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Multi-Level Governance and Bottlenecking in Education Policy Implementation: Causes, Implications, and Strategies for improvement in Indonesia

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Abstract

This article explores the challenges and opportunities of implementing multi-level governance in education policy in Indonesia. The study draws on a qualitative analysis of relevant literature and policy documents to identify the causes of bottlenecking in education policy implementation and its implications. The findings suggest that the need for more effective coordination among different levels of government and stakeholders, inadequate resources, and political interference are significant factors contributing to the bottlenecking. The implications of bottlenecking include limited access to quality education, uneven distribution of educational opportunities, and low student performance. The study proposes several strategies for improving multi-level governance, including strengthening coordination mechanisms, increasing funding allocation, and reducing political interference. The study adds to the body of knowledge on governance and policy execution by emphasizing the significance of multi-level governance in education policy and providing insights into its difficulties and opportunities in Indonesia.

Keywords: *Multi-level Governance, Bottlenecking, Education Policy.*

Introduction

Education is expected to improve the quality and degree of a better community life. The constitution establishes one of the country's primary goals in education, namely to educate the nation's life; this is universal for all its people without exception (Spreen & Vally, 2006). In line with the development progress for more than a century since the independence era, it turns out that education cannot be carried out according to the constitution's mandate. This can be seen from the existence of various interest biases, inequality, and discrimination (Weishart, 2019).

Article 31 of the 1945 Constitution guarantees all citizens the right to an appropriate public education and mandates that the government make that education available to everyone, without discrimination. (Mahpudin, 2020). Once the importance of education to the progress of a nation,

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the 1945 Constitution explicitly mandates the government to allocate at least 20 per cent of APBN funds for education. This is indeed inseparable from the vital and strategic function of education for the progress of a nation (Abimanyu, 2013). The quality of education will significantly influence performance and human development. Therefore, the state will make maximum efforts to improve the quality of education (Guo et al., 2019).

However, education policy in Indonesia still needs to improve. The problem of lack of coordination and communication, resource capacity and political interference is often the main factors contributing to the bottlenecking of educational policies (Raharjo, 2012). The implementation of education policies in Indonesia needs to be improved by difficulties in coordination and communication between the central and regional governments and different levels of government. This can happen because of the multi-level governance involved in making education policy, resulting in coordination and communication problems (Rosser, 2016). For example, there are education policies set by the central government, but they need to be implemented consistently by local governments because they interpret these policies differently.

Bottlenecking of education policy in Indonesia also occurs due to limited capacity and resources. Some regions have better capacity and resources, resulting in inequality in the implementation of education policies between regions (Cahyadi & Widyastuti, 2022). In addition, human resource problems such as the insufficient number of teachers, low quality of education, lack of access to information technology, and problems with financial resources are also obstacles (Rashid, 2019). The government must increase the allocation of funds for the education sector and provide technical assistance and training to increase the capacity of human resources in the education sector, as well as strengthen coordination between levels of government to ensure that policy implementation is more equitable and following the expected goals (Winarsih, 2013).

Political interference can become an obstacle to implementing educational policies because it can influence policy decisions for political interests, not the public interest or the desired quality of education (Rozak, 2021). This can lead to the appointment of school principals or teachers who are not in accordance with their qualifications and competencies, as well as policy changes that often occur when there is a change of leadership, making it difficult to achieve continuity of education policy (Ali, 2017). Political influence can also create a climate not conducive to criticism and innovation due to fears of political repression (Lingard & Ozga, 2007).

Multi-level governance issues are a major contributor to the challenges Indonesia faces in putting its education programs into action. The term "multi-level governance" is used to characterize the lateral and vertical delegation of power among various governmental and non-governmental institutions and actors (Andriyana & Jowono, 2021). The division of labor between various

governmental bodies is what sets multi-level governance apart from its predecessor. (Sugiawan & Managi, 2019). Evaluating the connection between different national levels and interactions with different sorts of actors is vital for promoting the better and more equitable implementation of education policy across all of Indonesia's regions.

The term "multi-level governance" describes a system in which various tiers of government work together to make and carry out decisions and policies (Börzel, 2020), including the federal and provincial governments, district/city governments, and regional institutions. Multiple levels of government can pose obstacles to the implementation of education policies, such as difficulties in coordination and communication between levels of government and divergent interpretations of the same policy (Jones & Oleksiyenko, 2011). Poor quality education, educational disparities between regions, a lack of adequate educational facilities and infrastructure, and a lack of qualified human resources in education are just some of the many issues that impede the successful implementation of education policies in Indonesia (Burns & Köster, 2016).

Given this context, the goal of this research is to explore the difficulties and prospects of incorporating multi-level governance into Indonesia's educational policy. The study's secondary objectives are to identify the factors contributing to the difficulties in enforcing multi-level governance in Indonesia's educational policy and to propose solutions to these problems.

This study is anticipated to make a substantial contribution to our understanding of the factors impeding the implementation of education policies and multi-level governance, particularly in the Indonesian context. In this context, it is anticipated that this research will provide a more comprehensive picture of the obstacles and challenges encountered in the implementation of education policies, as well as solutions that can be implemented by various levels of government and related stakeholders. In addition, it is anticipated that the findings of this study will contribute to the future formulation and planning of improved education policies.

Review of Literature

Multi-Level Governance

The study of European integration gave rise to the notion of multilevel governance, which is used in political science and public administration theory. Multi-level governance was first conceived of by Liesbet Hooghe and Gary Marks in the early 1990s, and they have contributed to the study program ever since through a string of works (Hooghe & Marks, 2020). Their theory stems from an analysis of the newly formed EU structures conducted in 1992 (the Maastricht Treaty). The

term "multi-level governance" refers to the concept that the global political economy is made up of various tiers of government that all work together. This "demonstrates the close relationship between domestic and international authority levels" (Alcantara et al., 2016).

By looking at the development situation above, (Bache & Flinders, 2004) tries to provide an initial definition of Multi-level governance, namely the dispersion of central governing authority both vertically to actors. There are several consequences of the following definition. First, there is a distribution of authority both vertically and horizontally. Second, the vertical distribution of authority can be given to actors who are subnational (such as provinces or districts or cities). Nor supranational (regional or global level). Third, the distribution of authority can also be given to non-government actors such as the private sector or voluntary organizations.

In contrast to (Bache & Flinders, 2004), who used the concept of multi-governance, (Mollers, 2006) insisted on using the concept of multi-level government. Moller believes that if what is meant by the government is merely government organizations, even at various levels, then the current developments certainly require a distinction between the concepts of government and governance. However, if what is meant by the government is self-determination (autonomy) in making regulations and policies, then it does not make government and governance necessary because, basically, multi-level includes the ability of each level of government to be autonomous and then collaborate. With this way of thinking, Mollers still insists on using multi-level giving. Of course, this way of thinking is acceptable, but for the sake of distinguishing that there are horizontal components included in multi-level governance and concerns that there is a possibility of misunderstanding that multi-level government is only interpreted as a government organization, the use of the concept of governance in multi-level governance is more widely used.

Further, a group of general-purpose functional jurisdictions with a measure of autonomy within the context of a shared governance system and whose actors claim to engage continually in pursuit of a common good is what is meant by "totally multi-level governance" (Enderlein et al., 2010). The article "Governance at Entirely Multiple Levels" provides a definition of entirely multi-level governance. The emphasis in this definition is not on a specific government but on the idea of governance in a system with multiple levels of government. According to (Enderlein et al., 2010), the following governance constraints apply to multilevel governance: The term "governance" refers, in a broader sense, to the aggregation of regulations enacted by various actors, procedures, and institutions in response to a public concern. In this context, "governance" refers to a system that is generally understood to consist of a collection of laws established by actors, a series of processes, and numerous institutions that are recognized to work toward the resolution of a public issue.

Table 1 Various Definitions of Multi-level Governance

Mollers (2006)	Rank of legislative functions..."A legal system attains level status when it develops its own mechanism of legitimacy that is not mediated by other levels."
Bache & Flinders (2004)	The delegation of governmental power to subnational entities and international organizations both above and below the state level.
Enderlein et al (2010)	Definition: a group of autonomous but interdependent general-purpose functional jurisdictions whose members profess to work together for the greater benefit.

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Policy Implementation Theory

Implementation of a policy is the means by which its objectives are attained. (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975), policy implementation is an instrument of legal administration in which multiple actors, organizations, procedures, and approaches collaborate to achieve the intended effect or objective. Thus, the term "implementation" is used to describe the steps the government takes to realize the objectives of a policy decision. Before implementing a policy, the government must also consider its potential negative impact on the community. This is done to ensure that a policy does not conflict with society, especially to the detriment of society (Winarno, 2016).

According to (Nugroho, 2003), there are two ways to execute policies: by implementing them directly in the form of programs or by formulating derivative policies or derivatives of these policies. Hence, Nugroho's explanation of policy implementation includes two options: the first is direct implementation in the form of a program, and the second is policy development.

Edward III defines policy implementation as "the stage of policy making between the establishment of a policy, such as the passage of a legislative act, the issuance of an executive order, the handing down of a judicial decision, or the promulgation of a regulatory rule, and the consequences of the policy for those whom it affects." (EDWARD III, 1980). Analyzing the implementation of the preceding policy, (EDWARD III, 1980) a variety of criteria, such as Communication, Resources, Attitude, and Bureaucratic Structure, were presented as potential contributors to the achievement of a given implementation's desired level of success.
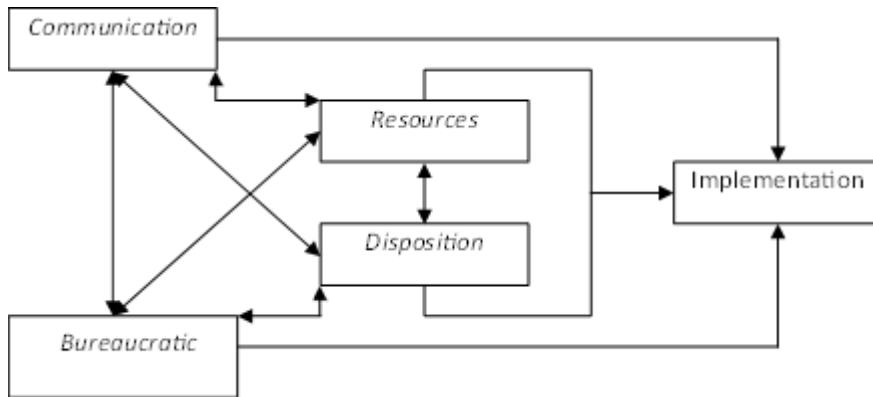
Figure 1 Implementation according to George C Edward III

Previous Research

This study examines information and previous research as a comparison material by looking at the weaknesses and strengths of the research. First, (Bermingham, 2011) analyzes the Education for All - Fast Track Initiative (EFA-FTI) to determine how multi-level governance and the presence of non-state players in education influence the execution of global education policies. According to the findings of the study, EFA-FTI has increased access to and quality of primary education in developing countries by involving engagement and cooperation among governments, international organizations, and other non-state actors. This study, however, identifies challenges in multi-level governance that can impede the implementation of global education programs. Better coordination and collaboration among diverse players in multi-level governance are required to ensure the successful implementation of more effective and sustainable education policy.

Second, research conducted by (Tamtik & Colorado, 2022) shows that a multi-level governance framework can significantly contribute to understanding the dynamics and complexities of education policy in Canada. This is because Canada has a complex federal and provincial government system, so there needs to be coordination and collaboration between various levels of government and related actors in implementing effective education policies. This study also demonstrates that a multi-level governance paradigm is useful for analyzing the impact of extraneous variables on the successful implementation of education programs, such as the activities of non-state actors and the broader sociopolitical setting. This study also emphasizes

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the need for future research on education policy in Canada to hone down on more specific and contextual features of multi-level governance.

Third, (Supardi, 2015) explains that education governance in Indonesia still needs various challenges, including the lack of coordination and collaboration between various levels of government and educational institutions and the problem of uneven funding between different regions. However, this research also shows that there are opportunities that can be exploited, such as the government's efforts to strengthen coordination between various levels of government and support from various international organizations in improving the quality of education in Indonesia. In this regard, this research recommends the need for increased coordination and collaboration between various actors in the governance of multi-level education and expanding access to and quality of education throughout Indonesia.

Fourth, (Alfirzan et al., 2021) show that the implementation of education policies in Indonesia is influenced by various factors at various levels of government, organizations, and society. The central government is the primary decision-maker in education policy in Indonesia, but local governments have an essential role in implementing these policies at the local level. There is also active participation from the private sector and the community in implementing education policies at the local level.

Fifth, research conducted by (Hanjarwati & Aminah, 2014) found several obstacles in policy implementation, such as a lack of coordination between various levels of government and policies that only sometimes suit the community's needs. Therefore, this study recommends better coordination and collaboration between various actors in multi-level governance to increase the effectiveness of implementing education policies in Indonesia.

Method

This study combined a descriptive research approach with a qualitative research approach. Creswell and Poth provide a definition of qualitative research methodologies (Creswll & Poth, 2016), Post-positivist in orientation, qualitative research methods examine natural object conditions (as opposed to experiments) through the use of triangulation (combined) data collection techniques, inductive/qualitative data analysis, and an emphasis on meaning over generalization in the findings. The researcher used a descriptive qualitative approach. In order to explore the difficulties and advantages of implementing multi-level governance in Indonesia's education policy, it is expected that more extensive, in-depth, and important data and information would be gathered.

This investigation was conducted in a library. According to (Nazir, 2014), a literature review is a data collection approach that entails doing a review of relevant books, articles, notes, and reports. This strategy is utilized to gain the fundamentals and opinions in writing, which is accomplished through researching relevant literature. The analysis is a series of straightforward attempts to develop and organize research findings into a simple framework (Zed, 2008). The obtained data is subsequently processed to obtain information, but only after it has been picked based on its reliability. This study's data analysis method utilized an interactive model of interactive analysis. This technique for analyzing data has three primary components: data collection, reduction, and conclusion. In addition, the veracity of the data was verified using data triangulation techniques by examining multiple data sources.

Result and Discussion

Overview of Multi-level Governance in Indonesia

Reorganization, rivalry, and collaboration across governments are all topics that can be discussed within the context of multi-level governance (Marks & Hooghe, 2004) Two varieties of multi-level administration, one for each type of state, have emerged. These two models of MLG provide important insight into the implementation of MLG in the European Union and other centralized nations by helping researchers better understand the tiers of an organization. Type I multi-level governance is characterized by general jurisdiction based on territory, with only a few levels (local, provincial, and central) not overlapping (e.g., local, provincial, and central). This form is most prevalent in unitary and federal republics with a decentralized system. Type II multilevel governance is an alternative to type I multilevel governance. In order to fulfill a variety of functions, the number of jurisdictions exceeds territorial boundaries. Type 2 multi-level governance is characterized by a large number of transitory levels, jurisdictions, and jurisdictional systems due to their functional nature (Marks & Hooghe, 2004). No country implements a type II government system, but it can be implemented in specific institutional structures that are more functional and flexible regarding sovereignty.

There are differences in the paradigm of decentralization between a unitary state and a federal state. Federal states, like some European Union countries and Australia, implement decentralization through boards and committees dealing with policy within and between jurisdictions. Government relations are primarily decentralized, creating formal networks that demand coordination in policy formation (Allain-Dupré, 2020). In contrast to the federal, unitary states only implement decentralization of executive authority. In addition, the unitary state also

does not share sovereignty among the regions, so legislative power is only located at the centre. As for the representative institutions at the regional level, they only have the power to form regional regulations that do not conflict with the products of the legislature above them, so the President has the right to cancel these conflicting regulations (Saleh, 2018).

Decentralization is an essential feature in multi-level governance, but sometimes it becomes an obstacle to policy implementation because it burdens local governments. (Kuhlmann, 2015) found that delegating authority to local governments was burdensome for them from a budget perspective, so the central government needed to bail out first. A study in China by (Hensengerth, 2015) shows that local governments contribute a lot to the difficulty of implementing policies because of conservatism and local cultural norms, as well as the need for more human resources and funding from local-level policy management institutions. (Suryawati, 2015) sees that the existence of policy management institutions at the regional level actually hinders the implementation of policies because of the different interests of agencies at each level and sectoral egos that blunt coordination efforts. (Sibarani, 2017) also sees problems in the operation of regional-level management institutions due to poor coordination between governments, planning inconsistencies, weak political commitment from the government, and limited competence of human resources in the regions.

Our goal is to look at public policy through the lens of multiple tiers of government. In that situation, it's important to consider how much of a part local governments play in formulating and enforcing policies. Despite adopting the deconcentration principle, the Indonesian central government continues to exert considerable influence over the country's administrative structure and public services (Sutiyono et al., 2018). There is a disparity between expectations and the current state of affairs. Therefore, multi-level governance is important for observing the evolution of decentralization in Indonesia and the consistency of the planning and implementation of government policies (Saleh, 2018).

Indonesia has a government system consisting of several levels of government: the central government, provincial government, district/city government, and village government. This gives Indonesia the characteristics of multi-level governance in policy-making and implementation, including education.

The central government has a role in establishing national educational policies, such as education standards, curricula and programs. Provincial and district/city governments are responsible for implementing and adapting these national policies to local needs and conditions. Meanwhile, the village government manages and facilitates education programs in their area.

Indonesia has great potential for developing multi-level governance in the education sector. As a country with cultural and linguistic diversity, Indonesia has diverse needs in education. Therefore, developing effective multi-level governance can bring benefits in making policies and implementing education programs that align with local needs and conditions.

In this case, non-governmental actors, such as community organizations, non-profit organizations and private educational institutions, can play an essential role in assisting the implementation of educational programs, especially in areas difficult for the government to reach. However, cooperation and coordination between various actors must be improved to achieve better results in developing multi-level governance in the education sector.

Factors causing bottlenecks in the implementation of educational policies

Lack of effective coordination among different levels of government and stakeholders

Effective coordination between different levels of government and stakeholders is essential in education policy implementation. Lack of effective coordination can lead to bottlenecking in implementing education policies. When different levels of government and stakeholders do not work together effectively, the implementation of education policies can be slow or even hampered.

various perspectives and objectives between various levels of government can lead to a lack of effective coordination between them. Different perspectives and objectives between the central and local administrations can result in disparities in budget allocations, policy priorities, and human resources. This can impact the implementation of education policies, particularly on a regional scale.

Ineffective coordination between stakeholders may also contribute to implementation bottlenecks in the education policy realm. In the implementation of education policies, stakeholders such as civil society organizations, the corporate community, and the media play an essential role. However, ineffective collaboration between stakeholders can result in a lack of support and participation in education policy implementation.

Miscommunication between government agencies and other stakeholders is only one potential source of inefficiency in coordination. If roles and responsibilities are clearly defined, the implementation of educational policies can be streamlined and enhanced. Differences in the interpretation of education policies can also lead to a lack of coordination, which can impact the local implementation of education policies.

In addition, another factor that can cause a lack of coordination is the conflict of interest between various parties. For example, when local governments are interested in pursuing infrastructure projects rather than educational development, this can influence the implementation of education policies and hinder the attainment of educational goals. In order to avoid bottlenecking in education policy implementation, effective coordination between various levels of government and stakeholders needs to be improved. This can be achieved through measures like making sure everyone knows what they're supposed to be doing, having better conversations about how to work together, and finding peaceful solutions to any conflicts of interest that arise.

Inadequate Resources

Inadequate resources are another factor that can lead to bottlenecking in education policy implementation. This can include different resources such as teaching staff, funds, infrastructure and technology. When these resources are insufficient, this can hinder the implementation of the established education policies.

Regarding teaching staff, there is sometimes a need for more teachers in various regions of Indonesia. This can be caused by several factors, such as the need for more interest from prospective teachers to teach in remote areas, the difficulty of access to these areas, or the low compensation and incentives to teach in these areas. A shortage of teachers can hinder the implementation of education policies because there needs to be more teaching staff in schools in the area.

In addition, financial resources are also an essential factor in the implementation of education policies. Sometimes, the budget allocated for education needs to match the actual needs. This can hinder the implementation of education policies, such as programs to improve the quality of education, increase access to education, or build the necessary educational infrastructure. Sometimes too, problems of corruption and budget abuse in the education sector can result in existing resources not being utilized correctly and on target.

One element that can create roadblocks in the execution of educational policies is an inadequate educational infrastructure. There are locations where there is a lack of or insufficient school buildings, classrooms, and transportation for students. The quality of a student's school experience could suffer as a result of this. A student's motivation and health can suffer, for instance, if they have to drive a great distance to get to school.

Finally, the rapid development of technology can also be a factor causing bottlenecks in implementing educational policies. Sometimes, there is a gap between technological developments, infrastructure, and human capabilities in the education sector. Implementing

educational programs that utilize technology, such as distance learning or learning software, can make it challenging. Sometimes, there are gaps in the ability to teach staff to operate technology, which can hinder the use of technology in education.

There is Political Interference

Political interference is the last factor that can cause bottlenecking in implementing education policies. Political interference in the implementation of educational policies can occur when political interests take over educational interests so that educational policies cannot be implemented effectively and efficiently. This can happen when the government wants to gain political support from certain groups or political leaders want to use education policies for their political interests.

One example of political interference in the implementation of education policies is when the government uses education funds to gain political support from certain groups. This can happen by giving educational projects to specific groups or using education funds for personal gain. In addition, political interference can also occur when political leaders manipulate education policies to gain political support. This can happen by exploiting educational issues to gain political support or ignoring critical educational issues for political gain.

Political interference in implementing education policies can also occur when the government does not firmly commit to reform. Governments that do not show a solid commitment to education reform tend to need more resources for implementing education policies. In addition, when the government is not committed to education reform, the implemented education policies tend only to suit the community's needs. They are not effective in improving the quality of education.

Political interference can also occur when the government does not dare to make difficult decisions to improve the education system. Governments that refrain from making difficult decisions to improve the education system, such as reforming the curriculum or eliminating corrupt practices in the education system, are less likely to be able to implement education policies effectively. In addition, when the government does not dare to make difficult decisions to improve the education system, the implemented education policies tend to be cosmetic and will not significantly improve the quality of education.

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Implications of Bottlenecking in Education Policy Implementation

Limited access to quality education

Bottlenecking in the implementation of education policies can have a significant impact on access to quality education for the community. If education policies cannot be implemented effectively, access to quality education will be improved and expanded. This can exacerbate social and economic disparities because access to good education is often the key to unlocking better job opportunities and improving quality of life.

In the context of education, limited access can occur in various aspects. For example, the need for more quantity or quality of educational facilities such as overcrowded classes, inadequate learning facilities, or even schools far from home. In addition, limited access can also occur in terms of inadequate curriculum and teaching methods and not following the needs of students or lack of support from families and communities for education.

The impact of limited access to quality education is the potential to hinder students' ability to develop themselves and optimize their potential. Students who need access to quality education tend to have limitations in accessing the same opportunities as other students, such as career opportunities and opportunities to study at higher education institutions.

Limited access can also exacerbate existing social and economic inequalities in society. Students from low-income families or who live in remote areas are more vulnerable to experiencing limited access to quality education. This means they have less chance of achieving success and pursuing their dreams. Inequality in access to education can trigger social divisions and conflict within society.

Therefore, efforts must be made to overcome bottlenecks in implementing education policies to ensure all students have equal access to quality education. These efforts could include improving educational infrastructure, improving the quality of teaching and curricula, and strengthening family and community support for education. This can create a more inclusive society and equal opportunities for all individuals to develop their potential.

Unequal Distribution of Educational Opportunities

The uneven distribution of educational opportunities also implies bottlenecking in implementing educational policies. When an education policy is hampered in its implementation, access to education may not be distributed evenly throughout the region. Some regions or community groups may need help accessing quality education. This condition has an impact on the limited educational opportunities available, thus potentially exacerbating existing educational inequality.

In the Indonesian context, there are several concrete examples of the unequal distribution of educational opportunities due to bottlenecking in the implementation of educational policies. One of them is related to the development of educational infrastructure. Some regions still need access to adequate educational infrastructure, such as proper school buildings, supporting facilities and infrastructure, and qualified teaching staff. This condition can become an obstacle for people in the area to get the same access to education as people in other areas who already have the better educational infrastructure.

In addition, the unequal distribution of educational opportunities is also related to the even distribution of the quality of education throughout Indonesia. Impediment of education policy implementation can lead to limited educational resources in some regions. This can impact the quality of education provided in the area and lower educational opportunities compared to more developed regions.

The unequal distribution of educational opportunities can also be a factor that exacerbates socioeconomic disparities among people. When educational opportunities are unequal, then people living in certain areas or specific groups of people will have less access to quality education. This condition will widen the socio-economic gap because quality education is an essential factor in increasing the ability of individuals to get better jobs and improve their quality of life.

In order to overcome the unequal distribution of educational opportunities, efforts are needed to improve the implementation of education policies in all regions of Indonesia. This effort can be carried out by increasing access to adequate educational infrastructure, strengthening the education system in underdeveloped areas, improving the quality of teaching staff, and expanding access to education for underprivileged groups. This will help increase the equity of educational opportunities throughout Indonesia, thereby reducing socio-economic disparities among people.

Low Student Performance

The final implication of bottlenecking in the implementation of educational policies is low student performance. When the implementation of educational policies is improved, the quality of education provided to students can be maintained, which in turn can affect student performance. Students may need help understanding lesson concepts that should have been mastered or even need access to an adequate education. This can lead to low student academic achievement in class and decreased interest in learning and motivation to excel.

Low student performance can harm their future in terms of careers and opportunities to continue their education to a higher level. Students who have low performance will have difficulty competing in the world of work and have fewer opportunities to continue their education to a

higher level, such as in college or graduate school. In addition, low performance can also lead to failures in education, such as dropping out of school or failing to pass exams.

Low student performance can also have repercussions on the government and society. Students with poor academic performance can have a negative impact on a country's human development index and the future productivity and quality of its human resources. This can deteriorate a country's economic and social conditions and impede its development.

To enhance student performance, the government and other stakeholders must overcome obstacles in the implementation of education policies. In implementing education policies, the government can increase budget allocations for education, improve coordination between institutions, and enhance the caliber of human resources. It is anticipated that by improving the quality of education in a country, student performance will rise and positively impact the country's development.

Strategy to Improve Multi-Level Governance

Strengthening Coordination Mechanisms

Solid and effective coordination mechanisms between various levels of government and stakeholders are fundamental in enhancing multi-level governance in implementing education policies. One strategy to improve coordination mechanisms is to strengthen the role of inter-agency coordinators, such as inter-ministerial or inter-regional coordinators.

This coordinator is responsible for ensuring that education policies generated from the main level can be implemented effectively locally. They also must ensure that the education policies implemented locally are consistent with national policies and follow local needs.

In addition, the coordination mechanism can also be improved through coordination forums between various stakeholders, such as the Ministry of Education, the Board of Education, the Council of Teachers and civil society organizations. This forum should facilitate open dialogue and consultation between stakeholders to reach mutually beneficial agreements and ensure more effective implementation of education policies.

In addition, another strategy to strengthen coordination mechanisms is to increase transparency and accountability in the implementation of education policies. The government must ensure that information on education policies and programs is openly available and easily accessible to the public. The government must also develop a robust monitoring and evaluation system to ensure that education policies can be implemented effectively and follow the expected goals.

Information and communication technology (ICT) can increase transparency and accountability in implementing educational policies. Governments can utilize social media, websites and applications to facilitate dialogue and consultation between stakeholders and the public. Governments can also use ICT to monitor and evaluate the implementation of education policies, so they can identify problems and solve them quickly.

The government must also strengthen the existing monitoring and control system to ensure that education policies can be implemented effectively and follow the principles of multi-level governance. Governments should ensure adequate oversight and control structures at all levels of government and that these oversight and control agencies have sufficient authority to resolve problems that arise.

Increase Budget Allocation

The next strategy to improve multi-level governance in the education sector is to increase budget allocations. In this context, the government must prioritize the education sector by placing education as one of the top priorities in budget allocations.

By increasing the educational budget allocation, the government can provide sufficient resources to overcome various obstacles to implementing education policies. These resources can be used to increase the availability of educational facilities, improve the quality and number of teachers, provide financial support for students and families in need, and increase the capacity and effectiveness of supervision and control. In addition, adequate budget allocations can also increase the availability and quality of textbooks and other teaching materials, as well as develop curricula and learning methods that are more effective and follow student needs.

However, increasing budget allocations alone is insufficient to ensure the successful implementation of education policies. Excellent and transparent budget management is needed to ensure that education funds are used effectively and efficiently. Therefore, the government must strengthen education financial governance by establishing a clear and transparent accountability mechanism to ensure that the education budget is used on target and provides optimal results.

In addition, the government can also develop cooperation with the private sector and international donors to increase education budget allocations. Partnerships with the private sector can help increase education funding and support the development of innovative and effective education programs. Meanwhile, cooperation with international donors can help overcome limited resources in the short term and accelerate the progress of education in Indonesia.

In order to increase the budget allocation for education, the government must pay attention to the principles of sound budget management, such as effectiveness, efficiency, transparency, accountability and fairness. Thus, an adequate budget allocation can be an effective strategy for improving multi-level governance in the education sector and ensuring that quality education is available to everyone.

Reducing Political interference

Several strategies are needed to reduce political interference in the implementation of educational policies. First, sound governance principles must be clearly understood, including transparency, accountability and public participation. These principles must be used as a reference in every stage of education policy implementation.

Furthermore, a firm and clear policy regarding the absence of political interference in implementing educational policies is needed. This must be followed by strict sanctions for those proven to have intervened politically in implementing education policies. Then, it is necessary to strengthen supervisory and law enforcement agencies. These institutions must have clear and sufficiently strong authorities in supervising and enforcing laws against violations in the implementation of educational policies. This will provide a deterrent effect for those who wish to intervene politically in implementing educational policies.

In addition, it is necessary to strengthen institutions and professionalism in the education bureaucracy. Strong institutions and high professionalism will reduce opportunities for political interference in implementing educational policies. Political costs will be higher if political intervention is carried out in solid institutions and with high professionalism.

Finally, active and quality public participation can also reduce opportunities for political interference in implementing education policies. Public participation can increase transparency in implementing education policies, making it more difficult for those who wish to intervene politically to influence the process.

With these strategies, political interference in implementing educational policies can be reduced. This will enable the implementation of educational policies to run better to improve the quality of education provided to the community.

Conclusion

Based on a literature review conducted on several studies related to multi-level governance in implementing education policies in Indonesia, several factors need to be improved in implementing education policies, such as a lack of effective coordination between various levels of government and stakeholders, inadequate resources, and political interference. These factors result in limited access to quality education, unequal distribution of educational opportunities, and low student performance. To improve multi-level governance in implementing education policies, a strategy is needed to overcome these bottlenecking factors. These strategies include strengthening coordination mechanisms between various levels of government and stakeholders, increasing educational budget allocations, and reducing political interference in implementing education policies. Overall, the implementation of education policies in Indonesia is still facing various challenges related to multi-level governance, so efforts are needed to improve coordination and allocation of adequate resources, as well as reduce political interference that has the potential to hinder the implementation of effective and quality education policies.

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