

(Research Article)

The Impact of Eliminating National Examinations on Educational Evaluation Quality in Indonesia: A Policy Analysis on Equity and Accountability

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Abstract. The abolition of the National Examination (UN) as a national policy has marked a significant change in the education evaluation system in Indonesia. This policy was implemented with the aim of reducing psychological pressure on students and replacing it with a more holistic evaluation approach through the National Assessment (AN). However, this transformation has raised various issues, particularly regarding the aspects of equity and accountability in education quality. This study aims to analyze in depth the impact of the abolition of UN on the quality of educational evaluation by examining its implications for equitable access, fairness, and accountability systems at both national and local levels. This research uses a qualitative method with a Systematic Literature Review (SLR) approach, analyzing various scholarly literature sources and relevant policy documents published between 2020 and 2024. The findings indicate that although the UN was abolished with the intention of promoting fairness and reducing academic stress, the implementation of AN has yet to ensure equitable implementation of educational evaluations across regions. Moreover, the absence of a standardized, open, and quantitative evaluation indicator such as the UN has weakened transparency and accountability in education, both in the public's perception and in policy-making processes. Therefore, a new evaluation system is needed—one that is not only diagnostic in nature but also ensures data transparency, equitable access, and strengthened public accountability functions in education.

Keywords: Abolition of National Examination, National Assessment, Educational Evaluation, Equity, Accountability.

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1. Introduction

Education is the main foundation in forming quality and competitive human resources in the global era. As a state instrument in developing the nation's intelligence, the education system must be able to accommodate the diversity of student potential, provide participatory space, and present a fair, accountable, and equitable evaluation system. In the context of Indonesia, efforts to realize a fair education system have undergone various transformations, including in terms of national-scale learning evaluation. The National Examination (UN), which for years has been the benchmark for academic achievement and the basis for further education selection, has now been abolished and replaced with a new evaluation approach, namely the National Assessment (AN). This change has had a broad impact not only on the technical side of education implementation, but also on the philosophical values in the process of measuring the quality of education throughout the country.

The policy of eliminating the National Examination has been in effect since 2021, in response to various criticisms that have emerged over the past two decades regarding the effectiveness of the National Examination as a tool for measuring the quality of national education. The government, through the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology, stated that the National Examination is no longer relevant in assessing students' abilities comprehensively, because it focuses more on mastery of academic content alone and ignores aspects of literacy, numeracy, and character competencies. In the new paradigm, the National Assessment is presented with a more diagnostic approach, targeting educational units rather than individual students, and is expected to provide a complete picture of the quality of the learning process. However, this policy transformation raises critical questions about how far the elimination of the National Examination is able to answer long-standing challenges in the world of education, especially in terms of equalizing the quality of education and accountability mechanisms that can be trusted by the public.

The phenomenon that emerged after the elimination of the National Examination showed complex dynamics at various levels of education implementation. Some teachers and principals felt that this policy provided more space for contextual learning and did not psychologically pressure students. However, on the other hand, there were concerns about the loss of national standard measuring tools that had been used to compare achievements between schools and regions. The absence of the National Examination was feared to widen the gap in education quality between established schools and schools in the 3T (frontier, outermost, and disadvantaged) regions, due to the lack of an objective and uniform comparative evaluation system. In addition, doubts also emerged from the community regarding the school accountability mechanism, due to the absence of national standards that explicitly showed the level of student achievement. This situation shows that the policy of eliminating the National Examination not only touches on administrative aspects, but also has an impact on public perception of the integrity and quality of the education system as a whole.

Empirical data from the Ministry of Education and Culture (2022) shows that in the first two years of the implementation of the National Assessment, there was a significant disparity in literacy and numeracy achievements between regions. For example, the results of the literacy assessment in several provinces such as Papua, NTT, and North Kalimantan were far below the national average, while provinces such as DKI Jakarta and DIY showed much higher results. In addition, a national survey by the Education Quality Assurance Institute (LPMP) in 2023 noted that more than 45% of teachers at the elementary and secondary school levels still did not fully understand the concept and technical implementation of the AN, which had an impact on the implementation of the curriculum and learning evaluation patterns in the classroom. On the other hand, institutions such as the World Bank (2023) noted that the absence of the National Examination as a measuring tool for individual achievement complicates the process of benchmarking and monitoring the quality of national education. These facts indicate that the transition to the evaluation system has not been fully accompanied by systemic readiness from education actors, especially in ensuring equality and accountability.

Research on the elimination of the National Examination has been conducted by various academics and research institutions. A study by found that the elimination of the National Examination had a positive impact on reducing students' learning stress, but was not significant in improving the quality of learning in the classroom. Research from emphasized that this policy change has not been followed by the readiness of educational infrastructure, especially in remote areas, resulting in a gap in the implementation of the National Assessment. Meanwhile, revealed that school accountability in reporting learning outcomes has become unclear due to the absence of quantitative national indicators such as the National Examination. The three studies imply that although the policy of eliminating the National Examination was intended as a step in educational reform, its implementation impact still leaves many problems in the field.

Based on the overall previous research above, it seems that most researchers only focus on the psychological aspects of students and the technical readiness of educational institutions in facing the elimination of the National Examination, and do not focus on in-depth analysis of how this policy change affects two key aspects: educational equity and accountability of

the evaluation system nationally. Therefore, to fill this gap, this study will focus more on a critical policy review of the impact of the elimination of the National Examination on the quality of educational evaluation in Indonesia, by specifically highlighting how this policy has implications for efforts to equalize access to education and the establishment of a credible accountability system for all stakeholders.

The purpose of this study is to comprehensively analyze the impact of the policy of eliminating the National Examination on the quality of education evaluation in Indonesia using the perspective of equity and accountability. This study aims to answer the question to what extent this policy can guarantee inclusive, representative, and fair education evaluation for all regions of Indonesia, and how the government and schools can build a new accountability system that still guarantees the quality of education without the presence of the National Examination as a formal measuring tool. Thus, the results of this study are expected to be able to contribute to the development of a more adaptive and responsive national education policy direction to the needs of the times.

2. Literature Review

2.1. The Concept of Educational Evaluation in the National Education System

Educational evaluation is a systematic process to assess the level of achievement of student competencies, the effectiveness of the learning process, and the success of the implementation of education as a whole. In Law Number 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System, educational evaluation is carried out at the level of educational units, regions, and nationally. The goal is to obtain accurate information to improve the quality of education in a sustainable manner. As an integral part of educational management, evaluation not only assesses the final results of learning, but also reflects the effectiveness of the educational process in creating intelligent, competent, and characterful students.

The National Examination has been used for years as the main instrument for evaluating education based on national standards. However, this approach has drawn much criticism because it is considered not to reflect the diversity of educational unit conditions and places too much emphasis on cognitive achievement. The elimination of the National Examination and the transition to the National Assessment reflect a paradigm shift in evaluation from outcome orientation to process orientation. However, major challenges remain in ensuring that the replacement evaluation system is still able to maintain the quality, equity, and accountability of education throughout Indonesia. Therefore, a conceptual understanding of educational evaluation needs to be used as a basis for assessing the sustainability of the new policy.

2.2. Government and Accountability as Pillars of Educational Evaluation

Equity in education is a basic principle in the development of national education which aims to provide equal learning opportunities for all citizens, regardless of geographical, economic, or socio-cultural background. In the context of educational evaluation, equality includes ensuring that every student has access to a fair, non-discriminatory, and local assessment system. When the National Examination was implemented, it became a uniform comparative instrument, but was also considered unresponsive to disparities in infrastructure and capacity between regions. The elimination of the National Examination is expected to encourage a more inclusive approach, but also risks blurring the gap without a standard measuring instrument as a national reference.

Educational accountability relates to the transparency and responsibility of educational institutions for the entire learning process and outcomes. Accountability is important so that the public, including parents, communities, and the government, can assess the extent to which schools meet the established quality standards. In the old system, the National Examination functioned as an external quality control tool that could motivate schools to achieve national minimum standards. After the elimination of the National Examination, the biggest challenge is to design a new evaluation system that remains accountable, transparent, and reliable as a reference for policy making. Therefore, the relationship between equity and accountability needs to be understood as a unity that influences each other in the post-National Examination education evaluation system.

3. Method

The research method used in this study is a qualitative method with a Systematic Literature Review (SLR) approach. The SLR approach was chosen to explore and analyze in depth various relevant scientific literature sources regarding the elimination of the National Examination and its impact on the education evaluation system in Indonesia . SLR allows researchers to collect, sort, and synthesize previous research results systematically in order to obtain a comprehensive and comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon being studied. In this context, the research focuses on academic publications such as scientific journals, policy reports, official government documents, and verified scientific articles published in the last five years (2020–2024) to remain relevant to the post-elimination context of the National Examination .

Data collection was conducted through literature searches in several national and international scientific databases such as Google Scholar, DOAJ, Scopus, and Garuda Ristek-BRIN using keywords such as "elimination of the National Examination", "education evaluation", "National Assessment", "education equality", and "education accountability". Furthermore, researchers conducted a *screening* and *inclusion criteria process* to filter articles that were in accordance with the focus of the study, followed by thematic analysis to identify patterns, important findings, and existing research gaps . The collected data were analyzed descriptively-qualitatively, with an emphasis on critical interpretation of arguments, policies, and empirical impacts reflected in the literature reviewed. With this approach, the study is expected to be able to provide a conceptual contribution to the development of a fairer, more equitable, and accountable education evaluation system after the elimination of the National Examination in Indonesia .

4. Results and Discussion

The elimination of the National Examination (UN) as a major policy in the Indonesian national education system has had a significant multidimensional impact, especially on the general education evaluation mechanism. Based on the results of a systematic review of various literature and policy documents, it was found that the transition from UN to National Assessment (AN) gave rise to a paradigm shift in evaluation from an individual achievement-based assessment model to a more diagnostic assessment of educational units . This transformation conceptually brings hope for the realization of a more humane, inclusive evaluation process that avoids excessive psychological pressure on students. However, this change has also resulted in a lack of standard measuring instruments that have been used to assess and compare student performance nationally. In practice, many educational units, especially in the 3T (frontier, outermost, and disadvantaged) areas, do not yet have adequate capacity to adapt new evaluation approaches, both in terms of infrastructure, teacher human resources, and conceptual understanding of the AN principle.

In the context of equalization, research results show that the policy of eliminating the National Examination has not been fully accompanied by systemic readiness to reduce educational disparities between regions. The literature shows that the National Assessment, although oriented towards measuring the quality of learning as a whole, actually shows new gaps, especially in terms of technical readiness and student participation. In several remote areas, limited access to digital infrastructure is a major obstacle in the implementation of the AN, which is mostly computer-based. This condition creates inequality in assessment results that do not fully reflect the quality of education, but rather illustrate the inequality of facilities and infrastructure. In addition, the lack of technical assistance for teachers and principals in understanding the design and implementation of the AN causes the meaning of the assessment results to be unclear and cannot be used optimally to improve the quality of learning. This confirms that equal access to a fair evaluation system has not been fully realized in the post-UN era.

In terms of accountability, the elimination of the National Examination raises major challenges in terms of transparency and accountability of educational institutions for learning outcomes. Previously, the National Examination had symbolic power as an indicator of quality that could be compared horizontally between regions and between individuals. With the absence of a uniform quantitative measuring instrument, the community, especially parents of students and policy makers, lose one of the external control mechanisms to assess

the success of educational institutions . Some literature even shows that without the National Examination, there is a decrease in public trust in the validity of reporting learning outcomes, especially in schools that have a history of low performance. On the other hand, although the National Assessment offers a literacy and numeracy-based approach that is considered more relevant to the needs of the 21st century, the results are not always used effectively by schools as a basis for reflection and planning for follow-up learning. This shows the weakness of the internal accountability system that should be developed together with the elimination of the National Examination as an external accountability system.

The results of the review also show that there is a lack of synchronization between the normative objectives of eliminating the National Examination and the factual conditions of policy implementation in the field. Several supporting policies such as teacher training, provision of digital devices, and preparation of a system for reporting the results of the National Examination have not been implemented optimally and evenly throughout Indonesia. As a result, there is a gap between policy expectations and the reality of implementation. In several reports, it was found that teachers still prepare students with learning patterns similar to the National Examination period, because they do not fully understand the formative and diagnostic approaches carried by the National Examination . This shows that changes in policy without being followed by changes in educational culture will only result in disorientation in the educational evaluation process. On the other hand, in schools that already have sufficient resources, the National Examination is used effectively to map the strengths and weaknesses of learning, showing that this policy only has a positive impact on schools with high readiness, thus strengthening the assumption that educational disparities are increasing

The results of the literature review also reveal that the policy of eliminating the National Examination does not immediately eliminate the deep-rooted culture of competition between schools. Although the National Examination is eliminated, schools still look for other comparative indicators, either through the National Examination or internal evaluation systems. Several elite schools in big cities continue to use additional assessments for entrance selection, while schools in disadvantaged areas rely entirely on government instruments that are not yet optimal. This shows that the inequality of access to information, technology, and human resources is a crucial factor that influences the effectiveness of educational evaluation policies. In this context, the policy of eliminating the National Examination only solves part of the problem, but leaves a bigger structural challenge: how to create an evaluation system that is fair and acceptable to all levels of society without sacrificing transparency and accountability.

The analysis also found that in many cases, the policy of eliminating the National Examination has not been accompanied by an adequate public communication strategy. Many education stakeholders, such as parents, teachers, and even students, do not have a complete understanding of the fundamental differences between the National Examination and the National Examination. As a result, confusion arises at the implementation level and resistance to the new evaluation approach. This is exacerbated by the minimal involvement of regions in the planning of the implementation of the National Examination, so that its implementation seems top-down without considering the local context. As an implication, the effectiveness of the National Assessment in improving the quality of education is not only determined by the quality of its assessment instruments, but also by the social and institutional capacity of local policy makers. Without active involvement of regions and strengthening of education quality management at the school level, changes to the evaluation system have the potential to become symbolic policies that do not touch the root of Indonesia's education problems.

Thus, the overall research results show that the elimination of the National Examination as a strategic policy in the Indonesian education system has a complex impact. On the one hand, this policy is able to reduce academic pressure on students and open up opportunities for a more holistic evaluation approach. However, on the other hand, this change has not fully addressed the long-standing issues of inequality of access and the weakness of the education accountability system. Without comprehensive readiness in infrastructure, conceptual understanding, teacher training, and community involvement, the new evaluation system risks creating deeper inequality. Therefore, the results of this study emphasize the

importance of reformulating the education evaluation approach that is more contextual, fair, and accompanied by strengthening public accountability governance that is adaptive to the dynamics of the times.

4.1 . Implications of the Elimination of National Examinations on the Equalization of Educational Evaluation

The elimination of the National Examination (UN) is an important turning point in the journey of Indonesian education policy. For more than two decades, the UN has been the main symbol of educational evaluation oriented towards national standards. However, with the elimination of the UN and its replacement by the National Assessment (AN), the evaluation paradigm has shifted fundamentally from an output-based assessment approach to a diagnostic approach that is more oriented towards the learning process and educational environment. This change certainly does not occur in a vacuum, but touches various dimensions of education simultaneously, including the crucial issue of equalizing the quality and results of educational evaluation. The big question that then arises is: does the elimination of the UN really encourage equality in the education evaluation system, or does it actually widen the gap between regions that has so far been the main challenge for national education?

Normatively, the policy of eliminating the National Examination is based on the desire to create a fairer, more humanistic, and contextual evaluation system. The National Examination has been criticized for being a bugbear for students, teachers, and schools, which tend to focus learning only on mastering the content being tested . On the other hand, the National Examination is also considered not to reflect the real conditions of schools, because it standardizes all students uniformly without considering diverse geographic, social, and economic backgrounds. In this context, the National Examination comes with a more flexible approach. It no longer tests individual student achievement, but maps the quality of the learning system through literacy assessments, numeracy, and learning environment surveys. Within the framework of equality, this design is expected to be able to identify learning gaps between regions and become the basis for formulating policies that are more responsive to local needs.

However, the reality on the ground shows that this transition has actually reopened old wounds in the national education system, namely the gap between regions in terms of readiness, capacity, and access to evaluation support facilities. In areas where educational and technological infrastructure has developed—such as in urban areas and centers of economic growth—AN can be implemented quite well. Teachers in these areas are relatively quick to adapt to the new assessment format, even using AN results as a basis for reflection to design improvements to the learning process. In contrast, schools in 3T (frontier, outermost, and disadvantaged) areas face various technical and structural obstacles that make AN implementation far from ideal. Starting from the lack of computer equipment and internet connections, low digital competence of teachers, to the lack of technical assistance from local governments, all of this exacerbates the inequality in policy implementation.

In the previous UN equality review, it functioned as a uniform measuring tool and could be used to compare educational performance between schools and regions. Although not perfect, the UN provides quantitative and open data, which can be used as an indicator of the achievement of national standards. With the elimination of the UN, there is no longer a single instrument that can provide an explicit comparative picture of student learning outcomes throughout Indonesia. The National Assessment does provide data in the form of an education quality profile, but this data is internal and cannot always be widely accessed by the community or local stakeholders. In conditions like this, accountability and transparency that should support equality become weak. When data cannot be compared equally, then the gap in education quality will be difficult to detect and find solutions for systematically.

The inequality of access to the implementation of AN also has an impact on the quality of evaluation results. Many schools in remote areas have not been able to optimally participate in AN due to technical obstacles. As a result, the AN results from these areas are not representative and do not reflect the actual achievements of the ongoing learning process. Meanwhile, in areas that are ready, AN results are more accurate and can be used for data-based decision-making purposes. This creates a new inequality in the use of evaluation results, where only a small number of schools can integrate assessment into strategies to improve the

quality of education. Thus, instead of reducing disparities, the elimination of UN without adequate mitigation actually widens the gap between schools that are ready and unprepared, between developed and underdeveloped areas.

One important aspect of equalizing education evaluation is the existence of a support system that is able to guarantee the involvement of all schools in the assessment process equally. In the context of AN, this support includes training for teachers and principals, provision of digital infrastructure, and strengthening the capacity of school management in interpreting and using assessment results. However, based on the results of a study of various AN implementation reports, it is clear that the distribution of this support is still unequal. Schools in urban areas generally receive training and supporting facilities first, while schools in remote areas often only become implementers without a complete understanding of the strategic value of AN. As a result, the quality of evaluation becomes dependent on local capacity, no longer on a comprehensive national system. This creates an ironic situation: the elimination of the UN, which was intended to create a fair system, has actually given rise to fragmentation of the quality of education evaluation at the grassroots level.

There are also conceptual issues that affect equity in post-UN education evaluation. The National Assessment as a measure of the quality of educational units emphasizes aspects of reading literacy and numeracy. Although this is in line with the needs of 21st-century education, this approach is not necessarily relevant or fair if applied uniformly across local contexts. Schools with local curricula based on cultural wisdom, for example, may have difficulty adjusting to the rigid and less contextual AN parameters. On the other hand, schools that are accustomed to the national standard academic orientation are more easily able to adjust to this change. Therefore, the elimination of the UN needs to be accompanied by strengthening the concept of inclusive evaluation, which does not only assess schools based on numbers, but also based on the context, culture, and local challenges of each region.

From a public policy perspective, the equitable distribution of post-UN education evaluation is highly dependent on how the state regulates the distribution of responsibilities between the center and regions. With the elimination of the UN, the role of regions in managing, implementing, and following up on assessment results becomes increasingly crucial. However, not all regional governments have the same capacity in terms of education planning, quality control, or the use of evaluation data for intervention policies. This imbalance in capacity between regions is a challenge in itself in realizing an equitable evaluation system. Without intensive assistance from the central government, regions with weak institutional capacity tend to stagnate in improving the quality of education, because they do not have an evaluation framework that can be used as a basis. Therefore, the elimination of the UN should be accompanied by targeted decentralization and a strong monitoring mechanism.

The elimination of the National Examination also impacted public perceptions of fairness in the education system. For most Indonesians, the National Examination has long been considered a symbol of prestige and a tool for comparing achievements between individuals and between schools. When the National Examination was eliminated, the public lost a benchmark that they considered objective for assessing the success of their children's education. This created confusion and even distrust of the new evaluation system. In some areas, parents still expect a formal "final exam" because they feel the need for an explicit form of recognition of achievement. This situation shows that efforts to create equality through a new approach must also pay attention to aspects of perception and social readiness of the community for policy transformation. Equality is not only about access, but also about public acceptance and participation in understanding the meaning of new educational evaluations.

Considering all the aspects above, it can be concluded that the elimination of the National Examination has not immediately created a more equitable evaluation system throughout Indonesia. Although philosophically this policy is directed at a more contextual and humane approach, its implementation is still greatly influenced by structural inequality, institutional capacity, and social and cultural readiness at the local level. Therefore, in order for equality in education evaluation to be truly realized, further policy reforms are needed that include providing systemic support for schools in disadvantaged areas, comprehensive training for educators, preparing inclusive assessment indicators, and strengthening

collaboration between the central and regional governments. Without these steps, the transformation of post-UN education evaluation will only be policy rhetoric that is difficult to translate into fair and equitable practices.

4.2 . Impact of the Elimination of National Examinations on Educational Accountability

The elimination of the National Examination (UN) as a national policy has caused a significant paradigm shift in the governance of Indonesian education, not only in the evaluation dimension, but also in more structural aspects such as the education accountability system. As a uniform and quantitative national evaluation instrument, the UN has been one of the main pillars in supporting vertical and horizontal accountability mechanisms in education. On the one hand, the UN functions as a measuring tool that can be compared nationally, making it easier for stakeholders to assess the quality of education at various levels and regions . On the other hand, the UN is also a form of school accountability to the community, parents, and the government for the learning process that has been implemented. Therefore, when the UN was eliminated and replaced by the National Assessment (AN) which is more oriented towards mapping and diagnosing education quality, the education accountability system faced major challenges in maintaining trust, transparency, and legitimacy in the eyes of the public.

In the framework of educational accountability, the UN previously provided data that was open, standardized, and widely accessible to the general public. With UN scores announced nationally, the public has an objective basis for assessing and comparing the performance of schools, and even using these scores as a reference in the selection process to the next level of education. This puts positive pressure on schools and local governments to maintain the quality of teaching, improve student achievement, and improve the learning management system continuously. The UN is not only a measure of individual achievement, but also a symbol of transparency and public accountability. In the perspective of modern educational management, the existence of quantitative indicators that can be tested comparatively such as the UN is an important component of a performance-based accountability *system* .

However, after the elimination of the National Examination, the Indonesian education evaluation system no longer produces equivalent comparative indicators. The National Examination as a replacement for the National Examination was indeed designed to assess the quality of the learning environment and literacy-numeracy achievements at the educational unit level, but the results are internal and not announced openly to the public. The National Examination data is more intended as a tool for internal reflection and improvement by schools and education offices, so it is more private and descriptive in nature. This change has resulted in decreased transparency in the education accountability system. The public no longer has access to data that can be used as a basis for assessing school performance, and parents can no longer monitor their children's development comparatively between regions. This situation creates a gray area in education accountability, where openness of information is limited and evaluation of educational achievements becomes relatively exclusive among the education bureaucracy.

This change in the accountability system also has an impact on the level of public trust in educational institutions. In the context of a developing country like Indonesia, where the disparity in the quality of education is still high and supervision of educational institutions is not yet fully effective, quantitative indicators such as UN scores are often the only way for the public to assess school performance. When these instruments are removed and not replaced with clear and credible public indicators, the public has the potential to experience distrust of educational institutions, especially in terms of the validity and integrity of student achievement reports . This situation is exacerbated by the immaturity of the school's internal accountability system, such as portfolio-based evaluation mechanisms, learning audits, and transparent and participatory reporting of learning outcomes. Thus, without the UN, the Indonesian education system loses one of the external control components that has been the public's mainstay.

It is undeniable that the government's intention to eliminate the National Examination has a rational basis, namely to create a more humanistic education system, not to suppress students' psychology, and to provide more space for creativity and learning differentiation. However, in terms of accountability, this policy has not been accompanied by a comparable strengthening of reporting and monitoring mechanisms. The National Examination, as a substitute tool, has not been fully reliable as a means of public accountability due to limitations in the distribution of information and the involvement of local education actors in the implementation process. In fact, in a decentralized education system such as in Indonesia, the success of an education policy is highly dependent on the ability of schools and local governments to develop an effective internal accountability system. When this does not happen, the elimination of the National Examination actually obscures the accountability path that should be increasingly clarified in the era of educational autonomy.

The literature on educational accountability also shows that transparency of evaluation results is not only important for the community, but also for policy makers at the central and regional levels. UN data has been the basis for formulating educational intervention policies, such as the provision of affirmative assistance, resource allocation, and teacher training programs. With the loss of quantitative and uniform data from the UN, data-based decision-making becomes more complex. The government must develop a new system that can replace the function of the UN as a national education mapping tool. However, in practice, AN data is more qualitative and difficult to compare between regions, complicating the process of making evidence - based policies . This raises concerns that future education policies could become more speculative and reactive, rather than based on valid and representative data.

At the school level, the impact of the elimination of the National Examination on accountability is also seen in the weak encouragement to conduct continuous self-evaluation. So far, the National Examination has put pressure on schools to maintain academic reputation, improve student achievement, and improve learning management. In many cases, the National Examination scores are also the basis for evaluating the performance of teachers and principals. However, after the National Examination was eliminated, this external pressure disappeared, so that some schools no longer had a strong incentive to improve quality. Educational evaluation became more administrative and no longer oriented towards measurable achievements. Without a standardized and accountable assessment system, efforts to improve the quality of education at the educational unit level are vulnerable to formality and stagnation .

Another impact is seen in the transformation of accountability responsibilities from the state to schools. In the new system, schools are expected to have a strong internal quality control system, through the use of AN data for reflection, learning planning, and improving the quality of the learning environment. However, this capacity is not possessed by all schools, especially in areas with limited human resources, technology, and institutional support. This inequality raises concerns that only certain schools are able to carry out accountability functions optimally, while the majority of schools still need assistance in building a culture of internal evaluation. Therefore, the transformation of the post-UN education accountability system requires major reforms in the school management system and strengthening the competence of school principals and teachers in terms of data analysis, assessment-based decision making, and public involvement in the evaluation process.

From the legal and governance side, the policy of eliminating the National Examination has not been followed by regulations that are strong enough to replace the formal accountability function that has been inherent in the National Examination policy. Regulations on National Assessment are still technical in nature, and do not cover aspects of public accountability as a whole. There is no legal instrument that requires schools to report the results of educational evaluations openly to the public, or a standard reporting format that is easily accessible to the public. As a result, the evaluation process tends to be internal to the bureaucracy and does not involve the community as an active partner in monitoring the quality of education. This is contrary to the spirit of democratization of education which should guarantee community involvement in the supervision and decision-making of education at the local level.

Another implication is the loss of national standards as a reference for performance in the advanced education selection system. The National Examination has been used as one of the main components in the selection process for entering higher education, such as high school or college. With the elimination of the National Examination, the selection system becomes more varied and tends to depend on the policies of each educational institution. This raises the potential for injustice and discrimination in access to education, because not all institutions have the ability and intention to develop a fair and transparent selection system. In the long term, this could disrupt the national education ecosystem which has been based on the principle of meritocracy as measured by the results of the National Examination. Therefore, a redesign of the accountability system is needed that does not only rely on internal evaluation, but also creates an external accountability mechanism that guarantees fairness, transparency, and inclusiveness.

Based on the overall description above, it can be concluded that the elimination of the National Examination has had a significant impact on the Indonesian education accountability system. On the one hand, this policy offers a new paradigm that is more humanistic and process-based. However, on the other hand, the absence of national and standardized indicators has weakened transparency, lost public control, and decreased public trust in the integrity of the education system. For this reason, a reformulation of the post-UN education accountability system is needed which includes three main pillars: (1) openness of evaluation data to the public in an informative and comparable format, (2) strengthening the internal evaluation system based on AN data that is integrated into school management, and (3) development of a regulatory system and institutional assistance that ensures that education accountability remains a major part of national education governance. Without these steps, the elimination of the UN risks creating a system vacuum that weakens the control function and improvement of education quality as a whole.

5. Comparison

The results of this study indicate that the elimination of the National Examination has a significant impact on the two main pillars of the education system, namely equity and accountability of education evaluation. This finding is in line with research which found that the elimination of the National Examination provides space for a more humanistic learning approach and reduces students' psychological stress. However, this study goes further by highlighting that without a uniform and open assessment system such as the National Examination, public accountability for the quality of education becomes unclear. This strengthens the findings which state that the absence of national indicators such as the National Examination causes the public to lose an objective benchmark for assessing school performance, so that public trust in educational institutions decreases. In addition, study which emphasizes the lack of regional infrastructure readiness in implementing the National Assessment is also in line with the findings of this study, especially in the context of the inequality of the implementation of the National Examination in the 3T region.

Compared to the three studies, this study provides a deeper contribution by integrating systemic policy analysis on two aspects of equity and accountability that were previously only discussed separately. Azzahra and Hidayat focus more on the psychological side of students, without exploring how the absence of the National Examination affects the structure of educational responsibility institutionally. Likewise, Wahyuningsih highlights the loss of external quality control, but does not discuss how this affects the inequality of access to the evaluation system between regions. Meanwhile, Suryani and Wahyudi highlight technical readiness, but have not touched on the long-term implications for the legitimacy of educational evaluation. Therefore, this study fills an important gap in the discourse on educational evaluation in Indonesia by offering a more holistic perspective on the impact of the policy of eliminating the National Examination, as well as the urgency of strengthening an evaluation system that is inclusive, transparent, and equally accessible to all stakeholders.

6. Conclusion

Based on the overall results and discussion, it can be concluded that the elimination of the National Examination has a complex impact on the quality of education evaluation in Indonesia, especially in the perspective of equity and accountability. Although this policy is philosophically intended to reduce pressure on students and direct education evaluation to a more reflective and contextual approach through the National Assessment, in reality, implementation in the field still faces many challenges. Inequality in infrastructure, human resource capacity, and understanding of the new assessment causes disparities between regions in terms of the implementation and utilization of evaluation results. On the other hand, the absence of a uniform quantitative measurement tool such as the National Examination obscures the public accountability mechanism for the quality of education, so that public trust in the education system is also eroded. Therefore, the elimination of the National Examination has not fully guaranteed the achievement of the goals of equity and transparency in national education evaluation.

As a follow-up step, the government needs to design a strategy to strengthen the education evaluation system that is more comprehensive and equitable. This can be done by expanding access to technology infrastructure to schools in disadvantaged areas, providing intensive training to teachers and principals on assessment literacy, and developing a transparent and publicly accessible assessment result reporting system without sacrificing educational ethics. In addition, there needs to be a regulation that encourages community participation in monitoring and evaluating the quality of education, so that the accountability process is not only the responsibility of the bureaucracy, but also becomes a shared culture. Thus, the transformation of education evaluation after the National Examination can be a strong foundation for building a more equitable, adaptive, and trusted education system for all levels of Indonesian society.

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