

The Effect of Liberalization of Education Services on the Achievement of Sustainable Development Goals in the Field of Education in Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the liberalization of education services in Indonesia in the context of World Trade Organization free trade and its impact on efforts to achieve the fourth Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), namely the fulfillment of inclusive and equitable quality education for all. This issue is examined and analyzed in this study using normative, qualitative, and deductive legal methods. From the data analysis, it is concluded that the liberalization of education services in Indonesia, if implemented with the spirit of seeking profit and free fight liberalism, will hinder the fulfillment of the right to inclusive and fair quality education, because only those who are economically capable can enjoy it. As a developing country, Indonesia needs to formulate policies that limit the implementation of the liberalization of education services by utilizing the special provisions for developing countries and the flexibility of the General Agreement on Trade in Services, so that the fulfillment of the right to inclusive and equitable quality education can be accessed by all people, thereby enhancing the achievement of SDG 4.

Keywords: Education services; inclusive and equitable, liberalization; quality education

I. Introduction

As a member of the WTO, Indonesia is obliged to implement WTO agreements, one of which is the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). The results of trade negotiations on services based on GATS, which were signed by the Indonesian government in May 2005 and ratified in December 2005, regulate the liberalization of trade in 12 service sectors, including the education sector.

Education is one of the service sectors that can be traded freely based on GATS. In principle, based on this agreement, there must be liberalization of trade in education services between countries. Indonesia has stated that education is one of the services traded under GATS, and in 2007, Presidential Regulation No. 77 was issued, stipulating that education is a field open to foreign capital with a maximum foreign capital requirement of 49%.

One of the Indonesian government's arguments for liberalizing education services under GATS is to improve the quality of education in Indonesia. The fulfillment of the right to inclusive and equitable quality education is one of the goals of the United Nations Development Programme, namely the 2015-2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which were later adopted by Indonesia based on Presidential Regulation No. 111 of 2022. It is hoped that the Indonesian government's policy of liberalizing education services will improve the quality of education in Indonesia, thereby facilitating the achievement of the SDGs in the field of education (SDG 4). As one of the countries currently implementing the SDGs program, Indonesia is striving to provide inclusive and equitable quality education for all Indonesian citizens.

On the other hand, the liberalization of education services in Indonesia has raised many objections from a number of parties in Indonesia. One of the reasons often cited by those who reject the liberalization of education services is that it will have a negative impact on the vision and mission of Indonesian education and the fulfillment of human rights, because in Indonesia, education is a form of human rights protected by law. The Indonesian government has an obligation to fulfill the right to education for all Indonesian citizens without the obligation for citizens to pay. If education is included in the field of traded services, then only those who are economically capable will be able to enjoy quality education services, while those who are economically disadvantaged will not receive quality education services.

The liberalization of education services will allow education providers from other countries to enter Indonesia. The entry of foreign education providers is considered to have the potential to cause fundamental changes to the objectives of Indonesia's national education. Education will become an industrial commodity or commercial economic commodity rather than a cultural activity aimed at educating the nation. When education becomes an industrial commodity, it will be reduced to a mere means of fulfilling the labor needs of industrialization in accordance with competition in the free market and the spirit of neo-imperialism. This could change the basic concept



of education in Indonesia as a form of human rights, thereby affecting efforts to fulfill the right to inclusive and equitable quality education for all.

The issue of the impact of the liberalization of education services based on GATS on the achievement of SDG 4, namely the fulfillment of the right to inclusive and equitable quality education, is raised as a topic in this study. The purpose of this study is to find solutions so that the implementation of the liberalization of education services in Indonesia does not cause obstacles to efforts to fulfill the right to inclusive and equitable quality education for all Indonesian citizens, as mandated by SDG 4, and does not cause changes to the essence of education in Indonesia as a form of human rights protected by law. The study also aims to produce recommendations for the government and Indonesian education stakeholders to create regulations and policies that can direct the liberalization of education services to encourage the achievement of SDG 4, namely the fulfillment of the right to inclusive and equitable quality education for all.

II. Literature Reviews

A. Overview of WTO education service liberalization

Global economic liberalization is often associated with the WTO Agreement, which is based on the principles of free trade. Through trade liberalization based on WTO principles, countries must open themselves up to each other and remove all barriers to trade and economic relations. WTO economic liberalization and free trade are also often associated with globalization. Jones (2013) states: "Globalization is an attempt to abolish barriers, especially in trade." The globalization that is currently taking place is multidimensional, consisting of complex and interrelated processes that can have their own dynamics, causing impacts in various fields of national and state life. One area of life that has been affected by the process of globalization is education (Al'Abri, 2011).

The process of globalization in the field of education has been facilitated and accelerated by GATS, one of the WTO agreements, which regulates trade in services. Because education is one of the services that can be traded under GATS, it will become an industry that plays an important role in international trade. Pearson, as quoted by Komljenovic and Robertson (2017) in their 2012 annual report, estimates that education will become an industry with significant growth in the 21st century.

It can be said that education is one of the most extensive businesses among other services. Therefore, the field of education is one of the sectors that WTO member countries are committed to liberalizing. Developed countries want to open up the education services market worldwide. The educational services sector is one of the most profitable sectors for developed countries. The three countries that have benefited most from the liberalization of education services are the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia. Over time, trade in education services has rapidly become a large industry, to the extent that these proponent countries are now increasingly expanding the commercialization of higher education and recommending the privatization of public/state universities in target countries. For example, in 2000, the United States' education service exports reached US\$14 billion (Rehulina et al., 2021). Then, for the United States, education services ranked the 6th largest in service exports in the 2018/2019 period with a value of \$44.04 billion (Refina and Vigo, 2023). For the United Kingdom, total education service exports reached £21.4 billion in 2017, an increase of approximately 34.7% compared to 2010 (Refina and Vigo, 2023).

Since the enactment of the WTO agreement in 1995, educational services have become a commodity under the banner of free trade. The WTO itself has identified four modes of educational service provision as follows: 1) Cross-border supply; foreign higher education institutions offer lectures via the internet or online degree programs, 2) Consumption abroad, which is the most dominant form of higher education service provision, where students study at foreign universities, 3). Commercial presence, or the presence of foreign universities by forming "partnerships," "subsidiaries," or "twinning arrangements" with local universities, and 4) Presence of persons, foreign lecturers or teachers teaching at local educational institutions (Rehulina et al., 2021).

If practiced in globalization with a fundamentalist market character, free trade in services will have a huge impact on educational institutions and policies. These impacts vary greatly depending on the location within the global arena and can open up opportunities or be beneficial, but they can also be obstacles or detrimental to the education services sector in developing countries. On the other hand, free trade in education services, if implemented in conditions of symmetrical interdependence between countries or educational institutions, can indeed open the door wide to the global market, especially to the economies of developed countries that have been able to develop a knowledge-based economy. However, in conditions of asymmetric interdependence, and especially when the provision of education services is based solely on "for-profit" motives, while other educational objectives are sacrificed, this can pose a threat to education providers in developing countries. Education providers in developing countries can be eliminated because they lose out in free competition.

Education is a particularly sensitive service sector due to its important role in development (Sorenson, 2005). Education is also recognized as a form of human rights, so it is closely related to public interest (Barman, 2021). In terms of service liberalization, WTO members recognize that many specific service sectors are closely related to the public interest, so it is in the government's best interest to pay attention to them and, if necessary, protect them to ensure the availability of these services of good quality. Therefore, under GATS, many facilities are opened for services related to public services.

In relation to these public services, WTO members are free to do the following: 1) Provide access to public services only to domestic companies, 2) Open public services to both domestic and foreign companies without having to commit to complying with GATS provisions. In fact, they may maintain a monopoly (by the state or private sector) on the trade of services related to public services. 3) Make a commitment to GATS for foreign companies to provide public services only as a supplement to domestic suppliers. 4). WTO member countries remain free to set quality, safety, price, or any other necessary policies (Triyana, 2025).



In the case of trade in services under GATS, some WTO principles are not applied as strictly as in trade in goods. For example, the principle of “national treatment” as stipulated in Article III of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which requires WTO members to treat domestic products and imported products equally, in trade in services, WTO members can take discriminatory measures for the benefit of domestic service providers (protection of domestic service providers). Free trade in services under GATS is implemented with full flexibility and also takes into account the interests of developing countries that are WTO members (Triyana, 2025).

B. Overview of SDGs in Education (SDG 4)

On September 25, 2015, following the conclusion of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) program, the UN General Assembly issued a Resolution on the Declaration on Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The SDGs are a UN development program that will run from June 1, 2016, to 2030. In principle, the SDGs continue the previous UN development program, namely the MDGs (Triyana, 2025). The SDGs contain 17 goals and 169 global development targets. The seventeen SDGs development goals are: poverty eradication, hunger eradication, good health and well-being, quality education, gender equality, clean water and sanitation, clean and available energy, decent work and economic growth, industry, innovation and infrastructure, reduced inequality between countries, sustainable cities and communities, responsible production and consumption, climate action, improved life on water, improved life on land, peace, justice and strong institutions, and partnerships for implementing the SDGs (UNDP, 2025).

Broadly speaking, the SDGs aim to harmonize three main elements, namely economic growth, inclusive social development, and environmental protection (Ramadhani and Riyanti, 2022). The SDGs are expected to bring prosperity to all the world's inhabitants and also save our planet. Education is one of the 17 SDGs. This is stated in the fourth SDG (SDG 4), which is to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all. The SDGs in the field of education are one of a series of global targets set by the United Nations to achieve sustainable development by 2030 (Anissa et al., 2024).

The main objective of SDG 4 is to provide equitable, inclusive, and quality education for all individuals around the world (Anissa et al., 2024). This goal supports the reduction of educational disparities, both in terms of access and quality. This contains recognition of the need to provide quality education for all, especially vulnerable groups, including poor children, children living in rural areas, persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples, and refugee children (Rattray, 2019).

One of the efforts to achieve SDG 4 is to overcome challenges faced in the field of education, such as lack of access, gender inequality, low quality of education, and lack of equality in access to education (Zendeli, 2017). From a cultural perspective, public awareness of the importance of quality and inclusive education as part of sustainable development is still low. In some areas, girls still face discrimination in accessing education, while boys have to work to help their families and leave school. In addition, resistance to curriculum innovation and the use of technology in schools is also a factor that hinders educational transformation in line with SDG principles (Zendeli, 2017).

Through SDG 4, quality, inclusive, and equitable education will be ensured, and lifelong learning opportunities for all will be promoted (Quality Education). The achievement of SDG 4 includes the provision of free, quality primary and secondary education, increased access to higher education, the development of technical and vocational skills, and the elimination of discrimination and the development of a safe and inclusive learning environment for all.

Quality education emphasizes the importance of providing high-quality, relevant, and inclusive education for all individuals without exception (Anissa et al., 2024). The targets in SDG 4 include eradicating illiteracy, improving teacher standards, developing relevant curricula, and providing access to education for vulnerable groups (Anissa et al., 2024). It also emphasizes the importance of efforts to improve access to education for all levels of society, including marginalized and disadvantaged groups. In addition, equality in education also needs to be emphasized to ensure that all individuals have equal opportunities to access quality education (Anissa et al., 2024).

The achievement of SDG 4 must facilitate that all boys and girl's complete primary and secondary education free of charge, equally, and with quality by 2030. Then there must be increased access to higher education, including technical, vocational, and information and communication technology training, especially for vulnerable groups. The development of technical/vocational skills is aimed at increasing the number of youth and adults who have the relevant skills for decent work and entrepreneurship. This goal also aims to provide equal access to affordable vocational training, eliminate gender and wealth disparities, and achieve universal access to quality higher education.

Regarding inclusive learning environments, gender-sensitive and disability-sensitive educational facilities must be built, providing safe, violence-free, and effective learning environments. In the area of literacy and numeracy, it must be ensured that all youth and most adults achieve functional literacy and numeracy levels. It also aims to increase the number of qualified teachers through international cooperation.

Overall, SDG 4 focuses on transforming education to be more inclusive, equitable, and relevant to building a sustainable world. Realizing inclusive and quality education for all reaffirms the belief that education is one of the most powerful and proven vehicles for the success of SDGs programs.

Education is not only a matter of national interest, but has also become a matter of international interest. Therefore, international cooperation in the education sector is very important in efforts to fulfill the right to education and improve the quality of education. Thus, the globalization of education is inevitable and must be pursued so that it can benefit everyone.

Sari Murti (2022) states that education plays an important role in developing quality human resources, both in terms of mastery of science and technology and in shaping noble character. Therefore, quality education is also one of the important pillars for the



achievement of the SDGs as a whole (Ahmad Luthfi, 2025). Quality education will increase the number of skilled workers, overcome unemployment, increase productivity, reduce poverty, and so on. This goal is very important because of its transformative impact on other SDGs. Sustainable development depends on every child receiving quality education. When children are given the means to develop their full potential, they become skilled and productive adults, ready to contribute back to their communities and break the cycle of poverty. Education enables better socioeconomic mobility.

C. Overview of Indonesian education

In practice, each country develops its own education system in accordance with its national objectives. This is also true of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, which was formed through the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence on August 17, 1945. One of the objectives of the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia, as stipulated in the fourth paragraph of the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, is to educate the nation.

For Indonesia today, education is defined as a conscious and planned effort to create a learning atmosphere and learning process so that students actively develop their potential to have religious spiritual strength, self-control, personality, intelligence, noble character, and the skills needed by themselves, society, nation, and state (Article 1 paragraph 1 of Law Number 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System, hereinafter abbreviated as Indonesian Education System Law No. 20 of 2003). N. Driyarkara stated that education (educating and being educated) is a complex act consisting of many actions, all of which are aimed at humanizing humans (Triyana, 2020).

Based on this background, the Indonesian education system aims to develop the Indonesian people into true Indonesians. Through education, the Indonesian people are shaped into mature, high-quality Indonesians, both physically and spiritually. The Indonesian people referred to here are the people of the Indonesian nation who have an Indonesian personality, understand, appreciate, and practice the values that form the Indonesian nation's outlook on life, namely the values contained in the five principles of Pancasila (Sari Murti, 2022).

In Indonesia, education is seen more as a public service, where the government is responsible for providing education for Indonesian citizens. Therefore, the government always strives to develop and improve the quality and quantity of Indonesian education. Since independence until now, education has always been one of the focuses of Indonesia's development programs. Indonesia emphasizes that education is the foundation of national development (Ahmad Lutfi et al., 2025).

Regarding the implementation of education in Indonesia, the government is also the main actor, considering that education is a public service sector and the right to education is one of the concepts of human rights protected by law. In Indonesia, the right to education has been regulated in various national legal instruments. Article 28 C paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia stipulates that every person has the right to develop themselves through the fulfillment of their basic needs, the right to obtain education and benefit from science and technology, arts and culture in order to improve their quality of life and for the welfare of humanity. The right to education is also regulated by Indonesian Law Number 39 of 1999 on Human Rights (Indonesian Human Rights Law No. 39 of 1999) and Indonesian Law Number 20 of 2003 on the National Education System.

III. Methods

Based on the legal concepts studied as described above, this research is doctrinal (normative legal) research. The approach used is a legal and conceptual approach. This study is based on a review of positive legal norms in the form of WTO legal principles and Indonesian legislation relating to education, human rights, and development. The data collected in this study is secondary data, which is data obtained from indirect sources. The secondary data in this study consists of primary legal materials, secondary legal materials, and tertiary legal materials relevant to the issues under study. The data in this study were collected mainly through literature study, namely by studying various literature such as books, scientific papers, scientific articles published in journals, websites and other media.

The collected data were analyzed using the "logico-deductive analysis" method. In this study, law is understood and explained using deductive logic. Data analysis in the study also used qualitative and comparative methods. The data obtained from the study were systematically organized and compared based on data quality. Deductive conclusions were drawn using a pattern of thinking called syllogism, which consists of two statements (major premise and minor premise) and a conclusion.

IV. Results and Discussion

As mentioned above, Indonesia participates in WTO trade in services. For Indonesia, trade in services is one of the most important sectors in the economy. According to data from the Indonesian Central Statistics Agency (BPS) in 2021, the service sector contributed up to 57% of Indonesia's total gross domestic product (ARISE+Indonesia, 2022).

During the WTO Doha Round negotiations in 2000, Indonesia initially offered five service sectors, namely construction, telecommunications, business, maritime transport, tourism and finance, to be liberalized under the GATS. Then, at the Ministerial Negotiations in Hong Kong in 2005, Indonesia also included the education service sector to be liberalized. Indonesia offered the liberalization of the following education services: technical and vocational secondary education services, technical and vocational higher education services, higher education services, language training and courses, and football and chess education and training services.

Based on the results of a study conducted by the Ministry of Trade of the Republic of Indonesia with the support of ARISE+Indonesia, it is known that the higher education services sector is one of six service sectors with the potential to be developed in the context of Indonesian trade in services (ARISE+Indonesia, 2022). Therefore, improving the quality of higher education in Indonesia is very important so that Indonesia can compete with other countries in terms of trade in education services. Improving the quality of education in Indonesia remains a serious concern for the Indonesian government. Based on data released by worldtop20.org, Indonesia's education ranking is 67th globally in 2024, the same as its ranking in 2023 and 2022 (Ilham, 2024). The Roadmap of SDGs Indonesia



states that improvements in the learning environment, curriculum and management of educational institutions are necessary for Indonesia to seize opportunities in the field of education (Ministry of Development Planning of the Republic of Indonesia, 2019).

Although the liberalization of educational services has been opened up in Indonesia, the commercialization of education is highly restricted and only applies to higher education in certain regions. Foreign educational institutions that provide education in Indonesia must be legal entities registered in Indonesia and meet the requirements set by the Indonesian government. The liberalization of educational services is only open in five cities, namely Jakarta, Bandung, Medan, Surabaya and Yogyakarta.

The liberalization of educational services in Indonesia has enabled foreign educational providers to enter and seek profits in Indonesia, and, conversely, Indonesian educational providers can also enter and seek profits abroad. In practice, more foreign higher education providers have entered Indonesia than Indonesian higher education providers have opened branches abroad. To date, there are several foreign higher education providers that have established educational businesses in Indonesia, namely Swiss German Global University, which is affiliated with universities in Europe, Deakin College-University (Australia), Lasalle College (Canada), Monash University (Australia), Raffles Design Institute (Singapore) and Deakin University and Lancaster University Indonesia. Meanwhile, only one Indonesian university has opened a branch overseas, namely Muhammadiyah University Surakarta, which opened a branch at Tongmyong University, Busan, South Korea, in 2022 (UMS, 2022). This data shows that the liberalization of education services in Indonesia provides more opportunities for foreign education providers to seek profits in Indonesia than it does for Indonesian education providers to seek profits in other countries.

The liberalization of education services in Indonesia is also said to be a trend towards the privatization and commercialization of education, driven by free market mechanisms, reducing the role of the state and opening up opportunities for the private sector (including foreign entities) to play a greater role, which could improve the quality of education in Indonesia. However, because it is based on the principle of commercialization, access to quality education can only be enjoyed by those who are economically capable. On the other hand, because the commercialization of education makes the cost of obtaining an education increasingly expensive, it becomes unaffordable for those who are economically poor despite being academically capable. Education will become exclusive, as it can only be enjoyed by those who can pay (Triyana, 2022). This raises concerns about increasing disparities in the fulfilment of the right to inclusive and equitable quality education for those who are economically capable and those who are not, thereby potentially violating the human rights of those who are economically disadvantaged and residents of disadvantaged, outermost and frontier regions.

As mentioned earlier, in Indonesia, education is a form of human rights protected by law. Based on Article 28 C and Article 31 paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, everyone is guaranteed the right to education, to obtain education and benefit from science and technology, arts and culture in order to improve their quality of life and for the welfare of humanity. Furthermore, based on Article 12 of the 1999 Indonesian Human Rights Law, it is stipulated that every person has the right to personal development, to obtain education, and to educate themselves. In relation to the fulfilment of the right to education, Article 5, paragraph 1 of the National Education System Law stipulates that every Indonesian citizen has the same right to obtain quality education.

As mentioned above, in Indonesia, education is in principle viewed as a public service, whereby the government is responsible for providing education for all Indonesian citizens. Although it is the responsibility of the government, the private sector can assist the Indonesian government in carrying out its responsibility to provide educational services to the community. Article 8 of the National Education System Law No. 20 of 2003 stipulates that the community has the right to participate in the planning, implementation, supervision, and evaluation of education programmes. The community here can be individuals or legal entities, both Indonesian and foreign. The community can participate as a source, organizer, and user of educational outcomes.

Organizers and/or formal education units established by the government or the community take the form of educational legal entities. These educational legal entities function to provide educational services to students, operate on a non-profit basis, and can manage funds independently to advance education units (Article 53 of Indonesian Education System Law No. 20 of 2003). Thus, the implementation of education in Indonesia is not actually aimed at seeking profit, but its main objective is to educate the nation, and the private sector that provides education is aimed at assisting the government in its efforts to fulfill human rights in the field of education. Therefore, the liberalization of educational services in Indonesia must be carried out carefully so as not to lead to human rights violations, but must be able to support the fulfilment of human rights in the field of education. The achievement of SDG 4, namely the fulfilment of access to inclusive and equitable quality education for all, is a must in the context of fulfilling human rights in Indonesia.

Indonesia itself has shown a strong commitment to achieving the SDGs through various policies and programmes. These include free education policies, improving teacher quality, implementing more relevant curricula, using technology in learning, and efforts to improve access for children with special needs. However, Indonesia still faces various obstacles in achieving SDG 4 in the field of education. The gap between urban and rural areas is still significant, with many children in remote areas not yet having access to schools with adequate facilities. In addition, there is still an imbalance in the distribution of teachers, especially in underdeveloped, frontier and outermost areas, which are areas in Indonesia with low development quality, limited access to basic services (education, health, economy), and located in remote or underdeveloped areas. Curricula that are still theoretical and irrelevant to 21st-century skills are a major obstacle to producing graduates who are ready to face global challenges. In addition, budgetary and infrastructure constraints hinder the modernization of education, particularly in terms of technology integration and digital learning (Erika et al., 2025).

It is also acknowledged that the implementation of SDGs in Indonesia has recorded various programmes to overcome obstacles in achieving the goal of inclusive and equitable quality education. This can be seen from the increased access for marginalized and vulnerable groups. Programmes such as the Indonesian Smart Card have become an important bridge to equalize the right to education for



children from underprivileged families. In addition, the development of educational infrastructure in disadvantaged areas and cooperation with international organizations such as UNICEF have opened up access to learning that was previously closed due to geographical and economic limitations (Erika et al., 2025). Although the Indonesian government is committed to developing the education sector, various challenges, as mentioned above, often hinder the achievement of quality education in Indonesia.

The liberalization of education services in Indonesia can both support and hinder efforts to achieve inclusive and equitable quality education in Indonesia. Improvements in the quality of Indonesian education as a result of the liberalization of education services will support the fulfillment of the right to education and the achievement of SDG 4. Meanwhile, the commercialization of education services as a result of the liberalization of education services could hinder the achievement of SDG 4, namely the fulfillment of the right to inclusive and equitable quality education. In this case, the Indonesian government has a strategic role to play in formulating policies that can be used as guidelines so that the implementation of the liberalization of education services can help achieve SDG 4 in Indonesia and maintain the nature of education as a form of human rights protected by law.

Free trade in education services, if implemented under conditions of symmetrical interdependence between countries or educational institutions, can indeed open the door to the global market, particularly to the economies of developed countries that have been able to develop a knowledge-based economy. However, in conditions of asymmetrical interdependence, and especially if the provision of education services is based solely on 'for-profit' motives, while other educational objectives are sacrificed, this can pose a threat to education providers in developing countries.

Through its policies and regulations, the Indonesian government must prevent the liberalization of educational services from being implemented based on the fundamental nature of the market, in the spirit of 'free market liberalism' and for the sole purpose of seeking profit. The liberalization of educational services must not cause the basic principles and main objectives of Indonesian education to be sacrificed by the commercialization of education. The liberalization of education services must also not cause Indonesian domestic education providers to be eliminated, because they lose out to foreign education providers entering Indonesia. Indonesian government policies are also needed to protect the original concept of education and Indonesian domestic education providers. In formulating these policies and regulations, Indonesia should make maximum use of the various flexibilities of the GATS and the special provisions of the WTO that are aimed at protecting the interests of developing countries.

V. Conclusion

The liberalization of education services in Indonesia, if implemented with the spirit of improving the quality of education in Indonesia, international cooperation to facilitate the transfer of knowledge and technology from abroad to Indonesia, and improving the quality of human resources, will help achieve SDG 4, namely the fulfilment of the right to quality education for all Indonesian citizens in a fair and equitable manner. Conversely, the liberalization of education services in Indonesia, if carried out in the spirit of profit-oriented and free-market liberalism, could hinder the achievement of the SDGs in the field of education and has the potential to lead to human rights violations. Education is a form of human rights that is protected under international law and the national laws of various countries, including Indonesia.

Proper and appropriate regulations must be established to ensure that the liberalization of education services does not result in violations of the right to education and hinder the achievement of SDGs in the field of education in Indonesia. The regulation of trade in services based on GATS is carried out with various flexibilities and exceptions, especially those related to service sectors that involve public services. WTO agreements, including GATS, also regulate specific provisions that protect the interests of developing countries in terms of international trade and development. Indonesia can use the flexibility of GATS and various special provisions to protect the interests of developing countries in making policies that restrict and direct the liberalization of education services in Indonesia to suit Indonesia's national interests, particularly in terms of fulfilling the right to inclusive and equitable quality education, thereby supporting the achievement of SDGs in the field of education in Indonesia. Good and appropriate regulations are needed to ensure that the liberalization of education services does not lead to human rights violations, particularly the right to quality education for all Indonesian citizens and the continuation of the Indonesian education system based on Pancasila.

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