



Analysis of Political Education Towards Elementary School Learning During The Covid-19

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Abstract

This research discusses the analysis of political education towards elementary school learning during the covid-19 pandemic in Palembang City. This research focuses on the political policy of Palembang City education in maintaining education to keep continuing during the covid-19 pandemic. The theory used is the political theory of education by Paulo Freire which is associated with Sarnoto's political concept of education. This theory is used to analyze the political education in Palembang City against the political policy of education during the covid-19 pandemic. The type of research used is descriptive with a qualitative approach. During the covid-19 pandemic, the political role of education is very important in the Palembang City Government because education is the pillar of a country's future. The political role of government education can be seen from the policies made to provide direction. In doing, the education continued operating even in the critical period of education condition during the covid-19 pandemic.

Keywords: Politics · Education · Covid-19


BACKGROUND

The covid-19 outbreak is a global problem attracted the attention of many parties and become a subject of cross-disciplinary debate, especially in the world of education. Its rapid spread disrupted the conventional learning system, forcing a shift to digital methods. Education is then conducted from home through distance learning following the issuance of Circular No. 4 year 2020 which

regulates educational policies during the covid-19 emergency.

Lockdown or home quarantine policy was implemented to reduce the gathering of people and suppress the spread of the virus. The government set coronavirus presence zones in each region: red zones as areas with many cases, yellow zones with the spread of the virus starting to spread, and green zones as the safest areas, although the number is very small, only about 6% according to Minister Nadiem Makarim. The red and yellow zones prohibit crowd-generating activities, impacting a wide range of activities including education.

Data shows that the pandemic resulted in the closure of 646,200 schools from pre-school to university, affecting 68.8 million students and 4.2 million educators who switched to teaching from home (Faqir A. A., 2020). A survey in April 2020 by the Ministry of Education and Culture revealed that 97.6% of schools have implemented learning from home, but the problem of internet networks and supporting devices is an obstacle, especially in areas with poor internet quality (Faqir A. A., 2020).

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There are several previous studies related to this discussion. The first research is the work of Widya Sari, Andi Muhammad Rifki, and Mila Karmila in year 2020 entitled "Policy Analysis Related to the Implementation of Distance Learning during the covid-19 Emergency". The results of this study explain the system and the impact of policies in the distance learning process and the challenges faced by students during the covid-19 pandemic. Educational policies during the pandemic have played an important role in the continuity of education, with distance learning considered the best policy at the time. This research highlights policy analysis related to the implementation of distance learning (PJJ) which faced many obstacles, prompting the government to ask teachers to be more creative in teaching during the pandemic.

The similarity with this research is that both analyze policies during the pandemic, but the difference lies in the focus of analysis and research location (Sari, 2020). Furthermore, research by Agus Purwanto et al. in 2020 entitled "Exploratory Study of the Impact of the covid-19 Pandemic on the Online Learning Process in Elementary Schools". This research explains that Indonesia's national education has undergone an update from Law No. 2 of 1989 to Law No. 20 of 2003, and involves Government Regulation No. 55 of 2007 and Minister of Religion Regulation No. 16 of 2010 which regulates religious education. The similarity with this research is that both examine the impact of the pandemic, but this research focuses more on the online learning process using exploratory studies (Purwanto, 2020).

Research conducted by Rizqon Halal Syah Aji in 2020 entitled "The Impact of Covid-19 on Education in Indonesia: Schools, Skills, and Learning Processes". This research explains that government policies to learn from home and cut bureaucracy are carried out to prevent the spread of the virus. However, the closure of face-to-face educational institutions has a major impact on education, especially on the learning process, assessment, and job opportunities after graduation. This policy has an impact on students' psychology and the quality of their skills, affecting academic achievement. The difference lies in the focus of this research which examines the impact of COVID-19 on education, student skills, and the learning process in Indonesia (Aji, 2020). As well as Dewi Fatimah's research in 2021 entitled "Analysis of the Implementation of Online Learning during the covid-19 Pandemic in Elementary Schools". This study aims to explain the online learning process during the covid-19 pandemic at SDIT Ahmad

Dahlan class 5A. Using a phenomenological approach with data collection techniques through observation, interviews, and documentation, this study found that online learning at SDIT Ahmad Dahlan is going well, with students and teachers having adequate facilities. However, the problem of poor internet hinders understanding of the material, requiring teachers to be more creative (Fatimah, 2021).

These previous studies focused on analyzing distance learning policies, the politics of religious education, the impact of the pandemic on students' education, skills and learning processes, and the implementation of online learning at the primary school level so that an analysis of the politics of education on policies in Palembang City during the covid-19 pandemic is expected to complement existing research. This is because education is a major investment for the country and is the beginning of long-term changes that can touch various sectors such as the economy, technology, culture and science. The Indonesian Constitution in the preamble of the 1945 Constitution states the purpose of education to "educate the nation's life", emphasizing education as the ideals and hopes for the future of the nation.

National education adheres to religious values, national culture, and responses to changing times, based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. The function of national education is to develop the abilities and character of learners according to Indonesian norms. Law No. 20/2003 aims to form a generation of faithful, pious, moral, healthy, knowledgeable, active, creative and independent as a responsible democratic society (Kemendikbud, 2019).

Political education is a government policy in the field of education for the sustainability of education. According to Eston, education politics is the authority to allocate value to society (Syafaruddin, 2008). Beare and Boyd in Syafaruddin explain that education policy includes determining the main objectives of educational institutions, resource allocation, setting educational service goals, and investing in the quality of education to improve economic development.

The relationship between politics and education is very close in the Indonesian education system. Palembang City, as the red zone with the most spread of the coronavirus, experienced the closure of schools from kindergarten to junior high school as the government anticipated covid-19. The school holiday policy was extended by the Head of the Palembang City Education Office, Ahmad Zulindo, to reduce the spread of the virus (Putra, 2020).

The Palembang City Education Office issued SE No. 1198/DISDIK/2020 on guidelines for organizing learning in the 2020/2021 academic year during the pandemic, with distance learning from July 13 to September 30, 2020 to maintain the health of students and teachers. The role of education politics is crucial in improving the quality of education during the pandemic, as the future of the country depends on the generation currently being educated. The emergency policies taken show that the role of politics is influential in determining the direction of education in Indonesia.

METHODS

This research uses a qualitative method which is field research. This research is also included in the descriptive research type, which aims to describe or explain systematically, factually, and accurately about facts that describe in detail the phenomena that occur in education during the covid-19 pandemic objectively in Palembang City. This research focuses on several agencies and primary schools in Palembang City, based on policies that impact education in Indonesia.

This research involves data collection and data sources as a way to obtain appropriate and relevant information. Primary data sources came from direct data collected through interviews with the Palembang City Education Office, Palembang City DPRD, the principal of Rifanda Foundation Elementary School, as well as several student guardians and students from SDN 114, SDN 126, and SDN 40. In addition, several teachers from SDN 166 and SDN 80 in various sub-districts in Palembang City were also data sources. Official government documents related to education policies during the pandemic in Palembang City also became primary data sources. Secondary data sources consisted of reference books, articles and journals relevant to this research.

This data was then collected using observation, interview and documentation collection techniques which were then analyzed using data reduction, data presentation and data verification analysis techniques so that significant data analysis could be obtained.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Theoretical framework of political education

Politics and education are closely interconnected system. Education contributes significantly to politics, especially the stabilization and transformation of the political system. In addition, politics refers to the relationship between

politics and government policy as a result of the system and various rules and decisions are concrete evidence of political policy, including in the field of education. Education is a human right, the key to sustainable development, and domestic peace and stability. Education must also be protected and fulfilled by the state as stated in Law No. 20/2003 on the National Education System.

Based on this connection, the concept of political education needs to be explained as a theoretical analysis. Political education is an effort to improve the quality of life. This is because the politics of education is a consistent attitude in terms of directing social control, both regarding the objectives and methods of the education system. The process of achieving educational goals in every country will always change over time due to the changing conditions of the community environment, both in terms of politics, economics, social, culture, technology, population growth, globalization, and other aspects.

Environmental changes in Indonesia affect the process of achieving educational goals. Therefore, the political strategy of education plays an important role in improving the quality of people, especially Indonesian people, to advance the country.

In general, the politics of education of every country focuses on sustainable development that depends on the quality of its citizens. Freire argues that the politics of education is a pilot project or agent of social change to form a new society (Freire, 2007). The political direction of education is determined by policy, planning and budgeting. People generally argue that politics and education should be separated to avoid conflicts of interest. However, researchers argue that politics and education are closely related because every step of education is guided by government policy. Therefore, political education is needed to ensure fairness and certainty in the provision of education for the community. Analyzing government policies is necessary to ensure that education meets the needs and overcome educational problems through the political science of education. The successful implementation of political education depends on good governance and consistently implemented regulations (PH, 2014).

The politics of Indonesian education should be based on the cultural values contained in Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, Bhineka tunggal ika and the characteristics of Indonesia. In Law No. 25 of 2000, which contains the national development program (*propenas*) from 1999 to 2004 which states that the quality of education in Indonesia is still very

concerning. Based on the results of a study of Indonesia's primary school reading skills conducted by the International Educational Achievement (IEA) organization, Indonesia ranks 38th out of 39 countries where the reading skills of primary school students are very low (Susetyo, 2005)

The importance of intellectual position is very significant in terms of the function and political position of a country. In the concept of political struggle, the importance of the position of intellectuals can be seen from how to emphasize the characteristics of education and how centralized the democratic struggle that involves many people (Freire, 2007). In the reform era until now in Indonesia, it gives freedom in formulating new educational policies that are more revolutionary. For example, from policy centralization turned into policy decentralization and also the rote curriculum turned into a competency-based curriculum and changed again currently using the 2013 curriculum (K13). Then in the new order era there were policies that regulated the relationship between the central government and local governments, one of which regulated the adjusted educational policy.

Paulo Freire in the book politics of education of the ruler who is an education critic always criticizes the education model that only introduces theories. Because according to him, the government applies a system and methods that are inappropriate because they do not provide freedom of expression through a standardized curriculum and inappropriate policies. Freire's view on education at that time was an action taken by the ruler to maintain his power as a form of dehumanization process (Susetyo, 2005). The so-called manifested politics of education is the politics of education in the form of a strategic government policy in the field of education. Activities in politics include making changes through decision making and general policies for common goals. So it can be explained that the politics of education can be understood as form of the State's education strategy to improve the quality of its human resources.

The politics of education according to (Sarnoto, 2012) is in the form of a political policy and there are several political educational policies that are highlighted today, namely

1. Regional autonomy in the field of education

Regional autonomy is a concrete form of proof of the decentralization of government. The decentralization of government in the field of education began when Law No. 22 of 1999 concerning local government and then continued with the existence of PP No. 20 explaining regional finance which contains an explanation of the rules

regarding sectors that become local government affairs and which remain the affairs of the central government. Since then, schools from kindergarten to junior high school have become the business of the district/city government, then the affairs of senior high school (SMA) become the province's business while higher education is the business of the central government.

2. Curriculum

The curriculum has changed frequently since 1947 until now. Currently, the latest curriculum used is the 2013 curriculum or often called the K13 curriculum. Changes in the curriculum occur as a result of a changing political system, social and cultural conditions, the country's economy, technology and the globalization of society in order to balance with changing times. The existence of the curriculum is one of the important roles in education concerning learning and understanding of students at that time.

3. National examination

The implementation of the national exam (UN) which is a government provision in education is an activity that is expected to determine the quality of education in Indonesia and is considered capable of being able to see the quality ability of students in each education unit. However, because of this, the national exam also determines a person's graduation for three years of schooling, such as being a benchmark for the achievements of each student.

4. The political reality of education

The government has the difficult task of providing access to and equalizing free basic education by providing a 20% budget. However, this government task is still lacking from the government's attention, such as the awarding of teachers for professional attitudes, teacher welfare in the form of improving the quality of education in increasing competitiveness. Regarding the development of national education, the government has set three points that must be achieved, namely the first expansion and equitable distribution of education, secondly improving the quality and relevance of education and finally improving governance, accountability and public image.

Then there is an agenda that is used as a determinant of the future direction of Indonesian political education. The agenda consists of six agendas, the first in the form of an agenda to eliminate the dichotomy of dualism in the implementation of education. In terms of organizing education, the government must ensure that it occurs in a non-discriminatory manner. Second, increasing the education budget by allocating a minimum education budget of 20% of the APBN

and APBD. Third, the exemption of primary and secondary education costs. Fourth, improving the education curriculum which must be directed at an open and multimodal system and empowering learners that lasts throughout life. Fifth, giving awards to educators as a form of qualification, professionalism and teacher welfare. Sixth, the provision of educational facilities and infrastructure and the expansion of access to education.

The politics of education is indeed closely related to policy, related to policy analysis of the principal politics of education is the policy itself. Policy analysis is part of the policy system. According to Raymond A. Bauer in the book "Introduction to Public Policy Analysis," policy analysis is an activity that provides knowledge about policies and the process of making them (Dunn, 2003). The purpose of policy analysis is to improve existing policies by creating, criticizing, assessing, and conveying relevant knowledge.

To solve policy problems (Dunn, 2003). In policy analysis, information, problems, and solutions related to policies are found, which can be input for regulators. In the so-called "policy system," there is an interrelated relationship between public policy, policy actors, and the policy environment. According to Dunn (Suharto, 2020), policy analysis includes social analysis that uses applied social science to analyze social problems caused by a policy with various research methods and arguments that produce relevant information.

The forms of policy analysis according to Dunn (2003) are:

1. Prospective policy analysis, which is an analysis conducted before regulations are implemented, includes synthesizing information to formulate policy alternatives.
2. Retrospective policy analysis, which is an analysis carried out after the policy is implemented, consists of three models: discipline-oriented, problem, and application.
3. Integrated policy analysis, which is an analysis that combines prospective and retrospective analysis to continuously update and improve policies.

Political policies of the Palembang City's Educational Office in addressing primary school learning during the pandemic

Policies from the government related to learning during the pandemic must always be reviewed so that they remain in accordance with the context of development and educational needs during the pandemic. From March 24 to July 15, 2020 according to the Minister of Education and Culture's

Circular Number 4 in 2020 containing the implementation of educational policies during an emergency against the spread of the corona virus contains directions to schools that home learning is carried out, national exams and grade promotion exams are eliminated, then new student admissions (PPDB) are online and crowds are prohibited.

The policies taken by the Palembang city government for the sustainability of elementary school education during the coronavirus pandemic are still very passive. It can be seen that the policy taken by the government is due to none other than the prohibition of crowds as a prevention of the corona virus in the school environment. The policy made at this time can be said to be a policy in special conditions because the conditions of the State nationally are unstable. So the local government related to the political educational policy of Palembang city cannot provide an innovative thing in the smooth implementation of online learning at this time before getting direction and approval from the central government considering this is one of the national problems.

Then the educational policy was issued in the form of SE Minister of Education and Culture Number 15 in 2020 containing guidelines on organizing the learning process from home during the covid-19 emergency. On July 15 to August 7, 2020 the implementation of the SKB 4 ministers which contains that education can open PTM with the condition that the opening of PTM only applies to areas with green zones, while for areas with yellow zones, orange zones and red zones continue to carry out learning at home.

However, in the unstable economic conditions of the people, the fulfillment of internet quotas for students who use online learning methods is very wasteful, making it very difficult for parents. Because of this, the Ministry of Education and Culture issued a policy to provide free quotas for all members of Indonesian education. The provision of this internet quota is very helpful for education in Indonesia, especially in Palembang city, as it is proven that this program is still running until now in Palembang city with the condition that the telephone number has been registered and has met the requirements set by the government.

Then the Ministry of Education and Culture began to allocate the Culture budget for learning activities at home through television media in collaboration with the TVRI channel (GTK, 2020). This activity is very helpful considering that there are many areas that have difficulty getting internet networks, so the learning process through television and radio media is one of the best solutions for the

current government cooperation. In May to June 2020, the Ministry of Education and Culture launched the curriculum in special conditions and provided learning modules for PAUD and SD. (Kemendikbud, 2020) In this emergency curriculum or curriculum in special conditions, the government provides flexibility for schools to choose which curriculum suits the learning needs of their respective schools. This is done so that there are no difficulties in the learning process and does not make it difficult for parents.

On August 7 to December 2020, the government adjusted the Joint Decree (SKB) of 4 ministers, namely the minister of education and culture, the minister of religion, the minister of health and the minister of home affairs Number 01/KB/2020, Number 516 of 2020, HK.03.01/Meknes/363/2020, Number 440-82 of 2020, concerning guidelines for organizing learning in the 2020/2021 school year and the 2020/2021 academic year during the covid-19 pandemic.

The statement contains that the government has determined the zones of each region to determine the existence of the corona virus in each region consisting of green, yellow, orange and red zones in accordance with the conditions of the spread of the corona virus in each region. Where areas in the red and orange zones are not allowed to carry out Face-to-Face Learning activities (PTM) and areas in the green and yellow zones may still conduct PTM but still pay attention to health protocols very strictly and with the approval of student guardians.

In improving the quality of human resources for educators during the pandemic, the Palembang City government has held a teacher skills training activity with the theme "increasing teachers' competition and ability to design and conduct assessments in online and offline learning based on a simplified curriculum load so that it has a positive impact on the quality of learning in primary schools in Palembang City, and in this case it has been held at SD N 1 Palembang (Palembang City Educational Portal, 2021).

The arrangement and preparation of policies on the goals and objectives of educational institutions in Palembang city are not fully on target. In this case, the installation of this wifi tower only functions for educators while students do not get the benefits because of the installation of wifi towers in schools but students have not been able to go to school. In this case, the improvement of education during the pandemic continues to run both in the form of providing facilities and infrastructure and improving the quality of educators in Palembang city during the current pandemic conditions.

Improving the quality of education is needed as a strategic step to help develop education both in the short and long term. So the installation of wifi towers and improving the physical form of schools is a form of improvement for long-term educational development which will continue to be used after the implementation of face-to-face schools begins later.

Then during the online learning period from home, it is necessary to increase family participation in education management during a pandemic is very important because all activities must be carried out from home as well as in the world of education. Education that is carried out online is certainly inseparable from family participation, especially in primary education, where the majority of students are children who still need family guidance in the learning process at home.

However, the quality of parents' education in assisting children to learn in mastering and understanding the material is different, and so, many parents are confused about how to assist their children to learn well. Human resources have a very dominant role in the success of education, therefore coaching must be continuous with strategic steps, the use of media in learning, learning models, monitoring the implementation of learning and quality improvement management.

Then in January 2021 until now, another adjustment was made to the SKB 4 ministers, namely the minister of education and culture, the minister of religion, the minister of health and the minister of home affairs that starting in January 2021 if the local government has given permission to an educational unit that has met all the requirements for the level, face-to-face learning (PTM) is allowed, but not required.

This is known through the press release of the ministry of education and culture, the government announced a joint decree (SKB) No. 97/sipres/A6/III/2021 concerning the government's encouragement of the acceleration of face-to-face learning on a limited basis in accordance with implementing strict health protocols. The decree can be implemented if educators and education personnel in education units have been fully vaccinated against covid-19, while the central and regional governments require education units to provide limited face-to-face learning services (PTM) while still implementing health protocols and distance learning. Moreover, the Ministry of Education and Culture said that everything can be carried out if all conditions have been met and

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permission has been obtained from the parents of students.

However, the implementation of face-to-face learning to be implemented is very limited where it can only be implemented for areas with green and yellow zones and the implementation of the policy uses two phases, the two phases are as follows.

1. Transition period

In this transition phase, it lasts for two months from the start of face-to-face learning in each education unit. The learning schedule during the transition period regarding the number of days in a week and the number of learning hours each day is carried out with the division of study groups (shifts) determined by the education unit while still paying attention to the health and safety conditions of all residents of the education unit.

2. The new normal period

After the transition period is complete, if the area remains categorized as green and yellow zones, the education unit can enter the new habit period phase.

These two transition phases must be implemented when face-to-face learning will be implemented. The function of these two phases is to see how the development of the corona virus can be overcome properly after implementing very strict health protocols. If in the implementation of the first or second phase there is a transmission of the corona virus then face-to-face learning will be stopped and return to using online learning again.

Political analysis on educational policies for primary school education during the pandemic in Palembang City

1. Regional autonomy of Palembang city

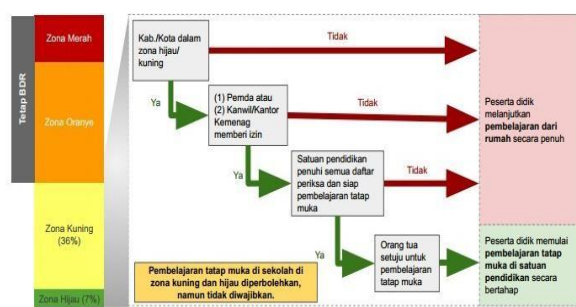
After the existence of regional autonomy, the implementation of educational autonomy is no longer centralized from the center. Each district/city has a different regulatory basis for the quality of education that is tailored to the conditions of the region. It can be seen that the Palembang city local government is still following policies from the center and there is no separate policy which is an adjustment policy for the conditions and situation of the Palembang city area during the pandemic. In various regions, of course, they have their own difficulties in implementing education during a pandemic, so the existence of educational autonomy can certainly make it easier for the government to determine educational solutions in each region which has confirmed the problem. It is unfortunate if this authority cannot be utilized for good in these difficult times.

Local governments are the ones who know and understand the conditions, needs and capacities of their regions best. Given the needs, conditions and capacities of sub-districts or villages in the same city can vary greatly from one another. Taking political educational policies in pandemic conditions, local government policies must go through holistic considerations and be in line with policy making in other sectors. Because considering the situation and conditions that are not possible, every implementation of primary school education activities or programs in Palembang City must determine the rules of the learning process that are appropriate and appropriate to the situation and conditions.

2. Palembang City education curriculum during the covid-19 pandemic

In the world of education, of course, it cannot be separated from how the learning process runs, especially in special conditions during a pandemic like today. Therefore, the government provides solutions to the community in the world of education in the form of policies on the curriculum which is currently referred to as a curriculum with special conditions. The government provides three curriculum options in special conditions like this, namely: Continue to refer to the national curriculum, use the emergency curriculum, and simplify the curriculum independently.

Picture 1. Learning policy adjustments during the covid-19 pandemic



Source: Presentation slides of educational ministry- Learning policy adjustment during covid 19 pandemic.

In this case the Palembang city government took the policy to implement the emergency curriculum independently as a form of political education. The emergency curriculum chosen from the three options is one form of political education taken by the Palembang city government at this time which is in a special condition. The establishment of this

policy has slightly facilitated the implementation of primary school education in Palembang city but still the policy has not fully helped primary school education.

New innovations in learning must continue to be given considering that online learning does not provide real interaction so that there is a need for teacher creativity to continue to improve the existence of education during online and offline.

There are several agendas that need to be considered to determine the direction and future of education with the politics of education. Because until now the world of education is still faced with great challenges to educate the nation's life. At this time education still has to improve access to education, equity, curriculum improvement, the quality of education services, especially at the elementary school level and improve the professionalism and welfare of teachers. This condition has been going on for at least one year and has yet to find a bright spot. Education in Palembang city is still following the direction of the central government without any special solutions from the local government for this situation. Parents and students are starting to struggle and are getting used to other habits and loosening the importance of education in their children's daily lives.

3. National primary school examination in Palembang City

In accordance with the Circular Letter (SE) of the Minister of Education and Culture No. 4 of 2020 concerning the Implementation of Educational Policies in the Emergency Period of the Spread of Coronavirus Disease (covid-19) which contains directions to all schools in Indonesia about implementing the learning process from home, national exams and grade promotion exams are eliminated, then online new student admissions (PPDB) and crowds are prohibited.

Because of this, the implementation of face-to-face learning in schools is eliminated and replaced with learning activities from home. Making the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture set an educational policy to make changes to one of the graduation requirements where the results of the national exam are replaced by school assessments through the results of the report card scores of the last five semesters. Including the class promotion exam which was eliminated and changed the class promotion assessment through the results of achievement and the results of assignments during school only.

The impact of this policy can endanger the world of education because it makes it less encouraging to learn and the difficulty of

determining the assessment of the overall learning outcomes of students obtained during one semester.

4. Political realities of education in Palembang City

The politics of education certainly has an influence on education budgeting. So in terms of Palembang city education budgeting comes from three stages, namely from BOS funds, provincial governor funds and pure funds from the Palembang city APBD. In the legislation of Article 31 paragraph 4 of the 1945 Constitution that explains the state budget for education at least 20% derived from the APBN and APBD.

Then the involvement of the legislature as a supervisory body in the running of this educational policy is one of the important factors in political education to ward off any misuse of policies such as the loosening of established policies or education agencies that are inconsistent with the implementation of current policies. Then supervision from the legislature is also open if there are complaints from the public about inappropriate education during the current pandemic.

From these four concepts, it can be seen that these are some of the common ways that educational political actors often use to make changes to educational politics. Then there is a policy that discusses the expansion and equalization of educational opportunities, which is the main priority in the form of completing the implementation of the nine-year compulsory education. Basically, the development of education has dynamics that can have an impact on structural changes in a country's government, the development of science and technology, the social environment and globalization. So in conditions like this there is a need for policies that have values in the form of effectiveness, efficiency, flexibility, goal-oriented, and synchronization principles. From the many factors that exist in educational change, it is the Palembang city government and its political paradigm that until now should have the strongest influence on changes, developments and improvements in current education through policies made.

In the implementation of educational policy during covid-19, there are stakeholders in it to prepare for the transition of face-to-face learning consisting of the central government, the regional covid-19 handling task force, civil society, education units, teachers, parents and then local governments from the education office and health office. The central government through the ministry sets regionally-focused policies and conducts supervision assisted by the regional task force to

ensure the risk of spreading covid-19 is under control. All will not go according to plan without social institutions and communities that jointly support local governments, education units and learners.

Educational policy is a legislative decision as a precise step from the results as a political product that can regulate the implementation of education legally. Because the basic purpose of political education is to produce educational products that are able to become agents who care about the progress of the nation for the better in the future. The allocation of resources for education services should be done better. During a pandemic like today, it should be important to improve education services that are more creative and can have a positive impact.

The level of investment in education at this time will certainly be different during normal conditions. Therefore, investing in school construction is not the right thing to do because even the physical school buildings cannot be used as there is always a continuous increase in covid-19 patients. Investment in mobile phone provision and signal or network improvement in each region is the main thing when doing online learning. Because of this, the government made policy adjustments to strengthen the role of local governments, so the central government gave full authority to local governments in determining the provision of online learning.

A full authority to local governments in determining the granting of face-to-face learning permits during the covid-19 period. The granting of this permit has been explained to be carried out simultaneously or gradually per sub-district or village area with the provisions of the local government and the education unit which will take effect starting from the even semester of the 2021/2022 school year in July 2021 which is expected to increase readiness to make adjustments. Then there are several important factors that need to be considered by local governments in educational political policies towards granting face-to-face learning permits during a pandemic, these factors include:

1. The level of risk of spreading covid-19 in each region.
2. Readiness of health service facilities.
3. Readiness of education units in implementing face-to-face learning according to the checklist.
4. Access to learning resources/ease of learning from home (BDR).
5. The psychosocial condition of the learners.

6. Education service needs for children whose parents/guardians work outside the home.
7. The availability of safe transportation access to and from the education unit.
8. The place of residence of the education unit residents.
9. The mobility of residents between districts, sub-districts and villages.
10. Geographical conditions of the region.

Apart from these factors, there is one other quite important factor with the completion of the vaccination of educators and education units, this is the responsibility of the Palembang city government in accordance with the applicable provisions in the joint decision of four ministers, namely the minister of education and culture, the minister of religion, the minister of health, and the minister of home affairs of the Republic of Indonesia No. 01/KB/2020, No. 516 in 2020, No. HK.03.01/Menkes/63/2020, No. 440-882 in 2020 containing guidelines for organizing learning in 2020/2021 and the 2020/2021 academic year in the conditions of the corona virus pandemic covid-19.

Education units are required to prepare health protocol needs and facilitate learning and teachers continue to increase their capacity to conduct interactive learning. Then parents are expected to actively participate in the teaching and learning process activities. Local governments determine learning policies according to local conditions, needs and capacity, then prepare for the transition to face-to-face learning through the education office ensuring the fulfillment of checklists and health protocols in education units. Then work with the health office to ensure the readiness of regional health service facilities.

CONCLUSION

The Palembang City Government's policy in developing primary school education during the covid-19 pandemic is still fairly passive, which only follows the direction of the central government. There has been no local government policy initiated as an innovation in handling education during the pandemic as a program that adapts to the conditions of Palembang city. The politics of education in Palembang City has a very strong role as a form of regional autonomy that can be in the form of innovative policies in the current special conditions. But in fact, the role of the Palembang City government as a political actor in education has not been on target in assessing current conditions to make the right political educational policy.

The political educational policy that the government made has not been able to enlighten the

change in the paradigm of thinking of the implementers, as well as being able to facilitate and help improving the competence of students so that they can continue to improve education in Indonesia despite the covid-19 pandemic. Apart from this, this research article has limitations, both in terms of data and analysis so that further and in-depth studies are needed in analyzing the politics of education. Not only that, practically, this article is expected to be able to be a recommendation for similar political educational policies in dealing with emergency education situations and can become a guideline for alternative educational policies.

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