

Islamic Education Policy in the New Order Era

Nurul Hidayah

Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang
nurulhidayah1217@gmail.com

Syamsul Arifin

Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang
syamsarifin@umm.ac.id

Nurul Humaidi

Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang
mnhumaidi@umm.ac.id

Abstract: Islamic education existed before the founding of the Indonesian state. Many Muslims participated in fighting for Indonesian independence. For this reason, Islamic education and the Indonesian state have a very close relationship, including the New Order era, which was the forerunner to the progress of Islamic teaching. This research aims to determine Islamic Education policies during the New Order era and the supporting factors for improving Islamic Religious Education. The research method used is a literature review by collecting various sources of books, articles, and documents about Islamic education policies during the New Order era. The results of the research obtained are that the New Order era opened the door to the entry of Islamic Education into national education with the SKB of three Ministers, the renewal of madrasas and Islamic boarding schools, the empowerment of non-formal Islamic Education Institutions, and the improvement of the socio-religious atmosphere in the community, as well as various factors. Other supporters who led to the progress of Islamic education during the New Order era.

Keywords: Islamic education; The New Orde; Policy

Abstrak: Pendidikan Islam telah ada sebelum berdirinya negara Indonesia. Bahkan, banyak umat Islam yang ikut memperjuangkan kemerdekaan Indonesia. Oleh sebab itu, Pendidikan Islam dan negara Indonesia memiliki hubungan yang sangat erat, termasuk didalamnya zaman orde baru yang merupakan cikal bakal kemajuan Pendidikan Islam hingga saat ini. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk mengetahui kebijakan-kebijakan Pendidikan Islam pada masa Orde Baru dan faktor pendukung kemajuan Pendidikan Agama Islam. Adapun metode penelitian yang digunakan adalah kajian Pustaka, yaitu dengan mengumpulkan berbagai sumber buku, artikel, dokumen tentang kebijakan Pendidikan Islam zaman orde baru. Hasil penelitian yang didapatkan adalah pada masa orde baru merupakan pembuka pintu masuknya Pendidikan Islam ke dalam Pendidikan nasional dengan adanya SKB tiga Menteri, adanya pembaharuan madrasah dan pesantren, pemberdayaan Lembaga Pendidikan islam nonformal, dan peningkatan atmosfer sosial keagamaan dilingkungan Masyarakat, serta berbagai factor-faktor pendukung lainnya yang menyebabkan kemajuan Pendidikan Islam pada zaman orde baru.

Kata Kunci: Pendidikan Islam; Orde Baru; Kebijakan

INTRODUCTION

Islam views science as an essential aspect. With science, society becomes intelligent, and one way to develop science is through education. Since the beginning of the development of Islam, the educational aspect has become a priority for Muslim communities worldwide; in fact, education has become a priority aspect that has been constantly pursued by Indonesian society until now¹.

Education is the central pillar of the establishment of a nation. Education is an effort and effort to design the future of humans as a generation that advances a nation's civilization. In its implementation, the education process can be carried out by the government, and the implementation process can also be carried out and initiated by the community itself².

From this, education plays a vital role in the life of a nation, including Islamic religious education, which existed before the founding of the Indonesian state. In fact, many Islamic fighters participated in fighting for the Indonesian state. Thus, Islam and the Indonesian state have a very close relationship. Islamic education began to develop during the New Order era.

The New Order was the period of government in Indonesia from March 11, 1966, until the transition of the presidency from President Suharto to President Habibie on May 21, 1998. The transition from the Old Order to the New Order brought consequences of changes in political strategy and national education policy. The New Order was a total correlation to the Old Order, which was dominated by the PKI and was considered to have perverted Pancasila. The New Order provided a new style for Islamic religious education policy due to the shift from the influence of communism towards refining Pancasila through a sustainable national development plan. The New Order period is also known as the Constitutional and Development Order. Namely, it aims to develop the whole person and balance the spiritual and physical to create a better life³.

Therefore, this article will discuss Islamic education policies during the New Order era. During this period, Islamic education received considerable

¹ H Asrohah, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam* (Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 2005).

² M. Syahrani Jailani and Muhammad Muhammad, "Kilas Balik Kebijakan Pendidikan Islam Indonesia Pada Masa Orde Baru (1967-1997)," *INNOVATIO: Journal for Religious Innovation Studies* 19, no. 1 (2019): 15–26, <https://doi.org/10.30631/innovatio.v19i1.75>.

³ Heni Yuningsih, "Kebijakan Pendidikan Islam Masa Orde Baru," *Jurnal Tarbiya* 3, no. 1 (2016): 50–62, <https://www.neliti.com/publications/226411/politik-kebijakan-pemerintah-terhadap-pendidikan-agama-islam-di-masa-orde-baru>.

attention from Islamic-based schools and became part of Indonesian national education.

RESUL AND DISCUSSIONS

Understanding the New Order

The new order is a new era that replaces the old order. However, politically, the new order is defined as a time to return the Republic of Indonesia to order by state direction as contained in the 1945 Constitution and the state philosophy of Pancasila purely and consistently⁴.

The new order began from March 11, 1966, to May 21, 1998, during the reign of President Soeharto. The new order is also known as the constitutional order and development order. At that time, the goal of government was to develop the whole person and balance the spiritual and physical to create a better life⁵.

All policies born during the New Order era, including in education, were directed at efforts to support development in the economic sector, which was supported by economic stability with a centralized approach, monoloyalty, and monopoly⁶.

The new order ended with the announcement of Suharto's resignation and the appointment of BJ Habibie as president of Indonesia. In 1977, Indonesia experienced the Asian financial and economic crisis. At that time, the rupiah fell, inflation rose sharply, and capital transfer accelerated. The students staged a demonstration to get Suharto to resign from the presidency. So, on May 21, 1998, Suharto resigned precisely three months after the MPR inaugurated him for his seventh term of service⁷.

Islamic Education Policy in the New Order Period

During the New Order government, education was characterized by centralized politics, emphasizing economic development supported by political stability and security backed by the power of the government bureaucracy, armed forces, and conglomerates. With this centralized politics, the entire

⁴ Abudin Nata, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam* (Jakarta: Kencana, 2016).

⁵ Nur Iftitah, "Potret Pendidikan Islam Di Indonesia Masa Orde Baru Dan Reformasi," in *Politik Pendidikan Islam* (Surabaya: Imtiyaz, 2017), 55.

⁶ Abudin Nata, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam*, II (Jakarta: Prenada Media Group, 2014).

⁷ Iftitah, "Potret Pendidikan Islam Di Indonesia Masa Orde Baru Dan Reformasi."

community must show high monoloyalty ideologically, politically, bureaucratically, and on technical matters⁸.

From an ideological perspective, education has had quite a place among the nation's founders. This is proven by the inclusion of education as one of the main priorities in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution, which in fact cannot be changed and is considered the sacred foundation of the nation's struggle. Before President Suharto's administration, the national education issue had received much attention from the existing political elite. If we look at history, the proclaimer Bung Hatta was one of the figures who actively voiced the importance of national education for the nation's progress since the colonial era⁹.

The New Order government's policy towards education was a routinization system, which forced the New Order government's ideas to take root in children's minds. Even from elementary school to university level, you are required to take P4 training (Guidelines for the Appreciation and Practice of Pancasila), which contains the memorization of the points of Pancasila. This indoctrination process instilled New Order ideology and the New Order education system, which rejected all forms of foreign culture, whether they had good or bad values¹⁰.

Thus, educational policy during the New Order era led to uniformity, both in terms of dress and in terms of thinking. This causes our nation's generation to be barren. They lack ideas and fear being sanctioned by the government because all actions could be considered subversive. The activities and policies of the New Order government were the most correct. All single and plural organizational platforms are formed in a homogeneous culture; even political parties are limited. Only three parties are entitled to take part in the elections. However, at that time, no one dared to speak. At that time, there were no longer any differences of opinion, giving birth to pseudo-scientific disciplines and giving birth to a talkative and fearful generation¹¹.

Education does not have social accountability. The community is not included in designing the education system because everything is centralized. Thus, education at that time denied society's pluralism, so attitudes of tolerance were increasingly reduced. Instead, there was an attitude of egoism. It was only

⁸ Jailani and Muhammad, "Kilas Balik Kebijakan Pendidikan Islam Indonesia Pada Masa Orde Baru (1967-1997)."

⁹ Yuningsih, "Kebijakan Pendidikan Islam Masa Orde Baru," 2016.

¹⁰ Jailani and Muhammad, "Kilas Balik Kebijakan Pendidikan Islam Indonesia Pada Masa Orde Baru (1967-1997)."

¹¹ Jailani and Muhammad.

after the emergence of a "new generation," namely groups of students who no longer wanted to accept the views of the New Order regime that resistance began to appear. The students broke through the New Order regime by pioneering a political attitude, a repetition of the attitude of the pioneers of independence, namely opposing all arbitrariness and injustice.

Behind the New Order government's policy regarding education with all the dynamics and phenomena surrounding it, on the one hand, the development of Islamic education during the New Order era had a positive place in the eyes of the government, step by step experiencing quite significant results. Among them, Islamic boarding school institutions are starting to establish madrasas in their education system.

This situation has encouraged Islamic figures to demand that madrasas and religious education be included in the national education system. The reaction to the government's discriminatory attitude became even harsher with the issuance of Presidential Decree No. 34 of 1972, later strengthened by Presidential Instruction No. 15 of 1974. The contents of this Presidential Decree and Presidential Instruction are considered to weaken and alienate madrasas from national education. Some Muslims view the Presidential Decree and Presidential Instruction as a maneuver to ignore the role and benefits of madrasas, which Muslims have held since colonial times.

The government recognized the emergence of a strong reaction from Muslims, which then adopted a policy to improve the quality of madrasa education. To overcome the concerns and anxieties of Muslims about the abolition of the madrasa education system as a concurrence with the Presidential Decree and Presidential Instructions above, on March 24, 1975, a Joint Decree (SKB) was issued by Three Ministers (Minister of Religion, Minister of Education and Culture, and Minister of Home Affairs) No. 03 of 1975. This SKB contained efforts to improve the quality of religious education in madrasas, which later became the basis for preparing the 1976 madrasa curriculum¹².

Some Muslims view the Presidential Decree and Presidential Instruction as a maneuver to ignore the role and benefits of madrasas, which is seen as a step to reduce the duties and functions of the Ministry of Religion and part of the secularization efforts carried out by the New Order government. This is quite reasonable to be associated with the socio-political setting at the beginning

¹² Syarif, *Pengenalan Kurikulum Sekolah Dan Madrasah* (Bandung: Citra Umbara, 1995).

of the New Order government, which implemented policies that marginalized Islamic politics by castrating Islamic political parties¹³.

Next, in 1989, the government took a policy by issuing UUSPN No. 2 of 1989. In the UUSPN, a madrasah is defined as a school institution with Islamic characteristics. If previously there was a dualism between schools and madrasas, then with the UUSPN, madrasas are automatically included in the "school" category. Furthermore, government policies about these two institutions began to be implemented proportionally¹⁴.

Regarding the above policy, Azyumardi Azra (2002) explained that this recognition shows that slowly but surely, the dichotomy between madrasas and public schools is starting to fade. Meanwhile, according to Maksum (1999), this recognition can be interpreted as an effort to "integrate" Islamic education into the national education system. This can be seen from the following indications: First, religious education is one of the mandatory subjects in every type, level, and pathway of education. Second, madrasas are included in the school route education category in the national education system. If previously there was a dualism between schools and madrasas, then through this policy, madrasas are public schools with Islamic religious characteristics. Third, even though madrasas are included in the school education pathway, the government still provides opportunities to develop madrasas with specific religious majors.

Another form of legal recognition of Islamic education is also seen in government policy; on July 10, 1990, the Government issued Government Regulation No. 20 1990 concerning Basic Education¹⁵.

In this Government Regulation, among other things, the definition and objectives of primary education are formulated. According to the Government Regulation, primary education is general education with duration of nine years, held for six years in elementary school and three years in junior high school or equivalent education. The equivalent education units in question include Madrasah Ibtidaiyah, which is equal to elementary school, while MTs are equivalent to junior high school¹⁶. In general, with the existence of these various policies, it is clear that religious education, including Islamic education, is increasingly receiving attention from the government. This was also continued

¹³ A Azra, *Paradigma Baru Pendidikan Nasional; Rekonstruksi Dan Demokratisasi* (Jakarta: Kompas, 2002).

¹⁴ Lukis Alam, "Kontestasi Kebijakan Pendidikan Islam Di Era Orde Baru Dan Reformasi," *Ruhama: Islamic Education Journal* 3, no. 2 (2020): 59–79, <https://doi.org/10.31869/ruhama.v3i2.2223>.

¹⁵ Maksum, *Madrasah, Sejarah Dan Perkembangannya* (Jakarta: Logos, 1999).

¹⁶ S Danim, *Agenda Pembaruan Sistem Pendidikan* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2003).

with other approaches that further strengthened the position of Islamic education as an inseparable part of the national education system.

Entering the 90s, the New Order government drafted Law Number 2 of 1989 concerning National Education Systems as a replacement for the previous National Education System Law (UU No. 4 of 1950 & Law No. 12 of 1954), where the position of madrasas as equal to public schools was confirmed in the Law this. The consequences of Law No. 2 of 1989 made madrasas "plus public schools," which had implications for additional burdens in the form of other subject matter (mapel) and extra study time at school¹⁷. Apart from providing religious subjects, you must also provide general issues as a form of responsibility equal to that of public schools. This directly results in additional time allocation compared to available schools, so sometimes madrasas take longer to study than general schools, resulting in students' boredom levels.

Efforts to adapt and equate madrasas with public schools continued to be carried out by the New Order government by replacing the 1984 Curriculum with the 1994 Curriculum as a form of realization of Law no. 2 of 1989 so that MAPK changed to MAK (Religious Madrasah Aliyah). Not only did the name change, but this change had implications for the birth of vocational madrasahs, which placed greater emphasis on mastering special skills, especially in integrating Islam with science. It seems that the orientation of Islamic education during the New Order era was more focused on developing and improving the quality of the madrasa itself with various policy breakthroughs that made madrasas equivalent to public schools so that the paradigm of Indonesian society was not dichotomized in viewing the issue of "religious schools" with "public schools"¹⁸.

The Three Ministerial Decree also states that madrasa alums can continue their education in public schools. So, the madrasa curriculum must be balanced with the general school curriculum. During the New Order, religious education became a mandatory subject from elementary school to university¹⁹.

The development of Islamic boarding school-based education in the New Order period has subsided. This happens because government policies are less favorable to the interests of Muslims. However, a glimmer of hope emerged during the reform period, and Islamic boarding schools began to improve and

¹⁷ Azyumardi Azra, *Pendidikan Islam: Tradisi Dan Modernisasi Menuju Millennium Baru* (Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 2000).

¹⁸ Khafidz Fuad Raya, "Sejarah Orientasi Pendidikan Islam Di Indonesia (Dari Masa Kolonial Hingga Orde Baru)," *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 08, no. 2 (2018): 179–88, <https://journal.iaingorontalo.ac.id/index.php/ir/article/view/2506/1332>.

¹⁹ Heni Yuningsih, "Kebijakan Pendidikan Islam Masa Orde Baru" 2015 (2015): 175–94.

regain their place nationally. This is marked by the recognition of Islamic boarding schools in the National Education System Law²⁰.

IAIN was founded in 1960 as a response to the government's need for teaching staff who were experts in Islamic sciences. Apart from that, IAIN was established to develop the education system in madrasas²¹.

The development of Islam during the New Order era developed rapidly, as did the development of other religions. So free, Christianization emerged as a social service for Muslims who needed help. Behind that, missionaries invited Muslims to convert to their faith. As a result of this attitude, several rebellions arose by destroying churches built in the middle of Muslim settlements. Islamic teaching developed with the emergence of several Islamic education programs, including an Arabic language training program broadcast on TVRI, the establishment of the MUI, the establishment of MAN PK, a da'i distribution program, and others. Several Islamic education policies during the New Order brought changes to Islamic religious education²².

One of the characteristics of New Order education was how its form and implementation of educational policies were always linked to development and economic issues. In essence, education graduates during the New Order era were required to be able to work²³.

According to Abudin Nata, in general, there were several Islamic education policies during the New Order era, namely:

The entry of Islamic education into the national education system. This started with issuing a Joint Decree of Three Ministers (SKB 3 Ministers), namely the Minister of National Education, the Minister of Religion, and the Minister of Home Affairs. In the Ministerial Decree, among other things, it is stated that madrasah graduates can continue to general education and vice versa, have the right to receive assistance with facilities, infrastructure, and fees, and have their diplomas recognized. Apart from that, Law Number 2 of 1989 was also issued, which included Islamic Education from kindergarten to tertiary level as part of the national education system, which has the right to receive equal treatment in regulations, family assistance, and human resources.

²⁰ Alrudiyansah, "POLITIK KEBIJAKAN PEMERINTAH TERHADAP PENDIDIKAN AGAMA ISLAM DI MASA ORDE BARU," *Nur El-Islam* 3, no. 1 (2016): 50–62.

²¹ Alrudiyansah.

²² Yuningsih, "Kebijakan Pendidikan Islam Masa Orde Baru," 2015.

²³ (Anwar & Marlina, 2019)

Renewal of madrasas and Islamic boarding schools, physical and non-physical aspects. In the physical part, renewal is done by improving and equipping infrastructure, infrastructure, and facilities. The non-physical aspects include institutional renewal, management, curriculum, quality of human resources, teaching and learning processes, information and technology networks, and so on. Through the revival of Islamic boarding schools and madrasas, during the New Order era, a group of educated Muslim elites was born who had access to the world of work in government and various prestigious government and private institutions.

Empowerment of non-formal Islamic education. During the Brau Order era, the growth and development of non-formal Islamic education, which was carried out on the initiative of the community, experienced a very significant increase. This non-formal education includes, among other things, tackling assemblies for Islamic groups, ordinary people, and upper-middle-class people. During the New Order era, for example, thousands of women's tackle assemblies emerged, which were incorporated into the BMKT (Taklim Assembly Contact Body) starting from the central to the district, city, and sub-district levels. Through this non-formal Islamic Education Institution, Islam has increasingly penetrated people's lives and encouraged the birth of an increasingly religious city. In line with this, urban santri are increasingly emerging, namely, city residents who love Islam and try to practice it well. Thus, religious lecture activities are increasingly lively, and books and reading materials related to spiritual formation are increasingly in demand.

Improving the atmosphere and atmosphere of social and religious practices. In this regard, the New Order government has supported the birth of various Islamic economic, social, cultural, and artistic institutions. The delivery of the Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals Association (ICMI), Bank Muamalat Indonesia (BMI), the Republika General Daily, the Religious Courts Law, the Isqlal Festival, Bayt Al-Qur'an, and others were born during the New Order era. This, among other things, is the fruit of the successful renewal of Islamic education during the New Order²⁴.

Factors Supporting the Progress of New Order Islamic Education

The growth and development of Islamic education in the New Order era was caused by several factors as follows:

Increasingly improving relations and cooperation between Muslims and the government. The New Order government, under the leadership of President Soeharto, in power for approximately 32 years, can be divided into two parts.

²⁴ Nata, *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam*, 2016.

During the first 16 years, the relationship between Muslims and the New Order government was in a state of disharmony, tension, mutual suspicion, and sometimes even colored by conflict and bloody events, as seen in the Tanjung Priok case, a plane hijacking which was allegedly carried out by opposing hardline Islamic groups with the government. This tension stems from Islam's political and ideological roots, which want to make Islam the basis of the state, as shown by Masyumi figures and the Movement who wish to establish an Islamic state. However, in the second 16 years, political relations between Muslims and the Order government began to thaw, even showing a state of harmony and deep understanding. This situation was caused by initial political-ideological changes, becoming cultural, substantive, and inclusive. This approach sees Islam as a religion that carries a mission of mercy for all of nature, which must be translated into concrete programs related to handling people's problems, such as economic backwardness, ignorance, technology, and a slum environment. In this context, Islam must be involved in supporting and playing an active role in development efforts carried out by the government without questioning ideology or Islamic symbols. With this approach, the distance between Muslims and the government will automatically disappear. This approach was pioneered by Nurcholis Madjid and his friends at the Islamic Student Association.

The national economy is getting better. Economic development efforts became the *prima donna* and the leading choice in the New Order era. In this regard, Indonesia's natural resources in the form of oil, mining products, and others are exploited optimally. Apart from that, foreign investors' activities in the fields of industry, trade, services, etc., increased sharply so that national economic growth reached 7%. Through these funds, the New Order government was able to assist the Islamic education renewal program.

The more stable and secure the government. During the New Order era, Indonesia was known as a safe and sound country in the Southeast Asia region. Through the P4 program (Guidelines for the Appreciation and Practice of Pancasila), Indonesian society is becoming increasingly harmonious and peaceful. This situation then invites foreign investors to invest their capital in Indonesia, and various development activities in Islamic education can run in better conditions than before²⁵.

CONCLUSION

There were several Islamic Religious Education policies during the New Order, namely the existence of a Joint Decree (SKB) of Three Ministers, namely

²⁵ Nata.

the Minister of National Education, the Minister of Religion, and the Minister of Home Affairs, which became the forerunner to the progress of Islamic Religious Education because it became equivalent to National Education. Apart from that, there are reforms in madrasas and Islamic boarding schools with assistance from the government, and non-formal Islamic education is increasingly developing, which creates an Islamic environmental atmosphere that is increasingly felt in life.

The perceived progress of Islamic education is due to several factors, including the formation of a harmonious relationship between the government and Muslims because Islam is present as a religion of rahmatan lil 'alamin, no longer questioning each other's ideologies and symbols so that each other synergize to build society. Apart from that, good economic conditions and increasingly secure and stable government conditions encourage the progress of Islamic education because it receives equal attention to other general education.

REFERENCES

- Alam, Lukis. "Kontestasi Kebijakan Pendidikan Islam Di Era Orde Baru Dan Reformasi." *Ruhama: Islamic Education Journal* 3, no. 2 (2020): 59–79. <https://doi.org/10.31869/ruhama.v3i2.2223>.
- Alrudiyansah. "POLITIK KEBIJAKAN PEMERINTAH TERHADAP PENDIDIKAN AGAMA ISLAM DI MASA ORDE BARU." *Nur El-Islam* 3, no. 1 (2016): 50–62.
- Anwar, Saiful, and Marlina2. "Kebijakan Pemerintah Terhadap Pendidikan Islam Di Indonesia (Zaman Orde Baru Dan Reformasi)." *Al'I'tibar* 6, no. 2 (2019): 87–91.
- Asrohah, H. *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam*. Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 2005.
- Azra, A. *Paradigma Baru Pendidikan Nasional; Rekonstruksi Dan Demokratisasi*. Jakarta: Kompas, 2002.
- Azyumardi Azra. *Pendidikan Islam: Tradisi Dan Modernisasi Menuju Millennium Baru*. Jakarta: Logos Wacana Ilmu, 2000.
- Danim, S. *Agenda Pembaruan Sistem Pendidikan*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2003.
- Iftitah, Nur. "Potret Pendidikan Islam Di Indinesia Masa Orde Baru Dan Reformasi." In *Politik Pendidikan Islam*, 55. Surabaya: Imtiyaz, 2017.
- Jailani, M. Syahrhan, and Muhammad Muhammad. "Kilas Balik Kebijakan Pendidikan Islam Indonesia Pada Masa Orde Baru (1967-1997)."

INNOVATIO: Journal for Religious Innovation Studies 19, no. 1 (2019): 15–26. <https://doi.org/10.30631/innovatio.v19i1.75>.

Maksum. *Madrasah, Sejarah Dan Perkembangannya*. Jakarta: Logos, 1999.

Nata, Abudin. *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam*. II. Jakarta: Prenada Media Group, 2014.

———. *Sejarah Pendidikan Islam*. Jakarta: Kencana, 2016.

Raya, Khafidz Fuad. “Sejarah Orientasi Pendidikan Islam Di Indonesia (Dari Masa Kolonial Hingga Orde Baru).” *Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 08, no. 2 (2018): 179–88. <https://journal.iaingorontalo.ac.id/index.php/ir/article/view/2506/1332>.

Syarif. *Pengenalan Kurikulum Sekolah Dan Madrasah*. Bandung: Citra Umbara, 1995.

Yuningsih, Heni. “Kebijakan Pendidikan Islam Masa Orde Baru” 2015 (2015): 175–94.

———. “Kebijakan Pendidikan Islam Masa Orde Baru.” *Jurnal Tarbiya* 3, no. 1 (2016): 50–62. <https://www.neliti.com/publications/226411/politik-kebijakan-pemerintah-terhadap-pendidikan-agama-islam-di-masa-orde-baru>.