

# Merdeka Belajar Kampus Merdeka (MBKM): Ideological Power Relationship

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**Abstract.** Talking about education, the position is like being in a wide and deep sea. Therefore, education is always changing from time to time whose goal will be to swim to land or dive into the deep sea. Based on this, the author presents this paper with the aim of reviewing the education policy era of Minister Nadiem Makarim in the educational ideology agenda. MBKM through its 4 main policies seems to be systematically dehumanizing through a systematic way of working, which puts students into the screws in the framework of industrial development .

**Keywords:** Education; MBKM; Conservatism; Liberalism.

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## INTRODUCTION

The Independent Learning-Independent Campus Policy promoted by the current Ministry of Education and Culture, Nadiem Makarim, provides a new nuance in the higher education system. This program is certainly inseparable from its aim to support the visions and missions of the government of President Joko Widodo and his deputy, Ma'ruf Amin.

Nadiem then answered the public's doubts by making a breakthrough in the world of Jokowi-Ma'ruf education. One of them is the launch of the Independent Learning Campus (MBKM) policy. Freedom to Learn is a blasphemy between believing and not believing. How people use the word merdeka in learning, starting from Ki Hadjar to Mangunwijoyo, is a heroic thing. Actually, what is meant by freedom to learn, whether to carry the goal of fantasy. Ki Hadjar clearly stated that independence is an independent alias freedom, while Mangunwijoyo is creativity. Ki Hadjar Dewantara (in Made Sugiarta et al., 2019: 128) asserts that education must be interpreted as an effort to liberate humans in terms of autonomous thinking, decision-making, dignity, and democratic mentality.

Based on one of the goals of education, which is supposed to produce a generation of experts, in the current system, in fact, they are turned into industrial slaves. This is further strengthened by the policy launched in 2020 by the Minister of Education, Mas Nadiem Makarim. The concept of this policy is that the campus cooperates with various institutions, even multinational

companies, *startups* , state-owned enterprises, to world organizations such as the United Nations can participate in developing the curriculum for new study programs. Mas Nadiem encourages companies to compete in joining the curriculum, joining recruitment with universities. This is due to his view that superior human resources are counted in the number of students absorbed in the industry.

This allegation became stronger when the Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia asked educational institutions to be more observant with the needs of the industrial world. So that not many graduates are unemployed. Some of these things are very clear that the orientation of education is only a printing machine for industrial interests.

Various problems regarding education in Indonesia are access to education, availability of education funds, quality of teaching staff, availability of facilities. On the other hand, education in the MBKM program aims to support the vision and mission of the government of Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin in five points, namely 1) Infrastructure Development, 2) Human Resources Development, 3) Inviting Investment, 4) Reforming the Bureaucracy, and 5) Guaranteeing the use of the State Budget. focused and on target. In this vision, it can be said that Jokowi focuses on high-speed industrial processes such as *artificial intelligence*, *big data advances*, *robotics* , and other matters related to rapid technological developments. Even Jokowi's leadership jargon on Mental Refolution, Nawacita is not debated in the world of education today. Therefore, based on the current

phenomenon, it is necessary to describe the analysis of the ideology of education which is the umbrella for the MBKM program that has occurred in the last two years.

### Henry Giroux's Educational Ideology

Often we hear the term ideology, both in terms of academic activities, or in everyday life. Starting from students, academics, artists, cultural observers, policy makers, and even the general public often use the word ideology. What is meant by ideology? this of course must be through reference and understanding through long discussions to understand the meaning of the ideology itself.

In 1976, to be precise in France, a cavalry officer named Destut de Tracy (1784-1836) coined the word ideology, which means "science/idea". Today, a concise definition of ideology is "a strong system". Ideology has a prominent and subtle impact, manifest everywhere, at all scales (Nemeth, David: 1996). Furthermore, Giroux said that ideology is an important construction to understand how meaning is produced, changed, and consumed by individuals and social groups. As a tool of critical analysis, ideology digs beneath phenomenal forms of class knowledge and social practice and helps discover structuring principles and ideas that mediate between dominant society and everyday experience. ideology must be viewed as dialectical, including material consciousness, meaning, and practice, and particularly including the category of struggle and power (William F. O'Neill & Naomi, 2002).

Related to the ideology of education, (William F. O'Neill & Naomi, 2002: xiii) mapped the educational ideology used by Henry Giroux and Aronowitz which is divided into two approaches, namely *conservative*, *liberal*. From these two approaches, it is explained that there are six basic educational ideologies seen from basic social ethics, namely three conservative ideologies (educational fundamentalism, educational intellectualism, and educational conservatism), and three liberal ideologies (educational liberalism, educational liberationism, and educational anarchism).

#### 1. Conservative

For adherents of the conservative paradigm, the inequality of society is a natural thing, something that is unavoidable which has become a stipulation of history and God's destiny. For

them, social change is not something that must be fought for because it will only make people miserable. The conservative paradigm tends to lighten the subject more. Conservatism is basically adherence to cultural institutions and processes that have stood the test of time (quite old and well-established), respect for law and order.

#### 2. Liberal

Liberals think that education and society are two different problems. Education is considered as a medium to socialize and reproduce values so that the wider community can function properly. The concept of education in the liberal tradition is rooted in Western ideals of individualism. The influence of liberalism in education can be analyzed by looking at the components of the influence of Western philosophy on the universal human model, namely the American and European human models, namely rational liberals like all humans have the same intellectual potential, social order can be captured by reason, individualists who prioritize achievement through the process of competition between students. .

### MBKM Program Ideological Conception

With regard to educational events which are a social concept, of course they have and contain ideological concepts to carry them out. With this in mind, the following is the ideological conception of education policy in Indonesia today.

Before moving on to the ideology regarding MBKM, which was launched in 2020 by Mas Minister, the goal is to provide opportunities for students as a meaningful learning experience. This, of course, cannot be separated from people's expressions with this MBKM policy, such as: happy, excited, worried, upset, angry, and disappointed in the testimony about MBKM.

Therefore, some of these expressions are nothing but an ideological struggle. Of course in every fight, will produce results that depend on how strong the fight is, whether you win, or lose badly. The winner of this ideological battle must have a happy expression, happy because he is reaping the results that are the ideals of a group. Vice versa, the loser will feel angry, worried, sad because the ideals in realizing the dream of education has become a system that has been designed to fail miserably. MBKM is present when several curricula that have been worked on and continue to change according to changes in policy makers have tarnished and shaken the previous curriculum system which is believed to

have almost reached mature results.

Regarding the ideology that touches on the MBKM policy, there are several things that must be discussed together, namely in terms of the desired community, the condition of the community, plans to change society as desired, and the supporting groups. This is certainly a fundamental factor in an ideological battle in this MBKM policy.

1. The first fundamental factor is in terms of the desired community. The community in question is the target of MBKM which of course is students and campuses. MBKM's utopia towards the community that it wants is independent students and campuses, in the sense that students and campuses freely choose programs that can sustain sustainability in achieving superior human beings. , free in Latin, namely *Liber* . Liberation may be a form of liberalization, with the intention of liberalizing education between universities or even smaller, namely liberalization of education between study programs.

If we talk about the ideological concept of MBKM's utopian factor, then the goal of independence is very closely related to liberal ideology with a positivistic approach. This is related to what was said by ( Wiliam F. O'Neill & Naomi, 2002: xv) that positivism is a perspective in understanding reality and is the basis for the liberal education model. Added by Habermas (in Wiliam F. O'Neill & Naomi, 2002: xvi) that the positivistic approach places science to liberate human potential.

2. The second fundamental factor is the deplorable condition of society. The phenomenon that occurred before MBKM came suddenly, the reality of learning at the campus level was shackled. One example of restraint that most people (students and lecturers) are not aware of is the existence of a credit system for each student. Student credits are package units, which have been provided by the campus. The freedom of students to choose the desired courses according to their interests did not occur at that time. Thus, it is clear that the process of actualizing the fulfillment of social changes that occurred at that time had not been detected. If this is seen from the ideological approach to the phenomenon before MBKM, it is a conservative phenomenon that is restraining in nature. This is in line with what was said by (Wisarja & Sudarsana, 2017:

286) that conservatism is basically a position to support obedience to institutions or institutions that have been tested by the times, and most importantly have been mutually agreed with all the basic provisions that continue to be adhered to.

3. The next fundamental factor is planning to change society as desired. This planning is currently ongoing in the eight MBKM programs that have been previously written. The community, in this case are students and campuses need to be given space to feel academic freedom. This is meant by (Suteja & Pasundan, 2020: 2) that academic freedom is the freedom for students to choose any field of study or study program, while lecturers have the freedom to teach science according to their expertise. Planning on the Independent Campus policy, students are the lucky ones, trying to survive in other study programs. The impact of that is a new experience that is not obtained in the shackled classroom as usual. This new experience is in accordance with the perspective of liberalism, which is an understanding that emphasizes the development of capabilities, freedom, and the effort of social change itself (Wiliam F. O'Neill & Naomi, 2002: xiv) . This is also in line with (Bostad & Fisher, 2016: 71) that the main stream in achieving a sustainable society is to create educational transformation through curriculum and social change. Based on this, the main goal of MBKM is to change the social order in line with the campus authority to educate students to become proactive agents of social change (Tuomi, 2005: 206) .

4. The last fundamental factor is the support groups in carrying out the MBKM policy. Organizing a form of ideological struggle must have strategies that encourage the success of the fight. One of the MBKM strategies is the availability of support groups in the context of the sustainability of a process whose goal is to establish social change. One of the support groups of MBKM is Bank Negara Indonesia (BNI).

Support from BNI in the context of implementing MBKM is marked by six cooperation agreements between the two. The agreements include the Cooperation Agreement (PKS) to Improve Human Resources through the MBKM Program and the Implementation of the Financial Ecosystem, the PKS for the Use of Integrated Cash Management Services by the

Director General of Diktiristek, and the PKS for the provision of performance allowance services as well as the distribution of consumer credit facilities for employees.

Based on the agreed agreement, it is clear that the MBKM program is serious in its implementation. Agreement between the two policy makers through approval and belief in the behavior of feedback (feedback): action (action) causes a response (reaction), responses lead to follow-up actions, follow-up actions affect the pattern of subsequent responses and so on (Wiliam F. O'Neill & Naomi, 2002:130-131) . Support groups and policy makers influence each other and form an endless circle. If this is seen from a liberal perspective, then this is called synergism. The synergistic process takes place to create the necessary conditions for the goal of circular and self-affirming action goals (Wiliam F. O'Neill & Naomi, 2002: 136)

### **Mbkm Program In These Two Years**

1. Related to the relaxation of the accreditation process.

The relaxation of the accreditation process that occurs in the MBKM policy is very beneficial for the campus. The advantage lies in the campuses that have enjoyed Superior Accreditation. However, what about the fate of campuses that are still accredited B, etc. Of course, the team working on the preparation of the forms will be faced with complicated files for collecting and collecting data to achieve superior accreditation. Not only that, the preparation of accreditation will produce *hyper-lecturers* who in fact will struggle at this stage. Tridharma PT will grow into pancadharmas or even multidharma in daily life, humanizing humans to be ignored even though it is the main goal as an educator. The character of Higher Education is still in the conception of formalism, with the intention that everything must be carried out formally, thus ignoring quality.

2. Whereas when the campus is free to become a PTN BH, it means that the state is increasingly free to release its responsibilities as an agent for providing education guarantees. Freedom to open study programs means more adapting to market needs, plus the freedom to determine curriculum with industry and foreigners. This means that young intellectual property is co-opted with industrial interests, not by helping to solve the interests of the people. Credits are taken through internships and industry, this causes

graduates to become intellectuals to become experts, but only to become industrial slaves.

3. Related to the Granting of Learning Rights outside the Classroom.

This program is very innovative because students are given free will as a nature to attend lectures outside the classroom with a maximum of 3 semesters. Anxiety when students are busy studying outside the classroom with lots of credits, fundamentally, the original study program will be a minority of those choices. This requires a mature policy before students choose the program.

4. The experience of freedom is actually achieved and experienced through the realization that the boundaries of scientific disciplines are already fluid, so it's time to formulate a kind of study according to each individual's needs. Currently, of course, there is a wedge with the Kemendikbud program. Independence associated with the freedom of people to study outside means confirming that the study program being studied is no longer adequate. The scientific disciplines instituted by universities are now obsolete and need rejuvenation or changes. Therefore, the independence that is needed is substantial independence, academic independence, not only managerial independence.

### **CONCLUSION**

The Merdeka Learning Program at the Merdeka Campus so far seems to only touch the name and arrangement (management). As a philosophical idea, there is no imagination and also pedagogical. Indonesia likes to experiment with changing curricula, even though the previous curriculum has not been evaluated. MBKM is a good opportunity for students to access learning from lecturers in Indonesia, the problem is that the lecturers are not yet independent, research funds are lacking, digitization can provide benefits as long as lecturers and students do not fail in technology (technical gaps).

MKBM policy is one of the knowledge products of power, which is rolled out through a set of languages in the curriculum and rules as a means of production in industrial reasoning, which can be used to persuade, influence and regulate the behavior of workers in the education system, especially universities to produce compliance within the framework of and how to reproduce on the basis of the needs and interests of the industry.

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