

Hegemony of Independent Campus Learning (Antonio Gramsci's Hegemony Study in the Indonesia Education System)

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INFO ARTIKEL	ABSTRAK
<p><i>Article History:</i> Accepted: February 20, 2024 Revised: March 29, 2024 Approved: May 19, 2024 Available Online: June 24, 2024</p> <p><i>Kata Kunci:</i> <i>Antonio Gramsci's hegemony</i> <i>Historically Indonesian</i> <i>Education</i> <i>MBKM Capitalists</i> <i>Educational Identity Crisis</i> <i>Reflections on National</i> <i>Education</i></p>	<p>Freire once revealed how education could liberate with the essence of "free"; truly "free". The existence of opportunities, challenges and demands continues to grow, especially for outsider students whose numbers continue to increase from year to year and need to be reviewed by the government. Through the MBKM, the government as the highest political society holder becomes an agent capable of making elements within it to submit and obey any policy made. The objective of the research is to explore the MBKM program that is proposed as a way out of the educational problem that has long been considered not to be able to meet the needs of the post-graduate student industry and titles as a Bachelor's. The goal of the researchers is to critically uncover and analyze the intellectual agents in the education system that dominate the element of the College through the practice of MBKM. The research method uses qualitative descriptive methods by borrowing the concept of Gramsci that produces descriptive data in the form of written and oral words of people and observable behavior. The results of the research show that the MBKM is an extension of the political practice of the state that is playing its role of power. MBKM is a neo-liberalization of education because the role of the state is increasingly diminishing and replacing with the private role. Students are no longer expected to contribute to the self-development or intellectuality of the nation, but what is important is to serve the private.</p>

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1. Introduction

Education is a citizen's right that becomes a public affair and the interest of all. Individually, education is necessary for developing both the external and internal potentials of individuals. Socially, education is required for the development of society. And nationally, education is needed to drive the progress and productivity of the nation socially, economically, politically, and culturally (Iriantara, 2013). It becomes ironic when education in schools is nothing more than an advertising bureau that systematically injects a false consciousness that education conducted by schools is the way to progress. In the book "Deschooling Society" (1971), Illich also explains that schools are nothing more than advertising agents that make everyone believe that we need society as it is and produce "needs" to the society, convincing them that society greatly needs schools (Ura & Sudirgo, 2022, p. 63). Education is fundamentally inseparable from political elements. Formality, institutionalization, and full management intervention by the government are "voiced" in the "hidden curriculum" which seems to be the curriculum and the hope of society burdened upon schools, whereas it is actually a false manifestation of a political policy that distances society from learning in the true sense. The

institutionalization of educational institutions strengthens the power of state institutions and weakens the academics within (teachers, students), as well as society. The important narrative of schools as spaces for nurturing knowledge, skills, and values for the progress of individuals and society ultimately becomes an empty vessel. Educational institutions never promise job opportunities or prosperous lives for their participants, but continuous indoctrination that roots deeply, making everyone believe that "if you go to school, you will succeed" (Ura & Sudirgo, 2022, p. 64).

National education from primary to tertiary levels experiences symptoms of capitalism, privatization, and liberalization post-political reform on May 21, 1998, coinciding with the fall of the Soeharto regime. The "hand" working behind it is so subtle that it is imperceptible, but suddenly makes education exclusive and inaccessible to those from poor backgrounds. It is not easily deciphered by the public because it operates silently and piggybacks on the pro-democracy movement by activists, thus giving the impression that it is always in good condition. The specific context discussed here also involves State Universities that were initially accessible to any group, as long as they passed the selection, suddenly becoming accessible only to those with financial means. State Universities become commodities traded or capitalized upon (Darmaningtyas et al., 2014, p. 1). The stern face of globalization is inseparable from the ideology of neoliberalism, which refers to the political economic philosophy that rejects government intervention in economic activities. The educational philosophy, which essentially transforms individuals from ignorance to knowledge, from incapability to capability, shifts to seemingly obliging the preparation of Human Resources ready (to be squeezed) into the workforce. Education should ideally make individuals better than before, where obtaining a diploma and a job suitable to one's aspirations and graduation profile is a bonus. When employment becomes the ultimate goal that must be achieved, educational plans no longer aim at enlightening but at producing laborers, not workers, let alone pioneers. The weakness in our governance is always taking everything in fragmented forms. What Freire advocates is how education should liberate with the essence of true "freedom". Digging deeper, the government sees that opportunities, challenges, and evolving demands are necessary, especially for the outputs of students, whose numbers increase from year to year. Students are required to possess both soft and hard skills to be suitable for the industrial world, job market, and a future full of competition. Therefore, educational institutions, including universities, are required to innovate in conducting teaching and learning processes covering attitude, knowledge, and skills aspects to be optimal and relevant (ASPIKOM, 2022).

Through MBKM, the government as the highest holder of political society becomes an agent capable of making elements within it obedient to every policy made. This attitude arises from accepting the situation without critically questioning anything further. Upper-class ideologies are swallowed wholeheartedly (Asrida et al., 2021, p. 134). Ultimately, MBKM simply aims to seek knowledge in different disciplines in an effort responsive to demands, challenges, technological advancements, and the job market and business world, demanding every campus to continuously improve the quality of education and graduates to have strong competitiveness with external parties (ASPIKOM, 2022). The MBKM program implemented in the millennial era is intended to address the challenges of the times and is considered a way out of educational problems. Humans cannot rely solely on the process of technological modernization. Education should warn humans of the dangers of the times and provide the strength to face these dangers; education should not make us surrender obediently to the decisions of others (Directorate General of Higher Education, 2020:2). Ki Hadjar Dewantara once mentioned "freedom in learning," which means rejecting educational practices that rely on violence. This violence is not only physical and verbal but also when someone is not given the opportunity to develop their talents, it also becomes a form of violence. Talent becomes the key

point that educators must pay attention to. Providing encouragement and strengthening while still limiting control so that human hope remains intact is the teacher's duty to the student. The need for talent development must be fulfilled by teachers, where children also feel "free". According to Ki Priyo, MBKM promoted by Nadiem Makarim makes the word "freedom" too subjective and tends to be wild. From the issues and data presented above, the researcher is interested in conducting research to further analyze how intellectual agents in the education system hegemonize elements of higher education through the practice of MBKM. Therefore, the researcher is interested in adopting the research title "Autonomous Learning Hegemony in Free Campus (A Study of Antonio Gramsci's Hegemony within the National Education System)".

2. Method

The researcher employs a qualitative descriptive research method, utilizing Gramsci's concept to complete the study. The main point of this method is to uncover elements that conceal the inhuman reality within the consciousness and thoughts of modern humans. The objectivity of Marx existing is considered erroneous or false because it is driven by the interests of one's own class or group. Critical theory advances by also critiquing science, economics, sociology, technology, psychology, and philosophy. All of these are criticized for their inability to see the dehumanization or alienation of modernization from the status quo (Napitupulu, 2022, p. 61). The data and sources of the researcher are focused on discussing the topic of social communication. With a deep understanding of interviews, the researcher will examine subjects aware that MBKM is not as pure a project as it seems. The first key informant is a Representative of DIKTI as the macro level, who is the policy owner of MBKM. The researcher will conduct in-depth interviews both pre and post-MBKM implementation. The second key informant is a Representative of Educational Institutions. At the meso level, the researcher is expected to meet the highest representative as a stakeholder, up to field agents, namely lecturers as the forefront of Higher Education. Critical research requires informants as complements to data because the interpretation and reasoning of the researcher play a much more significant role. Literature review from previous research and relevant books or journals is one of the data sources considered. Not detached from historicity, this research is also closely related to previous phenomena.

In the implementation of the research, data collection will be conducted through interviews also referring to the categories of critical approach elements. The activities performed correspond to the four elements: (1) Dialectical Element: conducting interviews with educational observers who have experienced, observed, and analyzed the development of the national education system in Indonesia over time; (2) Historical Element: interviews are conducted to construct people, organizations, events, activities, motivations, demands, concerns, future hopes, verification, changes, and expansion of information from different sources; (3) Teleological Element: the researcher discovers and excavates critical data and information especially regarding issues of freedom. Not only from the informant, but also data and information about the commodification process are required; (4) Theory-Practice Integration Element: the researcher pragmatically compiles advocacy steps with organizational data sources in activities of ethics, morality, social politics, justice, and humanity. The research conducted employs narrative analysis method related to the sequence of events (historical-comparative) and used in anthropology, archaeology, history, linguistics, literary criticism, political science, psychology, and sociology. Narrative analysis is a type of historical writing that tells a story and a type of qualitative data analysis by presenting a chain of events chronologically, where individual or collective social actors play a significant role (Neuman, 2014, p. 494). The researcher utilizes the historical contingency analysis tool in analyzing the Implementation of MBKM with an emphasis on Gramsci's theory.

3. Result & Discussion

Critical Analysis of the Crisis of Educational Philosophy within MBKM

Educational philosophy and the social mission of higher education institutions entail a commitment to society. Education is a right of citizens and a duty of the state to fulfill indiscriminately. The best education occurs when the education provider can develop and utilize their abilities for the benefit of others or society as a whole. In Ki Hadjar Dewantara's philosophy, the distinction between a teacher and an educator is presented. What needs to be fulfilled are educational or spiritual aspects such as autonomy of thought and decision-making, dignity, and democratic mentality. If capable of shaping individuals in this manner, education has truly succeeded. What is essential to shape is an independent individual willing to undergo a lengthy process to achieve goals through hard work. Education never hopes to produce instant generations. Indonesia already possesses the strength of Pancasila, which unfortunately is not realized as a foundation for education. What often occurs is that education is nothing more than a manifestation of perpetuating social disparities. The wealthy and affluent will have better values and jobs; the poor will struggle to catch up as they sink further in terms of cognition, material, and even fate. Opportunities for experiencing education and a more decent life seem closed off due to the cultural tradition of prioritizing the rich over the poor. Education needs to foster trust and self-development in every individual through the patterns of educate, cultivate, nurture. Education must not erase the uniqueness and personality of each student. MBKM is one of the hurdles that obstruct the realization of this educational ideal because ultimately it homogenizes the abilities of students based solely on quantitative numerical reports far from humanistic accuracy. This also results in high intellectuality eroding the morality of today's youth. They are born in an era of despair and government incapacity to create beneficial educational beings. Coupled with a government claimed to be the most advanced, ultimately grappling with the mass production of robots for the industry.

This courage should also be supported and nurtured within university environments so that students can also become agents of change and not merely recipients. Thus far, students have been invited only to accept rules and policies without ever being engaged in discussion or direct involvement in any issues. On the other hand, universities also never serve as examples and tend to simply comply with the government. What is mostly dealt with, in the end, are formalities such as irrelevant documents to political activities. It's ironic when PTs with their leading programs teach Political Communication, yet freedom of speech is stifled. Referring to Freire, it is seen that MBKM does not actually provide liberation to students. Freire's logic prioritizes the development of a child from within the child according to their potential and needs; whereas MBKM is born not from the students themselves but from industry needs (link and match). MBKM should prioritize creativity and learning new things, not reinforce bureaucratization through vocationalizing higher education. Students are urged to be free amidst policies that are not free. The Minister of Education with his power legitimizes this practice under the guise of the Curriculum. This is a form of hegemony, where all MBKM recipients align with what MBKM declares, unaware that their own freedom is being eroded. The end result of MBKM is nothing more than satisfying the interests of certain political agents, NOT the interests of the actors themselves. MBKM is a form of "liberation" that is not truly liberated because it still regulates in great detail. Bureaucracy becomes increasingly evident and prevalent in MBKM because it also involves approvals from institutions. The concept of MBKM education should make individuals free, not turn them into "corporate slaves" solely. MBKM is the opposite of the educational ideal introduced by Ki Hadjar Dewantara.

The primary quest is the formation of hegemony by educational institutions as dominant agents over their students who are "pushed" into the workforce prematurely. It is important to observe how the practices of those in power, laden with economic and political elements,

maintain the cultural sphere of the state organization to avoid losing its edge and ability to provide false consciousness to the people. Hegemony is not just about coercion, but often manifests in everyday life as what is considered the truth. The curriculum is the clearest example because of government intervention there. MBKM is the perfect form of this hegemony because it ultimately leads to the government's success in providing free supplies to the industry. A pure win-win situation in a capitalist state. At the very least, those who experience the "win" phenomenon are the industries as they receive free human resources, and the government which gains moral support from the market. Gramsci's concept of hegemony also involves the dimensions of class and national populism. The capital class must have the will and ability to look at the interests of other classes. This applies to those who are already in a capital position and are defending their power, as well as those who are striving to achieve that power. The interests of other classes must be forefronted but not overtly stemming from production relations. Unknowingly, MBKM so tangibly carries out this hegemonic action. The government, as capitalists and national leaders, seeks to approach educational institutions and industries by seemingly accommodating the needs of both the industrial world and the needs of PTs that want to produce graduates who are ready (even quickly) to work. Referring to previous research on Challenges and Expectations in the "Freedom to learn - Independent Campus" Program for Higher Education Managers, the researcher also sees that MBKM is a practice of universities in seeking superior commodity products, rather than aiming to fulfill the primary role of education as a nation-building agent. With the passage of time, digital media is increasingly prevalent in the era of globalization. Youth as the main product who understand the digitalized world are often glorified. The transition from traditional to digital is not entirely wrong, but it turns out that this dynamic changes the mindset of society, suggesting that youth can be targets for labor to cultivate digital information media.

Nadiem Makarim's policy on MBKM is a shackle to education itself as it forces students into the workforce without ever fully developing organically. Organic development is characterized by a natural and gradual process; MBKM circumvents that. It's as if Minister Nadiem is driven by time and always in a hurry to produce instant generations. The researcher also adds another aspect that makes MBKM akin to an empty shell disguised as a revolution. One aspect overlooked by the existence of MBKM is the use of language. From previous research on the Implementation of MBKM and the Relationship of Curriculum Policy based on a Case of EFL Education in Japan, the importance of the existence of language in running an independent curriculum is discussed. Students released into the workforce will have their own jobs, interests, preferences, and skills that sometimes cannot be categorized or translated equivalently into university courses. This also makes conversion imperfect because of overly rigid systems. Bias occurring in MBKM is that students are part of the campus but have their own abilities and willingness to register through the MBKM website, which means the relationship with Partner Firms can only be tracked via the system. The Department's mission to provide the best learning outcomes for students is seemingly hindered because they cannot monitor students' achievements in detail. When conducting internships, communication with partners seems cut off and closed. Furthermore, another important concept to discuss is Antonio Gramsci's Hegemony. Gramsci is synonymous with great thinkers like Karl Marx. As lofty as it may seem, his figure as a socialist makes his dream hoped to be realized, namely a society without classes. Workers are not exploited and dominated by the bourgeoisie, nor is there domination and exploitation by anyone. Gramsci's Hegemony is a consensus organizational state that obtains subordination through the mastery of ideology over the hegemonic class. In this study, what hegemonizes is the national education system that changes depending on the interests of the ruling government. The existence of the government is the center of this hegemony.

The exposition of Gramsci's hegemony criticizing the educational system and organization by the government will be seen from the perspective of DIKTI and regulations; Not discussing Gramsci on the side of students because it is not the main focus. The primary quest is the formation of hegemony by educational institutions as dominant agents over their students who are "pushed" into the workforce prematurely. It is important to observe how the practices of those in power, laden with economic and political elements, maintain the cultural sphere of the state organization to avoid losing its edge and ability to provide false consciousness to the people. Hegemony is not just about coercion but often manifests in everyday life as what is considered the truth. The curriculum is the clearest example because of government intervention there. MBKM is the perfect form of this hegemony because it ultimately leads to the government's success in providing free supplies to the industry. A pure win-win situation in a capitalist state. At the very least, those who experience the "win" phenomenon are the industries as they receive free human resources, and the government which gains moral support from the market.

Reflection on Indonesian Education Policy

This research carries a critical nuance, closely tied to catalytic validity, where the research results compel the researched parties to understand the world and how it is shaped so that they can change it. The impact of this research process is to alter reality while guiding and providing self-understanding and direction to the subjects being studied. The world of education today is far removed from the past education that prioritized the freedom and independence of students. As time progresses, education becomes nothing more than a platform for mining attention and energy from various layers of society and sectors. This change is also affirmed in Antonio Gramsci's counter-hegemony. A small step that can be taken to make Indonesian education better is consistency in curriculum implementation. Several times in this research, curricula are presented that change every time there is a change in individual officeholders. However, from the researcher's analysis and informant information, the ideal curriculum should last for a minimum of 10 years before evaluation. In the first and second years, the curriculum should be socialized to all regions without exception. This is considering regional autonomy and decentralization are merely nihilistic aspirations for the Indonesian nation; The third year is the initial stage for introduction and implementation, while noting any deficiencies or excesses in the implementation of the curriculum. If elections are held every 5 years, then policies have only been in place for 3 years, so educational policies must also be changed. This seems less than ideal because it's not uncommon that when the curriculum changes, there are changes in subjects and even textbooks. Eventually, people tend to be overwhelmed by the rapidly revolving wheel of education, with various political and business interests involved.

What the researcher presents in the terminology of educational philosophy discussion is that the freedom of Indonesian children's education must be guided through a lengthy process. Ki Hadjar Dewantara's emphasis is on liberating children, requiring certainty and support from nature, the uniqueness, and the character of each child. It is also important to pay attention to the order and peace of children and introduce them to their own culture. A simple example that can be done is using traditional games and songs as learning media. Ki Hadjar Dewantara believes that when aware of culture, children become aware of developing culture originating from their own land. In interviews conducted by the researcher, misunderstandings often occur in Indonesia regarding educated and uneducated figures. Actually, measuring whether someone is educated or not is not based on wealth or profession. It's based on their character, which must be excellent and not forsake the nation's philosophy. In the early days of independence, humans built were democratic and moral (maintaining values of decency, religiosity). Now, because eroded by time, technology, and globalization, everything seems to disappear.

Give students more time to learn independently, without coercion and pressure. The current trend is that students are becoming more accustomed to being "fed" and just knowing the end result. Because everything has been accustomed to being instant, without effort. There are hidden hands in every aspect of life, which ultimately assist without being asked. Imagine the mentality of being "used to being helped" growing as a weak (*tempe*) generation that is easily swayed. The ideal education fosters critical emancipatory thinking in students and makes them skilled and imbued with national historical values. The end result is the birth of a free individual, both in body and mind. This does not emerge in the practice of MBKM promoted by the Minister of Education. This is reflected in a culture that is no longer the main focus of child development, but rather technological progress. It's no longer about fostering critical emancipatory thinking in students or emphasizing freedom, but rather the ability to comply with rules and corporations or industries. Capitalism permeates every aspect of human life, even in education. PTs are accustomed to providing package systems in every semester of learning, so when MBKM happens (internship outside of Campus for 2 semesters up to 20 credits), the payment does not decrease but remains the same. What cannot be stopped is the issue of self-financing by students who may have to move or spend money on transportation. Internship activities, which in essence provide experience, result in increased expenses. What is highlighted is whether the government, industry, or PT bear this burden? In reality, no, because this would be considered a reasonable sacrifice for students who experience the warmth and excitement of the working world.

In the author's rationale and idealism, creating a good generation requires a long time and cooperation from various parties. Students from Kindergarten to Elementary School should ideally be shielded from all forms of ideological imprisonment, let alone verbal crimes by calling children "wrong", "stupid", incapable, and other verbal violence that belittles their intellect. Provide as much space as possible for each child to develop according to their desires, within the boundaries of norms. The fundamental mistake in education, especially in Indonesia, is forcing them to do things they don't even know the basic essence of. As long as there is memorization, the grades will be good. This is something that should be avoided so that education does not become a lifelong burden. Freire's "Facing Problems" is not about thrusting children into real-life situations without guidance but directing them so that "the child" from a young age can form their own personality as responsible individuals. The student or student becomes a learner who is removed from all educational "insults". This is what is missing in the essence of MBKM. Freire's "Facing Problems" assumes that students are fully prepared to face challenges in the workforce after graduating and having a bachelor's degree, which means they have also gone through tests within the confines of campus itself. Meanwhile, for MBKM in Minister Nadiem Makarim's version, students are truly "confronted with problems" in the workforce without guidance and support. They are released into a wide area to seek knowledge in the industry on their own. What's even more frightening is that these "guinea pigs" are ultimately judged and must meet abstract standards set by the government without clear foundations. Even in the 2024 Presidential Debate, the presidential candidates presented how education is being considered an investment in the future. What's the difference between this mindset and the banking style criticized by Freire decades ago? Investment implies a desired outcome; with specific targets and even allowing the process to ultimately betray the pure dignity of education because what matters is profit. Is it fair for students and students to experience this? In the midst of great hope that education will lead to a better life. Should the government turn that hope into mere steps towards achieving political goals?

4. Conclusion

This research focuses on the class that has attained the highest position within society, namely the seats of government. Those who hold these positions are individuals who have

achieved national leadership, eventually becoming hegemonic. The journey undertaken reveals that when this class only considers its own interests, it cannot achieve hegemony. Attention must be paid to other, weaker parties for hegemony to be legitimate. Hegemony is realized when the dominant group "gains" approval from the dominated group by presenting a political vision, namely an ideology that claims to speak for everyone, resonating with widely held beliefs in popular political culture. Hegemony is inseparable from the class dimension and the dimension of the people, where the capitalist class and all its members either seize state power or maintain existing power. Education plays a key role here because it becomes a contested position for articulating political visions freely without the interference of other elements. The hegemony that occurs between the Government (Ministry) and PT is manifested in a relationship of domination where the lower group actively approves and supports a system of belief and power relations that (actually) contradict their interests. As of the presentation of this research, there has been no form of counter-hegemony carried out by educational insiders due to their defeatist position against the Ministry of Education. Those who often speak publicly are mostly organic intellectuals, who are often disregarded by traditional intellectuals.

In terms of educational practice, the researcher observes that the chaos in Indonesian education stems from the government's inability to accommodate the difference between self-satisfaction and the needs of the people. Political practices should be separated from educational practices because continued overlap results in ideological chaos. In addition to the government, society must also be more concerned with education. The nuances of togetherness, mutual assistance, and consensus-building must not be lost from the social life of the community, as these are the strengths of Indonesian education. Competition and competence, which often form the basis of learning, should also be adjusted because ultimately, education must benefit society. For further research on MBKM, there are many aspects that could be explored, whether historically (like this research, but with a focus on national leadership figures and the economic-political climate), mapping the success (or failure) of MBKM after being implemented for a period of four years, the process of disseminating information from the center to all regions regarding MBKM, or other interesting themes to be examined quantitatively and qualitatively.

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