

INTISARI

Implementasi Kurikulum Merdeka menghadirkan paradoks antara janji otonomi sekolah dan realitas kontrol pemerintah dalam proses implementasinya sehingga menimbulkan *implementation gap* antara rancangan ideal kurikulum dengan praktek pembelajaran di sekolah yang berdampak terhadap kualitas pendidikan di Indonesia. Studi terdahulu umumnya berfokus pada kesiapan teknis infrastruktur dan guru, namun abai terhadap dinamika tata kelola struktural yang membentuk praktik nyata di sekolah. Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis strategi *metagovernance* pemerintah dan memetakan respons guru serta sekolah terhadap mekanisme pengendalian tersebut. Menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan fenomenologi dan studi kasus di Kabupaten Belitung dan Kota Yogyakarta, penelitian ini melibatkan 26 narasumber yang terdiri dari guru, kepala sekolah, dan pejabat dinas pendidikan. Hasil penelitian mengungkapkan bahwa pemerintah menerapkan pengendalian jarak jauh (*steering at a distance*) melalui empat instrumen utama: standarisasi digital, pengaturan kognitif melalui Komunitas Belajar, supervisi validasi, dan pengendalian berbasis data. Respons aktor sekolah teridentifikasi tidak tunggal, melainkan hibrida yang bergerak dalam spektrum kepatuhan penuh, adaptasi selektif, hingga resistensi tersembunyi. Temuan krusial menunjukkan dominasi "adaptasi simbolik", sebuah strategi bertahan hidup di mana sekolah memenuhi tuntutan administrasi secara performatif namun minim perubahan pedagogis secara substantif. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa meskipun *metagovernance* efektif menciptakan ketertiban prosedural, strategi ini berisiko menciptakan ilusi kepatuhan jika tekanan administrasi lebih dominan daripada dukungan kapasitas. Studi ini berkontribusi pada diskursus kebijakan pendidikan dengan menekankan perlunya reorientasi tata kelola dari sekadar pengendalian administratif menuju pemberdayaan profesional yang substantif.

Kata kunci: Kurikulum Merdeka, *metagovernance*, Implementasi Kebijakan, Tata Kelola Pendidikan, Adaptasi Simbolik.

ABSTRACT

The implementation of the Independent Curriculum (Kurikulum Merdeka) presents a paradox between the promise of school autonomy and the reality of government control during its implementation process, thereby creating an implementation gap between the ideal curriculum design and actual classroom practices that impacts the quality of education in Indonesia. Previous studies have generally focused on the technical readiness of infrastructure and teachers, yet have overlooked the structural governance dynamics that shape actual practices in schools. This study aims to analyze the government's metagovernance strategies and map the responses of teachers and schools to these control mechanisms. Employing qualitative methods with phenomenological and case study approaches in Belitung Regency and Yogyakarta City, this research involves 26 informants consisting of teachers, school principals, and education office officials. The results reveal that the government applies "steering at a distance" through four main instruments: digital standardization, cognitive regulation through Learning Communities, validation supervision, and data-driven control. School actors' responses are identified not as singular, but rather as hybrid, moving along a spectrum from full compliance and selective adaptation to silent resistance. A crucial finding indicates the dominance of "symbolic adaptation," a survival strategy wherein schools meet administrative demands performatively but with minimal substantive pedagogical change. This study concludes that while metagovernance is effective in creating procedural order, this strategy risks creating an illusion of compliance if administrative pressure outweighs capacity support. This study contributes to education policy discourse by emphasizing the need for a reorientation of governance from mere administrative control toward substantive professional empowerment.

Keywords: *Merdeka Curriculum, Metagovernance, Policy Implementation, Education Governance, Symbolic Adaptation.*