

TRANSFORMATIVE PEDAGOGY IN BUILDING EQUITABLE ACCESS TO NATIONAL EDUCATION

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Abstract

This research aims to analyze the role of transformative pedagogy in building equitable access to national education in Indonesia. Transformative pedagogy, rooted in the thought of Paulo Freire, emphasizes education as a liberatory process that fosters critical consciousness and social justice. This research uses a qualitative approach with a descriptive-analytical design, through document analysis of national education policies, in-depth interviews with teachers, principals and education office officials, and triangulation of data from various sources. The data were analyzed using thematic analysis techniques with reference to Critical Pedagogy theory (Freire, 1970) and Social Justice Theory (Rawls, 1971). The results show that national policies such as *Merdeka Belajar* have reflected the spirit of inclusiveness, but have not fully realized the transformation of social awareness in educational practice. Teachers have not played an optimal role as agents of change because the education system is still hierarchical and oriented towards academic achievement. This research concludes that equal access to education can only be realized through the synergy between social justice policy reform and the application of liberating transformative pedagogy. The integration of the two is an important foundation for an inclusive, humanist and transformative national education.

Keywords: transformative pedagogy, social justice, educational equality, critical pedagogy, Merdeka Belajar

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis peran pedagogi transformatif dalam membangun kesetaraan akses pendidikan nasional di Indonesia. Pedagogi transformatif, yang berakar pada pemikiran Paulo Freire, menekankan pendidikan sebagai proses pembebasan yang menumbuhkan kesadaran kritis dan keadilan sosial. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan desain deskriptif-analitis, melalui analisis dokumen kebijakan pendidikan nasional, wawancara mendalam dengan guru, kepala sekolah, dan pejabat dinas pendidikan, serta triangulasi data dari berbagai sumber. Data dianalisis menggunakan teknik analisis tematik dengan mengacu pada teori Pedagogi Kritis (Freire, 1970) dan Teori Keadilan Sosial (Rawls, 1971). Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa kebijakan nasional seperti Merdeka Belajar telah mencerminkan semangat inklusivitas, namun belum sepenuhnya mewujudkan transformasi kesadaran sosial dalam praktik pendidikan. Guru belum berperan optimal sebagai agen perubahan karena sistem pendidikan masih hierarkis dan berorientasi pada capaian akademik.

Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa kesetaraan akses pendidikan hanya dapat terwujud melalui sinergi antara reformasi kebijakan yang berkeadilan sosial dan penerapan pedagogi transformatif yang membebaskan. Integrasi keduanya menjadi fondasi penting bagi pendidikan nasional yang inklusif, humanis, dan berdaya transformasi,

Kata kunci: *pedagogi transformatif, keadilan sosial, kesetaraan pendidikan, pedagogi kritis, Merdeka Belajar*

INTRODUCTION

Education has a strategic role in shaping social justice and strengthening national cohesion. However, reality shows that the gap in access to and quality of education in Indonesia is still a fundamental problem. Inequalities between urban and rural areas, between public and private schools, and between high and low socioeconomic groups are still very striking. Data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS, 2024) shows that the school enrollment rate (APS) at the secondary level in urban areas reached 85.6%, while in rural areas it was only 67.4%. This shows that equitable access to education has not been fully realized, despite equity policies such as BOS, education affirmation, and school digitization programs.

In this context, the transformative pedagogy approach becomes relevant as an educational paradigm that not only emphasizes aspects of knowledge transfer but also critical awareness and social liberation. This concept is rooted in the thoughts of Freire, (1978) in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, which asserts that education should be an emancipatory process-liberating learners from structures of social, economic, and cultural oppression. Transformative pedagogy is oriented towards social change by making learners active subjects in building awareness and critical action towards the reality of injustice they face.

In the Indonesian context, this approach finds its urgency because education is often reproductive - maintaining the social status quo - rather than transformative. Many schools still apply learning patterns that emphasize obedience and memorization, rather than critical thinking and active participation. As a result, education tends to fail as a tool for equitable social mobility. In fact, the purpose of national education, as stated in Law No. 20/2003, is “to develop the potential of students to become human beings who are faithful, noble, knowledgeable, capable, creative, and become democratic and responsible citizens”. From a theoretical perspective, this research uses the foundation of Critical Pedagogy and Social Justice Theory. Critical pedagogy, as developed by Giroux, (1996), emphasizes that education should be a dialogical space that fosters critical consciousness (*conscientization*) and builds the capacity of learners to transform their society. Meanwhile, Rawls, (1971) The theory of social justice asserts that justice is only realized when every individual has an equal opportunity to benefit from the social system, including education. By combining these two theories, transformative pedagogy in the context of educational equality can be understood as a strategy to address structural inequality through critical awareness and social action.

Various previous studies provide an important empirical basis for the study of transformative pedagogy in the context of equal access to education. Iqbal et al., (2021)

examines educational practices in multicultural schools in Indonesia and finds that education in the country is still exclusive of minority groups. Schools have not yet become inclusive and participatory spaces for dialogue. Raihani emphasized the importance of applying critical pedagogy as a strategy to build social empathy and foster equality among learners from different backgrounds. This finding shows that educational practices in Indonesia are still distant from the spirit of social justice as emphasized by (Freire, 1978).

Furthermore, Adisaputera et al., (2023) highlighted that education equity policies in Indonesia are still structurally oriented, not fully touching cultural and pedagogical aspects. According to him, teachers have not internalized the principle of social equality in the learning process, so the administrative equity policy has not been balanced with the transformation at the level of classroom praxis. Meanwhile, Sari, (2019) research through a qualitative study in 3T (frontier, outermost, and disadvantaged) schools revealed that access to education is still strongly influenced by family socio-economic factors and regional infrastructure. They concluded that the application of critical awareness-based pedagogy can help students understand and deal with the injustices they experience, while fostering resilience and the ability to change their own social conditions.

Another research by Handayani, (2020) shows that transformative and social value-oriented learning can increase students' empathy and solidarity towards issues of social inequality. In her research in public schools in Central Java, she found that critical reflection linked to learners' social context created a new awareness of the importance of diversity and justice. Meanwhile, Rahman et al., (2021), examined the application of transformative pedagogy in pesantren schools and found that an approach that combines spiritual awareness with social awareness can strengthen students' active participation and form an inclusive culture in the school environment. The findings of these previous studies emphasize the importance of the transformative pedagogy approach to create educational equality, but are still limited to the level of implementation in certain classrooms or educational institutions.

The difference between this research and previous studies lies in its scope and orientation. If previous studies focused on the application of transformative or critical pedagogy on a micro scale, such as a particular school or community, then this research seeks to connect the concept of transformative pedagogy with the national education policy system. The main focus of this research is to formulate how transformative pedagogy can function as a conceptual framework as well as strategic praxis to build equal access to education nationally. This means that this research not only highlights the methodological aspects of learning but also examines the dimensions of education policies and structures that can support equity and social justice.

The research gaps underlying this study are quite significant. First, there are still minimal studies that integratively link transformative pedagogy with the national education policy system. Most of the existing studies highlight the application of critical pedagogy in the classroom without linking it to the macro policy context. Secondly, contextual research

in Indonesia that discusses transformative pedagogy in relation to social realities such as poverty, digital inequality, and marginalization of 3T areas is still limited. Thirdly, there is no conceptual model that bridges transformative pedagogy theory with practical strategies for equalizing access to national education. Fourth, there is no longitudinal study that examines the impact of implementing transformative education on improving social equality and mobility between classes in the long term.

The novelty of this research lies in its attempt to formulate a conceptual framework of transformative pedagogy as a paradigm for the development of socially just national education. The approach used does not stop at changing learning methods in the classroom, but emphasizes the need for structural transformation involving curriculum reformulation, teacher empowerment, and strengthening public policy. This research proposes three main directions of renewal, namely the integration of social justice values in the national curriculum, strengthening the capacity of teachers as agents of social change, and developing education policies that favor marginalized groups. By combining the micro dimension of pedagogical practice and the macro dimension of education policy, this research offers a more complete theoretical and practical framework for realizing educational equity.

The urgency of this research is even more evident if it is related to the condition of Indonesian education after the COVID-19 pandemic. The digital divide has widened the gap between students who have access to technology and those who do not. According to the Ministry of Education and Culture (2023), differences in the ability to access online learning technology have created a new form of educational inequality. On the other hand, the education paradigm in Indonesia still tends to be elitist and centralized, so learners from lower social classes often do not have equal space to participate in meaningful learning. The quality of teachers and curriculum is still oriented towards academic achievement, not the development of critical and social awareness.

Globally, this urgency is also in line with *Sustainable Development Goals* (SDGs) point four, which emphasizes the importance of inclusive and equitable quality education. UNESCO (2021) emphasizes that transformative education is a strategic approach in creating a sustainable society that values diversity and equality. In the national context, the vision of *Merdeka Belajar* promoted by the Indonesian government requires a transformation of the education paradigm that is more humane, participatory, and contextual. Therefore, this research is not only academically important as a contribution to the development of transformative pedagogy theory, but also practically in supporting education policies that favor social justice and equal access to learning in all regions of Indonesia.

The main objective of this research is to analyze the relevance and contribution of transformative pedagogy in building equal access to national education and to identify the structural, cultural, and pedagogical barriers that hinder its implementation. In addition, this study aims to formulate an integrative conceptual model that can link

transformative pedagogy theory with education equity strategies at the national policy level. Finally, this research is expected to provide strategic recommendations for the government, educational institutions, and teachers so that the principles of transformative pedagogy can be implemented sustainably in the Indonesian education system. Thus, the results of this research are expected to make a real contribution to the development of national education that is not only oriented towards improving academic quality, but also towards social justice and equal access for all citizens.

METHOD

This research uses a qualitative approach with a descriptive-analytical study design because the main objective is to deeply understand how the concept of transformative pedagogy can be applied in building equal access to national education. This approach allows researchers to contextually examine the relationship between critical pedagogy theory, education policy, and learning practices that take place in various educational units in Indonesia. Qualitative research was chosen because the issues of educational equality and transformative pedagogy are complex, multidimensional, and cannot be explained only through quantitative data, but require an in-depth understanding of the meanings, values, and experiences of educational actors. Research data sources include national education policy documents, such as Law Number 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System, *Merdeka Belajar* curriculum documents, and Ministry of Education and Culture reports on educational equity. In addition, empirical data is obtained through in-depth interviews with key informants consisting of teachers, principals, policy makers in the education office, and lecturers who are experts in critical pedagogy and public policy. The interviews were semi-structured so that researchers could explore their views, practices, and experiences in implementing the principles of transformative pedagogy in the educational environment. The collected data were analyzed using thematic analysis to identify patterns, categories, and meanings that emerged from the interviews and documents. Data validity was maintained through source and method triangulation techniques, comparing interview findings with policy documents and observations of the educational context. The results of the analysis were then interpreted based on the theoretical framework of Critical Pedagogy (Freire, 1978) and Social Justice Theory (Rawls, 1971), resulting in a comprehensive understanding of how transformative pedagogy can be used as a conceptual and praxis strategy to build equitable access to national education.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results show that the implementation of transformative pedagogy in building equal access to national education in Indonesia is still at an early stage and faces considerable structural, cultural, and pedagogical challenges. Based on the results of in-depth interviews and analysis of policy documents, it was found that conceptually the Indonesian government has shown policy directions that are in line with the principles of transformative pedagogy through the *Merdeka Belajar* program, the *Pancasila Student Profile*, and strengthening character education. However, in practice, most education

units have not fully understood transformative pedagogy as a critical paradigm that fosters social awareness and justice.

1. Conceptual findings

The results of document analysis show that national policies emphasize the principles of inclusiveness and equity in education, but they do not explicitly use the transformative pedagogy approach. Values such as equality, independence of thought, and social empathy are still normative in the policy text, without clear pedagogical guidance at the school level. Many teachers admit that they have not received training that directs them to become *transformative educators* who foster students' critical awareness. This indicates that transformative pedagogy is still understood as an innovative method, not as an ideological and social process that changes the learning paradigm.

2. Empirical Findings from the Field

Interviews with teachers and principals in various regions revealed three main patterns of implementing transformative pedagogy. First, urban schools with adequate resource support tend to find it easier to integrate reflective learning, project-based learning, and social-critical discussions in learning activities. Secondly, schools in 3T areas face constraints in infrastructure and access to learning resources, but show strong potential in fostering social solidarity and equality values, as teachers often adapt learning to the social context of learners. Third, there is a large gap between policy planning and implementation in the field. Teachers interviewed generally confirmed that the national curriculum still emphasizes cognitive achievement and examinations, so that time and space to build critical awareness is very limited. One teacher in South Kalimantan mentioned, *“We want children to be sensitive to their social environment, but administrative and academic demands make it difficult to do.”* This finding suggests a tension between an academic orientation and a transformative orientation that emphasizes social awareness.

3. Structural and cultural findings

Analysis of interviews with education office officials and policy documents revealed that the national education system still operates in a top-down manner. Teachers and schools have limited space to design learning that fits the local social context. In fact, the principles of transformative pedagogy demand autonomy for teachers and students to build meaning dialogically. Culturally, the hierarchical and examinative learning culture is the main obstacle to the formation of critical dialogue in the classroom. Many students still see the teacher as the sole source of truth, not a facilitator of thinking. The findings also show that efforts to equalize access to education have so far focused more on physical distribution, such as school construction, internet quota assistance, and procurement of facilities. Meanwhile, the pedagogical aspect-how equality is presented in learning practices-has not been a top priority. Thus, equality of access does not mean equality of learning experience.

4. Data Analysis and Thematic Patterns

From the results of the thematic analysis, three main themes were found that illustrate the relationship between transformative pedagogy and equal access to national education:

- 1. Policies are not yet transformative in practice because they have not changed the learning paradigm towards social awareness.
- 2. The role of teachers as agents of social transformation is still limited, due to the lack of critical pedagogy training and administrative pressure.
- 3. Equal access is still measured quantitatively, not yet touching the cultural and ideological dimensions that are at the core of transformative pedagogy.

These three themes are intertwined and show that efforts to build equal access to national education cannot be achieved only through structural policies, but require a pedagogical paradigm transformation that places education as a tool of social awareness and liberation.

Figure 1. Research Flowchart

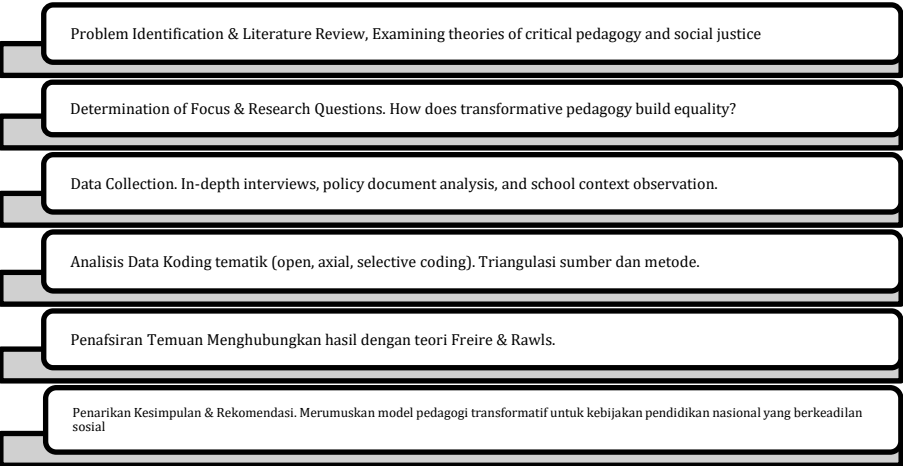


Table 1. Thematic Analysis Results

MAIN THEME	SUBTHEME FIELD FINDINGS	THEORETICAL INTERPRETATI ON (FREIRE & RAWLS)	IMPLICATIONS FOR EQUAL ACCESS TO EDUCATION
1. POLICY PARADIGM IS NOT TRANSFORMATIVE	Policies still focus on infrastructure and academic outcomes.	There is no institutional critical consciousness.	Equal access is only administrative, not yet substantive.
2. THE TEACHER'S ROLE AS AN AGENT OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION	Teachers lack training in critical pedagogy.	Teachers are not yet <i>co-creators of</i> social awareness.	Learning is still teacher-centered, not yet liberating.

3. GAPS BETWEEN ACCESS AND LEARNING EXPERIENCE	Schools in the 3Ts tend to be contextualized but limited in resources.	Contextualized education reflects local transformational practices.	Need for differentiated policy support for marginalized areas.
4. HIERARCHICAL LEARNING CULTURE	Students are passive and afraid of dialogue	No dialogic relationship is created (Freire, 1978)	Inhibits epistemic equality between teachers and students
5. TRANSFORMATION POTENTIAL	Progressive teacher and school initiatives in urban areas	Reflective awareness emerges on a small scale	Embryonic national transformative education model

DISCUSSION

The results show that the application of transformative pedagogy in the context of Indonesia's national education system still faces complex and multidimensional obstacles. Conceptually, national education policy has shown a direction of reform that is in line with the spirit of social justice through the *Merdeka Belajar* policy and a curriculum that emphasizes the Pancasila learner profile. However, in practice, the policy has not fully transformed into a system that fosters critical awareness, social participation, and independent thinking of students as referred to in Paulo Freire's concept of critical pedagogy. Freire asserted that education should not just be a process of “filling empty vessels”, but a dialogical process that raises critical awareness (*conscientization*) to understand social reality and act to change it. When the learning process is still oriented towards mastery of material and exam results, education tends to be a “banking system” - teachers as knowledge givers and students as passive recipients - which ultimately reproduces existing social inequalities (Freire, 1978).

The findings of this study confirm that most teachers and educational units in Indonesia still operate within this conventional education paradigm. Although the *Merdeka Belajar* policy provides space for learning innovation, many teachers do not understand the essence of pedagogical freedom as a space for critical dialogue between students and their social reality. Some teachers interpret learning independence only as flexibility in methods or the use of digital media, not as a process of liberating social awareness. In Freire's perspective, this illustrates that “freedom of learning” has not transformed into “liberation consciousness”. Teachers have not fully acted as *co-creators of knowledge*, namely educators who, together with students, build knowledge through reflective dialogue on social experiences.

In addition, the research findings show that there is a real gap between the policy of equalizing access to education and the reality of its implementation in the field. The government has tried to expand access to education through various programs such as School Operational Assistance (BOS), education affirmation for 3T areas, and school

digitalization. However, as Rawls, (1971) explains in *A Theory of Justice*, social justice is not simply measured by formal equality (equal opportunities by law), but must also include substantive equality-the real ability of each individual to take advantage of these opportunities. In the context of education, this means that equal access is not only measured by the availability of facilities, but also by the quality of the learning experience that enables all learners to develop their potential equally.

Analysis of the field data shows that schools in urban areas tend to have more resources and policy support to implement project-based learning and social reflection, while schools in the 3T areas face limited infrastructure and educators. Interestingly, however, teachers in 3T areas are more adaptive and creative in tailoring learning to the students' social context. They integrate local issues such as poverty, environment, and social solidarity in their learning, even without calling it “transformative pedagogy”. This phenomenon shows that the essence of transformative pedagogy does not always depend on resources, but on educators' awareness of the social function of education. In Freire's view, this is the true form of education - education that is born out of social reality and serves to transform it.

However, this research also found that national education policy is still centralized and normative. Teachers and schools have limited space to interpret the curriculum according to the local social context. According Ardianti et al., (2021) The top-down structure of the education bureaucracy makes it difficult for transformative pedagogy to grow, because the space for dialogue and critical reflection among education actors is often hampered by administrative demands. In Freire's theory, this kind of structure is a subtle form of cultural oppression, where the education system curbs individual creativity and social awareness through symbolic control mechanisms. Education, which is supposed to be a process of liberation, is trapped in formal routines and narrow cognitive evaluations.

If linked to Rawls' theory of social justice, this condition shows that the difference principle- that is, social inequality can only be justified if it benefits the weakest groups - has not been realized in national education policy. While the government has expanded access to education, it has not effectively improved the quality of learning experiences for marginalized groups. Schools in disadvantaged areas still face limited facilities, qualified teachers, and technological support, so students from poorer groups remain trapped in structural inequality. Social justice, in this case, has not been substantively realized because education has not functioned as a tool for equal social mobility.

The findings on the hierarchical learning culture also reinforce this analysis. In many schools, the relationship between teachers and students is still built on one-sided authority rather than a two-way dialogue. Teachers are often the sole source of knowledge, while students are considered passive recipients who must obey. This culture closes the space for students to criticize social conditions, argue freely, or actively participate in the learning process. In fact, according to Freire, the dialogic relationship between teachers and students is the core of transformative pedagogy. The dialogue process allows learners

to develop a *critical consciousness* of their social reality, understand oppressive power relations, and act to transform them. When this relationship is not created, education loses its transformative function and only becomes a means of reproducing inequality.

One interesting dimension of the results of this research is the emergence of progressive teacher and school initiatives in several urban areas that have begun to implement reflective and contextual learning (Chuang, 2021; Cormack et al., 2020). They use a project-based approach that links local social issues, such as economic inequality, the environment, and humanity, to the subject matter. This approach is in line with Freire's concept of “praxis” - reflective action that brings together theory and practice to bring about social change. Through this kind of learning, students not only understand the theory cognitively, but also interpret knowledge as a tool to improve the social reality around them. This shows that transformative pedagogy is not an academic utopia, but can be applied in the context of formal education if there is commitment and proper understanding from educators.

In addition to pedagogical factors, the research results also highlight the importance of policy reform within the framework of social justice. Rawls' approach emphasizes that public policy must ensure *fair equality of opportunity*, i.e., ensuring that socio-economic differences do not prevent people from benefiting from education fairly. In the Indonesian context, this means that education policy must consider regional disparities, family socio-economic conditions, and access to digital resources. Education equity programs do not simply stop at the distribution of facilities and infrastructure, but need to touch the pedagogical and cultural dimensions. Thus, education policy must support the formation of social awareness and critical participation, not just standardize academic achievement (Arlina et al., 2023; Asrori & Maskuri, 2022).

In-depth analysis of the interviews also revealed that some teachers have begun to realize their role as agents of social transformation, although they do not yet fully have the methodological capacity to implement it. Many teachers expressed a desire to make learning more meaningful, but were hampered by an assessment system that still emphasizes academic results. In this case, Freire's theory provides an important conceptual framework that teachers need to experience a “process of realization” to position themselves not as controllers, but as facilitators of social change. When teachers have the freedom and support to develop critical consciousness, they can pass this on to learners, creating a more egalitarian and reflective learning culture.

Meanwhile, in terms of national policy, Rawls' principle of justice demands a *redistributive policy* in education - a policy that consciously allocates more resources to marginalized groups. In this case, the research shows that the education budget allocation in disadvantaged areas is still not proportional to their real needs. For example, many schools in the 3T areas are still struggling to get access to the internet and textbooks, even though the education digitization policy continues to be rolled out. This kind of structural

inequality shows that the principle of distributive justice has not been fully implemented in national education policy.

If the two major theories-Freire and Rawls-are combined in the Indonesian context, it can be concluded that building equitable access to national education requires two main transformations. First, structural transformation, which relates to policy reforms to be more favorable to marginalized groups and disadvantaged areas. Second, pedagogical transformation, which involves changing the teaching paradigm from a hierarchical model to a dialogical and reflective model. These two dimensions are interrelated: equitable policies must create space for liberating pedagogy, while transformative pedagogy will strengthen the implementation of social justice policies.

In terms of praxis, this research shows that transformative education can act as a bridge between equity and social justice policies. When students are invited to understand social issues around them, dialogue about reality, and engage in reflective activities, they not only learn to pass exams, but also learn to become critical and empathetic citizens. This kind of education strengthens social cohesion and fosters collective awareness that equality is not just a policy goal, but a process of shared consciousness. Furthermore, the results of this research emphasize that transformative pedagogy is not just about a “new way of teaching” but about a new way of thinking about the nature of education. In Freire's view, education is a political act - not in the sense of being partisan, but in the sense of liberating people from structures of domination and injustice. When learners are encouraged to understand social inequality and given the space to express their views and solutions, education functions as a means of liberation, not taming. In the context of Rawls' theory, this kind of education acts as a social mechanism that ensures equal opportunities and fair distribution of social benefits.

Thus, this discussion leads to the conclusion that the success of transformative pedagogy in building equal access to national education depends on the synergy between equitable public policies and a critical pedagogical paradigm. The government needs to review the equalization policy so that it does not stop at the quantitative aspect, but rather touches on the qualitative dimension of the learning experience. On the other hand, educational institutions need to equip teachers with critical pedagogy competencies to facilitate learning processes that foster social awareness. The integration of these two aspects will make Indonesian education not only a means of social mobility but also a tool of transformation towards a just, democratic, and civilized society.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the research and analysis, it can be concluded that the application of transformative pedagogy has a strategic role in building equal access to national education in Indonesia. Transformative pedagogy rooted in Paulo Freire's thought places education as a liberation process that fosters critical awareness and social participation of learners. In the context of Indonesian education, this paradigm is relevant to address structural, cultural, and pedagogical inequalities that still hinder equal access to

education. Although national policies such as *Merdeka Belajar* have contained the spirit of freedom and inclusiveness, their implementation still tends to be normative and has not touched the essence of social awareness transformation. Teachers and schools still work in a hierarchical system and are oriented towards academic achievement, not the formation of students' critical consciousness.

This research also shows that efforts to equalize education so far have focused more on quantitative dimensions, such as the provision of facilities and equitable distribution of facilities, but have not touched on the substantive aspects of equal learning experiences. In John Rawls' social justice perspective, a fair education not only provides equal opportunities formally, but also guarantees the real ability of students to utilize these opportunities equally. Therefore, national education policy needs to be directed at strengthening the pedagogical dimensions that are humanist, reflective, and contextual. Thus, to realize equal access to national education, a synergy between socially just policy reform and liberating pedagogical transformation is needed. The government needs to provide more autonomy for teachers and schools to implement transformative pedagogy according to the local social context, while teachers need to be equipped with critical pedagogical competencies to become agents of social change. Through the integration of these two dimensions, Indonesian education can move towards a more inclusive, equitable, and transformative system for all learners.

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