From Classical to Virtual: Analysis of the Value and Impact of Education Policy Responding to the Covid-19 Pandemic

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Abstract

The Covid-19 pandemic has disrupted various aspects of life. During the coronavirus outbreak, the two most affected essential sectors were the economic and education sectors. This article aims to analyze education policy in Indonesia in response to the global pandemic. This research managed to find that education policy becomes public policy because it is realized to the public directly. In the formulation stage of education policy, the government, in this case, the Ministry of Education, collaborates with multi-stakeholders to ensure the community's fundamental right to obtain an education. However, it was found that education policy does not maximally see the disparity of society, so the community faces various obstacles because the policy is not balanced with the preparation of adequate digital infrastructure. So many people do not enjoy government subsidies. In addition, it can be concluded that national education policy uses an interactive-participatory model that shows collaboration with interested agencies to realize policies in the public domain in education implementation jointly.

Keywords

education policy, pandemics, distance learning.

Introduction

Coronavirus, widely known as Covid-19, became the most phenomenal and monumental virus in the last two years. The virus, which originated in Wuhan city, China, has caused paralysis in many sectors worldwide. Not only in the field of economics but also political correctness related to education is also affected. Learning systems are usually done face-to-face, forced to do learning in their homes or better known as distance learning (Kurniasari et al., 2020).

In Indonesia, Minister of Education and Culture (Mendikbud) Nadiem Anwar Makarim and Minister of Home Affairs Muhammad Tito Karnavian, held a coordination meeting with all regional heads to ensure learning policies during the Covid-19 Pandemic were appropriately implemented in the region.

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The principle of education policy in the Covid-19 pandemic is to prioritize the health and safety of learners, educators, education personnel, families, and the public in general, and consider the growth and development of learners and psychosocial conditions in efforts to fulfill educational services during the Covid-19 pandemic.

The government has issued various policies and initiatives to deal with learning constraints in the Covid-19 pandemic, such as the revision of the Four Ministers' joint decree (SKB) published on August 7, 2020, to adjust learning policies in the current pandemic era. In addition, schools are given the flexibility to choose a curriculum that suits students' learning needs in pandemic times, as stipulated in the Decree of the Minister of Education and Culture related to curriculum in times of emergency (Winata et al., 2021).

Kemendikbud also conducted initiatives to help overcome the obstacles teachers, parents, and children face during distance learning. Considering learning needs, various inputs from experts and organizations, and evaluating the implementation of the Four Ministers' Decree, the government made adjustments related to the implementation of learning in the yellow and green zones that can carry out face-to-face learning with the implementation of rigorous health protocols.

Areas in the orange and red zones are prohibited from face-to-face learning in the education unit and continue *Learning From Home* (BDR). Based on data as of August 23, 2020, from http://covid19.go.id, about 48 percent of learners are still in the red and orange zones. Meanwhile, about 52 percent of learners are in the yellow and green zones (Martoredjo, 2020).

Face-to-face learning decision-making procedures in the yellow and green zones are carried out in stages like the previous SKB. Local authorities, local religious ministry offices, and schools have full authority to determine whether the area or school can start face-to-face learning.

The Minister of Education also emphasized that even if the area is already in the green or yellow zone, and the local government and schools have given permission for face-to-face learning, the final decision is in the parents. If parents do not allow their children to follow face-to-face learning, they continue to learn from home. "*Face-to-face learning in schools in the yellow and green zones is allowed but not required*," said The Minister of Education of Indonesia, Nadiem, on one occasion.

The stage of face-to-face learning of academic units as in the resulting policy is based on color clustering to identify the high level of Covid-19 cases in an area. Di green zone and

yellow zone in the revision of the Four Ministers' Decree is carried out simultaneously at the level of primary and secondary education with consideration of health risks that are not different for the age group at the two levels. Meanwhile, early childhood education programs (PAUD) can start face-to-face learning as early as two months after primary and secondary education (Sari et al., 2020).

Evaluation will always be done to prioritize health and safety. The Department of Education, Provincial or Regency/City Health Office, together with the Head of Education Unit, will continue to coordinate with the task force to accelerate the handling of Covid-19 to monitor the level of Covid-19 risk in the area, primarily its potential in the education process in Indonesia.

In the minister of education and culture rules, asserting that if indicated in unsafe conditions, there are positively confirmed cases of Covid-19 or the level of risk of the region turning orange or red, the education unit must close the educational institution again.

Since March 2020, the Ministry of Education has made adjustments to education policy and provided initiatives and solutions during the Covid-19 pandemic. In March, there was a national exam cancellation; school exams did not need to measure curriculum completion, schools that had not carried out the exam could use the scores of the last five semesters to determine student graduation, PPDB mechanism does not collect students and parents, PPDB achievement path based on accumulated report card scores and other achievements (Purwanto et al., 2017).

During the period March to April 2020, the Ministry of Education conducted education policies, among others, to support the distribution during the pandemic, among others: the provision of free quotas, the reallocation of Higher Education budget of Rp 405 M for State Higher Education Hospitals and Private Universities, reallocation of Cultural budgets of Rp 70 M for Learning from Home activities through TVRI, the launch of The Teacher Sharing (Guru Berbagi) portal, relaxation of the use of BOS and BOP for teacher honor payments, as well as online learning (Winata et al., 2021).

May s.d. In June 2020, the Ministry of Education provided Single Tuition Assistance (UKT) for 410 thousand students, BOS Affirmations, and BOS Performance expanded its coverage to private schools (not just public schools). From July to August 2020, schools in the green and yellow zones were allowed to reopen, other zones were still prohibited, the launch of the curriculum under special conditions, and the provision of learning modules for PAUD and elementary school (Kebudayaan et al., 2020).

The Ministry of Education also provides internet quota subsidy assistance for students, teachers, and lecturers for four months from September to December 2020. The amount of assistance ranging from students 35 GB per month, teachers 42 GB per month, and students and lecturers 50 GB per month. To realize this quota subsidy policy, the hedmaster of education units must complete active learners' mobile phone numbers (mobile phone) through the "dapodik" application before September 11, 2020 (Supriatna, 2020).

The phenomenon of the Covid-19 pandemic that swept across the world indeed resulted in cultural shock in various segments of life. Thus, it is essential to see the extent to which the political policies of education that occurred during the pandemic era were realized in the public interest. This research has contributed that the implementation of education policy should look at existing cultural disparities (Setiawan Rifqi, 2020). Whether distance learning provides solutions or gives birth to new problems? Especially in areas with limited internet networks and community resources that are not ready with all forms of digital devices to implement the policies of the Indonesian minister of education.

Review Literature

The Politics of Education as Public Policy

Instrumentally the Opening of Constitution (UUD) 45 mandates through Article 31, which affirms that education is the right of every citizen. The implication is that the Government is obliged to maintain and organize a national education system regulated through legislation. The principle of balance between rights and obligations in education between the Government and citizens is explicitly illustrated through the above article. The policy results from carefully made top management decisions that contain a set of objectives, principles, and rules that guide an organization; thus, the policy covers the complete instructions of the organization. Therefore, a policy can practically be understood as a government decision, a form of endorsement, and a program that contains output and results (Sutapa, 2008).

The concept of policy elaborates on various components, which boils down to eight policy directions, namely: 1) policy as an affirmation of intent and purpose, 2) policy as a set of agency decisions used to regulate, control, promote, serve, and other influences within the scope of its authority, 3) policy as a guide to discretionary actions, 4) policy as a strategy taken to solve problems, 5) policy as a behavior that is problematic, 6) policy as a norm of behavior with characteristics of consistency, and regularity in some areas of substantive

action, 7) policy as the output of policy-making systems, and 8) policy as a policy-making influence, which points to the understanding of the target audience towards system implementation (Rusdiana, 2015).

Policies are rules that should be followed and should be followed regardless of anyone. The policy is understood as a direction of purposeful action implemented by policy actors in addressing a problem or the affairs concerned. The policy can also be interpreted as decisions taken to be formulated and implemented to realize welfare. Nevertheless, although the existing policy at any time the applicable regulations can be eliminated to some consideration by the competent authorities, this is what is referred to as wisdom (Madjid, 2018).

In the context of the policy study, Hough makes a significant contribution, especially concerning theoretical-consensual issues, in providing a complete policy analysis framework. According to him, a policy can refer to a set of programs, goals, plans, decisions that have implications for the birth of influence, and laws and regulations. Departing from this conceptualization, for example, national examinations are one form of education policy.

National examinations, for example, are sufficient to be categorized as policies because 1) are intended to achieve educational objectives; 2) include an implementation plan, 3) government programs; 4) a set of decisions made by educational institutions and officials; 5) present many influences, consequences, impacts, and consequences; 6) as outlined in various laws and regulations of related institutions (Winata et al., 2021).

Furthermore, linking the study of public policy, mainly education policy, will always talk about education management in a macro way. In principle, education management is the application of management science into the scope of education and is part of applied sciences, especially in education both in schools and outside schools. The principles possessed by education management are no different from the principles that exist in the concept of management in general, as well as the functions of educational management are also a series of concepts from management formulations. The application of management in education is directed at efforts to support the smooth achievement of educational goals, while for the function and strategy of managerial concepts in principle the same as those applied in the scope of management (Yanti, 2020).

The aspect of education that is the study of education management is *public goods,* not *private goods.* In this context, education is public property goods and services, where the public has the right to get education and teaching as mandated by the 1945 Constitution article 31. In addition, the equalization and continuity of education is an

obligation of the government, especially the fundamental role of providing learning opportunities. Because education is a public good, it should be the study of education policy entered in the perspective of public policy in the dimension of multidisciplinary education management studies (Arwildayanto et al., 2018).

In limited and selective application, a quantitative perspective of education policy can increase rationality in the decision-making process in the public sector (including education policy). The public policy aims to composition strategic macro social issues into some of the more operational issues. For example, the problem of educational quality can be composed of several components of problems that are directly related or not, such as teacher quality, student quality, quality of management, quality of education process, quality of infrastructure facilities, quality of teaching process.

Furthermore, policy analysis of each component is carried out thoroughly to produce several policy alternatives that are each estimated to have complementary consequences to solving macro quality problems of education. Each result caused by each part must be organized in the unity of concepts.

Education Policy Formulation

Policies are at least made by several parties, namely: administrators, managers, and politicians who are in their respective positions following their power and authority in the field they hold. The above roles can be spelled out at a glance through the concept below (Hubarat, 2017):

First, the administrator consists of education officials, and the ministry of education is authorized to provide programs that he designed from concepts to practices on the implementation of education. *Second,* the manager is tasked with describing these programs with technical development, namely expert educational designers. *Third,* politicians have the authority to design policies that can realize significant changes in the long-term context that govern programs at the level of political structures in the area where they are organized. *The fourth* legislature, tasked with passing policies that the executive body has formulated. *Fifth,* the interest group that influences policy formulation, although this group does not have the authority by lobbying, hearing, providing intensive information to move the group's interests (Laksana, 2021).

Two things can be elaborated in the analysis of education policy related to formulation efforts: the formulation of education policy problems and education policies. The formulation

of the problem is part of the stage of policy analysis, the formulation of the issue of education policy by proposing a set of actions that are better chosen as an effort to reach an agreement, consensus, compromise, and authorization of arrangements, directions and collective actions that can be accepted together (Rusdiana, 2015). In formulating education policy, policymakers should pay attention to some unique characteristics. The characteristics in question are related to the objectives, legal-formal aspects, and the concept of operationalization, designed by those who have authority, can be evaluated and significantly impact better change.

Result and Discussion

Education in the Midst of a Pandemic

Distance education as an option in implementing education in Indonesia has been in place for a long time. However, this policy only gained a place and was accepted by the public massively during the Pandemic. In this country, it can be seen from March 2020 to 2021 if distance-learning was aimed at a cutting distance for those with geographical problems. So distance learning during the Pandemic was done to avoid crowds while avoiding exposure to the Covid-19 virus (Putra et al., 2020).

The implementation of distance education introduced by the Minister of Education can at least be divided into two categories, namely Distance Learning In-Network (PJJ Online) and Out of Network (Offline). The PJJ Online system combines electronic devices and internet-based technology, so it needs a data package that must be owned for the implementation of learning. While the policy of the PJJ Offline is carried out through television broadcasts, radio, self-study modules, printed materials, and learning media from objects in the surrounding environment. Home learning programs that are continuously broadcast on TVRI are examples of the offline type of PJJ (Robandi et al., 2020).

Nadiem, as an education policymaker in Indonesia is indeed a figure of concern because of his breakthrough in the field of education that can be said to be revolutionary. He made a breakthrough by echoing 2 new policies known as independent learning (Merdeka Belajar) and independent campuses (Kampus Merdeka). The first policy revamps the primary and secondary education system and replaces it with minimum competency assessments and character surveys. While the second related to the independent campus is made to provide various flexibility to universities to articulate their own academic needs that focus on national competence (Indahri, 2020).

Distance learning as part of the educational policy during the Pandemic is based on consideration of situational factors, such as the outbreak of the Covid-19 virus, which forces a person to limit direct interaction. These considerations are used as a basis for passing education that is institutional. These considerations are planning that is used as a guideline for making decisions.

The component of the implementation process in distance learning analytically becomes an obstacle to the process of education implementation is still the lack of understanding of the barriers needed in distance learning. This policy faces obstacles due to the different conditions of each region in the availability of internet access. This reality in the community environment, many experience "rejection and objection" because what happens is not distance learning, but remote assignment. There is no learning process, even parents who feel objected because parents are burdened with many tasks (Laksana, 2021).

This fact requires awareness and understanding with a mature understanding, both by policy makers or policy actors. The maximum needs of implementing educator techniques, thus showing the readiness of implementers who can fundamentally understand the process of implementing activities in general, based on fundamental rules and mechanisms in implementing effective education.

In the implementation of distance education, the need is not only about internet access. However, it also concerns educators' readiness who must be skilled in operationalizing the devices needed in learning through virtual. In addition, the role of parents, communities, and local governments holds an essential position of online-based learning success, and their children's assistance to see television broadcasts at home that the government has prepared as learning instruments (Putra et al., 2020).

From these needs, educational institutions need to sort out the process of organizing distance education activities following each region's needs. This is because the needs in each region of government will be different. This is an obstacle to the development of the distance education process considering the readiness and preparation of educators and mechanism applied less to meet the standards of implementation competence considering the lack of demographic disparity and unbalanced human resources. In addition, the consequences of education have not been standardized from the beginning resulted in a lack of ready implementation of distance education. So that special training is needed for academic units, especially teachers who deal directly with students.

In the implementation of Distance Education, often found obstacles or discrepancies with the learning that should be. Many think the responsibility of teachers in carrying out PJJ is much lighter than with traditional learning. Today the education system faces many problems. The nature of the COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia was transferred to distance education, but the lack of equipment, personnel, resources, and limitations of educational technology and the skills and qualities possessed by teachers are not sufficient (Indahri, 2020). The use of internet media through *e-learning* has considerable constraints, network connections, and technical errors such as server down and errors hindering learning success.

The use of *hypermedia technology* has no added value if it is used only to replace task tasks that use paper over handwriting. At this time of emigrants, many people are not responsible for committing crimes even in education, one of which is the leak of accounts listed in discussion applications and learning support that harms many parties, and the learning process is disrupted. Although Android and web applications as a learning medium can foster interest, motivation, and independence of learning and rapid development, it is challenging to control learning development. Although *educational games* can foster learning interest, the increase in learning success is still tiny and ineffective. In the implementation of education policies during pandemics, a set of rules is needed and needs to prepare the infrastructure to support the implementation of these policies.

Teachers' creativity in providing material through the media is also needed as a factor that influences the interest of students studying in this PJJ. Problems in accepting material concepts and principles will be complex in PJJ learning in the absence of face-to-face. However, the teacher can utilize learning media in the learning process, such as power *points, hyperlinks,* video tutorials, and other internet-based interactive multimedia devices (Putra et al., 2020).

The similarity of Indonesia's situation with other countries in the world must be addressed carefully immediately. Under normal circumstances, there is much inequality between the countries. Under the leadership of Minister Nadiem Makarim, the Ministry of Education echoed the spirit of increased productivity for students to lift job opportunities when they become graduates of a school. Nevertheless, with the presence of a very sudden Covid-19 outbreak, the Indonesian education world needs to follow the flow that can help the condition of schools in an emergency.

Schools need to force themselves to use online media to implement education policies during pandemics and part of distance education (Jamaluddin et al., 2020). However, the use

of technology is not an existing problem. Many problem variances that inhibit the effectiveness of learning with online methods include:

1. Limitations of mastery of information technology by teachers and students in the condition of teachers in Indonesia are not entirely aware of the use of technology; this can be seen from teachers born before the 1980s. Information technology constraints limit them in using online media. Likewise, with students whose conditions are almost the same as teachers who understand the use of technology.

2. Inadequate facilities and infrastructure of technology support devices are expensive. Many in Indonesia are still in a worrying economic condition. The welfare of teachers and students who limit them from all-round is limited in enjoying the information technology facilities and infrastructure needed with the Covid-19 disaster.

3. Internet access is limited because it is still not evenly distributed in the corners of the country. Not all educational institutions, both elementary and secondary schools, can enjoy the internet. If there is even an internet network, the condition is still not able to cover online media.

4. Lack of prepared provision of budget costs is also something that hampers because aspects of the welfare of teachers and students are still far from expectations. When they use internet quotas to meet the needs of online media, they obviously can not afford it. There is a dilemma in using online media when the minister of education gives the spirit of productivity must go, but on the other hand, teacher's and students' financial skills and abilities have not gone in the same direction. The state has not been fully present in facilitating the cost needs in question.

The above independent education (Merdeka Belajar) policy is the answer to stakeholder problems in the implementation of previous policies, but this has not officially been legalized but will be triggered by issuing regulations of the minister of education and culture in the future (Bushera et al., 2011).

The policies produced by the government during the Covid-19 pandemic in the education aspect include:

Policy Aspects	Policy Form
Welfare and Institutional Aspects	Wage subsidy assistance for teachers and non-civil servants
	Flexibility in the use of BOS funds
	Allocation of BOS Affirmations and BOS Performance for Covid-19 assistance in public and private schools most affected by the Covid-19 pandemic
	Internet data quota help
Learning Aspects	Emergency Curriculum

	Teacher Learning Program
	Teacher Sharing Page
	Learning from Home programs on TVRI
	Pandemic-time webinar series

Formulation of Education Policy during a Pandemic

The formulation and implementation of education policy is not *sui generis* and sterile from various external influences. There must be a dynamic that is vulnerable to various influences of political and bureaucratic interests in the process. Starting from the emergence of issues, then developed into public debate through mass media and limited forums, the aspirations are considered by political parties to be articulated and discussed in the legislature to become public policy in the education sector (Schunk, 2012).

After the policy is formulated, ratified, and published in public then implemented, the benchmark of education policy is located in its implementation. The implementation of education policy is the payment so that educational policy formulations can apply in practice. It is good that a formulation can further support the ease of policy implementation (Sutapa, 2008).

The stage of policy implementation becomes crucial because this stage determines the success of a policy. What this government does, is worth exploring by giving rational consideration to education as public policy. First, education policy has an impact on society at large. Second, to implement education, budget allocation is needed for the public that is not small.

Some of the policies produced during the Covid-19 Pandemic in Indonesia related to the implementation of education, including:

1. Circular Letter No. 4 of 2020 on the Implementation of Education Policy in the Emergency Period of The Spread of Coronavirus Disease (Covid19). 2.

2. Circular Letter No. 15 of 2020 on Guidelines for The Implementation of Learning From Home in the Emergency Period of The Spread of Coronavirus Disease (Covid-19).

3. Joint Decision of the Minister of Education and Culture, Minister of Religious Affairs, Minister of Health and Minister of Home Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, Number 01/KB/2020, Number, 516 of 2020, Number HK.03.01/Menkes/363/2020, Number 440-882 of 2020 on Guidance on Learning In

The Academic Year 2020/2021 and The Academic Year 2020/2021 In the Time of Coronavirus Disease Pandemic (Covid-19).

4. Joint Decree of the Minister of Education and Culture, Religious Affairs, Minister of Health, and Minister of Home Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, Number 03/KN/2020, Number 612 of 2020, Number HK.01.09/Menkes/502/2020, Number 119/4536/SJ On Changes to the Joint Decree of the Minister of Education and Culture, Minister of Religion, Minister of Health and Minister of State Affairs, Number 01/Kb/2020, Number 156 of 2020, Number Hk.03.01/Menkes, Number 440-882 of 2020, On Guidance on The Implementation of Learning in the Academic Year 2020/2021 and Academic Year 2020/2021 In The Period of Coronavirus Disease Pandemic 2019 (Covid19)

The above educational policies are formed through four processes: formulation, implementation, performance, and environment. If viewed from this stage, the government has not been maximally in terms of environmental analysis where the policy is applied. The emergence of obstacles and obstacles related to Human Resources and the geographical environment, making public government policy in the education sector, can be said to still "fail."

There are several main reasons why public policy in the education sector above seems still "raw." The mistake from the beginning is that it can be seen from the Ministry of Education and Technology to make BDR into an online PJJ that relies on the internet altogether, even though the digital disparity is vast between countries in Indonesia. This regulation, strengthened by the policy of providing quota assistance to educators and learners. However, unfortunately, the provision of quota assistance is not accompanied by mapping the needs of various quotas (Sari et al., 2020).

In addition, learners from low-income families who do not have gadgets and areas that are not touched by the internet network cannot enjoy the help of internet quotas, and they are still not served by PJJ. This is what then triggers "failure" in dealing with the adverse effects of distance learning that is virtual minded. Education policies created to address PJJ are considered less successful because they are only general and tend to be uniform without seeing such a wide gap. The policy does not utilize the potential that the region can use to overcome the PJJ standoff online.

For this reason, the principal and the informal and non-formal education sector in overcoming PJJ that should be able to be a supporting system are not able to be adequately

managed according to their respective conditions. So teachers who are confused about serving PJJ do not get the government's help, support, and solutions.

Collaborative Model in Education Policy

In explaining education policy in Indonesia during the Pandemic, we cannot forget the contribution of Hough, who has built a basic framework regarding procedural stages in the policy-making process (Laksana, 2021). The framework in question includes: 1) the emergence of issues and the identification of problems; 2) formulation and authorization of policies; 3) policy implementation; 4) and changes or policy stops. These four frameworks are detailed in the context of learning policies during the Pandemic in Indonesia.

At the stage of the emergence of issues and problem identification, the Ministry of Education and Culture invites relevant agencies, such as the ministry of religion and the ministry of home affairs, to diagnose further the problem of the spread of the coronavirus that requires serious attention because it has a direct impact in the education process in Indonesia. Collaborate with the minister of religion as it relates to policies related to madrassas and pesantren. In contrast, it cooperated with the Ministry of Home Affairs because it concerns regional head authorities who have varying disparities regarding differences in the rate of spread of the virus. Identification of these issues requires government attention, activities that have a place in the public agenda, official agendas, and mobilization and initial support for specific strategies (Laksana, 2021).

At the formulation and authorization stage of policy, exploration of various alternatives is carried out. In this context, the government provides options that are immediate, emergency but remain flexible. The learning agenda is carried out by paying attention to the colour of their respective regional zones. The government also prepares distance learning infrastructure, both online and offline. The formulation of a set of actions is carried out to achieve a collective consensus. That is, the level of acceptance of society becomes a fundamental consideration. This formulation is done through legislation, regulatory issues, or the issuance of directives and rules specific to learning during the Covid-19 Pandemic (Putra et al., 2020).

At the implementation stage, an analysis of some instances is carried out, for example, the level of implementation and rejection in the public sphere and the effectiveness of its implementation. At the same time, the development of one or more programs as an alternative is chosen to solve the problem at hand (Purnamasari et al., 2021)..

In addition, at the stage of termination or policy change, termination is done because the problem has been solved, the policy is not successful, or the result is judged undesirable, make fundamental changes based on feedback, or replace specific policies with new policies (Adha et al., 2020).

The second aspect that must be studied in the analysis of education policy is the policy context. This aspect must be done because policies do not appear in nothingness but rather are developed in the context of a particular set of values, pressures, constraints, and specific structural settings. The home study policy responds to the problems of the spread of the Covid-19 virus and the community's needs and aspirations regarding their fundamental right to access to education. Thus, education must continue and beheld even in pandemic circumstances. In addition to preparing a set of infrastructure needed during home learning, the community also enacted public policies (Winata et al., 2021).

The third aspect that must be studied in the analysis of education policy is the policy actor. Educational policy actors can be categorised into two, namely: official actors and unofficial actors. The official perpetrator of education policy is the Minister of Education, namely Nadim Makarim as an individual or institution that legally has responsibilities related to education, namely the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Unofficial education policy actors are individuals or organisations consisting of interest groups, in this context, educational institutions or units (Indahri, 2020).

In official policy actors, it is also divided but follows the state system of government under review, ranging from senior officials to political parties, educational institutions, other institutions related to education, and government bodies. In informal or unofficial actors, there are interest groups, political parties, and mass media. These interest groups include teachers' unions, associations representing certain types or levels of education, associations representing learners, associations representing college leaders, and associations representing learners' parents. Based on all the studies conducted, it is impossible to conclude in general. Nevertheless, sometimes education policies are openly and carefully discontinued, modified, refined, or replaced with other policies (Kurniasari et al., 2020).

Some of the approaches that analysts commonly use to implement policies can be seen from two approaches at once, namely: top-down and bottom-up. The top-down approach is the decline of abstract or macro policy alternatives into concrete or micro-actions. In the process of implementation, the role of government is enormous. In this approach, the

assumptions that enable decision-makers are key actors in successful implementation. *Top-down policies* are strategic and related to state safety, such as policies that prohibit face-to-face learning and crack down firmly on educational institutions that still hold education during pandemics because it concerns the safety of human life.

While the bottom-up approach is based on policies that come from the community, which is sourced from conveying the aspirations of the lower classes of society in the form of requests or support, for example, it concerns people's fundamental rights to get devices that support health protocols, such as masks, hand sanitiser, hand wash, and so on. This aspiration becomes the capital of consideration of stakeholders to refocus the education budget directed to efforts to minimise the spread of the coronavirus.

Policy implementation seeks to encourage people to convey their hopes, the problems faced, including providing opportunities at the bottom level to solve things that are not strategic. Policies are more effective if implemented bottom-up about matters not directly related to *national security,* such as internet quota subsidy policies, BOS budget relocation and education cost-cutting. In implementing education policy, the alternative analysis found in this study that the policy must consider both aspects participatory, meaning it is top-down and bottom-up at once. By combining (mixing) topdown and bottom-up, the government can have full authority in controlling the community so as not to contract the virus outbreak, but on the other hand, pay attention to the community's aspirations that each region has a differentiation of their own needs.

As for knowing the model of implementation of education policy during the Pandemic in Indonesia, it can be a concept, diagram or graph used to explain, explain, and predict elements of a condition of the education problem to improve by conveying recommendations and a series of actions to solve the problem of controversy and grab public attention.

The education policy model is a model of ideal examples of the situations and expectations of the world of reality. Models can also be in the form of simplifying the reality of the facts represented. The model's primary function here is to make it easier to explain the concept of education policy responding to global pandemics. Education policy models in Indonesia can be categorised or called using interactive-participatory models. This means that this model illustrates, makes it easier to explain, the participation of parents of students and the public in the implementation of education during the Pandemic.

The interactive-participatory model in the determination of education policy is linear, meaning that policy implementation is a crucial decision-making phase. In contrast, the

policy implementation phase often receives less attention because it is considered the responsibility of certain parties. The success of the implementation of the policy depends mainly on the ability of the implementing unit. If the implementation of the policy fails, what is often blamed is the implementer (management) because it is considered lacking commitment, so it is considered necessary to make better efforts to increase the institutional capacity of the implementer. In this position, the Task Force that enforces discipline becomes an essential element in realising education policy. Working with police officers and the national army is a smart move to ensure compliance with the policy.

In addition, the interactive-participatory model is seen as a dynamic process, as each party involved in policy implementation can propose changes in various stages of implementation. For example, when the education policy on face-to-face learning, the areas included in PPKM Level one to three can submit to the head of the local area to organise education as it came from. Meanwhile, for those in red zone areas with a high case rate, the government is obliged to prohibit the implementation of education. This is what is meant in this paper: the policy model is participatory because of Indonesia's dynamic and diverse cases.

This means that many parties will analyse and evaluate the various stages of education policy implementation during a pandemic. So that the potential, strengths and weaknesses of each phase of implementation can be known and immediately improved to achieve the goal. As for the overview of the implementation of the interactive-participatory model education policy, it can be seen in figure 1 below:
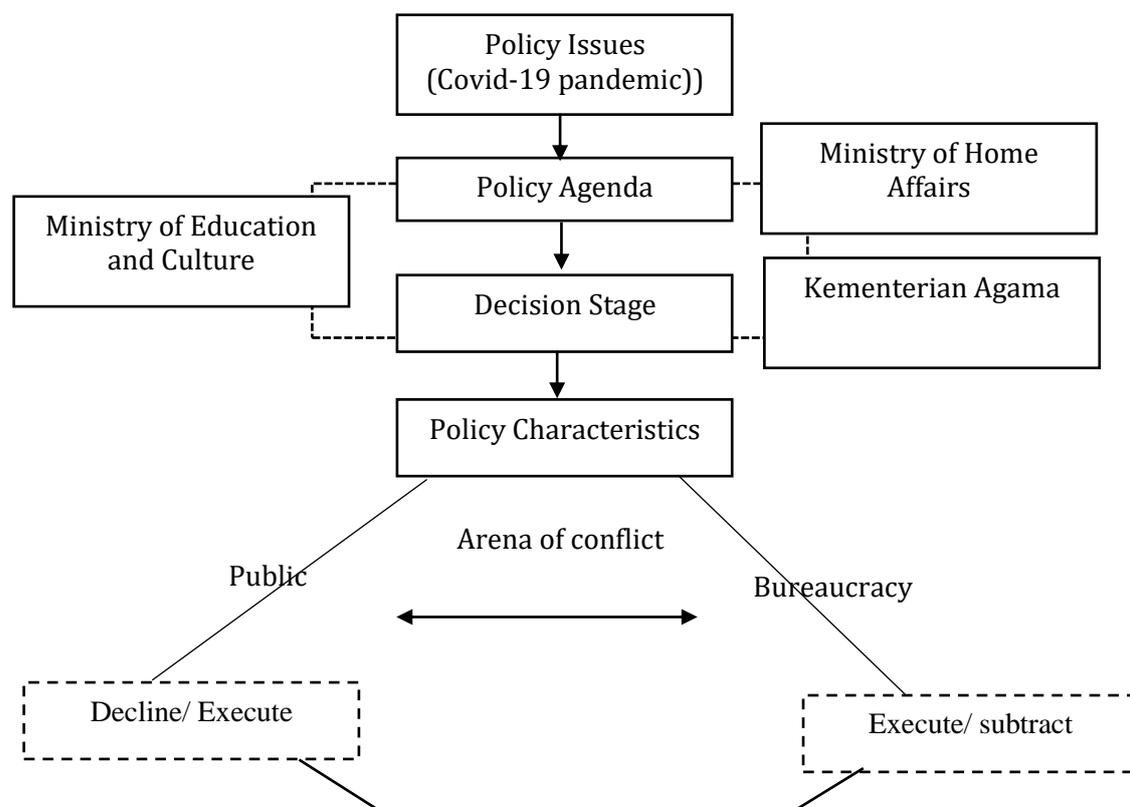
The chart above explains several indicators to assess the quality of policy output, namely: policy issues that become a stepping stone to design a multi-party policy agenda. In the next section, after the policy agenda is made is to conduct the decision stage through a device of legislation and rules that are beneficial so that the characteristics of the policy can be identified when it is realized into the public sphere.

Implementing education policy into general rules can be known more about coverage, bias, access, frequency, *service delivery* (service accuracy), accountability, and conformity of programs with needs. Policy outcomes indicators in this context become very important to measure the results of the implementation of a policy. The results or impact of the policy is related to the change in the condition of the community that is the target group of the policy or program, namely from the initial condition that is not desirable (i.e. related to the fulfilment of the right to access to proper education, safety and health that is guaranteed and minimal steadfastness). This condition then gives birth to a "new habit" towards a new condition that is more desirable.

Conclusion

Online learning systems are recognized as ineffective as face-to-face learning because many things need to be addressed so that the online teaching and learning process can run optimally. Online learning has opened up various educational problems in the country that can be seen in distance learning practices during the pandemic as an education policy in Indonesia. The means of interaction between management and education administration that can be utilized to improve competence, quality, productivity, and access to education become very lame during the educational process running in a virtual space. In addition, the implementation of education policies in the pandemic period also increasingly shows that education development in Indonesia requires support from various parties.

Education as a whole ecosystem that cannot be separated from political policy, technology support capacity, adequate infrastructure, and support from parents/communities must always be built synergistically, balanced and complementary. If not, then education goes without the principle of justice. Without it all, education cannot be optimal in educating the nation's children. The realization of the implementation of the Circular Letter of the Ministry of Education and Culture No. 4 of 2020 is very dependent on various factors, among others; The central government must ensure the availability of a smooth and stable internet

connection and quota subsidies, provision of digital devices and increase digital capacity and minimize access inequality in various regions.

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