

Design Thinking of Indonesia's Post-Jokowi Education Policy

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Abstract

Education during Jokowi's administration was rarely a topic of discussion. In the 2-year document Jokowi-JK Real Work shows that education is less of a major concern in the Jokowi administration's policy agenda. The three main focuses of the government's policy agenda emphasize infrastructure, human development, and economic deregulation policies. Education is only limited to the mention of increased access and infrastructure of education, and the education index which increased (0.82) from 2014 to 2015. A number of education policy products such as the smart Indonesia card, KIP Kuliah have become a legacy in the Jokowi administration from 2014 to 2024. However, a number of educational problems and challenges have not been fully answered during Jokowi's leadership. This happens because there is no adequate design thinking in overcoming education problems in Indonesia. The purpose of the research is to uncover and analyze the fundamental problems of education and propose the formulation of design thinking of Indonesian education policy after Jokowi. The method used in this study uses a qualitative approach. Data is obtained through literature studies of government policy documents in the field of education, books, scientific journal articles. Data analysis uses interpretive approaches, semiotics, critical discourse analysis, and design thinking. The results of this study show that if we look at post-reform education policy, design thinking education policy has not touched on the fundamental education system, the substance of education, and the culture and ecosystem of education. Therefore, the design thinking proposed after the Jokowi administration is directed to build and strengthen three aspects, namely regulation, governance, and education human resources.

Abstrak

Pendidikan pada masa pemerintahan Jokowi jarang menjadi topik pembahasan. Dalam dokumen 2 tahun Kerja Nyata Jokowi-JK menunjukkan pendidikan kurang menjadi perhatian utama dalam agenda kebijakan pemerintahan Jokowi. Tiga fokus utama agenda kebijakan pemerintah yang menekankan pada infrastruktur, pembangunan manusia, dan kebijakan deregulasi ekonomi. Pendidikan hanya sebatas disinggung berkaitan dengan akses dan infrastruktur pendidikan yang meningkat, dan indeks pendidikan yang meningkat (0.82) dari tahun 2014 ke 2015. Sejumlah produk kebijakan pendidikan seperti kartu Indonesia pintar, KIP Kuliah telah menjadi legacy pada pemerintahan Jokowi dari 2014 sampai dengan 2024. Namun, sejumlah persoalan dan tantangan pendidikan belum sepenuhnya dapat terjawab selama kepemimpinan Jokowi. Hal ini terjadi karena belum adanya design thinking yang memadai dalam mengatasi persoalan pendidikan di Indonesia. Tujuan dari penelitian ialah untuk mengungkap dan menganalisis persoalan mendasar pendidikan dan mengusulkan rumusan design thinking kebijakan pendidikan Indonesia paska Jokowi. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif. Data diperoleh melalui studi pustaka dari dokumen kebijakan pemerintah di bidang pendidikan, buku, artikel jurnal ilmiah. Analisis data menggunakan pendekatan interpretasi, semiotika, analisis wacana kritis, dan design thinking. Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa Apabila mencermati kebijakan pendidikan paska reformasi design thinking kebijakan pendidikan belum menyentuh pada sistem pendidikan yang fundamental, substansi pendidikan, dan budaya dan ekosistem pendidikan. Oleh karena itu, design thinking yang diusulkan setelah paska pemerintahan Jokowi diarahkan untuk membangun dan memperkuat tiga aspek yaitu regulasi, tata kelola, dan sdm pendidikan.

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1. INTRODUCTION

"Like fertilizer for plants, education is necessary for the life of the nation. When education is on a low scale, the nation's intelligence will be severe. Nations can go back to the days of ignorance. Its citizens live in ignorance, being ignorant, or being foolish" - Sindhunata, Basis, NO 11-12, 2022-

The issue of education in Indonesia is interesting to review and explore. What is the root of the problem of education in Indonesia until now has not optimally shown the intelligence of the nation's life?, and how *design thinking* policy makers in formulating education in Indonesia. The historical journey of education in Indonesia since Indonesia

became independent in 1945 until now has experienced the dynamics of ups and downs. The ideas and ideals of education can basically be traced starting from the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution to the fourth alenia stating that: "...Then from that, to form an Indonesian State Government that protects the entire Indonesian nation and all Indonesian bloodshed, and to promote the general welfare, educate the life of the nation..." The word "educating the life of the nation" is the ideal of an independent Indonesia that needs to be realized through education. The thoughts of the founding fathers in compiling a vision of nation and state cannot be separated from efforts to portray education as part of the spearhead of the progress of the nation and state. Since the colonial era, efforts to realize education that encodes and educates the nation's life have been pioneered by national fighters such as the Budi Utomo movement organization, Ki Hadjar Dewantara, Dewi Sartika, and R.A. Kartini. They became inspirational figures in fighting for education for the indigenous people and the people at that time. The grand design of education in Indonesia in a historical perspective has given birth to a generation of humanist, nationalist, and cultural nations. But the traces of the thoughts of the nation's founders and warriors in the pre-independence era seem to have received less attention for the current generation of thinkers and policymakers. What kind of educational concept do we want? What kind of ideal education policy do we expect? How do people make education policy? is the essence of our education just catching up or achieving national goals? When improving the education system, which system, or person first? For this reason, understanding *the design thinking* of education policy in Indonesia is interesting to do. When looking at the grand design of Indonesian education in constitutional and regulatory perspectives, it shows that education is an important part of Indonesia's human development. As in the framework of the *grand design* of Indonesian education in the constitutional and regulatory perspective in Indonesia below:

Table.1. *grand design* of Indonesian education constitutional and regulatory perspectives

Perspective	Fill	Design thinking
Preamble of the State Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945	The fourth Alenia "... Then from that, to form an Indonesian State Government that protects the entire Indonesian nation and all Indonesian bloodshed, and to promote the general welfare, <i>educate the life of the nation...</i> "	The paradigm of Indonesian education for all children of the nation
Article 31 of the NRI Constitution of 1945 (<i>Original version</i>)	(1) Every citizen has the right to be taught. (2) The government establishes and maintains a national teaching system, which is regulated by law.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Education is a right that the state gives to citizens of society ▪ The government formulates and builds a national teaching system
Article 31 of the NRI Constitution of 1945 (<i>Amendment-2002 version</i>)	(1) Every citizen has the right to education****) (2) Every citizen is obliged to attend basic education and the government is obliged to finance it. ****) (3) The government shall strive and organize a national education system, which increases faith and piety and ahlak mulia in order to educate the life	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Education is a right that the state gives to citizens of society ▪ Citizens are obliged to have access to basic education and the government is responsible

	<p>of the nation, which is regulated by law. *****) (4) The State shall prioritize the education budget to at least twenty percent of the state budget and from the regional budget to meet the needs of national education. *****)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Cost of Providing Government Responsibility Education ▪ Education is more directed at religiosity/"religious"
<p>Law No.12/1954 on the Basics of Education and Teaching in Schools for All of Indonesia (Explanatory clause)</p>	<p>"... Education and teaching in the Republic of Indonesia are national and democratic..." national nature - based on national culture, as well as national education, we must be based on Indonesian national culture. Democratic nature- Education aspires not to let children act outwardly and mentally in a commanded manner, imperatively, but of one's own accord, of taste independence and own initiative. Only when this ideal is achieved can it be said that Our education is democratic.</p>	<p>- Nationalist and democratic educational paradigm</p>
<p>Law No. 2/1989 on the National Education System</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Considering point b: "that national development in the field of education is an effort to educate the life of the nation and improve the quality of Indonesian people in realizing an advanced, just and prosperous society, and enable its citizens to develop themselves both with regard to physical and spiritual aspects based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution" - Article 3: "National Education serves to develop the ability and improve the quality of life and human dignity of Indonesia in order to realize national goals" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Education to improve the quality of Indonesian people - Education to realize an advanced, just, and prosperous society - Education to realize national goals
<p>Law No.20/2003 on National Education System</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Considering point b: "that the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Year 1945 mandates the Government to strive and organize a national education system that increases faith and piety to God Almighty and noble morals in order to educate the life of the nation regulated by law..." 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Education to increase faith and piety to True Source, as well as morals began - Education for a dignified character - Education to grow and develop the potential of students to become human beings who are

	<p>- Article 3: "National education functions to develop the ability and shape the character and civilization of a dignified nation in order to educate the nation's life, aims to develop the potential of students to become human beings who believe and fear God Almighty, have noble character, healthy, knowledgeable, capable, creative, independent, and become democratic and responsible citizens."</p>	<p>interested, fear God, have noble character, healthy, knowledgeable, capable, creative, independent, and become democratic and responsible citizens."</p>
<p>Law No. 12/2012 on Higher Education</p>	<p>- Considering point b: "that higher education as part of the national education system has a strategic role in educating the nation's life and advancing science and technology by paying attention to and applying humanities values as well as sustainable cultivation and empowerment of the Indonesian nation;</p>	<p>- Higher education to educate the nation's life and advance science and technology</p>

Source: results of researcher data processing, 2023.

The grand design of Indonesian education from the perspective of constitutionality and regulation in Indonesia today seems to be seen that the direction and conception of national education in Indonesia is experiencing dynamics and changes. Changes that can be seen *from the design thinking* made by policy makers from a certain period of time that gave birth to the philosophy and direction of Indonesian education have a paradigm of shaping humans who are what policy makers want or expect.

The grand design of education in Indonesia cannot be separated from the political knowledge possessed by policy-making actors in Indonesia both from the executive (government), legislative (political and political parties), and community organizations involved in the process of drafting regulations in the field of education. The involvement of these actors has colored a lot of *design thinking*, regulations and education policies in Indonesia. In the post-reform era of 2000 there were at least 7 Education Ministers who have colored various education policies in Indonesia starting from Minister Abdul Malik Fadjar (2001-2004), Minister Bambang Sudibyo (2004-2009), Minister Muhammad Nuh (2009-2014), Minister Anies Baswedan (2014-2016), Minister Muhadjir Effendy (2016-2019), and Minister Nadiem Makarim (2019-present). The various education ministers who occupied government cabinets in the post-reform era dealt with education issues and challenges in various ways. They have different *design thinking* in responding to the problems and educational challenges faced. Classic problems of education such as education equity, education quality gaps, teacher and educator quality, curriculum, gaps in educational facilities and infrastructure, the quality of examinations and evaluations to this day have not been completely resolved. According to John Deodatus in his article entitled "Merdeka Belajar: Simone Weil's Ideas" said that:

"Our current educational situation requires attention (*attention*) to detach our education from things that actually shackle and do not encode. Setting education standards, equalizing education and controlling education through burdensome administration are the easiest

choices that actually make education in Indonesia run away from the difficulty of educating students seriously". (Deodatus, 2022)

Efforts to review national education policy from the perspective of design thinking in various literature have not been much and minimally carried out, including when entering the post-reform era. National education policy during the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Jokowi administrations, which had a long period of time up to 2 periods, still did not answer comprehensively the classic problems and challenges of national education in Indonesia. Unpack the curriculum, brainstorm the names of programs and activities for education, and use new terms for educational programs as *Legacy* from Ministers or government becomes a trend *Design Thinking* from various education policies in the post-reform government. During the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono era, *Design Thinking* Education policy is directed and focused on providing certification of teachers and lecturers, as well as optimizing the use of a budget of 20% of the State Budget. In the era of President Jokowi focused on education reform including changes to the independent curriculum, besides that President Jokowi had said that there were at least 3 education problems that must be resolved immediately in Indonesia, namely: (Octofrezi, 2020)*first* The large percentage of low-achieving students. He targets the number of low-achieving students to be reduced to the range of 15-20 percent by 2030. *Second* The percentage of students repeating classes that are still high reaches 16 percent. *Third* high absenteeism of students in class. The description of this issue is based on the results of the PISA survey. (Indonesia, 2020)

The aspect of sustainability in education does not seem to be a common goal in realizing education in accordance with national goals. In the era of elections and political campaigns to choose Indonesia's presidential and vice presidential candidates, various political promises of presidential candidates (candidates) and vice presidential candidates (vice president) began to be socialized such as Prabowo promising to improve nutrition for school children to Islamic Boarding School by providing nutritious lunches and free milk for school children ranging from pre-school to high school students, to Islamic Boarding School. Meanwhile, Ganjar Pranowo will promise to increase teacher salaries by up to 30 million. Anies' promises in the field of education include efforts to increase access to equitable education, the quality and welfare of teachers and education staff and the affordability of higher education costs. The purpose of this study is to analyze Indonesian education problems from a perspective (Idris, 2023) (Purwaramdhona, 2023) (Dwi, 2023)*Design Thinking* and proposed post-Jokowi education design thinking. The method used in this study uses a qualitative approach. Data were obtained from the study of regulatory documents, policies, and scientific articles, as well as news related to education. Data analysis uses interpretive analysis, semiotics, critical discourse analysis, and *Design Thinking*.

2. RESEARCH METHODS

This research method uses a qualitative approach. Data is obtained through the results of studies and analysis of regulatory documents, journal articles, and various reference sources related to existing research. Data analysis using an approach Data analysis uses interpretive analysis, semiotics, critical discourse analysis, and design thinking.

3. RESULTS OF RESEARCH AND DISCUSSION

1. Design Thinking

Design thinking have various understandings in various fields. *Design thinking* can be interpreted as concepts and approaches to look at certain problems that aim to form skills (*skills*) and a certain mindset through a multidisciplinary approach. Other

meanings *Design Thinking* Aims to find and formulate patterns and models on certain materials that produce innovative products in the form of designs or conceptual concepts or ideas that can be applied in life. *Design thinking* Conceptually it is an approach to look at problems with a certain frame of mind, so as to find comprehensive answers. *Design thinking* interpreted as a frame of mind. In general *Design Thinking* used in learning activities as a creative and systematic model to teach how to solve problems with several stages, including: *discovery, ideation, experimentation, and evolution*. *Design thinking* This is as a way of gaining knowledge through exploration. According to Cross, 2007; Dunne & Martin, 2006 in Razali, N., Ali, N., Safiyuddin, S. and Khalid, F (2022) explain that (Celt, 2023)*Design Thinking* describe a particular style of thinking or cognitive process used by thinkers, drafters, designers to conceptualize something. (Razali, 2022)

The difference between *design thinking* and *system thinking*. *Design thinking* helps to form and find ideas and problems to be discussed. For example, educational problems can be done by helping to find problems, find solutions to problems and explore problems more deeply. While system thinking is a guideline and reference in thinking that looks at problems comprehensively. *System thinking* focuses on the ways and methods of thinking that need to be put in looking at problems not only in part but seeing the problem in part from a whole unity of other parts. Meanwhile, Design thinking emphasizes the framework and process to provide a foundation and direction in discussing certain problems.

2. Design Thinking Education in Indonesia

Design thinking in education is a framework of thinking to guide and direct how education is designed and conceptualized for a specific purpose. *Design thinking* in education can be seen from the way people design curriculum, learning, and materials, and evaluation in education that is associated with expected academic standards. *Design thinking* education in Indonesia can be seen from various aspects. In terms of regulations and policies, aspects of implementation, and aspects of evaluation and monitoring. *Design thinking* in education is directed to achieve certain goals such as increasing achievement, improving *skills*, and increasing understanding of the material, and improving quality or efforts to improve education as a whole.

3. Design Thinking Education Policy of the Jokowi era

Design thinking Education policy in the Jokowi era since 2014 until now emphasizes education reform. Education reform is directed at three aspects, namely: 1. Improving the quality of human resources through strengthening ECCE and driving schools, 2. Equitable distribution of educational infrastructure, 3. Completion *mismatch* education with strengthening education. In the document of the 4-year achievements of the Jokowi and JK administrations, the education policy conveyed in the document focuses on revitalizing vocational education by improving the quality of vocational education to be recognized by the international world and industry. In general, the design thinking of Jokowi's education policy can be traced starting from Nawacita as Jokowi's agenda and promise when he became a presidential candidate in the 2014 period and then the RPJMN for 2015-2019 and 2020-2024. The National Medium-Term Development Plan for 2015-2019 and 2020-2024 is a description of the vision, mission and program of the president from the 2014 and 2019 elections. In the 2015-2019 RPJMN, three main national problems are outlined, namely: 1. The decline of state authority, 2. The weakening of the joints of the national economy, and 3. The spread of intolerance and crisis of the nation's personality. . Regarding education, the

2015-2019 RPJMN has an education policy design thinking that focuses on 10 points, namely:(Wulandari, 2021)(Humas, 2018)(Nasional, 2014)

Table.2. 10 Targets of RPJMN 2015-2019 in the field of education

No	Education policy goals
1	Increased primary and secondary education enrollment rates
2	Increasing education sustainability rates marked by declining dropout rates and increasing continuing rates
3	Decreasing education participation gaps between community groups, especially between rich and poor, between male and female residents, between urban and rural areas, and between regions
4	Increased readiness of secondary education students to enter the job market or continue to higher education;
5	Increased assurance of the quality of education services, the availability of a reliable curriculum, and the availability of a comprehensive education assessment system
6	Increasing proportion of vocational students who can join apprenticeship programs in the industry
7	Improving the quality of teacher management by improving distribution and meeting teaching loads
8	Increased life security and science and career development facilities for teachers assigned to special areas
9	Increasing and equitable availability and quality of educational facilities and infrastructure in accordance with minimum service standards; and
10	Drafting of laws and regulations related to 12-Year Compulsory Education

Source: RPJMN 2015-2019. pp.66-68.

While the 2020-2024 RPJMN, education is not specifically and explicitly written in the RPJMN table of contents. The productivity and competitiveness improvement section focuses on baseline data and achievement targets for 2024 as shown below:

Table.3. Target of RPJMN 2020-2024 in education

No	Goal
1	Improving equity in quality education services
2	Improving the quality of teaching and learning
3	Increasing equitable access to education services at all levels and accelerating the implementation of 12-Year Compulsory Education
4	Increasing professionalism, quality, management, and equitable placement of educators and education personnel
5	Strengthening education quality assurance to improve quality equity Inter-unit and inter-regional services
6	Improving education development governance, financing strategies, and increasing the effectiveness of Education Budget utilization

Source: RPJMN 2020-2024. pp.167-168.

Design thinking Education policy during the Jokowi administration era can be normatively seen from Nawacita's working papers and RPJMN for 2015-2019 and 2020-2024. In the early period of Jokowi's administration, the country experienced the disaster of the covid 19 pandemic outbreak, so that some education agendas have not been fully implemented because they have overcome the covid 19 pandemic for almost 2 years. During the covid pandemic, various breakthroughs and innovations in education policies

were carried out to answer the problems of the covid 19 pandemic through more pragmatic policies such as studying at home through an online system, abolishing national examinations, simplifying the implementation of learning (RPP), simplifying the mechanism for disbursing School Operational Assistance Funds (BOS), various activity programs and a new curriculum known as Merdeka Belajar, the Driving Teacher program (PGP), and the transformation of government funding for Higher Education. Other policies carried out by Education Minister Nadiem Makarim in the Jokowi era include the policy of abolishing thesis as the only graduation requirement to be changed to a final project in the form of projects, prototypes, and other forms carried out individually or in groups. Students need to do a thesis or not to be able to graduate from college submitted by their respective universities. In addition, Minister Nadiem Makarim also made a policy of removing the obligation for master (S2) and doctor (S3) graduates to publish scientific papers in accredited journals or international journals. (Liputan6, 2021)(Anugerah, 2023)

4. Design Thinking Post-Jokowi Education Policy

During Jokowi's administration, various *Legacy* Political, social, legal, economic, and infrastructure development policies have been widely carried out. Success in the legal field, for example, has succeeded in streamlining various laws and regulations by passing the Job Creation Law as part of *Design Leaner* and simpler regulatory policies. The job creation law is a breakthrough in the field of legal politics to cut various existing regulations. In addition, Law Number 3 of 2022 concerning the National Capital (2022) and Law on the Criminal Code (KUHP) of 2023 have been successfully passed to build the political legitimacy of government law to design lean and simple regulations. The process of simplifying regulations has also concerned the field of education with the idea of revising Law Number 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System, efforts to propose revision of this Law also lead to simplification of laws and regulations related to education that have the potential to overlap and are less effective in building a national education system. The idea of revising Law No. 23/2003 tries to simplify laws related to education such as Law No. 20 of 2003 concerning National Education Systems, Law No. 14 of 2005 concerning Teachers and Lecturers and Law No. 12 of 2012 concerning Higher Education, and other related laws. However, these efforts have not been successful until now. *Design thinking* education in the Jokowi era that occurred still leads and provides room for liberalization, commercialization, and capitulation in the field of education from elementary to higher education. Specifically at the level of higher education. State control increasingly provides space and freedom for the entry of the global paradigm by providing a way to strengthen the character and culture of liberalization, commercialization, and capitalization of education. Under the leadership of Nadiem Makarim, the Ministry of Education and Culture has increasingly provided space for commercialization and capitalization of education. For example, the independent campus policy and independent learning, one of which provides flexibility for established and credible universities to open their own study programs and close study programs according to needs, the Single Tuition Fee (UKT) policy that increasingly ensnares students has never been a theme and topic of discussion to be reviewed and evaluated, the formation of an independent accreditation institution (LAM) that is "laden" with political and commercial interests has brought universities to incur various additional costs for accreditation through independent accreditation agencies. It seems that the jargon "no free lunch" has been fulfilled in education policy in Indonesia. At the primary and secondary education levels, the mobilization of

teachers to become mobilizing teachers, moral politics called the Pancasila student profile project that has not been conceptually in line with the ideas and ideals of Pancasila has led to misconceptions about understanding Pancasila as the nation's philosophy with the dimensions of the Pancasila student profile that are still questionable. In addition, being too hasty in making decisions to abolish the 2021 National Examination (UN) has had an impact on the absence of standards to measure and evaluate nationally related to student teaching and learning activities. The UN was replaced by the Minimum Competency Assessment and Character Survey, as well as the Learning Environment Survey. The polemic made by Minister Nadiem Makarim when in an international forum (UN) by saying that the Ministry of Education has *Shadow Organization* with a team of 400 people has brought the image of education in Indonesia in international and national forums increasingly complicated. (CNN, 2022)

What will be the next education policy after the Jokowi administration?, will education policy continue or change with a different formula and with an agenda adjusted to the vision and mission of the presidential and vice president-elect candidates later? What kind of *design thinking* will be applied to education in Indonesia with a number of educational legacies in the Jokowi administration era which is currently still running with achievement targets until 2024 with the mega projects Merdeka Belajar, Merdeka Campus, independent curriculum, mobilizing teachers, Pancasila student profiles, UN substitute assessments, and the widest autonomy for universities to regulate the establishment of study programs etc.

This paper would like to offer conceptual ideas of *design thinking* of post-Jokowi education policy for advanced Indonesia as follows:

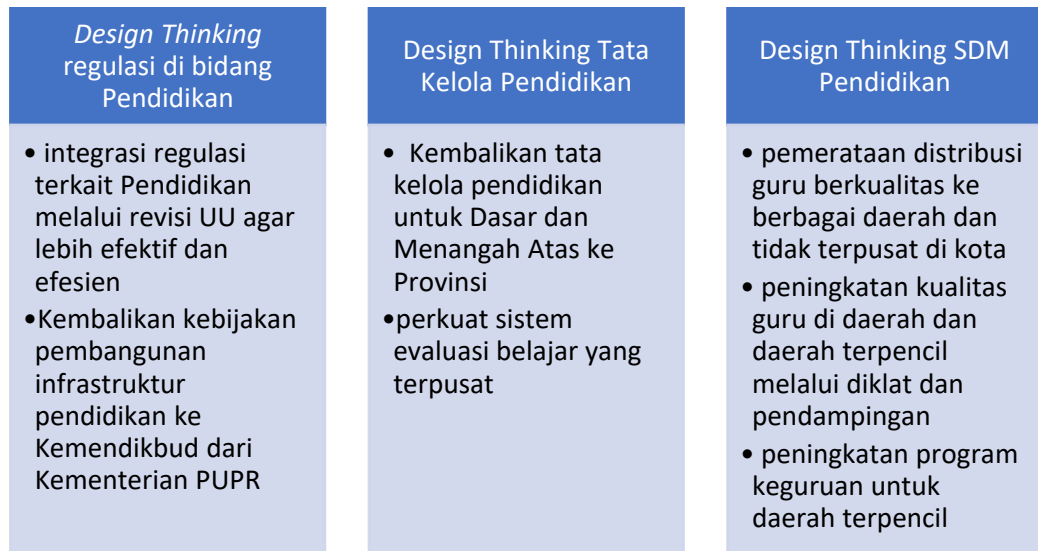
Table. 1. *Post-Jokowi Education Policy Design Thinking Proposal*

Aspects	Description
Philosophy	Educating the nation's life towards an advanced, dignified, and prosperous Indonesia, as well as being independent
Vision	- Forming a whole Indonesian person who is intelligent, nationalist, and globally competitive
Mission	- Strengthening the national education system - Improve the quality of education - Increase access and equity in education - Building a dignified and sustainable education ecosystem
Strategy 1	Review the regulations of the national education system law
Strategy 2	Review education quality standards and education evaluation
Strategy 3	Review access and equity in education
Strategy 4	Revisit the education ecosystem to be more dignified and sustainable

Source: author's work, 2023.

Based on *the design thinking* that has been proposed and conceptualized, post-Jokowi education policy should be a future political commitment. There are at least five aspects that must not be tampered with and contested to accelerate the transformation of advanced Indonesia in accordance with national goals and ideals, namely: education, health, defense and security, domestic government, and foreign policy. Therefore, the *design thinking* of national education policy should be directed at structuring regulations related to the law on the national education system and building a national education ecosystem to improve the quality of national education.

Chart 1.
Post-Jokowi



Education Policy Design Thinking Flow

Based on chart 1 on the flow of post-Jokowi education policy design thinking, it can be described briefly through three frameworks, namely laying down post-Jokowi education policy design thinking by emphasizing three fundamental aspects in design thinking, namely: *first*, the Education System, this education system directs to educational institutions and educational institutional structures including governance. *Second*, the substance of education, leads to regulations and policies that are formulated. *Third*, education culture and ecosystem, which leads to an educational environment that can support the achievement of national education goals. Therefore, these three elements need to be the main concern about where education is taken.

5. CONCLUSION

Education policy in Indonesia has not shown significant progress. Education has not become a political will and political commitment to make changes in education policy and politics in Indonesia in accordance with what is aspired to. In the perspective of constitutionality and regulation, policy design thinking in Indonesia still has a tendency to open opportunities for commercialization and liberalization of national education. The

national education system was built precisely to open opportunities and desires to sell in the field of education. Education is just a commodity that can be traded to the community. In a semiotic perspective, education at the policy level is just a dismantling of the curriculum and education administration. It has not led to more substantive and philosophical efforts to build a national education system. When looking at education policy after the design thinking reform, education policy has not touched on the fundamental education system, the substance of education, and the culture and ecosystem of education. Therefore, the design thinking proposed after the Jokowi administration is directed to build and strengthen three aspects, namely regulation, governance, and education human resources.

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