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Political Policy Analysis of the National Education Budget In Islamic Education Studies

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ABSTRACT: *This research reviews about national education budget in the study of Islamic education policy. The federal education budget is part of the political education policy in Indonesia. The politic of education budget can be realized through systems made in a country. Government policy regarding education budget allocation of 20% is by the mandate of the 1945 constitution as included in the Draft State Revenue and Expenditure Budget (RAPBN). It is explained explicitly in the Statute of National Education System No.20 Year 2003 in article 49. This policy also becomes a lantern which can ease the economic burden of the poor to send their children to school because they have received funding from the government. However, the realization of the budget education of 20% may not be disbursed according to the benchmark percentage. Besides, there is Islamic education which has its institution in managing educational practices. This research was qualitative by collecting literature data from various primary and secondary references. Politic in education budget can make people more eager if all policy can protect other educational components, especially in the realm of Islamic education.*

Penelitian ini mengulas tentang anggaran pendidikan nasional dalam studi kebijakan pendidikan Islam. Anggaran pendidikan federal adalah bagian dari kebijakan pendidikan politik di Indonesia. Politik anggaran pendidikan dapat diwujudkan melalui sistem yang dibuat di suatu negara. Kebijakan pemerintah tentang alokasi anggaran pendidikan sebesar 20% adalah dengan mandat UUD 1945 sebagaimana tercantum dalam Rancangan Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Negara (RAPBN). Hal ini dijelaskan secara eksplisit dalam Undang-Undang Sistem Pendidikan Nasional No.20 Tahun 2003 dalam pasal 49. Kebijakan ini juga menjadi lentera yang dapat meringankan beban ekonomi orang

miskin untuk menyekolahkan anak-anak mereka karena mereka telah menerima dana dari pemerintah. Namun, realisasi anggaran pendidikan 20% tidak dapat dicairkan sesuai dengan persentase patokan. Selain itu, ada pendidikan Islam yang memiliki institusi dalam mengelola praktik pendidikan. Penelitian ini adalah kualitatif dengan mengumpulkan data literatur dari berbagai referensi primer dan sekunder. Politik dalam anggaran pendidikan dapat membuat orang lebih bersemangat jika semua kebijakan dapat melindungi komponen pendidikan lainnya, terutama di bidang pendidikan Islam.

Keywords: *Political Education, Policy, and Islamic Education.*

INTRODUCTION

Education is a vital instrument for every nation to improve competitiveness in the political, economic, legal, cultural and defence arena of life, society and the global world, (Rosser: 2013). Aware of that, even developed countries always build their education world without ceasing. There is also an evident trend that developed countries are increasingly increasing their investment in education. The more intensive they invest in school, the more their competitiveness increases. A country needs excellent quality human resources. How about the Indonesian people? The Indonesian people have not been able to view education as an investment in the future of the children they are born with. Many educational problems cannot be solved comprehensively. So that the programs and educational outcomes are as if patching on deciduous plants in the middle of an arid field.

Education is proven to have an essential role in improving the quality of human resources. With that, it can make human resources more able to understand and be ready to face changes quickly. The education process is a conscious rational effort that never stops. Because if humans stop doing education, it's hard to imagine what will happen to the human civilization and culture system itself. So both the government and the community are always expected to strive to carry out education with the desired standards and qualities to empower people. Training as a buffer to the nation's civilization, knowledge as forming the independence of the country and education as well as unifying the nation. Like in a building, where the buffer is a pillar that will make a sturdy building when robustness has come into being, then undoubtedly, independence will also accompany the form of sturdiness. All of this is evidenced in the attitude of mutual respect, tolerance, openness and awareness that the Indonesian nation is a nation of unity in diversity. Therefore agreement must also be upheld, and through education as a real effort of this nation. United we are divorced, we are collapsing, a motto that has been instilled in every human being of this

nation since childhood.

The condition of education related to Indonesia's achievements has declined. Indonesia's downgrade in the education development index for all (Education for All) in 2011 was partly due to the high dropout rate at the elementary school level. A total of 527,850 children or 1.7 per cent of 31.05 million primary school children drop out of school each year. The UN Agency, UNESCO released the education development index (Education Development Index) in the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011. Indonesia's ranking dropped to 69th position out of 127 countries. Last year Indonesia's rank was 65th. Of the four assessment indicators, a drastic decrease occurred in the value of student survival rates up to grade V elementary school. In the latest report, the cost is 0.862 (Kompas.com, 4/3/2011).

Meanwhile, based on the results of a Political and Economic Risk Consultancy (PERC) survey based in Hong Kong in 2001 alone, it was stated that the education system in Indonesia was the worst in the Asian region, namely from 12 countries surveyed, South Korea was considered to have the best education system, followed by Singapore, Japan and Taiwan, India, China and Malaysia. Indonesia ranks 12th, one level below Vietnam (Kompas.com). The low quality of education in Indonesia is also indicated by the Human Development Index (HDI) data. Indonesia's HDI was at the level of 0.617 in 2011, ranking 124 out of 187 countries in the world. Indonesian HDI is only superior when compared to Vietnam which has an HDI value of 0.593, or Laos with a value of 0.524, Cambodia 0.523, and Myanmar with an HDI value of 0.483 (Republika.co.id, 11/27/2011).

There are several reasons why education in Indonesia has not been able to develop rapidly, like developed countries. The main factor seems to be related to budget issues, the access to education evenly to all levels of society, becomes a responsibility that must be fulfilled by the government, based on the 1945 Constitution article 31 paragraph 1 which reads "every citizen has the right to education" and paragraph 3 "the government seeks and organizing a system of national education that enhances faith and piety and noble character in order to educate the life of the nation which is regulated by law" (Sidiq, 2018). And in the sphere of education funds and their budgets indeed become something very urgent to achieve these educational goals. Related to the education budget, the government has a form of policy as an effort to advance education (Sulton, 2016).

This policy is even written in the National Education System Law No.20 of 2003. In the article (4) "the state prioritizes the education budget of at least 20% of the State Budget and the Regional Budget to meet the needs of national education provision". This was later strengthened by the National Education System Law (Sisdiknas) No.20 of 2003 article 49 paragraph 1 which reads "Education funds in addition to teacher salaries and official education costs are at least 20% of the State Budget (APBN) in

the education sector and at least 20% of the Regional Budget (APBD).

In the 2012 State Budget, the education budget was allocated Rp. 286.56 trillion or around 20.20% of the total APBN Rp 1,418.49 trillion. Nominally this budget increased from 2011, where the education budget reached Rp. 248.98 trillion or 20.25 per cent of the total APBN Rp. 1,229.56 trillion. Judging from the budget posture, some posts that dominate include the Special Allocation Fund for education which reaches Rp 10 trillion, School Operational Assistance which reaches Rp 23.6 trillion, and for teacher salaries and allowances that reach Rp 136.4 trillion when viewed from the above exposure almost half of the state budget disbursed by the government is used for wages and benefits for teachers. With a large amount of expenditure on salaries and allowances for teachers, it is expected that teacher professionalism can increase by the increase in pay. But when compared to the quality before and after the salary is raised, there is no or even more decreased professionalism. And the real root of the problem is the quality of the teacher. Therefore to become a teacher, there must be a rigorous selection. There are definite steps and guarantees when we become teachers later. Become a professional teacher.

In this country, education has long been a political tool. The politics of culture also cannot be separated from power or politics. Various policies that arise in response to a problem, often also even raises new issues. Specifically related to the education budget, this domain is very vulnerable to political elements, even unhealthy politics. Education budget policies are sometimes also used as projects by higher education officials. The purpose of national education as enjoyable and as beautiful as anything, if the excellent implementation does not support it, whether it is related to facilities, infrastructure, and financing, these goals can be said to be useless (Ibnu Aqil, 2018). Moreover, it is associated with increasing national education progress which must keep abreast of the times. In this section, the author will present a global discussion of what is the education budget, national education budget politics, policies related to education funds and budgets, the realization of the 20% education budget, as a form of government policy, and efforts which then also lead to a subsequent procedure (Wahyudi, etc., 2019; Muhayat, 2018).

METHOD

This research is qualitative by collecting data through literature. The data is obtained from several main references, both primary data and secondary data. The primary data are; National Education System Law No. 20 of 2003, Permendiknas, Permendikbud and Permenag. Also, secondary data obtained from various studies that have been scattered from multiple research journals, books, theses, and dissertations related to the research object. Data collection methods by collecting numerous books, articles, journals in which the study of political education and Islamic education.

After the data is collected, then sorting is done between books, journals and articles that discuss the politics of culture and Islamic learning. Then analyzed deductively and inductively. The deductive method is used to obtain a picture of character education as a detailed study of Islamic knowledge. While the inductive approach is used to collect and express a view of Islamic culture as a whole. Data analysis is a way to process the data obtained during the study carried out so that a conclusion can be drawn. After the character education data is collected, then analyzed using descriptive-analytic methods. Descriptive is a method that uses fact interpretation which is interpreted correctly. While the analysis is to describe something carefully and directed. The analyzed data are then presented with a deductive method that departs from general theory to lead to conclusions that are the answer to the problem of this study.

DISCUSSION

Funds are one of the conditions or elements that determine the success of the implementation of quality education (Tomas: 2017). All this time, it has complained that the quality of national culture is low because of insufficient funds. Is this statement correct? Is it true that after being fulfilled, quality education will automatically be achieved? Providing quality education does require funding; without funds, it is impossible to hold the intended school. But finance is not the only element that determines the success of the intended quality education. However, its essential role in the implementation of educational goals shows tangible results that funds are very influential. The results will depend on three keywords, namely the system, expertise and proper application.

The description of education funding so far includes the amount or amount, sources, allocation, orientation, position, management system, institutions or parties involved, and the problems they face, (Antonio: 2015). How should the management and administration system synergize with other elements? To be able to make an optimal contribution to the successful implementation of quality education. National Education Fund

1. The need for a national education Funding system, but in its application the regional government and each school choose autonomy in managing their education funds while remaining within the widespread signs or corridors
2. The government, both the central government and local governments only act as funding agencies, triggering funds, and then the schools themselves develop them.
3. The calculation of education funding must always be oriented to the quality of education, and the count must be based on the learning needs per active student learning, not according to the number of students officially registered, and not also according to the number of schools.

4. The allocation of education development funds should be higher than the distribution of routine funds (Ikhwan, 2017)
5. Fund managers can collaborate with various parties to access educational funding sources, commercial or trade cooperation with a profit-seeking orientation, but all the funds obtained are to improve the quality of education, therefore in spending funds received by the manager and the school must always be in "in one" with the wisdom of schools in the program to improve the quality of education.

They are talking about funds, in management, of course, also related to the name budget. The term education budget and education fund are two different terms both in terms of the substance contained therein, and in terms of etymology, (Antonio: 2015). Budgeting or budgeting is a term that is generally accepted and has a standardized meaning, namely state / regional revenue and expenditure plans within one year in the form of income and spending as well as financing in the form of any tax that needs to be repaid and payment to be received again. Whereas funds are interpreted as a result of the realization of the budget so that funds cannot be spent before budgeting in the APBN / APBD.

The budget is a future design to be implemented. The budget consists of two sides, namely the revenue side and the expenditure side. The revenue or cost side is determined by the number of funds received by the institution from each source of funds. Sources of funds can come from the community, class and government. The amount of education funding sourced from the government is determined based on the government's financial policies at the central and regional levels after considering the scale of priorities. In America, the government's extraordinary effort to collect education funds is carried out in the form of an individual tax which partly or wholly proceeds to the school.

The expenditure side consists of the allocation of education costs for each component that must be funded. Of all the revenue received, part of it is used to finance administrative, administrative, educational facilities and infrastructure activities, and some are given to schools through several channels. In addition to the routine budget, some projects are distributed annually by the education department with the needs of schools. The central government's regular budget is funded entirely from surplus routine funds and foreign aid or foreign guarantees. In the discussion of expenditure, the terms commonly used are (1) recurrent expenditure and (2) capital expenditure). Recurrent Expenditure, which is a routine or recurring expenditure every year, such as salaries, items that must be replaced frequently. While capital spending is expenditure on durable goods, such as school buildings, laboratories, sports facilities, and other learning facilities.

The budget, in addition to being a tool for planning and control, is also a tool for management in directing an institution to place the

organization in a stable or weak position. Therefore, the budget can also function as a benchmark for the success of an organization in achieving its stated goals. When looking at its development, the budget has benefits that can be classified into three types, as an appraisal tool, as a tool for spending authority and as a means of efficiency (is the essential function in controlling). In terms of controlling the amount of the budget that is based on official figures compared to the realization of costs that exceed or less can be analyzed whether or not there is waste or savings.

If placing the position of education in the intellectual life of the nation in the context of civil society, it takes courage to invest heavily to strengthen the national education system. Besides that, it is also necessary to have an earnest effort in strengthening education as the main road of strength by not only as a constitutional role but also as an answer to the real challenges of the development of society in internal conditions into a global arena. The definition of national education can be seen by referring to the National Education System Law No.20 of 2003, in article 1, it is stated that education is a conscious and planned effort to create an atmosphere of learning and learning process so that students actively develop their potential to have energetic spiritual, self-control, personality, intelligence, morals, and the skills needed by himself, society, nation and state. It was also mentioned in the article above, that national education is education based on Pancasila, and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which is rooted in the values of Indonesia's national religion and culture and training must be responsive to changing times. The national education system is an overall component of education that is interrelated in an integrated manner to achieve national education goals.

National education functions to develop capabilities and shape the nation's character and civilization with dignity in order to educate the life of the country, aiming at improving the potential of students to become human beings who believe in and fear God Almighty, have noble, healthy, knowledgeable, capable, creative, independent, and be a democratic and responsible citizen. Therefore it can be understood that the national education budget is set to realize education as a conscious and planned effort to create an atmosphere of learning and learning process so that students actively develop their potential to have spiritual strength, self-control, personality, intelligence, morals, and the skills required by himself, society, nation and state based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which are rooted in the values of Indonesia's national religion and culture and education must be responsive to the changing times.

Politics of National Education Budget

Politics according to the KBBI (Big Indonesian Dictionary), has the understanding (1) knowledge of the state administration that is about the

government system, the basics of government, and so on, (2) all affairs and actions, policies, tactics, etc., about government or to other countries, (3) policies, ways of acting in the face of a particular problem. Strictly speaking, politics is a way or method of influencing others or other parties to achieve group goals. In this context, the politics of national education is intended as an approach or method based on the culture of the Indonesian people to influence certain parties to achieve the goals of civic education. The politics of education aims to clarify the direction of educational progress for the better development of the nation going forward.

The politics of education becomes the leading guide in the journey of national culture with a clear education politics, so the concept of knowledge that will be formed and achieved will be in the right concept building, durable and sturdy, (Stefan: 2016). All of this will give birth to an enlightening educational setting. For the government as the holder of educational policy, then the existence of the concept of directed education politics necessitates enlightening procedures (Sidiq, U & Ikhwan, A. 2018). However, if there are currently many educational policies that do not enlighten and instead make education a particular commercialization project, this is more due to the political training run by the government which tends to favour more certain groups. The apparent political definition of education is not internalized in the spirit of the education policy that is born.

Civic education that is small and narrow, which is the result of reductionism, has buried the actual value of real education politics, (Benny Susetyo: 2005). The politics of education if detailed in more depth, as software that can be described in the form of educational concepts that educate this nation, can also be included in the pattern of government policy in budgeting education funds. Providing a clear idea in the direction of national education is a political responsibility that must be done well. The DPR must be able to play a role, both in thinking and in other parts, in the world of education, it is in DPR that school becomes the talk of several factions in charge of education. Of course, by eliminating specific sectarian interests in utilizing training as a project, the benefits of certain groups must be shunned.

An open view to jointly build a political agreement to together educate the life of the nation must be supported and realized jointly by all members of the board in charge of education so that when such things can be done in such a way, the performance results of the board members in producing an educational policy can provide a political satisfaction for the people in this country. The Indonesian House of Representatives should summarize a comprehensive formulation of education from the community, including it in the agenda of activities that must be decided, implementing these ideas practically and concretely in the form of an education budget, which is expected to be able to build this nation going forward.

The politics of education is directly carried out by the government as the executor of knowledge in some issues, how the government to carefully and thoroughly carry out all the rules made by the Parliament becomes a thing that is possible to be done with as much discipline and order, (Rifai: 2011). The pattern of non-discriminatory education fund budgeting for every educational institution from all levels of primary to high education, including honestly distributing education funding in a clean and not laden with corruption. It is a rule of the game that is carried out consistently and firmly. The transparency of its implementation goes above the standards that have been set in every elite of officials in the government, especially in handling education, not to act cunningly or do anything that damages the purpose of education as the process of educating the life of the nation.

Budget politics can be interpreted as a process of budget allocation based on political will and method; both carried out by individuals and groups. Political interests will inevitably determine the use of public funds. In determining the amount and allocation of funds for the people, there are always political interests that are accommodated by officials. Budget allocations often also reflect the interests of policymakers about their constituents. There must be a systematic effort to improve and develop the education sector to be able to provide ample opportunities for the children of this nation to improve their quality, both in terms of individuals and as members of the community and also as children of the country.

The politics of education in a country can be seen as a measure of the seriousness of its mastery in managing training for the people. Through several investigations and researches on several countries, there are strong indications that states that provide large budgets prove that in addition to the country paying attention to the field of education, educational achievement and human quality is indeed advanced. However, related to the issue of the education budget, about the high and low matters, the education budget because of the reality on the ground also proves that the education budget each year never runs out. Still, there are always hundreds of billions of rupiah left. If indeed the problem is the small education budget, logically all available education funds can be absorbed. Therefore, a high budget is essential but not the most important, to improve the national education system. This means that any high budget does not guarantee that it will be able to improve the national education system if the managers are still mentally corrupt, collusion, project-oriented, and lack managerial ability, (Darmaningtyas: 2005).

Islamic Education Budget Policy

The educational policy must be established based on what has been done and achieved in the past and also based on goals and objectives set in the future. The praxis of past education needs to be reviewed so that decisions for the future do not experience the same mistakes (Mastuhu:

2004). To be able to do that, policymakers need information about educational problems that have been dealt with, and educational problems that have failed to be addressed. The education budget has a vital role in achieving the goals or objectives of education can be made. Since the first time, the new government has only given promises to increase the education budget, but that is still limited (Ikhwan, 2014).

Once again, the issue of the education budget should also be no difference between the state and the private sector; at least the gap should not be too far away (Tilaar, 2009). The education budget is very influential in the process of providing quality and moral education, including the professionalism of teachers. Teachers have been required to serve perfectly in the delivery of quality children. With the low education budget, the award for the *Unsung Heroes* becomes low. The teacher is a human figure who is very disciplined in carrying out their duties. They are also figures who have more knowledge when compared to other employees, so the teacher's personality is a good role model. Still, it cannot be denied that teachers' salaries are meagre compared to other employees.

There are several keywords to find the "culprit" why the budget for Islamic Education services is so minimal. At least through a review of the regulation of the law, both relating to the distribution of government finances and the laws governing educational items themselves. Also, the approach used in budget affirmations.

Relatively, the author observes that there are at least 2 (two) laws that need to be immediately reviewed or updated to bring justice in budget matters, namely Law Number 33 of 2004 concerning Financial Balance Between the Central Government and Regional Governments and Laws Law Number 14 of 2005 regarding Teachers and Lecturers.

Law Number 33 of 2004 concerning Financial Balance between the Central Government and Regional Governments regulates in detail the distribution of APBN allocations. The third part of the Law controls the General Allocation Fund, which in article 27 paragraph (1), for example, clearly states that "the total DAU is set at least 26% (twenty-six per cent) of the Net Domestic Revenue determined in the State Budget ". The figure of 26% of the APBN to be shared with the Regional Government reduces significantly the funding for education, especially those that are centralistic. This percentage benchmark has implications for increasingly large budgets for local governments, on the one hand, and increasingly smaller ministries/institutions in the Central Government. On the other hand, which in turn, the budget for the Ministry of Religion, as a centralistic institution, receives a minimal budget allocation. The Regional Government, which has already been allocated 26%, is only from the DAU allocation. Not to mention, the Regional Government automatically gets an allowance of 20% of the education budget from its PAD (Local Revenue), so that the Regional Government gets an education budget allocation of at

least 46%.

Moreover, the Regional Government gets a budget from the education allocation from the DBH (Revenue Sharing Fund) DAK (Special Allocation Fund) and other funds. The budget allocation placed in the Regional Government is again intended for school education services (kindergarten, elementary, junior high, high school and vocational school), not for services under the auspices of the Directorate General of Islamic Education, such as madrasas and Islamic boarding schools. Local Governments can provide affirmations to religious education services if they have been supported by Regional Regulations or regulations made based on the political will of their regional leaders.

That is also with various notes, that is if it is not obstructed by several regulations or regulations from the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Supreme Audit Board or related inspectorates that prohibit the Regional Government from assisting educational services that are centralistic.

Law No. 14 of 2005 concerning Teachers and Lecturers tends to provide less appropriate portions, especially for people who provide Islamic religious education services, especially pesantren, MDT and Alquran education and of course also for the Directorate General of Islamic Education. As understood, Law Number 14 of 2005 was passed on Government Regulation Number 74 of 2008 concerning Teachers which had implications for the birth of welfare in the form of professional allowances and functional allowances for teachers. Although this law is perfect for school and madrasa education services, it does not have a significant effect on religious teachers in Islamic boarding schools, MDT and Koran education. Because, as defined in Law Number 14 of 2005 concerning Teachers and Lecturers and PP 74 of 2008 regarding Teachers, that "Teachers are professional educators with the main task of educating, teaching, guiding, directing, training, evaluating, and evaluating students in children's education. Early childhood formal education, primary school and secondary education" (Rohmad, 2014). The problem is the limitation of what is meant by the teacher is only the instructor in educational services on the formal path. This has implications for teachers who teach in non-formal education services such as clerics and religious teachers in Islamic boarding schools, MDT and Koran education are not categorized as teachers, so these teachers do not get a professional allowance and functional support. Strictly speaking, the kyai and the cleric do not get budget allocations for professional benefits and user contributions.

On the other hand, this Law and PP become the basis of mandatory policies that absorb huge budgets but do not affect the pesantren, MDT and Koran education. All the community acknowledged that the clerics and religious teachers, especially in the boarding school had devoted all their strength and concentration to the boarding school for 24 hours. While teachers who teach at schools and madrassas are in reality only in a more

limited duration of time compared to the kyai or religious teacher of the pesantren. Therefore, the authors encourage the boarding school community, MDT, and Koran education such as RMI (*Rabithah Ma'ahadil Islamiyah*), FKPP (Islamic boarding school Communication Forum), FKDT (Diniyah Takmiliah Communication Forum), FKPQ (Alquran Education Communication Forum), and FKPQ (Forum for Communication of Islamic Boarding Schools) other communities to conduct a judicial review of Law No. 14 of 2005 concerning Teachers and Lecturers, at least in defining the teacher. Teachers are not only limited to formal education alone but also non-formal education. If this happens, it will have implications for the next generation who are encouraged so that the clerics and religious teachers also receive the same benefits as teachers in madrasas and schools.

Understanding the above description, it turns out that the Ministry of Religion does not influence the problem of the lack of an Islamic education budget, but, at least, precisely by the regulations and the APK regime which is the basis for budget allocation that does not favour Islamic education services. The intended control is Law Number 33 of 2004 concerning Financial Balance between the Central Government and Regional Governments and Law Number 14 of 2005 regarding Teachers and Lecturers. Regulatory issues must be resolved immediately, especially by fellow legislators, who may need to be encouraged by the public, primarily through judicial review, or the initiation of the DPR itself to make changes to the regulation. On the other hand, the budget pattern coordinated through Bappenas (National Development Planning Agency), the Ministry of Finance, and other institutions that always refer to the APK (Rough Participation Rate) Education has clearly implicated in the lack of budget for Islamic education, especially for educational services on non-formal channels such as Islamic boarding schools, MDT, and Koran education. If the reform is not immediately carried out, how long the budget for Islamic education will change for the better.

The phenomenon of teacher salaries is very far behind when compared to neighbouring countries. The salary of a professor in Indonesia is very far behind compared to other countries. Not to mention the retirement age of a professor in Indonesia is different from other employees; they just entered retirement at the age of 70 years especially if we look at the welfare of teachers at the lower levels, especially private teachers. They are experiencing material hardship. As a result, of course, very influential with the level of professionalism and personality. It is not impossible to find a teacher who finally works to fulfil his daily needs. This situation is certainly not very good for teachers as educators of the nation's children, which will affect the educational process of the next generation.

Access to Education evenly to all levels of society, becomes an unseen responsibility fulfilled by the government, based on the 1945 Constitution article 31 paragraph 1 which reads "every citizen has the right

to education" and paragraph 3 "the government strives and organizes a national education system that enhances faith and piety and noble morals in the context of educating the life of the nation which is regulated by law ". In the article (4) "the state prioritizes the education budget of at least 20% of the State Expenditure Budget as well as from the Regional Expenditure Budget to meet the needs of implementing national education". The emergence of the fourth verse in the new constitution, which is the result of the amendment of the 1945 Constitution, has caused controversy. For those who disagree, the issue of technical numbers should not be regulated in the constitution because that number is very dynamic by the times. Those who agree that if it is not stipulated in the law, the policyholder can arbitrarily make a budget for education. Because just entering the constitution is violated, especially if it does not come to the structure.

Policies made by the government in a country indeed consider the various sectors involved, including the industrial area. Economic power influences government policies in multiple perspectives, so that economic power to a certain point of departure will also change the direction of education policy, the political economy education analysts arrive at the conclusion that schools are responsible for allocating economic opportunities because schools exist and are held to increase the value economics of students who graduate. For example: what are the jobs for alumni of educational institutions? Continuously encourage the government to fulfil the constitutional mandate in providing education budget. The education budget driver must be carried out by all groups, especially representatives of the people because they are the direct control of government policies. And it is not only the people's representatives who need to encourage the government to have the political will, all groups of NGOs, political parties, socio-religious organizations until the people themselves are also essential to do so.

The education sector should be prioritized without denying other fields that are also important for the survival of the life of the nation and state (Lee Kam Hing, 2005). It is the best, strategic, and significant effort to encourage improvement in the quality of human resources in building the progress of national and state life amid global life that requires adequate competitiveness (Ikhwan, Tri Fauzi, 2018). The policy adopted in preparing the budget must therefore also be directed at increasing the ability of the country to carry out its constitutional obligations specified in Article 31 of the 1945 Constitution to implement and finance compulsory education for primary education by reallocating funds from other functions in the APBN for the education function.

The priority allocation of the excess funds obtained from savings in state spending and or the results of increased income must also continue to follow orders to prioritize the education budget as referred to in Article 31 paragraph (4) of the 1945 Constitution. The existence of Article 31 of the

1945 Constitution is imperative (winged Recht) , which cannot be avoided as long as it is still listed in the 1945 Constitution, except for emergencies, such as causing national disasters. The three pillars of policy in the Budget, namely first, Expansion and Equalization of access to education, Second, Improving quality, relevance and power third and third, strengthening governance, accountability and public image.

Realization of 20% of the National Education Budget in Islamic Education

What has been said above is a conceptual ideality so that if these things can be carried out as fully and optimally as possible, then they will no longer be just a concept. Still, education will become an extraordinary bridge for the future development of Indonesia. Political reality proves that the politics of knowledge that has been held so far have not perfectly reflected the ideal concept. Still, there are sectarian interests and the commercialization of educational projects that have become wet fields for those who have been blinded by personal interests. Realization in the field of education that is related to the understanding of 20% of the national education budget raises many problems that demand solutions, efforts as a concrete solution.

The reality that exists in the field of education related to the education budget many are far from conceptual, (Suyatno: 2011). Concerning conditions occur in many education sectors. Starting from the school's physical facilities, procurement of books, distribution of funds, even to humans, as the manager. The policy has changed to allow commercial projects, which are used as land to commercialize education. As stated, based on the results of the 2011-2018 Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW) media research, there is a correlation between an increase in the national education budget and the potential for corruption. The increase in the education budget is always accompanied by the more significant potential for fraud and abuse for political gain.

Education is expensive, so that makes the cost of tuition even higher and shows that education is no longer dealt with severely and correctly. The politics of culture that have been made by the direct government education to learning that is not affordable due to the commercialization of education (Freire: 2007). The necessities of the lives of many people to enjoy training are very improbable. They can be felt by all elements of society in various social classes, especially children who cannot afford. Commercialization of education is a disease that will kill the lives of children of the country to be able to enjoy the culture and gain knowledge; the poor cannot go to school while the rich go to enjoy learning.

The realization of the education budget allocation of 20 per cent of the total APBN is considered not yet adequate because the distribution is not by the initial objectives. In reality, in remote areas, even the nine-year

compulsory education is only a slogan but has not been realized. Many obstacles faced by students in remote areas such as infrastructure, teachers were not there. Or also the barrier of parents' inability to pay for school. Education is expensive and is constrained by equal access to education as if it is a problem that still looms over the world of education in Indonesia. In addition to valuable knowledge, the condition of schools as the primary environment in the education process also experiences many poor conditions.

Whereas the most important political goal of national education from the past until now is the issue of civic education equality, which can be interpreted that all Indonesian people can access education unhindered by factors, both their background, ethnicity, religion, ethnicity, language, and economy, (Yamin: 2009). Up to now, this issue cannot be said to be a successful program. We still haven't been able to eradicate illiteracy by 100%. There are still certain groups that because of poverty can not access advice and infrastructure, even for those whose territory is in the interior or at the border do not get the world of education that is promoted by the government and escape from mutual attention.

In addition to the realization that has not been successful, if judging from its effect on educational equality, the number of schools or as an educational infrastructure and advice is also evidence that the realization of such an education budget has not been realized, (Nanang: 2009). This data in mid-2019 shows that the amount of damaged space is equivalent to 187,855 units of the total SD space of 895,761 units. While in junior high school, the damage to study rooms also reached 20 per cent or 39,554 units. Ministry of National Education notes, the total number of junior high school learning spaces reaches 192,029. School rehabilitation while focusing first on elementary and junior high schools. Because related to compulsory primary education (Wajardikdas). The education budget, which is lowered by the central government, is distributed as a support for the nine-year mandatory education program for free. The funds are channelled through local transfers, among others, distributed as DAM (General Allocation Funds) for Education, namely to pay teacher salaries, then DAK (Special Allocation Funds), and DBH (Revenue Sharing Funds).

Efforts in Addressing Educational Budget Problems

The national education budget of 20% as confirmed in a legal entity, namely the National Education System Law No.20 of 2003, and even has been written in the 1945 Constitution article 31 paragraph 4. Policies related to efforts to overcome the problem of the education budget have been carried out by the government through a system of which has been rolled out along with the emergence of the issues. House Speaker Marzuki Alie promised to continue to fight for the assertiveness of budget politics for the education sector. The importance of budget politics in the education

sector depends on the factions in the DPR. The politics of education is related to government policy in giving birth to the educational system. The system is also closely associated with the management pattern of how training should be developed and progressed so gradually from year to year or based on the concept of education development programmed by the government, including the education budget.

Several things can be done, namely:

1. Regular updates with pre-available policy tools. This renewal can be done in stages.
2. Improvement of regional funding schemes that support universal national policies. It is recommended that local governments complement the global theories of the central government by improving the quality of education and governance, for example through promoting the data collection system (especially school data on student data from poor households) and affirmative policies for poor students (for example scholarships or subsidies).
3. Encourage the structuring of the DAK scheme and other sources of funding sourced from the national government. It is recommended that regional governments encourage bottom-up designation rather than the type of DAK designation directly by the centre.
4. It is ensuring a systemic, integrated tiered supervision system that involves citizens for example through optimizing the oversight role of the DPRD, the DPRD-DPRD consultation forum to supervision by the School Committee and the implementation of audits by citizens.

Such an ironic condition makes education no longer give birth to human humanitarian processes, instead what develops to the surface is that knowledge has made the country's children uneducated, due to the high cost of education. Government policy regarding the existence of School Operational Assistance (BOS) has become a policy which seeks to alleviate the heavy burden of education in the middle and lower classes even though the implementation is still chaotic, sometimes not on target, and there are also other trends. That is not running optimally and optimally by specific elements, both at the school level and the education department and local government.

The national education budget is allocated for BOS Funds, with various cases that characterize the distribution of these funds, the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) has established a system to prevent corruption in channelling School Operational Assistance (BOS) funds. The potential for fraud in directing BOS funds can occur because there is an imbalance between the system that is not ready and the vast amount of BOS funds. Since the introduction of the BOS program, at least the government has disbursed IDR 16.5 trillion annually. Every year, for example, there will be a disbursement of Rp27 trillion for BOS funds. The

way to use BOS funds will be very vulnerable to corruption. The system is not yet active, but the funds are substantial. The corruption gap can occur after the provision of BOS funds is given to the local government, and then the provincial government will distribute it to each school. The mechanism for disbursement in the regional government must be through board approval. This caused the payment of BOS funds to be longer. Because the longer the series of bureaucracy, the more opportunities for corruption occur. For this reason, the KPK, together with the Ministry of Education and Culture, is currently trying to build a reporting system for alleged bribery over the use of BOS funds.

The Ministry of Education and Culture (Kemendikbud) will require each region to set standards of education costs ahead of Universal Secondary Education (PMU). Director-General of Secondary Education (Ditjen Menengah), Ministry of Education and Culture Hamid Muhammad, said, shortly the ministry will conduct socialization to all local governments in making the standard education costs. Hamid said, with this standard, it would be known how much the costs would be borne by the community, local government and the central government.

CONCLUSION

Various efforts have begun to be thought about in response to various problems that occur related to the realization of 20% of the national education budget. Politics of education budget can be realized through policies made in a country. Government policies regarding education budget allocation of 20% by the mandate of the 1945 Constitution as included in the Draft State Budget (RAPBN). And more specifically mentioned in the National Education System Law No.20 of 2003 in article 49. This policy is also a lantern that can ease the economic burden of the poor to send their children to school because they have received funding from the government, however, the realization of an education budget of 20 The percentage may not be disbursed according to the benchmark percentage. Therefore the understanding of the education budget must be supported by policymakers, implementers, by having excellent management skills, good morals so that it will not open up opportunities for budget corruption. The realization of improving the quality of education also does not only depend on the size of the budget owned by the Ministry of Education alone but also must synergize with the improvement of other sectors.

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