

## **Analysis of New Order Government Policies and Their Implications for Islamic Education in the Republic of Indonesia**

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### **ABSTRACT**

This study seeks to examine the educational policies of the New Order regime, particularly in Islamic religious education, and their impact on the advancement of Islamic education in Indonesia. The approach used is qualitative, using a library research method. Data sources are derived from secondary literature, including books, academic journals, and related scientific publications. Data were collected through a systematic search of documents analyzed descriptively and qualitatively through the following stages: source selection, theme categorization, content analysis, and conclusion drawing. The findings of this study indicate that the New Order's educational strategy prioritized the continuous and in-depth instillation of the ideals of Pancasila throughout society, primarily through education and training. The P4 improvement program and standardized curriculum facilitated the advancement of Islamic educational institutions, such as Islamic madrasas and universities, by integrating the national and religious curricula. This study concludes that the New Order era marked the beginning of the modernization and advancement of Islamic education within the national education system. This period saw a growing awareness of the challenges facing Islamic religious education, prompting the Ministry of Religious Affairs to formulate new policies that implemented various forms of Islamic education, including classical Indonesian Islamic boarding schools (pesantren), Islamic religious institutions (Diniyah), private Islamic schools, public Islamic elementary schools (SDIslamic elementary schools), and state Islamic religious institutions (LPs). Consequently, the New Order period emerged as a significant chapter in the historical evolution of the modernization of Islamic education in Indonesia.

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## **INTRODUCTION**

The New Order era was a period of Indonesian government characterized by absolute and authoritarian rule. This was evident in the restriction of freedom of expression, with all state interests being regulated by the government without involving the people, who only reaped the benefits without being included in state affairs. The New Order era was led by the second President of the Republic of Indonesia, Soeharto. During the New Order era, Indonesia's education system also underwent significant developments and changes. These developments can be seen in the curriculum, subjects or courses offered, educational objectives, educational policies, educational implementation, and so on, including changes in education (Ramadhan et al., 2024).

Education has a strategic function in shaping the quality of human resources, particularly in shaping the quality and determining the direction of national development. In the context of Indonesian history, the New Order era (1966–1998) was an important period that greatly influenced the direction of national education policy. The government at that time used education as a tool to create political stability and accelerate economic development through a centralized, uniform education system oriented towards equal learning opportunities. On the other hand, the New Order's education policy also emphasized the indoctrination of the Pancasila ideology, which was the government's effort to instill Pancasila values in the hearts of every citizen in general and students in particular through education, training, and school curricula. Thus, citizens were expected to think and act in accordance with the state ideology, including through the P4 Training program, which had a broad impact on the mindset of society and the direction of education, one of which was Islamic education in Indonesia. Islamic education at this time was required to conform to government policy, resulting in a process of integration between the religious curriculum and the national curriculum (Nugroho, n.d.).

Theoretically, education policy during the New Order era can be understood through the perspective of centralization of the education system and state control over educational institutions. This centralization was evident in the regulation of the curriculum, management, and evaluation of education, which were controlled by the central government as instruments of political stabilization and economic development. In the context of social control and ideological reproduction theory, schools and educational institutions were positioned as tools for shaping citizens who were loyal to the state through the internalization of officially recognized values, such as Pancasila, through the Penataran P4 program and Pancasila Moral Education subjects (Khaeruddin, 2024).

Within the framework of Islamic education, the New Order's policies had ambivalent effects. On the one hand, state policies tended to limit the autonomy of Islamic educational institutions through curriculum standardization and bureaucratic supervision. On the other hand, this period became an important moment for the modernization of Islamic education through a series of regulations that integrated madrasahs into the national education system, such as the 1975 Joint Ministerial Decree and the strengthening of the status of madrasahs in the 1989 National Education System Law. Recent research shows that New Order policies gradually shifted the position of madrasahs and Islamic boarding schools from peripheral institutions to recognized parts of the national system, although they remained under the ideological control of the state (Handayani, Desika, 2025).

Research (Nafiza, 2025) emphasizes that Islamic education policy during the New Order era was both constructive and hegemonic: constructive because it provided institutional recognition for madrasahs and expanded access to religious education in public schools, but hegemonic because it placed Islamic education within a national development framework oriented toward political stability and integration (Handayani, 2025) also found that the dynamics of Islamic education during the New Order were marked by a process of negotiation between the interests of the state and the aspirations of the Muslim community; Islamic education developed under ideological pressure, but succeeded in laying the foundations for broader transformation after the Reformation era. These findings show that analysis of New Order education policy cannot be separated from studies of modernization, recognition, and the repositioning of Islamic education within the national education system (Nazifa et al., 2025).

Islamic education today is required to adapt to government policy, resulting in the integration of religious and national curricula. A number of studies in recent years have highlighted the dynamics of education during the New Order era. Several studies in the last ten years have highlighted the dynamics of education during the New Order era. Research by (Suryadi, 2025) explains how the New Order's centralistic policies affected the national education system, while (Hidayat, 2020a) examined the development of Islamic education under political pressure and state policies. However, most of these studies still focus on general policy aspects or the history of Islamic education, and have not specifically examined the direct relationship between New Order education policies and their implications for the modernization of Islamic education.

The novelty of this research lies in its comprehensive analysis of the relationship between New Order education policies and structural changes in Islamic education, particularly in terms of institutionalization, curriculum, and its social position within the national education system. The purpose of this research is to analyze and examine education policies during the New Order era and their implementation and implications for changes in Islamic education in Indonesia. The specific objective of this research is to identify the New Order government's main policies related to Islamic education, in terms of the autonomization of madrasahs and the integration of the national curriculum in the form of P4.

It is hoped that this research can be useful in providing a deeper understanding of how political policies play a role in shaping the direction of Islamic education in Indonesia. Scientifically, this paper is expected to enrich the study of educational history and contribute to the development of more inclusive and equitable educational policies in the future.

## **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

The approach used in this study is qualitative with a library research method, utilizing data from secondary sources including books, academic journals, and related scientific publications. This study examines the origins and motivations of the New Order era, discusses the education policies implemented during that period, and evaluates their impact on Islamic education. Data was collected through systematic searches of these documents, then analyzed descriptively and qualitatively through the stages of source selection, grouping or categorization of themes, content analysis, and drawing conclusions based on theoretical arguments. This procedure is in line with library research practices in the field of Islamic education, which places texts as the main object of study and requires precision in selecting sources, critical reading, and compiling coherent and scientifically accountable interpretations (Aqilah et al., 2022).

The research population in this context is all documents and literature discussing New Order education policy and its implications for Islamic education in Indonesia, while the sample or data sources were selected purposively, namely only texts that were considered representative, up-to-date, and authoritative. Primary data sources include legislation Law No. 2 of 1989, TAP MPRS, SKB Tiga Menteri and official education policy documents, while secondary data sources are books and journal articles that review the dynamics of Islamic education during the New Order era, as commonly used in qualitative literature research in the field of Islamic education. Thus, the alignment between the research theme and data sources is maintained, as all data are directly related to education policy and the modernization of Islamic educational institutions (Saefullah, 2024).

The main data collection instrument was the researcher himself as the key instrument who conducted critical reading, recording, and coding of the text, assisted by supporting instruments such as data card formats, quote extraction sheets, and theme categorization matrices. Data analysis was conducted using descriptive qualitative analysis with the interactive model of Miles, Huberman, and Saldana, through the stages of data collection and condensation (selection and reduction of relevant literature), data presentation (display) in the form of narrative descriptions and tables of policy findings, and drawing and verifying conclusions regarding the implications of New Order policies on Islamic education. This analytical approach allows for in-depth and implementable exploration because researchers move cyclically between data, thematic categories (e.g., centralization, Pancasila indoctrination, madrasah integration), and theoretical frameworks, resulting in findings that are argumentative and methodologically accountable (Subagiya, 2023).

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **Research Findings**

Based on data collected through document studies and literature analysis, several key findings were obtained regarding the New Order government's education policy and its implications for Islamic education

in Indonesia. The data was obtained from various sources, including education policy documents and academic publication archives. This study reveals three main findings:

Table 1. Summary of Research Findings

No	Aspects of Education Policy	Key Findings	Implications for Islamic Education
1	Centralisation of the Education System	The government controls the curriculum, management, and evaluation of education nationally.	Madrasahs must follow the national curriculum in order to obtain formal recognition.
2	Indoctrination of Pancasila Ideology	The implementation of P4 training and PMP subjects is mandatory at all levels.	Islamic values are adapted to Pancasila values in learning
3	Integration of Islamic Education into the National System	Integration of general and religious curricula	Islamic education has undergone modernisation and institutional upgrading.

Furthermore, analysis of policy documents shows that the main objective of the New Order government was to maintain national stability through targeted and controlled education. Education was used as a tool to shape national ideological unity and loyalty to the government (this was reinforced by a curriculum policy that placed civics and Pancasila at the core of the national education value system and emphasised topics in education that focused on broad community participation, which would enable madrasah administrators to break free from various dependencies). Thus, returning to the charter of madrasahs as community-based educational institutions, if this occurs, madrasahs will take a step forward in empowering community participation effectively and efficiently (Huda, 2022b).

### **Results with Concepts and Theories**

The discovery of the centralisation of the education system is in line with the concept of social control theory in education proposed by Bowles and Gintis, which states that education is often used by the government as a tool for ideological reproduction and control over society. In the context of the New Order, the government sought to maintain national unity by regulating all elements of education, including Islamic educational institutions, to be in line with the state ideology. The policy of indoctrination of the Pancasila ideology can also be explained through Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony, in which the state uses an education system to instil dominant values that are accepted as 'shared truths'. The P4 training programme and PMP lessons were hegemonic instruments used by the government to instil loyalty to the rulers, not merely to shape the character of citizens. However, in the context of Islamic education, this process resulted in the assimilation of values between Islamic teachings and Pancasila. Islamic education during the New Order era experienced political pressure but also gained opportunities to transform into a more modern and open approach to general knowledge. The integration of general and religious curricula created a new balance between spiritual and rational values (Nazifa et al., 2025)

### **Comparison with Other Studies**

The findings of this study are in line with the results of a study conducted by Hidayat, which states that the New Order's education policy had a dual impact on Islamic education: on the one hand, it strengthened the position of madrasahs in the national system, but on the other hand, it limited the autonomy of religious educational institutions. (Hidayat, 2020b) Similar findings were also revealed by Subhan, who stated that the integrated curriculum policy (general-religious) during the New Order era had become the first point of modernisation for Islamic educational institutions in Indonesia. However, this study provides additional insight by finding a shift in the orientation of Islamic education from one that was purely religious-based to one based on religious nationalism. This means that Islamic education began to function not only as a means of strengthening faith, but also as a medium for shaping law-abiding and productive citizens in national development. This finding broadens the perspective of previous research, which tended to emphasise only political or ideological aspects (Subhan, 2018).

### ***Synthesis of Results***

From all the data and theories analysed, it can be concluded that the New Order's education policy had a complex impact on Islamic education. Centralised and indoctrinative policies did indeed limit academic freedom, but at the same time provided opportunities for Islamic education to grow and gain national recognition. With the enactment of Law No. 2 of 1989, madrasahs were given the same status as public schools, so that madrasah graduates could also continue their education to higher levels without administrative barriers. (Mujib, A., & Rahman, 2020) From a theoretical perspective, the results of this study support the view that education policy is not only technical in nature, but also ideological. The New Order government used education as a political and social tool to maintain power, but unwittingly paved the way for the modernisation of Islamic education. This transformation can be seen in the increasing number of madrasahs, Islamic universities, and graduates of Islamic institutions who can play an active role in national development.

#### **Education Policy during the New Order era.**

Before the emergence of the New Order, Indonesia was in a period known as the Old Order under the leadership of President Soekarno from 1945 to 1966. During that period, nationalism was high, but Indonesia's political and economic situation experienced many crises and instability. The background to this situation was political instability, with many political parties vying for power and conflicts arising between nationalist, Islamic and communist groups. The economy deteriorated, inflation was very high at over 600%, the people suffered from food shortages, and foreign debt ballooned. Ideologies were divided, and tensions arose between nationalist, Islamic, and communist (PKI) ideologies. The peak of this chaos was the G30S/PKI Incident (30 September Movement 1965), which was a coup attempt by the Indonesian Communist Party that resulted in the killing of several important figures in Indonesia with the rank of general in the TNI. (Feith, 2007).

This event shook the whole of Indonesia and caused a very serious political crisis. After the G30S/PKI incident, President Soekarno's power began to weaken. In this emergency situation, Major General Soeharto, who at that time served as commander of the Army Strategic Command, emerged as a figure who was trusted to restore security and order.

On 11 March 1966, the first president, Soekarno, issued a letter of assignment commonly known as *Sebelas Maret* (Supersemar) to Soeharto, containing a mandate to take action to maintain national security. From this letter, Soeharto began to gradually take over power. After receiving Supersemar, Suharto immediately dissolved the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and banned the spread of communist ideology, arrested figures considered dangerous to the stability of the country, reorganised the government and military systems, and strengthened the role of the Indonesian National Armed Forces (TNI) in political and social life. In 1967, Suharto was officially appointed by the MPRS as Acting President, and in 1968, he was inaugurated as the second President of the Republic of Indonesia. This period of government became known as the New Order. The shift from the Old Order resulted in changes in political strategy and national policy. The New Order was essentially a direct response to the Old Order, which was characterised by the dominance of the PKI and was considered to have distorted Pancasila. The New Order established a new framework for Islamic Education policy, which was reinforced by the decline of communist influence and a commitment to purify Pancasila through a strategy of sustainable national development. The New Order period is generally known as the Constitutional Order and the Development Order. This era sought to nurture well-rounded individuals by harmonising spiritual and physical aspects as a means of improving quality of life.

The New Order policy was necessary because the country needed recovery and a new direction after the crisis under the Old Order. This policy was created to maintain political stability and security, improve the national economy, re-enforce Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, reform the government and education system, and implement long-term development programmes. However, despite its good intentions, in

practice the New Order policies were often accompanied by strict political control and restrictions on freedom of thought, including in the fields of education and religious life (Ricklefs, 2020).

The New Order government of Soeharto (1966–1998) viewed education as an important tool for achieving two main objectives: political stability and economic development. Therefore, the entire education system was run in a highly centralised manner. All policies, from the curriculum and school management to evaluation, were controlled directly by the central government through the Ministry of Education and Culture. This centralisation was implemented so that all schools, both public and private, would have the same direction and support the state ideology, Pancasila. The government believes that if all students understand the values of Pancasila, it will create an orderly society that is loyal to the state and not easily influenced by other ideologies that are considered dangerous. One of the most visible forms of this policy is the Penataran P4 (Guidelines for Understanding and Practising Pancasila) programme. This programme is implemented on a large scale in schools, universities, and government institutions. In addition, Pancasila Moral Education (PMP) is a compulsory subject at all levels of education. In this way, the government hopes to shape a generation with a mindset and attitude in line with the Pancasila values desired by the state.

The New Order government faced challenges in the field of education, such as the equitable distribution of educational resources and facilities, improving quality, effectiveness, and efficiency, as well as aligning education with national development goals. The New Order government addressed and improved these four issues through several initiatives, which were collectively referred to as education policy. Muzamil stated that the proposed education strategy included: 1. Continuing the literacy eradication initiative, which began around 1972 and was later enhanced by providing special skills to school-age students. 2. Implementing community education that focused on improving mental, spiritual, and vocational competencies. 3. Implementing out-of-school education that focused on social, economic, and cultural issues as an integrated whole. 4. Implementing innovative education initiatives, including the Real Work Lecture Program (KKN), the establishment of schools and Open Universities, and compulsory education, among others. 5. Fostering the next generation through intra-school student organisations (OSIS), campus student organisations, the Indonesian National Youth Committee (KNPI), and other youth groups. The foster parent programme began in 1984. The New Order government's education policy was clarified with the enactment of Law No. 2 of 1989 on the National Education System. The Indonesian education system must comply with applicable laws, whatever form they may take (As'ad Muzamil, 2016).

### **Islamic Policies During the New Order Era**

Islamic policies during the New Order era included the following:

#### ***Improvement of education quality***

The issuance of Presidential Instruction 15 of 1975 and Presidential Decree 34 of 1972 during the New Order era drew strong reactions from various Islamic groups. The New Order government implemented programmes to improve the quality of madrasahs. This policy was outlined in a Joint Decree (SKB) signed by three ministers in March 1975, numbered 6 of 1975, 037/U/1975, and 36 of 1975, concerning the improvement of the quality of madrasah education. The three ministers, particularly the Minister of Religious Affairs, the Minister of Education and Culture, and the Minister of Home Affairs, succeeded in maintaining the existence of madrasahs through this SKB. Madrasahs play a role in the National Education System. Madrasah graduates are given the opportunity to explore beyond their general knowledge and curriculum. The Ministry of Religious Affairs, under the leadership of Dr. Mukti Ali, Ma, implemented this strategy (Azra, 2012).

#### ***Government Assistance Programme for Madrasahs***

The Ministry of Religious Affairs plays a crucial role and is able to mediate the dreams and aspirations of the community amid conflicts related to the Three Ministers' Joint Decree. Furthermore, the Joint Decree has been replaced by a Presidential Instruction (Inpres) related to small schools. These Inpres schools have demonstrated their ability to rejuvenate many madrasahs, facilitated by government support for

school facility renovations. The efficient implementation of these construction projects is thanks to the government's subsidy initiative for madrasahs in Indonesia. Through this government assistance and subsidy, many Islamic boarding schools have started building their own madrasahs, while others have established public schools. In rural areas, they have simultaneously initiated the establishment of Inpres schools with much lower school fees for the local community. As a result, rural communities tend to prefer to send their children to Inpres schools. The community's desire for Inpres schools has created competition for madrasahs, resulting in a decline in the popularity of many madrasahs as the community chooses public schools, which ultimately leads to the replacement of madrasahs by public schools. Around a hundred madrasahs have been recorded as having switched from private to public status. By granting madrasahs public status, the responsibility for their management is handed over to the government, making them easier to supervise (Rizkillah, 2018).

### ***Draft Law on National Education***

On 23 May 1988, a draft law on national education was submitted under the New Order Government Policy. The Minister of Education and Culture submitted this policy to the House of Representatives (DPR) for approval; however, Muslims identified several aspects of the RUU-PN that needed to be refined, as they were crucial and fundamental, and not in line with the state policy guidelines (GBHN). This strategy was considered detrimental to the interests of Muslims, causing dissatisfaction among them, which could trigger a significant reaction. The draft bill proposed by the government at that time had a negative impact on Islamic Religious Education. The draft bill was widely regarded as an attempt to secularise education by ignoring the importance of Islamic Religious Education, which serves as the moral and ethical foundation for students (Alam, 2020).

### ***Enforcement of the National Education Law***

Muslims in West Java, represented by the Islamic Boarding School Cooperation Agency (BKSP), have expressed their rejection of the PN Bill. The scholars and leaders of Islamic boarding schools who are members of the Indonesian Islamic Boarding School Foundation (YPPI) have united to fight for the removal of government articles that are considered burdensome to Islamic Education. This initiative was successful, resulting in the replacement of the law in March 1989 with the enactment of the National Education Law No. 2/1989, which is of great significance to Muslims (Qadri et al., 2025).

### ***Use of the National Curriculum in Madrasahs***

The existence of Islamic education was fully recognised by the New Order government in the 1990s in Islamic religious education in madrasahs. The New Order government's policy did not separate religious education from the National Education System (SISDIKNAS). This policy showed that madrasahs were educational institutions under the autonomous supervision of the Minister of Religious Affairs. The autonomy of educational institutions within madrasahs was implemented in two ways, namely formalisation and structuring within the community itself. In addition, the enactment of the National Education System Law in 1989 stated that madrasahs were part of the National Education System itself. Furthermore, madrasahs were also given the same authority as other public schools (Huda, 2022a).

### ***Educational Holidays during Ramadan***

In 1978, the Minister of Education and Culture, Daoed Joesoef, issued Decree No. 0211/U/1978, which mandated the cancellation of a full month of school holidays during Ramadan for primary and junior high school students. This strategy then sparked a dispute between Muslims and the New Order government. The Minister of Education and Culture, Daoed Joesoef, decreed that school holidays for primary, junior high and senior high school students would be limited to ten days, consisting of the first three days of Ramadan and seven days after Eid al-Fitr. The Ramadan holiday for students consisted of only three days, as the seven-day holiday occurred after Eid al-Fitr, not during the fasting period of Ramadan. This policy applied to both public and private educational institutions. Of course, the implementation of this programme faced significant opposition from Muslims, especially from the Indonesian Ulema Council, which was led by Buya Hamka at the time. Buya Hamka insisted that Islamic schools should continue to

implement a month-long holiday for their students during Ramadan, as had been done previously. The Ramadan school holiday aims to create a calm and peaceful environment for Muslim students. This is because Muslim students fast and perform Tarawih prayers, with the hope of performing them perfectly. Despite strong opposition from Muslims, the Minister of Education and Culture, Daed Joesoef, who represented (Qadri et al., 2025).

### **The Success of Islamic Education During the New Order Era.**

During this new order, Indonesia achieved many successes in the field of Islamic education, including:

1. The government implements religious education from primary school to university level (TAP MPRS No. XXVII/MPRS/1966). Madrasah diberlakukan dan diakui setara dengan sekolah-sekolah umum lainnya.
2. Islamic boarding schools receive support in the form of subsidies and guidance from the government. Majelis Ulama Indonesia didirikan pada 26 juli 1975 M atau 7 rajab 1395 H.
3. Starting in 1993, SDSB (Social Fund Donation with Prizes) was banned after being implemented since the early 1980.
4. The government permits Muslim female students to wear long skirts and headscarves in state schools as an alternative to the standard uniform, which typically consists of a short skirt and no head covering.
5. The enactment of Law No. 2 of 1989 on the National Education System as the basis for national education. Terbentuknya UU No. 7 tahun 1989 tentang peradilan agama;
6. The existence of the Compilation of Islamic Law (KHI) and
7. Receiving government support for the establishment of Islamic Banks and Muamalah Banks (Huda, 2022b).

### **The Implications of New Order Policies on Islamic Education**

Before the New Order era, Islamic education in Indonesia was often considered an autonomous system, separate from the conventional education framework. Madrasahs and Islamic boarding schools were recognised solely as religious institutions, rather than formal educational institutions. However, the New Order government's measures gradually changed this situation. The government officially recognised madrasahs as an integral component of the Indonesian education system by implementing policies that integrated Islamic education into the national framework. This step was then regulated through Law No. 2 of 1989 concerning the National Education System in Indonesia (Nazifa et al., 2025).

This law grants madrasah graduates the same rights as public school graduates to pursue higher education. Madrasahs are required to have a dual curriculum: a general curriculum set by the Ministry of Education and Culture and a religious curriculum managed by the Ministry of Religious Affairs. As a result, Islamic education has undergone major changes. Madrasahs no longer only teach religious studies, but also general subjects such as mathematics, Indonesian language, and social sciences. This change has had a positive impact. Islamic education has become more modern and open to scientific developments. Madrasahs have also begun to be seen as competitive and high-quality educational institutions that can compete with public schools. Islamic education became an official part of the national education system and was no longer considered second-class. The establishment of many state madrasahs and state Islamic universities (IAIN, now UIN) demonstrated the increased status of Islamic education. The Islamic education curriculum became more modern and systematic with the addition of general subjects such as science, mathematics, and languages. Graduates of Islamic educational institutions became increasingly accepted in the workplace and wider society (Haranti, Meutia Rahmi, & Hudaidah, 2021).

At that time, the national education system policy was based on TAP MPRS No. 27, specifically Article 1, dated 5 July 1966, which emphasised that Religion, Education, and Culture were essential components in National Development and Character Building. The MPRS Decree also mandated that Religious Education was a compulsory basic subject for every student or member of a higher education institution in accordance with their respective beliefs. The article of the MPRS Decree articulates that the

objectives of education are to fulfil the established plans and basic principles necessary to achieve educational goals, specifically 1) To improve morals, character and ethics and strengthen religious beliefs. 2) To improve intelligence and skills in the learning process. 3) To nurture and develop a strong and healthy physique (Anwar et al., 2024).

However, this change also has a negative impact, namely a reduction in the autonomy of Islamic institutions in developing curricula that are more in line with Islamic values. Many madrasah teachers feel constrained by central government policies that limit their creativity in teaching. The independence of Islamic institutions has declined because they must follow the government's system and curriculum. Spiritual values are sometimes diminished because the portion of religious education is reduced to align with the national curriculum. The orientation of education has shifted from character building to administrative achievements and formalities alone..

### **The Impact of New Order Policies on Education**

The New Order's education policy had both positive and negative impacts, including:

#### ***Positive Impact***

1. Equal access to education: Many schools were built, especially in rural areas, through the Inpres Sekolah Dasar (Presidential Instruction) programme.
2. Increased discipline and nationalism: Students were taught the importance of loving their country, obeying the government, and maintaining national unity.
3. Islamic education began to be recognised, with madrasahs and Islamic boarding schools gaining legal status within the national education system through Law No. 2 of 1989 on the national education system.
4. Curriculum integration: General knowledge and religious knowledge began to be combined in madrasahs, marking the beginning of the modernisation of Islamic education. (Aini, 2020).

#### ***Negative Impact***

1. Freedom of thought is restricted: All educational content must be in line with state ideology; criticism of the government is considered dangerous.
2. Standardisation of the curriculum: Schools do not have the freedom to adapt the curriculum to local needs or specific religious values.
3. Political dominance in education: Education functions more as a tool for social and political control than as a means of developing knowledge.
4. Islamic education is strictly monitored: Although recognised, Islamic educational institutions must follow national standards that sometimes reduce the space for in-depth religious learning.

The Long-Term Impact of New Order Education Policy The New Order left an important legacy for the Indonesian education system, particularly Islamic education. On the one hand, the New Order succeeded in expanding access to education and strengthening the position of Islamic education in the national system. Madrasah graduates are now recognised as equivalent to public school graduates, and many IAIN graduates have made significant contributions to the development of the nation. However, on the other hand, an overly bureaucratic and rigid educational culture resulting from centralisation meant that Islamic educational institutions were less accustomed to critical and creative thinking. Many teachers focused more on compliance with rules than on developing students' thinking skills. As a result, after the reform period, the education sector needed time to adjust to a more open and democratic system.

### **CONCLUSION**

This study concludes that education policy during the New Order era (1966–1998) had a significant impact on the direction of national education development, including Islamic education in Indonesia. The New Order government used education as a primary tool to achieve political and economic goals through a centralized and uniform system. The main objectives were to create national stability and ideological unity,

as well as to strengthen public loyalty to the government by instilling the values of Pancasila. This education policy was implemented through the Penataran P4 and Pancasila Moral Education (PMP) programs. Although it succeeded in strengthening the national education system and improving the status of Islamic education, this policy also led to restrictions on freedom of thought and political domination in education, as well as the standardization of learning patterns that did not take into account the diversity of values and needs of students. At this stage, Islamic education tended to be directed to be in line with the Pancasila ideology, rather than based on pure Islamic values. This era shows that even under strict political control, Islamic education experienced significant development and modernization. This experience provides a valuable lesson that future education policies need to balance the ideological goals of the state and academic freedom. The main finding of this article is that the New Order's education policy encouraged the modernization of Islamic education through the integration of national and religious curricula, as well as the formal recognition of madrasahs and Islamic boarding schools as part of the National Education System (SISDIKNAS). The limitation of this study lies in the literature review methodology used, which resulted in a lack of in-depth empirical verification.

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