

## Systematic Literature Review on the Politics of Educational Dualism and its Implications for Budget and Well-Being Policies

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### ABSTRACT

Education dualism cannot be separated from the historical aspects of the colonial era. This policy continues to be debated among academics, particularly with regard to budget policies and the quality of education. This study aims to describe the political implications of education dualism on budget and welfare policies. This research uses a systematic literature review approach comprising four stages: identification, screening, eligibility and conclusions. A total of 626 data items were collected, with 226 items collected from the Scopus database and 226 items from the Google Scholar database. All stages of data collection, screening and reporting were guided by PRISMA. The results showed that the political implications of dualism triggered inequality in the budget and welfare: the budget allocation for religious education was smaller than for general education, which also affected the welfare of educators. Although the government made efforts to equalise, policies between ministries often did not support each other. This research contributes by providing a concrete overview of how the political implications of dualism affect education budget policies and educators' well-being, encouraging the government and stakeholders to implement education system reforms that are more harmonious, efficient and socially just.

**Keywords:** Dualism, Political Economy, Educational Dualism, Systematic Review

### ARTICLE INFO

*Article history:*

Received  
December 11, 2024  
Revised  
April 12, 2025  
Accepted  
May 22, 2025

Published by  
Website  
E-ISSN  
Copyright



Institut Agama Islam Ma'arif NU (IAIMNU) Metro Lampung  
<https://journal.iaimnumetrolampung.ac.id/index.php/ji/index>  
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### INTRODUCTION

In essence, the concept of dualism is a manifestation of noble philosophical values, demonstrating the existence of two distinct fields, each with its own unique characteristics (Nur Aini & Lazuardy, 2020). In practice, however, the dualistic regulation of education in Indonesia gives rise to many problems, including issues in policymaking, the allocation of educational assistance and the organisation of educational resources (Khoiriyah et al., 2023).

This educational dualism is a historical legacy from the colonial era that continues to shape the social and political structure of education today. It separates Islamic education, which is characterised by religious values, and is managed by the Ministry of Religion (Kemenag), from general education, which has a secular scientific orientation and is managed by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology (Kementrian Pendidikan) (Mukhlisin, 2021). Furthermore, the next dualism is evident in the implementation model, where there is a government-run education system labelled 'Negeri' and a community-managed education system labelled 'Swasta' (Basyit, 2019). This two-tier system results in inequality in budget allocation, educator welfare and equitable access to education. This

problem originates from Dutch colonial policies that systematically restricted formal education to certain groups, creating a dichotomy between religious education as a limited alternative and general education, which was favoured (Hidayati et al., 2023).

This dualism has a significant impact on the implementation of national education policies, with Swasta-labelled Islamic educational institutions often struggling to meet national standards due to limited budget allocations and infrastructure support. Conversely, public schools benefit from greater financial support, as well as technology- and science-based curriculum development programmes (Khoiriyah et al., 2023). This disparity creates social envy and widens the quality gap between religious and general education institutions. Additionally, this imbalance affects the well-being of educators, particularly those teaching in madrasahs, who frequently receive less recognition and rewards than educators in public schools (Mukhlisin, 2021). At the normative level, education in Indonesia should promote social equality in a fair and inclusive manner, as mandated by the National Education System Law (Kurniyat, 2018). To achieve this, policies are needed to integrate religious and general education, remove curriculum dichotomies, balance budget allocations and align the two institutions' educational goals. Implementing universal value-based education that integrates science, technology, and morality can create an education system that is both globally relevant and rooted in local culture (Khoiriyah et al., 2023).

Several research studies are strongly related to this research. Firstly, Zakaria's research highlights how the Indonesian education system produces inequality, particularly with regard to the budget and recognition of Islamic educational institutions. Zakaria emphasises that this dualism impacts the quality of graduates and the strategic role of Islamic education in the context of globalisation (Zakaria, 2022). Secondly, Ripin Ikwandi's research focuses on managing education dualism under two ministries: the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Education and Culture. It states that overlapping policies between the two institutions hinder the creation of a harmonious education system (Ikwandi, 2022). Further research by Tamami highlighted the limitations of the dichotomy between religious and general education, which not only restricts the scope of knowledge, but also contributes to the separation of religious awareness and general knowledge in society. The results of this study emphasise the importance of integrating religious values into the national education system (Tamami, 2019). Finally, research examining the quality of Islamic education in view of the practice of dualism focuses on the implications of dualism for the quality of Islamic education. This research highlights challenges relating to educational standards and the curriculum, as well as the balance between religious education and general science. One of the recommendations arising from this research is the integration of curricula as a solution (Rizal et al., 2024).

Unlike some of its predecessors, this study takes a more systematic and practical approach to the issue of educational dualism in Indonesia. While Zakaria (2022) draws attention to the inequalities in the system affecting the quality of Islamic educational institutions, Ikwandi (2022) emphasises the issue of overlapping policies between the two ministries. Tamami (2019) discusses how the dichotomy between religious and general sciences weakens scientific integration, while Rizal et al. (2024) review the impact of dualism on the quality of Islamic education. However, none of these studies explicitly link educational dualism with budget policies and educator welfare. This study distinguishes itself by taking a Systematic Literature Review (SLR) approach to holistically map the political impact of educational dualism on fiscal and welfare policies and to offer perspectives from national and international literature in order to support the formulation of more inclusive and integrated policies.

This research is based on the Political Economy of Education theory, which views education as both an academic process and a field of political contestation and resource distribution. In the context of educational dualism in Indonesia, this theory explains how the power structures and institutional interests of the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Education influence policy direction, budget allocation and patterns of educator welfare. The resulting inequalities are not merely the consequence of administrative technicalities, but rather the manifestation of political decisions with systemic impacts (Durrani & Thibault, 2024). In

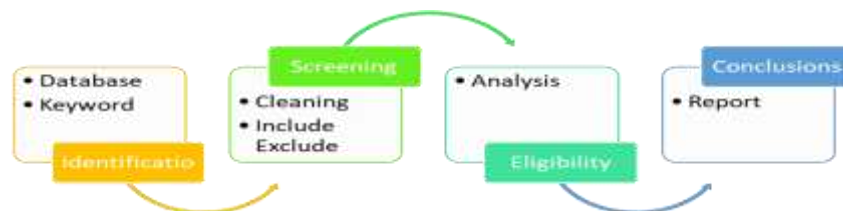
addition, the Policy Implementation Theory approach is employed to analyse the implementation of education policy. Although education policy is normatively inclusive, it is often biased in its implementation due to institutional fragmentation (Sabatier, P., & Mazmanian, 1980). In this framework, educational dualism is understood to be the result of unsynchronised policy design, creating disparities in services, facilities, and the welfare of those involved in education (Kurhayadi, 2023). Using these two theoretical frameworks, this research aims to develop a comprehensive understanding of the relationship between educational politics, institutional structures, and their impact on budget equity and the well-being of educators.

This research aims to highlight the fact that the politics of two-tier education have created budget imbalances and disparities in welfare between educational institutions, particularly between general and Islamic education. These inequalities directly impact the quality, equitable access to, and sustainability of the national education system. Therefore, this study is important in providing strong, evidence-based policy recommendations for the formulation of equitable and competitive education policies. This study's main contribution lies not only in the theoretical aspect of political discourse on education, but also in the practical realm, providing concrete recommendations to encourage the government and stakeholders to promote a more harmonious, efficient, and socially just education system reform.

## METHOD

This qualitative study combines a systematic literature review (SLR) with a literature study approach. The SLR approach was chosen to systematically explore literature on educational dualism using databases and machine learning, based on the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) and Population, Intervention, Comparison, Outcome, Study Design (PICOS) frameworks (Kerres & Bedenlier, 2020). The literature study approach was chosen to trace documents that form the legal basis for dualism education policies in Indonesia, such as laws, regulations, and decisions. The process of searching for data, collecting, processing and reporting on this systematic literature review will go through 4 stages which include the identification stage, eligibility screening stage and conclusions (Wang et al., 2024) as shown in the following diagram 1:

Gambar 1 Tahapan penelitian



### Phase 1 (Identification)

In May 2025, data searches were conducted on the Scopus and Google Scholar databases. Google Scholar was chosen because it is an open-access database containing articles indexed by Sinta from Sinta 6 to Sinta 1. Data searches on this database were conducted using the Publish or Perish application (Shaban et al., 2024). The Scopus database was chosen because it contains highly reputable articles that can reinforce the findings and analyses of the study. Keywords and search restrictions are shown in Table 1 below:

Tabel 1 Search and Limitation Techniques

Database	Keywords	Limitation & Inclusion	Result
Google Scholar	Dualisme Pendidikan	Maximum Results	400 data
Scopus	"Political Education" OR "Education Politics" AND "Policy" OR "Welfare"		226 data
Jumlah			626 data

### Phase 2 (Screening Process)

The initial search results from the Scopus and Google Scholar databases were exported to the Mendeley application to begin the reference management process. Next, the data was filtered to remove corrupt entries, duplicates and irrelevant articles based on a title match. Once the data had been validated, the selection process continued by applying the inclusion and exclusion criteria in Table 2, which had been determined previously to ensure the quality and relevance of the literature (Haryadi et al., 2024). This systematic procedure was carried out to obtain a collection of articles in accordance with the study's focus and worthy of further analysis.

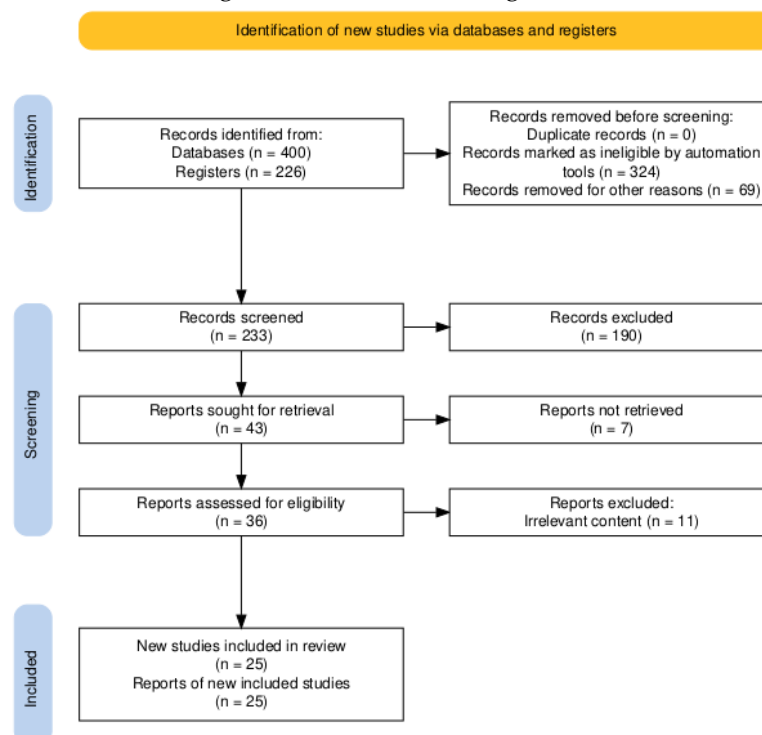
Table 2 Inclusion and exclusion criteria

Category	Inclusion Criteria	Exclusion Criteria
Year Range	Articles published between 2015-2025	Articles published before 2015
Indexation	Scopus and Sinta indexed articles	Articles not indexed in verified databases
Document Type	Research Articles	Book, Book Review, Non-academic Opinion & Summary
Content	Articles examining education politics, education dualism, or education budget & welfare policy	Out-of-scope articles
Accessibility	Full-text Available	Limited Access

### Phase 3 (Eligibility Process)

The initial data collection process yielded a total of 626 articles: 400 were retrieved via Google Scholar, while the remaining 226 were sourced from the Scopus database. The Scopus data was filtered based on the publication year range of 2015–2025 (Shaban et al., 2024), leaving 157 articles. Meanwhile, the Google Scholar data was filtered using the Publish or Perish (PoP) application, resulting in 76 articles worthy of review. All the combined data were then screened using the predetermined inclusion and exclusion criteria, leaving 43 articles that were eligible for analysis. Further verification was carried out by visiting the publisher's website and carefully reviewing the abstracts, resulting in 25 articles being eligible for analysis in this study. The search, data screening and reporting stages were guided by PRISMA, as shown in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2 Data selection stage



#### Phase 4 (Conclusion)

The 25 articles that passed the final selection process were qualitatively analysed using a thematic analysis approach to identify patterns, key findings and central issues related to the politics of education dualism and its implications for budget and welfare policies. The analysis was conducted by going through the substantial content of each article, noting the study focus, methodology and relevant findings (Haryadi et al., 2024). This process aimed to gain an in-depth and comparative understanding of developing academic trends, as well as to map the conceptual contributions of the analysed literature to the framework of this study.

#### RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A total of 25 articles were selected as eligible data for this review following a rigorous selection process based on the inclusion and exclusion criteria shown in Table 4. These articles, which were published between 2011 and 2024, covered publications from reputable international journals (Scopus Q1 and Q2) and accredited national journals (Sinta 2 to Sinta 5). Seven articles came from Scopus journals, highlighting the global attention given to issues of educational politics and budgetary policy. The remaining eighteen articles came from national contexts, with many reviewing the problems of educational dualism in Indonesia. Key themes that emerged included criticism of the dichotomy within the national education system, dynamics within education financing policies and the political implications for student and educator welfare. This data forms the basis for further analysis of how education dualism shapes budget and welfare policies within the framework of education politics.

**Tabel 4. Data eligible**

No	Author	Title	Journal	Rank
1	(Duffy et al., 2024)	The political economy of school exclusion in Northern Ireland: the intersection of perspectives from mainstream education, alternative provision and an official education body	Oxford Review of Education	Scopus Q1
2	(Macfarlane, 2015)	Dualisms in Higher Education: A Critique of Their Influence and Effect	Higher Education Quarterly	Scopus Q1
3	(Jumaidi et al., 2024)	Political Study Analyses of Education Policy to Improve Education Quality	Emerging Science Journal	Scopus Q1
4	(Larreguy & Liu, 2023)	When does education increase political participation? Evidence from Senegal	Political Science Research and Methods	Scopus Q1
5	(Roberts-Holmes, 2024)	Towards an understanding of the political economy of earlychildhood education platforms. Pro Business or Pro Children?	Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood	Scopus Q2
6	(Orchard & Jones, 2024)	'Wellbeing' and the production of disability in the university: Erasure, effacement and institutional exceptionalism	Power and Education	Scopus Q2
7	(Sumiyana & Effendi, 2024)	Indonesia's education budgeting system denoting low adaptiveness: functionalism analysis	Cogent Social Sciences	Scopus Q2
8	(Hidayati et al.,	Educational Dualism in Indonesia:	Jurnal Tarbiyatuna	Sinta 2

	2023)	Systematic Literature Review		
9	(Sobri, 2019)	Politik dan Kebijakan Pendidikan Agama dan Keagamaan di Indonesia (Analisis Kebijakan PP No 55 Tahun 2007)	Edukasi Islami: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam	Sinta 2
10	(Usman, 2016)	Urgensi Manajemen Pembiayaan dalam Peningkatan Mutu Pendidikan Madrasah	Tadris: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam	Sinta 2
11	(Ali, 2017)	Pemikiran Pendidikan Islam Ahmad Syafii Maarif	Pemikiran Pendidikan Islam	Sinta 2
12	(Wahyono, 2014)	Kebijakan Pendidikan Islam: Hibridasi Lembaga Pendidikan Tinggi	Jurnal Pendidikan Islam	Sinta 2
13	(Mahfud, 2011)	Rethinking the Politics of Islamic Education in Indonesia	Jurnal Madania	Sinta 3
14	(Iskandar, 2019)	Analisis Kebijakan Pendidikan dalam Perspektif Madrasah	Al-Madrasah: Jurnal Ilmiah Pendidikan Madrasah Ibtidaiyah	Sinta 3
15	(Khoiriyah et al., 2023)	Menuju Kebijakan Pendidikan Satu Atap: Kritik atas Dualisme dan Dikotomi Pendidikan di Indonesia	Intelektual: Jurnal Pendidikan dan Studi Keislaman	Sinta 3
16	(Muslih & Ulum, 2019)	Pendidikan Islam antara Dua Atap: Studi pada Kebijakan Pendidikan Islam di Sekolah dan Madrasah	Mudir: Jurnal Manajemen Pendidikan	Sinta 4
17	(Purwati Parlan & Suryadi, 2024)	Praktik Dualisme dalam Pengelolaan dan Penyelenggaraan Pendidikan Islam di Indonesia	Reslaj: Religion Education Social Laa Roiba Journal	Sinta 4
18	(Z, 2017)	Problematika Dualisme Ideologi dan Kelembagaan Pendidikan Islam	Kabilah: Jurnal Ilmu Pendidikan Islam	Sinta 4
19	(Hayi & Alwi, 2023)	Analisis Kebijakan Pendidikan Islam Indonesia di Era Reformasi	Fitrah: Jurnal Studi Pendidikan	Sinta 4
20	(Mukhtarom et al., 2019)	Memahami Dikotomi dan Dualisme Pendidikan di Indonesia	Rausyan Fikr	Sinta 4
21	(Lani Rahmawati & Drajat, 2022)	Dikotomi Pendidikan dalam Pandangan Pendidikan Islam	Al-Afkar: Journal of Islamic Studies	Sinta 4
22	(Tamami, 2019)	Dikotomi Pendidikan Agama Islam dan Pendidikan Umum di Indonesia	TARLIM: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam	Sinta 4
23	(Rizal et al., 2024)	Mutu Pendidikan Islam Ditinjau dari Praktik Dualisme Pendidikan Nasional	Jurnal Dedikasi Pendidikan	Sinta 4
24	(Parhan et al., 2022)	Konsep integrasi pendidikan islam dalam Pendidikan nasional sebagai upaya Menghindari dikotomi pendidikan di indonesia	Al-Fikr : Jurnal Pendidikan Islam	Sinta 5
25	(Nasrowi, 2023)	Politik Pendidikan Islam: Studi Kebijakan Publik Belanda pada Masa Penjajahan di Indonesia	Intizam: Jurnal Manajemen Pendidikan Islam	Sinta 5

## Budget Disparity

The dualism of education and its implications for budget policy are inextricably linked to the historical ethical politics of the Dutch East Indies government (Wahyono, 2014). Western-style schools, which were established and subsidised by the Dutch colonial government, tended to support certain social strata, such as the aristocracy and the elite, through the First Grade Primary School. In contrast, the Second Grade Primary School, which was intended for the indigenous community, was underdeveloped due to its high cost being considered a waste of the state budget (Arfani, 2024). Consequently, the majority of indigenous people continued to rely on community-managed education, such as pesantren (Nasrowi, 2023). This illustrates the political implications of dualism in Indonesia, particularly for educational institutions labelled 'Negeri' and 'Swasta'.

Several important policies have been introduced to strengthen the position of madrasahs within the national education system. For example, the 1975 Three Ministerial Decree recognised madrasahs as educational institutions equal to public schools. Additionally, the National Education System Law No. 20/2003 was a significant milestone in integrating faith-based and public education, eliminating discrimination against Islamic educational institutions, particularly those labelled 'private'. However, the implementation of these policies remains suboptimal (Arif & Hidayati, 2024). Madrasahs still face bureaucratic challenges that hinder effective institutional management. This policy should improve madrasah governance, but without strong political commitment, the results will be limited (Le & Nguyen, 2021).

Government Regulation No. 55/2007 represents a significant step towards the equalisation of religious and general education. This equality gives formal recognition to religious education institutions and supports equal rights in terms of facilities, funding and curriculum. This is a relevant step given the important role of religious education in shaping the nation's character. However, this recognition often only applies at the policy level, with gaps evident in its implementation. Many religious education institutions, particularly those in rural areas, still have limited infrastructure and unequal access to funding (Sobri, 2019).

The education budget allocation for religious education institutions is considered disproportionate, although it comes from the national education budget. The funds are managed directly by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, but the amount is often insufficient to meet the needs of madrasahs across Indonesia (Iskandar, 2019). As a result, the budget received by each madrasah is smaller than that of public schools. This problem is further compounded by the dualism of management between the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Education, which has led to inequities in the distribution of funding and assistance. This shows that madrasahs, despite being an integral part of the national education system, are still treated marginally. More coordinated measures are needed to ensure equitable budget distribution so that madrasahs can improve the quality of their education (Arif & Hidayati, 2024).

The allocated budget for the Ministry of Religious Affairs in the State Budget Plan (RAPBN) is minimal, compared to the budgets for other ministries. The small budget allocation for the Ministry of Religious Affairs poses a major obstacle, given that Islamic education institutions such as madrasahs, pesantren and others require adequate funds for operations and development. Often, private madrasahs, which are mostly established by communities, have to rely on community contributions or donations, which are unstable in nature (Muslih & Ulum, 2019). Financial limitations have a direct impact on the quality of education in madrasahs. Problems such as lack of facilities, low teacher salaries and a shortage of qualified educators are major challenges that exacerbate this condition (Usman, 2016). Decentralisation of education gives madrasahs the authority to manage their finances, but not all madrasah heads have sufficient managerial capacity (Kakar, 2023).

Based on data released by the finance ministry team, the Ministry of Education and Culture's budget is Rp. 98.99 trillion rupiah (Rp), while the budget for the Ministry of Religious Affairs is Rp. 74.07 trillion IDR (RI, 2024). The Ministry of Education and Culture oversees 436,707 educational institutions, including 149,225 primary schools, 97,370 kindergartens, 82,981 family planning centres, 42,907 junior high schools, 19,926 SPS centres, 14,573 high schools, 14,461 vocational schools, 10,028 PKBM centres, 2,449 TPA centres, 2,328 SLB centres and 459

SKB centres (Rizaty, 2023). Meanwhile, according to the Ministry of Religious Affairs' EMIS, the Ministry oversees 87,622 educational units, 10,585,969 students, 978,027 educators, and 125,392 education personnel (Kemenag, 2024).

Education dualism creates disparities in budget allocations (Durrani & Thibault, 2024). Public schools managed by the Ministry of Education tend to receive more attention in terms of funding than madrasahs under the Ministry of Religious Affairs. As a result, madrasahs, especially private ones, have to rely on community support, which is often limited. In addition, educational dualism also creates real social segmentation among the community, with public schools often perceived as modern educational institutions, while madrasahs are perceived as traditional institutions, creating barriers to social integration (Kurniyat, 2018).

Islamic education in the reform era has a strategic position in the national education system, especially after the enactment of Law No. 20/2003 which gives formal recognition to Islamic education institutions such as madrasah and pesantren, and integrates Islamic values into the national education system. This policy strengthens the legitimacy of Islamic education in supporting national education goals that focus on building the nation's character. However, in the field, the implementation still faces challenges in the form of a striking gap in facilities and quality of education compared to public education (Hayi & Alwi, 2023). The reform era marked the transition from a centralised to a decentralised education system, giving autonomy to local governments and educational institutions, including madrasah and pesantren, to manage education independently. This step opened up great opportunities for policy adjustments to local needs, but uneven regional capacity led to quality disparities between educational institutions in developed and underdeveloped regions (Jumaidi et al., 2024).

For Islamic educational institutions, dualism does not only apply to the form and system of national implementation, but also to internal Islamic educational institutions, which generally have two top managers, such as the head of the madrasah and the head of the Yayasan (Ahmad et al., 2025). Although the lines of authority between the two are clear structurally, in reality there is often overlapping or tug of war between the two parties, which also affects budget and welfare policies (Z, 2017).

Educational dualism significantly impacts the quality of Islamic education in Indonesia. One evident impact is the difference between the two Islamic religious education institutions, the madrasah and the pesantren, as argued by Aars and Christensen (2020). Madrasahs, which are government-supervised, have easier access to resources and policy support, but often face complex bureaucratic challenges. In contrast, pesantren are more independent and able to develop flexible curricula according to their needs; however, they are often constrained in terms of financing and quality standardisation (Purwati Parlan & Suryadi, 2024). From a global perspective, political dualism can reduce civic returns if quality and access are unequal (Dee, 2004).

### **Unbalanced Well-Being**

Inequality in the welfare of educators and Islamic educational institutions is also inseparable from the history of colonialism, which prompted Islamic schools to forge their own path, independent of the government. This allowed them to maintain their values and traditions while remaining open to change (Lani Rahmawati & Drajat, 2022). This phenomenon can be understood as a strategy to eliminate the Islamic movement, based on the assumption that the Dutch would be safer from the indigenous Islamic community's threat and resistance through the growth of Islamic educational institutions (Arfani, 2024). One of the forerunners of the 'divorce' and the polarisation of educational institutions in Indonesia occurred in 1950, when President Soekarno established UGM for nationalists and UIN Jogjakarta for Muslims. The negative implication of this was that an uneven scientific discourse developed. UGM conducts general scientific research without religious, ethical or moral values, whereas the Yogyakarta State Islamic University only studies religious science, lacking general scientific knowledge (Wahyono, 2014).

The inequality between Islamic educational institutions and general educational institutions is increasingly apparent, which includes budget policies and recognition of the



existence of educational institutions as the results of a study mention that unequal education produces asymmetry in political awareness which has an impact on budget and welfare inequality (Pardos-Prado & Cano, 2012). If the policy and budget inequality does not get the right treatment, it can hinder the improvement of the quality of an educational institution and welfare (Larreguy & Liu, 2023). Dualism education politics can have a greater impact than just access to education, because it determines habitual civic orientation (Kam & Palmer, 2008; Pešikan & Ivić, 2021).

The welfare of educators in religious education institutions faces serious challenges, especially compared to the welfare of public schools. The dualistic system of education management exacerbates this situation, as madrasah teachers often do not receive the same attention in terms of incentives or welfare. Teacher certification as stipulated in Law No. 14/2005 provides an opportunity to improve their welfare, but the implementation of this policy has been uneven, especially in private madrasahs. This reflects the government's lack of seriousness in addressing the issue of educators' welfare in religious education institutions. In fact, the welfare of educators is one of the key factors in creating quality education (Arif & Hidayati, 2024).

Paying attention to teacher welfare through professional and functional allowances is a positive step towards improving the motivation and quality of educators in religious education institutions. However, many educators in religious education institutions, particularly private ones, are not registered for certification or allowance programmes (Kurniyat, 2018). In addition, training facilities to improve competencies are often unevenly distributed. While this policy seems ideal, the government must ensure that all teachers in religious education institutions have equal access to welfare and competency improvement programmes (Sobri, 2019). A lack of budget affects the welfare of educators in educational institutions. Low teacher salaries and a lack of incentives lead to low motivation and poor teaching quality. As institutions that rely largely on self-help, many madrasahs are unable to provide proper allowances for their teachers (Usman, 2016).

One of the main problems, according to Mahfud (2018), is the low welfare of educators in religious and religious education institutions. Low salaries, a lack of benefits and limited access to certification programmes reduce educators' motivation and quality, and are allegedly one of the factors slowing the development of educational institutions. This is particularly pertinent for teachers in private madrasahs, who frequently lack the same level of protection and support as their counterparts in state schools (Iskandar, 2019). Despite government efforts to provide access to the programme, the reality is that policy must address the two-tier education system overseen by the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Each ministry has its own ideal regulations and standards, which create disparities due to unequal policies (Hayi & Alwi, 2023).

According to Buya Syafi'i, three crucial problems hamper Islamic education: the dichotomous dualism of science; the low quality of Islamic education; and the stagnation of Islamic intellectualism (Parhan et al., 2022). These three problems are interrelated: for example, when discussing dualism, factors such as intellectualism and the low quality of Islamic education cannot be ignored, and these factors are closely linked to the low quality of education and dualism itself (Ali, 2017). Budget policies that burden educators or Islamic education institutions and position them in the 'not prosperous' category will result in the low quality of Islamic education institutions. Therefore, the welfare of educators and Islamic education institutions must be addressed urgently.

Finally, this research has limitations. One of these is the conceptual approach, which focuses on synthesising literature rather than providing direct empirical field data. While this study has incorporated various national and international sources, the local context of Islamic education in different regions of Indonesia has not been thoroughly or consistently described, particularly with regard to budgetary practices and educator welfare at the educational institution level. Therefore, future research combining policy analysis with field data through surveys, interviews or case studies is recommended. Additionally, comparative studies between regions or types of institution (Negeri vs. Swasta, Kementrian pendidikan vs. Kementrian

Agama) would provide a more concrete understanding of the political dynamics of education dualism. Focusing on policy-making actors and the spatial distribution of educational resources would also help to produce more operational and contextualised policy recommendations.

## CONCLUSION

The implications of educational dualism for budget policy are fundamentally inseparable from the political history of the Dutch East Indies government, which favoured certain social strata through its educational policies. This colonial dualism continues to be felt in the education system today, under the auspices of the Ministries of Education and Culture, and of Religion, as well as in public and private educational institutions. There is an imbalance in budget distribution, with more funding allocated to general education than religious education. One reason for this is that the Ministry of Religion receives a smaller budget than other ministries, including the Ministry of Education. Although the government has made efforts to equalise budget policies, these often conflict with the policies of the two ministries as education providers. Similarly, the phenomenon of inequality in the welfare of educators and Islamic educational institutions is inextricably linked to the history of the colonial period. The budget for Islamic educational institutions is too minimal, and is disproportionate to the budget given to general educational institutions. This results in the welfare of educators and the development of Islamic educational institutions lagging behind those of general educational institutions. Although the government has sought to increase welfare through professional allowances, in reality, the policy must contend with the two-tier education system, each tier having ideal regulations and standards that actually create gaps due to unequal policies.

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