

The hegemony behind "Freedom to study on an independent campus (MBKM)": A Gramsci analysis

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Abstrak

Kurikulum MBKM merupakan representasi dari perubahan pendidikan berbasis pertumbuhan industri 4.0. Hegemoni terkait MBKM semakin digalakkan oleh pemerintah dan hampir semua perguruan tinggi menerapkan kurikulum MBKM. Namun, dalam pandangan Gramsci, telah ada kritik yang perlu dipelajari, terutama terkait program MBKM Certified Internship di suatu perusahaan atau industri. Kecenderungan global untuk menekankan keterampilan dan pengaturan output telah membutuhkan transformasi draf kurikulum dasar yang mendalam di seluruh dunia, mulai dari pengajaran, pengetahuan, dan Pendidikan kurikulum baru 'bukanlah proses linier peningkatan homogenisasi tetapi berkembang ke arah yang mengejutkan. Penelitian ini menggunakan metodologi kualitatif. Bentuk penelitian ini diklasifikasikan sebagai penelitian perpustakaan sesuai dengan tujuan penelitian, pertama dengan mendokumentasikan semua hasil yang berkaitan dengan implementasi kebijakan Merdeka Belajar Kampus (MBKM). Tinjau MBKM melalui draf "hegemoni" Gramsci. Hegemoni terjadi ketika proletariats dan mereka yang berada di bawah sudah mengadopsi dan menyalin gaya hidup, filsafat, dan pandangan dunia kelompok elit yang mengendalikan dan mengeksploitasi mereka. Menurut Gramsci, hegemoni akan melahirkan ketundukan, pola pikir yang menerima kondisi tanpa memeriksanya secara kritis. Hal ini dikarenakan ideologi yang diekspos oleh kelas hegemonik hanya dicerna dalam bentuk mentahnya. Kelompok kelas dianggap hegemonik ketika berhasil membangun dan memelihara aliansi dengan kekuatan sosial dan kelas lainnya melalui konflik ideologis dan politik. Jadi Gramsci melihat bahwa MBKM dan merombak sistem pendidikan adalah tujuan hegemonik untuk bertahan hidup kapitalisme.

Kata kunci Kurikulum MBKM, Hegemoni, Pendidikan

Abstract

The MBKM curriculum is a representation of educational changes based on industrial growth 4.0. The hegemony related to MBKM is increasingly being promoted by the government and almost all universities are implementing the MBKM curriculum. However, in Gramsci's view, there has been criticism that needs to be studied, especially regarding the MBKM Certified Internship program in a company or industry. The global tendency to emphasize skills and arrangement output has requires transformation draft deep base curriculum in all over world, start from teaching, knowledge, And Education new curriculum' is not a linear process of increasing homogenization but develops in surprising directions. This research uses qualitative methodology. This form of research is classified as library research in accordance with the research objectives, first by documenting all results related to the implementation of the Campus Independent Learning (MBKM) policy. Review MBKM through draft "hegemony" Gramsci. Hegemony hapen when the proletariat and they Which is at in lower Already adopt and copy style life, philosophy, and the worldview of the elite group that controls and exploits them. According to Gramsci, hegemony will give birth to submission, a mindset that accepts conditions without examining them critically. This is because the ideology exposed by the hegemonic class is only digested in its raw form. A class group is considered hegemonic when it succeeds in establishing and maintaining

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alliances with other social and class forces through ideological and political conflict. So Gramsci saw that MBKM and overhauling the education system were hegemonic goals for survival capitalism.

Keywords MBKM Curriculum, Hegemony, Education

Pendahuluan

The MBKM curriculum reform policy seeks to inspire students to take up the skills necessary for the 21st century workplace or industry and Society 5.0. In today's 5.0 society, which combines individual social demands with technological advances Which can help person overcome difficulty, draft Study independent very relevant. Through the MBKM curriculum, every student has the opportunity to study interdisciplinary topics both inside and outside their academic program and even their institution. Students must complete a minimum of 40 credits outside of study and practice in addition to an additional 20 credits outside their study program, according to the MBKM college curriculum guidebook. Excellence in academic and occupational skills is required of all students. By utilizing the learning system based OBE (Outcome Based Education), curriculum MBKM expected can answering problems caused by technological advances and ensuring graduates concentrate on learning objectives related to scientific fields.

Develop human resources at university and government levels seeks to incorporate MBKM as a curricular innovation. Through planned learning activities that take place both inside and outside the study program, this curriculum provides opportunities for students to express their creativity. In the second and third semesters of college, There is One semester Which dedicated For activity academic besides university. Independent Campus offer various chance Study, between other as apprenticeship or internships outside institutions, volunteering in rural communities, teaching in units teaching, participating in student exchange programs, conducting research, starting new businesses, and freelancing. MBKM aims to improve the soft skills and technical skills of graduates in accordance with the needs of the times in order to prepare graduates to become future leaders of member nations.

The MBKM curriculum is an example of how education has changed in response to Industry 4.0. This MBKM policy is in line with Minister of Education and Culture Regulation Number 3 of 2020, specifically Chapter 15–18 about Standard National Education Tall. MBKM aim so that students capable construct experience Study with various talent complement through the program studies and/or in outside campus (Diswantika 2022). Wrong One draft main from MBKM curriculum is a promotion of the idea of connection and compatibility between the academic curriculum and the workplace. Academic programs and curricula at universities are designed to make students ready to face the world of work. Giving students the right to take part in the MBKM program and transfer credits is one example of how the industrial component of the MBKM curriculum is displayed.

The hegemony related to MBKM is increasingly being promoted by the government and almost all universities are implementing the MBKM curriculum. However, in Gramsci's view, there has been criticism that needs to be studied, especially regarding the MBKM Certified Internship program. in A company or industry. On the side other , student get chance For study in a way direct as well as add creativity student . However , in another view Gramsci saw dasri side company or industry place Where student apprenticeship the . Gramsci judged that MBKM is A mechanism For smoothness Work The same party university And party company . Trend education in Indonesia linked with partial curriculum big influenced by interests class rulers , esp government , accordingly with thesis Gramsci's hegemony . Hegemony , according to Martin Clark, is “ a way

class ruler control the media and education ." As it has been noted , Gramsci refers on activity strength Which Now powerful as well as activity progressive is at in under " hegemony " (Prime 2016).

According to theory social critical , institutional more social wide including politics , economics , culture , ideology , and rhetoric own impact structural on domination (in public). The purpose of theory social critical is For identify reason oppression and for tear down structure unifying social public . Critical theory claim that awareness false human , which is maintained through hegemony (Gramsci) and theory identity , yield system domination . In this scenario, critical theory aims to reveal this false consciousness (Mursidi 2015). Gramsci believed that hegemony and education are interrelated, where every hegemonic relationship must be an educational relationship. Consequently, education plays an important role in any war of position where any counterhegemonic movement must influence the curriculum, restructuring the process education, and encouraging teachers (as part of the intermediaries/pioneers) (Mirshak 2021). In field education, phrase "campus independent Study free (MBKM)" very interesting and deserves further research using the analytical framework of Gramsci's hegemonic theory.

However, MBKM has many advantages that make students more confident in facing the Industrial Revolution 4.0. Some of the programs provided by MBKM include student exchange, internship/work experience, teaching assistance in educational units, research/research, humanitarian initiatives, entrepreneurial ventures, independent studies/projects, and village development/actual work courses. thematic.

Managing the MBKM program in higher education is certainly difficult when there are several study programs that follow the rules of several educational collaboration bodies in each study program unit. The suitability of the curriculum which must be in line with the MBKM program is one of the most basic. While this is going on, each identical study program within the framework of different universities has its own advantages that differ from what they emphasize. Because MBKM now has a greater variety of capabilities than before, it takes more time to study and prepare for different Study Programs. As a result, you can't see what they have to offer, and it seems like they rushed the program. The MBKM program which is said to be present suddenly adds a new layer of complexity to the educational landscape but is not necessarily beneficial. The fact that it is a study program at a university with openness to other universities, in addition to the different networks that work with the program, is the only positive thing in this situation.

Weakness program balanced with the benefits. Wrong One Which most popular is to enroll in a 20-credit program, which is not exactly simple but is considered equivalent to a program apprenticeship Which acknowledged. Student in here No truly finish 100% theory in 20 credits, which concerns the Ministry of Education or higher education (Priyana 2022). Another barrier is the variety of study options available at postsecondary institutions. This is so that not all study programs can be considered the same. And in this area, the Ministry has not provided any guidelines to deal with the current situation. The MBKM program, which essentially switches from the old curriculum to the new curriculum, is very important to promote educational justice. Nevertheless, many people believe that the Establishment Minister was not fully prepared for the program itself, despite the dramatic explosion. It is difficult to say with certainty that SOP control is lacking, especially for the curriculum provided to the Ministry of Education. The Study Program also assesses that the Ministry of National Education's data and outreach are not sufficient to run the program the.

The public has positive and negative opinions about the MBKM program, especially students which has felt impact and own opinion about policy thereof. Therefore, the author is very interested in conducting a study related to the hegemony behind "Freedom to learn on an independent campus (MBKM)": An analysis Gramscian.

Literature Review

Hegemony Theory of Gramsci

Gramsci was not a philosopher who developed theories solely through contemplation; instead, he drew on personal experience, outside observations, and interpretations of political and social realities to understand the socio-political background. Considering the social facts that underlie the formation of Gramsci's theory of hegemony, it is necessary to trace the evolution of the socio-political climate in Italy during the period of Gramsci's life. When Gramsci began his lecture activities in Turin, he first time saw life in a modern city. Turin is a metropolitan city with a luxurious industry, very different from living in a farming town. In addition, Gramsci saw uneven sociopolitical interactions between the urban working class and rural farmers. The struggle between the industrial "North" and the agricultural "South" was underpinned by differences striking.

Gramsci's early exposure to poverty and injustice in the South shaped him into a revolutionary who actively participated in the politics of the Turin struggle. Gramsci was active with militant mass groups in addition to publishing many academic ideas. Gramsci carefully documented all aspects of public Turin and social circumstances. Turin saw an unplanned workers' uprising in August 1917. Workers emerged and surrounded the city core. About 50 workers were killed and hundreds more were imprisoned during four days of rebellion, which showed militancy and revolutionary spirit of extraordinary citizens of Turin. This event had great political significance and left a lasting and especially memorable mark on Gramsci.

The phrase "organic crisis" was coined by the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci to describe a crisis that affects an entire system or order. The organic crisis includes financial, ideological, political and social. In other words, they are inherently crises hegemonic (that is, leadership intellectual and moral), and they often result in a rejection of traditional political ideologies, economic practices, and value systems (Tikly 2022). Being a socialist, Gramsci was somewhat inspired by the political theories of Marx and Engels. The focus of Gramsci's attention was the school of thought known as Classical Marxism, which was created by Marx and Engels and had a tendency to see political institutions as reflections of economic structures. This viewpoint, known as economism, is said to hinder knowledge of the nature of capitalist hegemony and the tactics necessary to overthrow it and advance toward socialism. Lenin sharply criticized Classical Marxism, but Gramsci's ideas corrected the weaknesses in Lenin's critique of Economism. Gramsci (1971) was the first to develop such a concept of 'hegemony' which is normally used in literature theory social. History long drafted hegemony before the Revolution of 1917. However, for the purposes of this analysis, hegemony in Gramsci's conceptualization will be the focus. Here hegemony refers to the way the ruling class maintains power over subordinates with their consent (Flynn 2021). It is outside of Gramsci's work, for example, the use of the term by Lenin and his friends Bolsheviks.

The theory of hegemony is believed to have brought about significant changes and sparked discussion about the theory of social change. After Karl Marx, Antonio Gramsci can be considered as an expert in political theory most significant. The idea which is outside normal about hegemony is

considered a fundamental alternative paradigm to conventional Marxist theory of the base-superstructure paradigm, and is strongly influenced by Hegel's legal philosophy (base-superstructure). His beliefs were seen as a critique and alternative to previous theories and practices of social transformation dominated by classical Marxist economics and class determinism. Gramsci's original hegemonic theory emerged from his prison-based reflections, which were later collected in the book "Selection from The Prisons Notebook," which is often quoted or compared, especially when criticizing development (Kamumu and Tjahjono 2022).

Shift to form government political which combine strength with room. This greater need for democratic debate, representation, and consent is framed by Gramsci's concept of hegemony. Gramsci credits Lenin with developing the concept of hegemony, but Lenin use it in a way exclusive as part from criticism economy and awareness trade unionism in the working class movement and contrast it with building a working class or proletarian moral and political leadership for society as a whole. However, the novelty of Gramsci's expansion of the concept is that he applied it to the bourgeois state as it developed at the end of the 19th century in the advanced sectors of Western capitalism. Here Gramsci changes the Marxist analysis of the bourgeois state (Wayne 2022).

It examines Marx's ideas about the subject of deep-seated bourgeois hegemony in civil society as presented by Marx and Engels in *The German Ideology* and turns them into central issues according to his interpretation of how the capitalist system functions. A sense of certainty gained from living through the period of change from a pre-social and pre-economic state to socialism. About the survival of capitalism as a result of the formation of base and superstructure interests in predicting social change. As a result, Gramsci's ideas were much different from his predecessor, Marx (Ali 2017). There are many approaches to demonstrating the applicability of the Gramscian conceptualization of hegemony to contemporary social work practice. Existing literature, for example, shows that the working class in culture contemporary possible is group which most lots criticize welfare system (Flynn 2021).

A thorough examination of the philosophical foundations of MBKM and the political environment in which MBKM operates reveals that MBKM is primarily intended to accelerate the successful transformation of the secular education system. The commitment is to continuity life civilization capitalist so that need a knife analysis from glass Gramsci's eyes. In reality, MBKM and overhauling the education system are hegemonic goals for the survival of capitalism. This can be seen from two interconnected elements, at least. when secularism becomes the core of global competence goals MBKM education, the position of secularism in the education system becomes stronger. Second, MBKM fully supports knowledge-based economic engineering (KBE), especially the International Student Assessment Program (PISA) in primary and secondary education and World Class University (WCU) in higher education, in order to meet the quality standards of capitalism for the future. system sustainabilit

Curriculum

Four characteristics of the 21st century impact civilization and everyday life. faster tempo. Second, the huge impact on people's daily lives as well as the aesthetic, moral and religious values provided by science and technology. Third, struggle to survive between countries is not only limited to the economic field but also includes a number of other fields, such as culture and ideology. Fourth, it is not impossible the effect of technology can quick delete principles ethics and religion as well as produce system different values from what is currently understood. The growth

of science and technology-based sectors continues to grow fast, although face obstacle globalization, besides role crucial Which they play.

Teachers or lecturers must take the first step towards transformation by switching from pattern learning traditional Which centered on Teacher or lecturer to pattern learning which is student-centered in order to build 21st century learning. Traditional learning style can be described as a learning style when the teacher often talks and students only listen, take notes and memorize more. Another important factor is that the teacher will provide a good example for students (model learner). The 2019 curriculum will be the MBKM (Freedom of Learning) curriculum Campus Merdeka) updated from the 2013 curriculum to reflect the educational needs of the century 21 by the Minister of Education and Culture Nadiem Makarim. Core from education is curriculum. Corner look this shows how importance existence curriculum in context education national because of the curriculum in a way significant influence How education constructed And presented in public (Hidayat 2011). Curriculum is gathering plan And agreement that outlines the objectives, subjects, and resources that will be covered in class, as well as that procedure must followed in compile activity learning For reach objective higher education. Program Curriculum Study Independent - Campus Independent (MBKM) is initiative from the Ministry Education And Culture Republic Indonesia Which endeavor supports students' ability to master various competencies such as: stated in Minister of Education and Culture Regulation Number 3 Year 2020 about Standard National Education Tall (Susetyo 2020).

According to Munandar, the curriculum is a map that can be used as a compass in the teaching and learning process, regardless of how educators teach, but this does not rule out possibilities that curriculum is step concrete in form character And attitude. student. The curriculum can be considered as a collection or system of plans and arrangements of educational resources that serves as a guide for teaching and learning activities. All parties who interested And direct bound with function curricular, by Because That must understand it. The curriculum used needs to be known by all parties, including the government through schools and education services, parents, teachers and students who implement the curriculum (Yulianto 2022)

Indonesia is not the only large country that has carried out curriculum revisions and curriculum improvements. Many jurisdictions have changed their curriculum creation processes recently from an iterative approach to a more or less continuous approach. In addition, many jurisdictions that never used (or had abandoned) state-based curriculum instruments began (re)introducing formal curriculum documents to organize the work of their schools. England was the first, and most dramatic, of these cases with its implementation of the National Curriculum in 1991. Forty-three US states (out of 50) have adopted the federally sponsored Common Core State Standards for English language arts and mathematics as the basis for the new chapter. state-based intensive curriculum development (Westbury et al. 2016).

The global trend to emphasize skills and output regulation has entailed transformation draft base in curriculum in all over world, start from teaching, knowledge and Education's new curriculum is not a linear process of increasing homogenization but is developing in surprising directions. The combination of externalization efforts to the 'outside' (e.g. policy-lending) and past history (e.g. as 'retrotopia') results in the emergence shapes education new Which creative, possible system For continuing its own autopoiesis. Making curricula in various countries and nations with its local possibilities will be seen to increasingly adapt to the (teleological) process of global standardization, driven by the power of transnational organizations. In this picture, the

emergence of education is based results, looks real And No can avoided, supported by system measurement large scale such as PISA (Hilt and Riese 2022).

Like laws, curricula, on the one hand, are binding norms that need to be followed, but on the other hand they continue to be contested and become the subject of discussion. Contestation between actual norms (facticity) and the moral and ethical basis of norms (validity), as conceptualized in theory discourse law Habermas, materialized in discussion about fill and curriculum objectives (Säily et al. 2021) Curriculum is very important in the world of education not only in Indonesia but in various country world Also very notice curriculum, With the help of the curriculum, you can find out where the training objectives are implemented. In short, as part of the school, can know which direction you will get at this school. Therefore, a legal curriculum is mandatory in every institution education. Educational foundations, curricular theory, and Didactics have come under fire within the framework of this change for not contributing to what is considered the primary goal of educational activity, which for many governments is increasingly centered on measurable educational outcomes. German, for example, experience shock PISA on years beginning century 21st as consequence of the surprising discovery that many young Germans do not show very high levels of math and English proficiency in the PISA exam (Hordern, Muller, and Deng 2021).

The government continues to move forward by changing education policies in order to improve the quality of education in Indonesia and carry out the moral mandate of the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution for the administration of government. In fact, the Indonesian government has traditionally paid more attention to the education industry. This is demonstrated by the implementation of a number of government policies in the education sector, including the establishment of compulsory education programs, the provision of scholarships for underprivileged communities, and initiatives to increase the level of education, as well as the allocation of 20% of the state budget. budget for this area. However , question mainly is Where to direction education Indonesia moment This And Why Still Far left behind from other countries in the world (Mustagfiroh 2020).

The role of curriculum in progress education , both in Indonesia and in the world, is very important important . Of course , the curriculum in each country is different based on objective each other's education . Curriculum can used For determine How objective education implemented . Direction learning Which will allowed in school will known within the boundaries of the institution . A legal curriculum should be present in every educational setting for this reason. There have been several curriculum changes in Indonesia. The Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology has released a new policy regarding the Indonesian education system (Kemendikbudristek). The new guidelines that control the teaching and learning process are known as curriculum. So, to address this, Nadiem Anwar Makarim, Minister of Education, Culture, Research and Technology (Kemendikbudristek), founded Merdeka Belajar. Two principles, "Free to Learn" and "Independent Campus", form the MBKM curriculum. Learning freely allows for creative thinking and discovery. On the other hand, independent campuses are a development of independent college study programs tall.

Education must be positioned as a subject in its own right to provide solid professional educational knowledge that can influence practice and foster growth education. With understanding Which clear about What That education, field this study focused on themes Which related with practice, world education Which actually, and schooling. It must create its own

original body of theory, which must build on, be enlightened by, and encompass theories from the basic sciences and allied domains (Deng 2021).

Freedom to Learn

Nadiem Anwar Makarim, Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia (Kemendikbud RI), has introduced a new policy initiative called Merdeka Belajar. Nadiem Have reason Good For set policy Study independent. Matter This caused Indonesian students' evaluation results only ranked sixth from the bottom; in the field of mathematics and literacy, Indonesia is in 74th position out of 79 countries, according to the 2019 Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) research. In response to this, Nadiem also took steps to determine minimum competencies, which included a survey of character, reading, and counting (Mustagfiroh 2020). Transformation education with policy learning independent is a step going to achievement talent superior Indonesia with profile student Pancasila.

World Economics stated Forum in 2016 that students in the twenty-first century should have 16 competencies. Literacy, Competency and Character are the three main categories into which these 16 talents fall. In addition, students need to be prepared to face changes in social culture, place Work, sector corporation, And progress technology Which fast. By Because That, New literacy and directed orientation in the field of education must be prepared by every educational institution. By considering quality, independent learning frees teachers to design teaching Which highlight concepts key And make results Study deeper, richer, and more meaningful. Students are assisted in developing character and Pancasila Student Profile competencies within themselves through project activities which are arranged according to stages and are relevant to environmental conditions. School administrators must pay attention to student characteristics, school potential, and regional potential in developing the curriculum in their classes (Rahmadayanti and Hartoyo 2022). The entire personality is formed through the acquisition of information and experience without being subjected to oppression or exploitation, which results in changes in behavior. For learning to be of higher quality, freedom to learn must be translated into educational policies and motivated by joy. Apart from that , the Indonesian government and society need it understand basics learning independent . Understanding desired education the Indonesian people can used For learn essence Study independent (Pangestu and Rochmat 2021).

Implementation Merdeka, Indonesia curriculum is expected can capable produce Superior Human Resources in various field in the future . By giving freedom to student For can choose material Which they want. According to Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology (Kemendikbudristek), the independent curriculum is broad freedom for students in learning material. By preparing student become Source Power Man superior And competent can more freely in choosing teaching methods and tools in the learning process. To support the implementation of the Merdeka Curriculum, with the implementation of the Merdeka Curriculum there are schools or teachers who are not yet familiar with it, with that the educational unit can adapt to the school's capabilities, from education staff to students.

According to Freire, freedom functions as a means of humanization and is the heart of education. According to Freire, the basic idea of man is self-mastery, which makes him autonomous in meaning free think, creative, And innovate whatever Which he Like. Idea learn to be independent Which pioneered by Minister of Education and Culture And Higher Education Nadiem Makariem related with vision Freire to liberate education. This idea explains that

educational or teaching activities No walk in a way linear; but, besides accept information from Teacher, student also have the opportunity to debate about what they have learned (Wulandari and Fauziati 2022).

Understandings of practice are also transformed by engaging analytical approaches that link ideas of structure and agency and seek to explain how small-scale social arrangements and structures influence larger ones. Teachers can do more control over their own work and profession by developing a deeper and more nuanced understanding of the nature of educational practice. They can also collaborate with academic and other educators to convince governments and the general public that they (as a large group of educators) should decide on a “regional” knowledge base and determine what constitutes acceptable competency (Barrett and Hordern 2021).

There are three possible decisions that educational institutions can take regarding the implementation of the independent learning curriculum in the 2022–2023 school year. First, some Independent Curriculum concepts will be used while leaving others in place. Second, implementing the Independent Curriculum using prepared teaching materials. The third step is the distribution of a customized curriculum and the creation of unique teaching materials. Curriculum Independent offer a number benefit. Curriculum more deep And more easy, among other benefits. The Independent Curriculum emphasizes developing students' talents according to their phase and conveying basic information. more in-depth, focused and relaxed study (Arisanti 2022).

Through the publication of a Circular regarding the Procurement of Independent Curriculum Books by Director General of Early Childhood Education, Basic Education and Secondary Education, Ministry of Education and Culture, Ministry of Education and Culture has begun to socialize the availability Curriculum Free book. Procurement book text Curriculum Free in school implementation is carried out through the School Procurement Information System (SIPLah) mechanism, with orders from specified providers, as explained in Circular Letter Number 2802/C/LK.00.03/2022, dated 7 April 2020. 2022, addressed to the Head of the Provincial Education Office and Heads of Regency/City Education Services throughout Indonesia. Until last April, schools were going through purchasing procedures; those who do not take part in the new driving school program starting in May (Arifa 2022) Until May 8 2022, as many as 143,265 educational institutions affiliated with the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Ministry of Religion have registered to use the Independent Curriculum independently. Gradually a decree has been issued requiring educational units to implement IKM stage 1. There are 35,334 educational units in the independent learning category, 59,429 in the Mandiri changed, and 3,607 for the Mandiri Sharing category (kemdikbud.go.id, November 15 2022).



Figure 1. Implementation Location Curriculum independence in Indonesia Source : (kemdikbud , 2022. <https://kurikulum.gtk.kemdikbud.go.id/>)

Methods

Approach used in study This is qualitative. In accordance with objective research that includes First take notes all related outcomes with implementation rule Learning Independent Campus (MBKM), type study This categorized as study bibliography. use Gramsci's idea of "hegemony" for analyze MBKM later disclose criticism to discourse previously about capitalism education at MBKM is based on findings study .

Besides that, Approach Which used is study literature. For gather data, various source Internet references are searched with use the term "Freedom to Learn", " campus independent ", and " curriculum ". Indonesian and English used in the data collection process with source online information (Vhalery , Setyastanto , and Leksono 2022).

Result and Discussion

In reality, MBKM and overhauling the education system are hegemonic goals for the survival of capitalism. This Freedom of Learning, especially in academic circles, Independent Campus (MBKM) or Independent Learning, Independent Campus, is very popular. He does this while gradually exposing the shame of capitalism's failures, especially how the secular education system provides a future for young people and this nation. In December 2019 and January 2020, respectively, Merdeka Belajar and Kampus Merdeka were introduced. Apart from the essence of revision (draft) of the 2003 National Education System Law , is a priority agenda government For education even forerunner will plan road Indonesian education 2020–2035. That means, MBKM is not it only technical programs in each episode or overall. Merdeka Belajar or MBKM is defined as "policy government For give independence to student For follow process learning in outside program studies or the campus during maximum three semesters" in book Campus Independent Learning guidelines Mandiri (MBKM) published by the Ministry of Education and Culture and Culture in 2021. The idea is for children to experience learning in a new environment. Of course, learning takes place in different environments.

Students involved in independent learning are expected to have abilities such as: solution problem, think critical, Work team, communication, empathy, And caring to the environment. All are included in the soft skills category. He is required to fulfill the hard skills (competencies) he obtained in accordance with the study plan. College graduates become superior humans who are competitive, tough, agile and adaptive by combining these two talents. As a result, they are prepared to survive in an ever-changing and dynamic environment. The types of activities are also different. Starting with student exchanges, internships, business ventures, research, autonomous projects, classroom teaching, charity efforts, and village service. Apart from that , one student own choice For attend House or college tall foreign . Related with MBKM policy , proven that this strategy contribute to a sustainable process For reproduce skills worker skilled For keep capitalism in check No reproduced . Learned knowledge and skills through system Independent Campus at last addressed For serve demands and interests capitalist, sure graduate of education tall competent and ready face the world Work.

The expression ' education ' is frequent terms used in a way alternate with two ideas This previously used by Ki Beat it Dewantara For against practice education colonial . However as do we see , the MBKM program reduces education until create power Work , Which contradictory with intention beginning Ki Beat it Dewantara . Thinking H. Mohammad Hatta emphasized that the academic community college tall must own ability intellectual , moral integrity , and

commitment to public become runway vision ideal education for Indonesia. College height is also necessary educate his students How uphold tall courtesy society , become leader intellectual , and growing Spirit unity . There are dominating forces and interests that provide influence behind related state policies with education based on two theories main that is theory hegemony from Antonio Gramsci and Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) from Louis Althusser. Country, actor capitalist , And player industry regional And international is a number of factor the .

PTN (college state universities) and PTS (college tall private) is given ability For create a study program new as policy first to regulate (study program). System accreditation covered in governance policies second . Governance policy key third : Unit Work (Satker) and Public Service PTN (BLU) are permitted become a Legal Entity PTN (BH). Right to follow eye study outside the study program and changes definition unit Semester credits are regulated in policy fourth principal (SKS) (Rachmat , Hartono 2022). Program reaccreditation , capability student For take eye studying outside the study program he/ she is pursuing , opening a study program new , and freedom college body height Services (PT BLU) and work units (Satker) become college tall or legal entity is four policy pillars campus independent . often called PTN BH. There are two of four points Which need more Lots thinking And discussion . The reason is , without exists mature discussion , policy the will change definition college high and raise cost education tall .

The first concerns student internships and the practicalities of universities becoming legal organizations. One of the ways the government has implemented to gradually reduce school costs is to make it easier to change legal entities. State Universities (PT BLU) and Public Service Agency Work Units (Satker) becoming legal entity universities is a simple option that the government can take to reduce education subsidies to related universities. Legal entities are almost always associated with costs or funding For education public. Government delete subsidy in a way gradually. Decreasing government support for education and changes in legal entities will causes universities to concentrate on two things. introducing new academic programs (prodi) for graduates is

Second, remaining government aid for education would burden the general economy if cut. Because universities will raise tuition fees to survive. The relationship between universities is reduced to producers and customers. Submission of bargains to the market. The term for this is educational capitalism. Universities will simply turn into factories that create labor reserves for businesses under this strategy. And, in any case, think that higher education has an important purpose for society that goes beyond just discussing jobs and business. According to Dan, if the higher education framework is only summarized according to market needs and is always linked to industry, it will only limit the function of the campus itself. In the Tri Dharma of Higher Education, there are two things (goals of higher education) that we all agree on. The first is to increase the human resource base, and the second is to create new knowledge.

So, according to Gramsci's perspective, through the theory of hegemony, it is believed to have brought about significant changes and triggered discussions about the theory of social change. His extraordinary idea of hegemony is considered a fundamental alternative paradigm for an apprenticeship policy at the Merdeka Campus which is the second topic highlighted. Likewise, if apprenticeships are not to be interpreted as a means of replenishing labor reserves, we must agree on that point. Dan said that the students had not been able to answer these questions in previous sessions. The Minister explained that the background was to discuss its connection with the commercial or industrial sector and compare it with the unemployment rate among students. And Satriana No agree with reason need For fulfil need industry . If the government 's worldview

We true and college tall Still must depending on the business , then will left behind in development knowledge pure . Not all knowledge is directly related with the commercial or industrial sector. But that information is necessary for future progress. Not all pure scientific disciplines, such as physics, chemistry, astronomy and anthropology, can compete with industry in the near future. Apart from that, according to Gramsci, from the hegemony of MBKM, especially the internship program, there is a concept of knowledge-based economy (KBE) and MBKM policies will not be separated. In the MBKM strategy promoted by the capitalist system, KBE on campus has established its position as a strong slogan. Economic growth is based on education. The presence of young people in college or on campus seems to be only become a pillar development industry Which considered important For prosperity economy. With say On the other hand, young people develop into workers or potential employees. Collaboration between universities and businesses that have industrial land on campus is quite smooth.

Students' thinking is dwarfed by the MBKM mantra which is a product of capitalism. The rapid industrialization of education frees young people to face reality without feeling obliged to participate in various solutions difficulties in their daily lives. The MBKM program is currently in its 22nd episode, attended by 123,000 students from 2,600 institutions in Indonesia and giving them access to more than 2,700 corporate partners for learning opportunities. However, the journey of MBKM's mantra does not match its unworthy goals. In reality , there is a gap unemployment intellectual the more wide along with the more many generation young Which passed. Role ideal of the people young apparently suddenly disappears , replaced by a state of nothingness surrender and loss Power competitive in life .

His height number unemployment educated in society moment This No simply consequence from system education which is allegedly static, is not creative and dynamic so that imposing a " campus " program independent ". In reality , the neoliberal system is implemented by the government this is what causes it happen unemployment open . With system all of these industry commercialized , and Indonesia connected with the WTO, it is possible entry power Work foreign in amount big . However, the govt No truly endeavor For create field Work for public . Apart from that, school only push thinking practical and thoughtful worker; That No push innovation creative social.

Power No only concentrated on countries, as shown by Gramsci's idea of an integrated state . Because of the relationship is How power understood , bond social in public civil is also a example from connection power . Draft Outlook Gramsci about power so that through analysis the according to Gramsci in A policy called MBKM (Free Independent Learning Campus) was created For help student develop ability software and technical they . However, education, especially higher education, is increasingly irregular rather than improving students' abilities. Because if you see return demands business and industry, You will see that they dictate course of education. Every student must be given the opportunity to develop a work attitude in college.

Conclusion

Theory of hegemony is developed through experience, observation and interpretation of events social and political Which happen during And near with life Gramsci, No only through contemplation. Gramsci recorded his observations, analyses, and experiences in notes from the time of his imprisonment until his death. The key information used to develop the theory of hegemony is experiences from infancy to maturity, very active participation in global politics, party organizations, and movements. laborer.

Hegemony occurs when the proletariat and those at the bottom have adopted And copy style life, philosophy, And view world group elite Which master and exploit they. According to Gramsci, hegemony will give birth to submission, pattern thought that accepts conditions without examining them again critically. This is because the ideology exposed by the hegemonic class is only digested raw. A class group is considered hegemonic when it succeeds in establishing and maintaining alliances with other social and class forces through ideological and political conflict. So Gramsci saw that MBKM and overhauling the education system were hegemonic goals for survival capitalism.

Apart from that, according to Gramsci, from the hegemony of MBKM, especially the internship program, there is a concept of knowledge-based economy (KBE) and MBKM policies will not be separated. In the MBKM strategy promoted by the capitalist system, KBE on campus has established its position as a strong slogan. Economic growth is based on education. The presence of young people in college or on campus seems to be only become a pillar development industry Which considered important For prosperity economy. With say On the other hand, young people develop into workers or potential employees. Collaboration between universities and businesses that have industrial land on campus is quite smooth.

Period transition socialism will arrive when capitalism has reach peak and the hegemonic system is in a state of collapse. However, revolution and transition can only occur when the proletariat is sufficiently aware of its situation and is able to organize internally to decide What Which must done furthermore. During class bourgeois Keep going exerting its hegemonic control over the proletariat, a radical labor movement to challenge this hegemony and bring about a revolution will not succeed.

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