main aspects: (1) The SDGs substantially expand the scope of issues covered, increasing the number of goals from eight to seventeen. (2) SDGs aim to reframe development challenges with a more comprehensive approach as a sustainable development paradigm that integrates environmental, social, and economic aspects. (3) SDGs carry an urgent and focused feel that aligns with the latest developments in thinking and policy (Steele & Rickards, 2021, pp. 35–40). Below, we present images and tables of relevant research maps of the relationship between educational politics and Islamic education policy through SLR searches.



**Figure 4.** Research trends in educational politics and Islamic education policy

As the image acquisition shows, the research trend (2020-2024) was to obtain 45 article documents of different types. As for 2020 (12 articles), 2021 (7 articles), 2022 and 2023 (9 articles), 2024 (8 articles). For more details, we present it in the table below.



**Table 3.** Map of research on educational politics and Islamic education policy

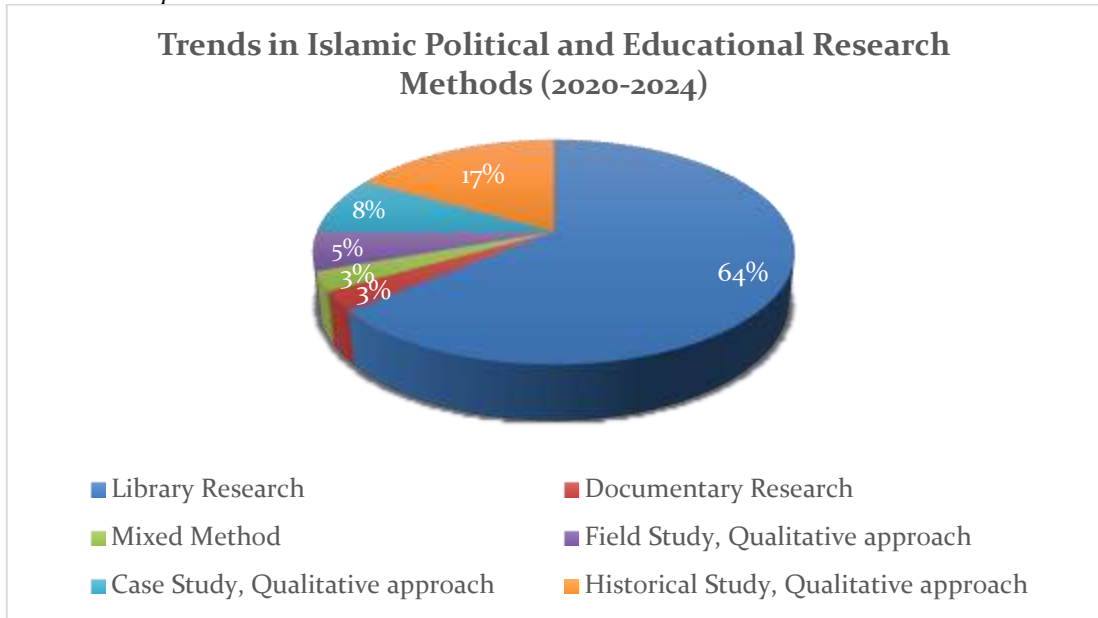
No	Author	Type	Topic	Method and Approach
1	(Mahfud, 2020, pp. 130–136)	Journal	Understanding Political Reform and Islamic Education Position in Indonesia	Library Research
2	(Naldo et al., 2020, pp. 351–372)	Journal	Education Politics in Islamic Boarding School and Madrasa: The Old Order, the New Order, and the Reform Era	Library Research
3	(Hoddin, 2020, pp. 15–30)	Journal	Political Dynamics of Islamic Education in Indonesia: Study of Islamic Education Policy from Pre-Independence to Reformation Period	Library Research
4	(Maghfuri, 2020)	Journal	Political and Policy Analysis of Islamic Education at the Beginning of the Reformation Era (1998-2004)	Library Research
5	(Maimunah & Imron Rosadi, 2021, pp. 249–265)	Journal	Factors that Influence the Management System of Islamic Education Institutions in the Political Policy of Islamic Education in Indonesia	Library Research
6	(Siti Masyitoh et al., 2020)	Proceedings	Democracy of Islamic Education: Building A Monochotomic Epistemology in Islamic Education	Library Research
7	(Alhamuddin et al., 2020, pp. 29–56)	Journal	Politics of Education in Curriculum Development Policy in Indonesia from 1947 to 2013: A Documentary Research	Documentary Research
8	(Refika et al., 2020, pp. 132–142)	Journal	Politics and Management Policy of Islamic Education in Indonesia	Library Research
9	(Sudiarti et al., 2020, pp. 1–13)	Journal	The Management System of Islamic Education Institutions is Influenced by Politics	Library Research
10	(Syafi'i, 2020, pp. 1–461)	Dissertation (S3)	The Politics of Religious Education in Schools: A Study of the Polemics of Religious Education in Law No. 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System	Mixed Method
11	(Nugraha, 2020, pp. 1–13)	Journal	The Politics of Islamic Education in The Caliphate of Umar Ibn Khattab	Library Research
12	(Sari, 2020, pp. 1–134)	Thesis (S2)	The Role of Political Parties in Education Policy (Case Study of the Role of PDI Perjuangan in the	Field Study (Qualitative)

			Madrasah Teacher Incentive Program)	
13	(Nurhafni et al., 2021, pp. 257–262)	Proceedings	Policy Implementation of Islamic Education Model	Case Study (Qualitative)
14	(Komarudin et al., 2021, pp. 514–526)	Journal	Policy Formulation and Adoption of Revised Islamic Education Curriculum as stated in the Decree of Religion's Ministry (KMA) Number 183 of 2019	Library Research
15	(Khairani et al., 2021, pp. 86–95)	Journal	Analysis of the Formulation of Law Number 18 of 2019 concerning Islamic Boarding Schools as a Political Product and Islamic Education Policy	Library Research
16	(Fakhrurrazi et al., 2021, pp. 392–396)	Journal	Politics of Islamic and Problematic Education Muslim Identity	Library Research
17	(Zazkia & Hamami, 2021, pp. 82–93)	Journal	Evaluation of the Islamic Religious Education Curriculum amidst the Political Dynamics of Education in Indonesia	Library Research
18	(Mulyanto et al., 2021, pp. 1–12)	Journal	Pakubuwana X's educational policy and its influence on the development of Islamic education in Surakarta in 1893-1939	Historical Study (Qualitative Approach)
19	(Ramadhani, 2021, pp. 78–92)	Journal	Religious Ideology, Political Parties, and Islamic Education: Reflections on Hasan Al-Banna's Thoughts at the Ukhuwah Banjarmasin Integrated Islamic School	Field Studies & Library Research
20	(Sapdi et al., 2022)	Journal	Policy Study on the Implementation of Islamic Education at the Secondary Level and Islamic Higher Education of 2006-2020	Library Research
21	(Suradi, 2022, pp. 56–71)	Journal	The Social, Political, and Cultural Perspective of Islamic Education in Palembang Malay: A Continuous Evaluation from the Dutch Colonial Period to Today	Library Research
22	(Sahbana & Dinata, 2023, pp. 41–54)	Journal	Policy and leadership of Islamic education in Indonesia during the Reformation Order	Library Research
23	(Indriya et al., 2022, pp. 433–450)	Journal	Analysis of Islamic Religious Education Policy in Indonesia in Supporting Sustainable	Library Research

			Development Goals	
24	(Mansir, 2022, pp. 43–54)	Journal	The Position of Islamic Education According to the National Educational System in Indonesia	Library Research
25	(Riinawati, 2022, pp. 2757–2768)	Journal	Strategy of Financing Management to Improve the Quality of Islamic Education Institution	Case Study (Qualitative)
26	(Mikail, 2022, pp. 295–307)	Journal	Cultural Politics in the Transformation of Islamic Education in South Sumatra: A Study of the Pesantren Law 2019	Case Study (Qualitative)
27	(Adisel et al., 2022, pp. 177–184)	Journal	The Implementation of Education Policy in the Development of Islamic Religious Education in the Industrial Revolution Era 4.0	Library Research
28	(Budiarto & Salsabila, 2022, pp. 1–19)	Journal	Optimizing Islamic Education Towards the Golden Era of Indonesia	Library Research
29	(Kosim et al., 2023, pp. 1–15)	Journal	The Dynamics of Islamic Education Policies in Indonesia	Historical Study (Qualitative Approach)
30	(Fadlan et al., 2023, pp. 170–178)	Journal	Policy Problematic Islamic Educational Institutional in Increasing the Quality of Education	Library Research
31	(Rozza et al., 2023, pp. 772–778)	Journal	Islamic Education Politics: Dynamic and Relevance Dutch Ethical Politics in Indonesia	Library Research
32	(Asiah et al., 2023, pp. 1–8)	Proceedings	Islamic Education Policy in Indonesia in the Age of Reformation	Historical Study (Qualitative Approach)
33	(Anwar, 2023, pp. 352–361)	Journal	The Role of Systems, Management, and Political Policies in the Management of Islamic Education	Library Research
34	(Sumarna, 2023, pp. 108–119)	Journal	New Paradigm of Indonesian Islamic Education: Analysis of Changes in the Relations of Islamic Education Institutions with Post-Reform Political Power	Historical Study (Qualitative Approach)
35	(Ridwan et al., 2023, pp. 917–923)	Journal	The Political Role of Islamic Education in Improving the Quality of Human Resources	Library Research
36	(Miftahuddin, 2023, pp.	Journal	Curriculum Dichotomy as Colonial Political Propaganda against	Library Research

	463–480)		Indonesian Islamic Education	
37	(Yasdin et al., 2023, pp. 297–309)	Journal	Policies and Politics Development of Vocational Education in Indonesia: A Historical Perspective	Historical Study (Qualitative Approach)
38	(Sulaiman. et al., 2024, pp. 189–208)	Journal	Aceh Government Policy in Preventing Radicalism Through the Existence of Dayah Islamic Education	Field Study (Qualitative)
39	(Asy'arie et al., 2024, pp. 126–145)	Journal	The Position of Politics in Building the Development of Islamic Education	Library Research
40	(Usman et al., 2024, pp. 378–392)	Journal	Comparative Analysis of Islamic Education Policies in Indonesia and Russia	Library Research
41	(Nasir & Tobroni, 2024, pp. 527–537)	Journal	Examining Islamic Religious Education Policy in Indonesia: A Multidimensional Theoretical Approach	Library Research
42	(Adikara, 2024, pp. 1–67)	Thesis (S2)	Political Policy of the Dutch East Indies Government and the Reaction of Islamic Organizations regarding Islamic Education 1905-1942	Library Research
43	(Sihono, 2024, pp. 491–506)	Journal	Political Challenges in Indonesia in 2024: Building Leadership in Islamic Education	Library Research
44	(Hasnahwati, 2024, pp. 1601–1608)	Journal	Policies of Islamic Education in Public Schools in the Independence (Old Order) Era	Historical Study (Qualitative Approach)
45	(Asy'arie et al., pp. 279–294)	Journal	Strengthening Learning Priorities in the 21st Century: Review of Islamic Education Policy in Indonesia	Library Research

All the data obtained have different types and research methods. There are 17 documents for the Indonesian version of the topic and 28 for the English version. Then there are several methodological differences, among others: (1) Library Research (32 documents). (2) Documentary Research (1 document). (3) Mixed Method (1 document). (4) Field Study, Qualitative approach. (2 documents). (5) Case Study, Qualitative approach, (3 documents), and (6) Historical Study, Qualitative approach (6 documents). This proves that no method uses SLR maps in all of this research. For more details, we show it in the image below.



**Figure 5.** Trend findings in Islamic political and educational research methods

## Discussion

### Study of the Field of Islamic Education Politics in Indonesia

The relationship between politics, power and Islamic education in Indonesia has been closely intertwined since the colonial period until now, thus significantly influencing the nation and state (Fazlurrahman et al., 2017, p. 28). In the constitution, the state has the authority to formulate policies covering the fields of religion, education, politics, and various other sectors (Qurtubi, 2023, p. 105; Saerozi, 2004, p. 24). As underlined by experts in Indonesia regarding the political boundaries of education, among others, (1) oriented towards strategies used to influence other parties in achieving educational goals. (2) discussing phenomena regarding methods for achieving educational missions such as education budgets, government policies, and community participation. (3) talks about the extent to which educational attainment can form a generation that has quality, supports national economic stability, and creates character in students (Putra, 2016, p. 31; Rifai, 2011, p. 30). In the political context of Islamic education, the main indicators that are often discussed are power and policy. This leads to curriculum, budget, institutional, and professional policies for teaching staff (Mahfud, 2016, p. 13). We limit the discussion to four main point indicators because the dynamics often discussed in the study of educational politics cannot be separated from this phenomenon.

First, is curriculum policy. The curriculum is important in education as an instrument closely related to public policy, significantly impacting the nation's life. The curriculum is closely associated with the community's philosophical, juridical, and socio-cultural aspects and the advancement of science and technology according to the needs of the times. As a concept, the curriculum functions as ideas, programs, processes and systems in implementing education (Wahyudin, 2020, p. 3). The government's task in formulating educational 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 and seeing the rapid development of science brings challenges that have the potential to erode students' character. (4) Adjusting to technological advances, 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, namely, preparing students to face future challenges. Then, the preparation approach emphasizes the preparation stage of 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 ideals, theories, and practices embraced by policymakers. Like the education sector in Indonesia, it has the potential to give rise to tug-of-war dynamics that trigger various conflicts to this day (Yasdin, 2023, p. 21). Since 2001, the education budget allocation is still very low, 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, in reality, there are still doubts among 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 field of education needs to pay attention to various important components such as goals, plans, programs, decisions, and benefits. It impacts so that all parties can accept the policies 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 properly (Rohman, 2024, p. 161).

Third, institutional policies. As a diverse country, Indonesia must face the challenges of pluralism by considering aspects of exclusivism, permissivism, 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 terms of increasing intolerance and exclusivity for 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, which, due to globalization, can affect the nation's cultural values (Suardi, 2015, p. 196). Important educational policies in preventing discrimination between students can be carried out through the principles of recognition, representation and redistribution 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 moderation-based policies. Religious moderation is a religious feature in Indonesia that prioritizes a balanced religious approach, not excessive, 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, professional policies for teaching staff. Various problems often faced in educational institutions in Indonesia cannot be separated from the quality problems and the contribution of institutions in national development, especially in shaping the nation's morality (Arifi, 2010, p. 33). This is stated in Law Number 14 of 2005 Article 8: *“Educators are required to have academic qualifications, competencies, education certificates, be physically and spiritually healthy, and have the competence to realize national education goals.”* It 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 country can compete with other countries if human resources have superior abilities 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 of 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 formulating education policies. It aims to obtain the necessary community support to encourage sustainable education development (Susanti et al., 2024; Sirozi, 2005).

### **Islamic Education Policy from SDGs Perspective**

In Indonesia, through Presidential Regulation (Perpres) no. 59 of 2017 and Presidential Decree no. 111 of 2022 concerning the implementation of SDGs achievements. The SDGs objectives contain four points, namely: (1) Maintaining an increase in the economic welfare of society, (2) Maintaining the sustainability of society's social life, (3) Maintaining inclusive environmental quality, (4) Guaranteeing improvement in the quality of the next generation (Pristiandaru, 2023, p. 1). As the SDGs target agenda point 4 regarding quality education has seven main points, we present them in the table below.

**Table 4.** Indicators of the SDGs agenda in Indonesia

No	SDGs indicators on quality education	Source
1	Guarantee fair access to education	(SGDs-Indonesia, n.d.)
2	Eliminate discrimination	
3	Ensure education is free of charge	
4	Increase opportunities for lifelong learning	
5	Increasing the fulfillment of the education budget	(Zuzy Anna et al., 2023, p. 53)
6	Strengthening the professionalism of teaching staff	
7	Strengthen the development of character education	(SDGs-Yogyakarta, 2018, p. 124)
Processed by researchers 2024.		

First, Ensuring fair access to education. During the Old Order period, Islamic education in Indonesia experienced development closely related to providing a way to fight for the politics of Islamic education in the country (Hasnahwati, 2024, p. 1601). In Indonesia, Islamic education plays an important role in the teaching process in schools and madrasas, both public and private. This aligns with the national education mission, which aims to expand access and create equal opportunities for all students to obtain quality education in all educational units (Mansir, 2022, p. 51). In this context, the need for a leader who can adapt to changes in political and social dynamics plays an important role in shaping a generation that can face future challenges wisely (Sihono, 2024, p. 491). A leader in the caliphate system must understand religious science and master various other disciplines. This aims to ensure that leaders can act quickly, especially in formulating policies and managing the public interest as needed (Nugraha, 2020, p. 5).

In addition, to expand access to education, the government has an important role in ensuring that every child receives quality education equally. This is done through inclusive and equitable policies demonstrating a strong commitment to active participation in democratic spaces, especially in remote and underdeveloped areas with limited access to educational facilities



(Maimunah & Imron Rosadi, 2021, p. 264). In setting Islamic education policies, the government needs to pay attention to marginalized groups, such as children with special needs and students from economically disadvantaged families (Fadlan et al., 2023, p. 1). The education gap can be reduced through policies that support equal access to education. The policies formulated can encourage the creation of quality and competitive human resources in the global era. Equal access to education ensures the fulfillment of every citizen's rights and is a long-term investment in building a fair, sustainable, and future-oriented education (Anwar, 2023, p. 352).

Second, Eliminate discrimination. History shows that the Dutch colonial government implemented discriminatory policies for private schools beyond its control (Adikara, 2024, p. 66). However, the development of Islamic education policy in the Reformation Era has brought changes for Muslims; one is the contribution of decision-making politicians in the Indonesian People's Representative Council (DPR RI), who pay great attention to Islamic education. In particular, DPR members from Islamic-based political parties have an important role in fighting for positive policies in the development of Islamic teaching (Hoddin, 2020, p. 28). The National Education System Law No. 20 of 2003 (article 12, paragraph 1) states that *"every student in every educational unit has the right to receive religious education by the religion they adhere to,"* This shows that student's rights are protected without discrimination to receive equal treatment in a democratic educational atmosphere (Syafi'i, 2020, p. 1). On the other hand, the education policy formulated by the government was also accommodative, especially during the New Order era; it firmly and consistently implemented Pancasila as the state ideology. This policy is to maintain power by attracting the support of the Muslim majority, transforming the new generation of intellectuals as Muslim political activists to create harmonious relations between Islam and the state (Kosim et al., 2023, p. 1).

Democracy in Islamic education contains values such as justice, deliberation, equality, freedom, plurality, and tolerance, which can create freer and more harmonious interactions between educators and students (Siti Masyitoh et al., 2020, p. 48). Islamic education policy is an important principle that combines general knowledge with Islamic religion, which ultimately encourages and creates justice by prioritizing non-discrimination without discriminating against certain groups (Nurhafni et al., 2021, p. 259). For example, to prevent the spread of radical ideology and overcome discrimination through Islamic education, the Aceh government established Dayah as a formal Islamic education institution whose position is equivalent to schools and madrasas. This policy brings a new dimension to the education system by implementing two integrated curricula equivalent to other formal education systems (Lubis et al., 2024, p. 189). Meanwhile, Islamic educational institutions such as *Pesantren* have a strategic role in forming students to respect differences and reject discrimination. The *Pesantren* institution teaches individual students to respect each other's differences in ethnicity, religion, gender, and other social statuses (Sapdi et al., 2022, p. 293). As a concrete example, the Indonesian government's program through Religious Moderation has succeeded in forming an understanding of Islam *"rahmatan lil 'alamin,"* this is to strengthen the entire community to have a tolerant attitude to create a pluralistic social environment (Ipandang et al., 2022, p. 18).

Third, ensuring education is free of charge. The transformation of Islamic education is a strategic step to overcome various existing problems which can emphasize the importance of improving the quality of management, effective leadership, and relevant educational policy reforms (Adisel et al., 2022, p. 177). The process of success of the education system greatly influences the role of state leadership in directing education on the right track. Without careful planning, the

education system is at risk of not functioning optimally. Education management needs to be implemented strategically and by community needs, not through a haphazard or disorganized approach (Mahfud, 2020, p. 133). Likewise, education policy during the reign of Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur) highlighted the importance of laws regarding the regional government's financial balance. This is confirmed through Umdang Law No. 25 of 1999, which regulates the economic balance between the center and the regions. This policy has a major impact on the education sector because management, previously under the central government's control, is now being transferred to regional governments as policy implementers at the regional level (Sahbana & Dinata, 2023, p. 41).

As a form of responsibility for educational obligations, the Indonesian government provides supporting facilities during the reform period through an education financing policy known as School Operational Assistance (BOS). This free education program has an important role in improving the quality of learning and access to school and madrasa levels by eliminating education costs to overcome economic barriers, which are often the main obstacle, especially for vulnerable groups such as those from underprivileged families (Romlah et al., 2023, p. 3). The government is also designing affirmative policies to ensure inclusive education, including building schools in areas such (disadvantaged, remote, and outermost) and providing facilities for children with special needs. By formulating education policies at the primary and secondary levels, it is hoped that they will meet the required standards and strengthen the education sector, especially Islamic education. Islamic education has great potential to significantly encourage sustainable progress in quality education, guaranteeing every student's right to fulfill their learning obligations and empowering the younger generation to face global challenges (Nasir & Tobroni, 2024, p. 527).

Fourth, increase opportunities for lifelong learning. The education sector requires professional services that must be implemented consistently and continuously, without favoring certain interest groups but covering all societal elements. In the context of political power, it plays an important role in determining the direction of educational institutions to achieve the expected goals by emphasizing the collaboration of policymakers in designing the concept of educational sustainability in a mature and focused manner (Mikail, 2022, p. 304). The relationship between ethical politics and Islamic education in Indonesia lies in efforts to eradicate illiteracy and give birth to a generation of reformist and nationalist Islamic figures. The contribution of this figure played an important role in building Islamic educational institutions and Islamic organizations that still survive today (Rozza et al., 2023, p. 772). Various interesting facts show the many changes marked by the involvement of actors representing Islamic educational institutions in the world of politics and the filling of important positions in government. Their goals have become part of a political force, reflecting a change in the political paradigm to advance Islamic education further (Sumarna, 2023, p. 108).

It doesn't stop there; stakeholders such as Islamic organizations, teacher representatives, supervisors, and other criteria experts collaborate to find solutions to problems that are considered irrelevant (Chabibi et al., 2025, p. 153). Comprehensive information gathering planning, exploring various alternatives in considering strategic decisions, clarifying long-term goal priorities, and making decisions according to future goals (Komarudin et al., 2021, p. 524). Like the two education concepts from Al-Banna's perspective, this includes "*tarbawiy*" (development), which involves a learning process with a coaching and cadre pattern that conveys Islamic teachings to all people. Then, "*tanzhimiy*" (institutional) includes internal institutions

responsible for regulating rules, codes of ethics, and the relationship between rights and obligations. Meanwhile, external institutions regulate relations between Islamic countries and other parties, including peace, da'wah, power, and applying Islamic values as a universal foundation (Ramadhani, 2021, p. 82). Comprehensive policies can be created with good cooperation between the government and Islamic educational institutions. This is because the government is trying to improve the quality and support the sustainable development of education so that all students can obtain the desired learning rights (Rizal et al., 2024, p. 4025).

Fifth, increase the fulfillment of the education budget. So far, politicians' struggle in the education sector has been an effort to ensure equal distribution of the education budget (Yasdin et al., 2023, p. 297). Apart from funding, this struggle aims to ensure that Islamic educational institutions receive sufficient attention and open up opportunities for more significant development and progress in the future (Khairani et al., 2021, p. 89). Based on the duties of politicians from political parties in the Law (No. 2 of 2011 article 11). It functions as a negotiator, absorbing, gathering, and recording community aspirations, responsible for handling conflicts, and preparing potential leaders. Politicians need to connect the interests of society with the formulation of policies while maintaining the country's social stability in various sectors, including education (Sari, 2020, p. 99). In the context of education budget policy, as per the Ministry of Finance, up to 31 October 2024, IDR 463.1 trillion has been realized, which covers 69.6% of the stipulated budget. This realization shows an increase of 10.9% compared to the 2023 period. This growth reflects the government's commitment to strengthening human resources, with the education budget used to support various education program allocations (Purwowidhu, 2024, p. 1).

Government policy in the education financing management strategy in the field of facilities and infrastructure is implemented through increasing funding sources, implementing this program to improve the quality and professionalism of teaching staff (Riinawati, 2022, p. 2757). There are various interesting variations of education policies in various regions of Indonesia. For example, Pakubuwana X's policies in Islamic education, such as the establishment of Madrasah, the revitalization of *Pesantren*, and the opening of orphanage schools. Apart from that, some policies allocate scholarships to Egypt, providing religious teachers and da'wah training, and strengthening the spread of Islamic values in the community around the Surakarta palace (Mulyanto et al., 2021, p. 11). Increasing the education budget is not just about increasing the allocation of funds but also ensuring that they are used effectively to improve quality, positively impacting all educational units (Tahim et al., 2023, p. 516). The government's task is to continue to be committed to improving the quality of education by significantly increasing budget allocations. This step aims to support each student's academic development while maintaining the teaching staff's welfare. In this way, the reputation of stakeholders' credibility can be maintained; education will be improved to become more quality, competitive, and sustainable, building a better future (Maghfuri, 2020, p. 23).

Sixth, strengthen the professionalism of teaching staff. The government plays a strategic role in designing education policies that are relevant to advances in science and technology; this aims to ensure the quality of education, such as by formulating curriculum policies, allocating funds, increasing the competency of teaching staff, providing institutional recognition or accreditation, and strengthening religious values in the education process (Asy'arie et al., 2024, p. 127). Considering that population growth poses a big challenge if policy makers do not pay attention to the urgent needs in the education sector. This includes prioritizing providing adequate

educational facilities and increasing the professionalism of teaching staff (Alhamuddin et al., 2020, p. 41). On the other hand, the active involvement of Muslims in the policy-making process is very important to ensure that the policies produced align with society's needs in educating the nation's generation and supporting the progress of national education (Refika et al., 2020, p. 132). It is also necessary to carry out teaching outreach and training before implementing the curriculum in learning. This is a way to ensure that the reference books teachers use are relevant to the educational goals they want to achieve (Zazkia & Hamami, 2021, p. 82).

The enactment of the Teacher and Lecturer Law Number 14 of 2003 is an important step in improving the quality of education by increasing teachers' qualifications, competence, and professionalism (Asiaah et al., 2023, p. 1). Increasing teacher allowances is not just about improving personal welfare but is a strategic investment to enhance education quality sustainably. This step aims to increase teacher motivation and performance, reduce gaps in access to education, and encourage educational innovation and reform (Fandi et al., 2024, p. 288). Apart from that, it is necessary to prepare a quality generation to welcome Indonesia's golden era; efforts are needed to develop human resources that encourage teacher professionalism and strengthen student academics (Budiarto & Salsabila, 2022, p. 1). Therefore, the government must be serious about developing human resources as a long-term investment in education in the future. So that educational institutions can function as the main foundation in encouraging economic growth, advancing science and technology, reducing poverty and income inequality levels, and improving societal civilization's welfare holistically (Ridwan et al., 2023, p. 917).

Seventh, Strengthen the development of character education. Islamic education policy in the reform era in Indonesia has emphasized the importance of restoring pedagogical autonomy through a comprehensive evaluation of policies that optimally regulate bureaucracy. In this case, it is very important to ensure that the policy is not influenced by political intervention or pressure from other parties when making decisions that are not in the common interest (Sudiarti et al., 2020, p. 12). Likewise, Islamic education is a real example of carrying out the role of culture and ideal values to encourage the progress of society, which is strengthened by a curriculum for social recovery so that it is more focused on the problems often faced by society (Taufik, 2020, p. 86). Like the development of *Pesantren* with increasing public interest in traditional (*salaf*) and modern-based, combined with general education is a strategic step to overcome the shortcomings and polemic gaps in education. The merger of these two systems is key to strengthening the education sector in facing dynamic global challenges (Fakhrurrazi et al., 2021, p. 396). If studied comprehensively, Islamic education significantly contributes to directing students to actively develop their potential, especially in enhancing academics, spirituality, religion and increasing devotion to Allah SWT. which is used as the main basis for shaping their character (Naldo et al., 2020, p. 369).

In Indonesia, the education policies implemented so far have important points to improve the quality, accessibility, and facilities of educational services and strengthen the development of educational character by the SDGs agenda (Indriya et al., 2022, p. 433). The advancement of digital technology has expanded the opportunities for instant interaction in people's lives, which facilitates various life activities to learn the principles of Islamic rules and values (Suradi, 2022, p. 56). On the other hand, the role of teachers is to guide students to adapt to the development of the modern world and develop a comprehensive and integrative religious character (Miftahuddin, 2023, p. 463). This ensures to prepare students to become competitive individuals,

without neglecting the importance of maintaining a balance of spiritual and moral values from the negative impacts of globalization (Usman et al., 2024, p. 378). Thus, Islamic education plays an important role in shaping the nation's character and supporting sustainable national progress. So, this can produce generations of individuals with intellectual, religious, and spiritual intelligence who contribute positively to the future of the nation and nation (Nasir & Tobroni, 2024, p. 533).

## **Conclusion**

The discussion of the political study of Islamic education has a scope between power actors and policies, including 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, improve 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 over the distribution of the education budget, and the limitation of qualified educators. There is a need to improve the monitoring mechanism and involvement from central and regional stakeholders to respond to these problems. In addition, policy reforms responsive to the community's needs in prioritizing improving the quality of Islamic education for achieving the SDGs agenda must be pursued optimally. In the long-term exploration of Islamic education policy, it must objectively adjust to the needs of students and the demands of the times. Then a comparative study on implementing Islamic education policy in achieving the SDGs, especially in higher education, is recommended. This study is expected to be a strategic foundation for developing Islamic education more relevant to the upcoming 2030 SDGs agenda.

## **Author Contribution**

Moh. Padil: Conceptualization, formal analysis, writing of the original draft, mendeley citation management, data referencing (SINTA, SCOPUS), and data review.

Bima Fandi Asy'arie, Aji Wahyudin, M. Fahim Tharaba: Data curation, methodology, investigation, manuscript review & editing, mendeley citation research data, references from (DOAJ, Proceedings International).

Syatria Adymas Pranajaya, Afif Alfiyanto, Dedi Wahyudi, Mahdi: Supervision, evaluation and revision of manuscripts.

## **Conflict of Interest**

The authors emphasize that they have no known financial conflicts of interest or personal relationships that could influence the results presented in this manuscript.

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