

Critical Literature Review on Moral Education System in Indonesia: How Islamic Education and *Pancasila* Education Monopolize Morality in Schools

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Abstract

Moral education continues to be a subject of extensive debate within the field of education due to the challenges it poses in both pedagogical implementation and philosophical foundations. This study aims to provide a comprehensive critical review of Indonesia's moral education system by examining its teaching practices in schools and exploring its sociological and structural function within society. This study focuses specifically on Islamic and *Pancasila* education in Indonesia. To achieve this objective, a semi-systematic literature review approach is employed, incorporating peer-reviewed articles to gather relevant information. This study also employed Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which enables an analysis of power dynamics and discursive relationships within the realm of moral education in Indonesia. By incorporating the theoretical frameworks proposed by Durkheim's Moral Education and Bourdieu's social capital theory, this study identifies key themes that provide valuable insights into the development and implementation of moral education. This research explores moral education as a means of fostering social integration and social capital that serves to maintain the existing status quo. By examining these aspects, this research offers valuable insights into the role of education as a sociological function that operates within the power structure, and critically assesses the extent of the state's involvement in the implementation of moral education.

Keywords: *Moral Education, Indonesia, Islamic education, Pancasila education, morality*

Introduction

Controversies surrounding the implementation of moral education have led to extensive debates in regard to the appropriate educational approach, including the choice of paradigm or worldview for teaching morality in classrooms. This research aims to delve into the sociological dimensions of moral education. Durkheim (1964) defines morality as a collective consciousness that unifies and integrates individuals based on shared norms, beliefs and values. Religion has historically been one of the earliest and most enduring methods of teaching morality in classrooms, serving as a mechanism for social integration. However, a religious approach to moral education may be seen as limited or restrictive in terms of its teaching methods, as it often revolves around a specific identity or dogma. On the other hand, proponents argue that teaching morality through religion can tap into a universal truth or universal morality, particularly in fostering prosocial and altruistic behavior (McKay & Whitehouse, 2015).

The increasing secularization within the public sphere has led to debates regarding the teaching of morality in schools. Critics argue that religion's exclusive claim to truth is considered unfair in pluralistic and multi-religious society. However, it is important to acknowledge that religion continues to hold significance in society, both as a public and private entity, and as an alternative to the growing influence of secularized institutions (Fox, 2019; Fox, 2015; Gorski & Altinordu, 2008; Berger, 2008). In many Western countries like the United States and several European nations, there is ongoing state support for religious institutions which is generally perceived as something positive. This support is particularly important in the context of increasing religious pluralism, such as in the United States. However, it is worth noting that Europe with its more secularized worldview, presents challenges regarding the involvement of religion and the state. These challenges highlight the complexities and diverse approaches to address religious plurality in the context of moral education (Casanova, 2006, 2007). According to Fox & Tabory (2008), the involvement of Western states in religion can lead to a sense of mistrust towards religious practitioners and impose limitations on religious development, especially within the government institutions. Nevertheless, it is important to note that religious institutions still maintain an imperative presence within the public domain alongside a privatized version of religion as an existing alternative.

There are individuals who reject the idea of education detached or secularized from religion. They argue that such an approach is incompatible with local paradigms and existing beliefs. As a result, they turn to religious institutions and other authoritative sources of power to address this issue. Indonesia serves as a unique example in this regard, as it has integrated religious teaching with its civic

education through *Pendidikan Pancasila*. This educational approach seeks to consolidate and institutionalize morality based on a unified interpretation that embraces both nationalism and moral values (Ratih & Najicha, 2021).

In the context of moral education, civic education played a significant role in instilling a sense of nationalism in schools. This educational approach has often emphasized on the importance of multiculturalism, encouraging individuals to embrace the diversity in religion, ethnic identity, and culture. Together, it strives to combat prejudice and discrimination, aiming to form a more inclusive and harmonious society (Levinson, 2007). The objective of civic education within moral education is to foster civic virtues, democratic values, and active citizenship among students. It aims to equip them with the necessary knowledge, skills, and attitudes to responsibly and effectively participate in their communities and contribute to the overall improvement of society (Kahne & Westheimer, 2003; Nurdin, 2015).

Civic education enables students to know their rights and responsibilities as citizens. It does not only encourage their engagement in democratic processes, but also instills values such as respect for diversity, social justice, empathy, tolerance, and understanding. This is achieved by fostering a sense of social responsibility and commitment to the common good. However, some argue that the inclusion of multiculturalism in civic education has been insufficient in creating a unified national identity, which is regarded crucial to prevent societal divisions among individuals with diverse national backgrounds (Starkey, 2012).

This research examines and understands the reason behind Indonesia's education system's reliance on Islamic and *Pancasila* values in defining morality. It also seeks to compare this approach with education systems in other countries, particularly in the West, where efforts have been made to adapt moral education to reflect contemporary social changes, which often emphasizes on the importance of social justice (Thompson, 2022). The primary objective of this study is to explore the structural and discursive aspects of moral education, rather than delving into its philosophical underpinnings. The intention is to examine how moral education operates within the interplay of the state, society, and schools. It provides a historical overview of Indonesia's education system, including the origins of moral education to establish the contextual background, and briefly discusses the framework of moral education within state policies. Additionally, a concise literature review was conducted to understand the implementation of moral education in schools, and address the challenges encountered in moral education due to global changes.

Theoretical Framework

Moral education has been a topic of extensive debate in the field of education, particularly in terms of its implementation. One sociological perspective on moral education is based on Durkheim's (1973) description of morality, which emphasizes the role of education in socializing individuals to conform to societal norms and cultivate morality. Durkheim's (1973) theory of moral education is based on three fundamental principles. First, individuals must be educated to restrain themselves from acting solely on their own desires. Secondly, education serves as a mechanism to connect individuals to a society and its moral system. Thirdly, education is seen as a voluntary pursuit, where individuals willingly engage with society through a process of informed consent, which he referred to as "enlightened assent".

Durkheim (1973) further emphasized that education should focus on cultivating moral attitudes among students rather than serving as an extension of religious authority. He believes that education plays a crucial role as a societal institution, providing the foundations for modern morality and nurtures individuals' attachment to society (Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2018). Durkheim's (1973) theory on moral education is prevalent throughout his writings. They can be summarized as follows: Morality is a learning process that occurs through education and socialization. The aim is to instill in individuals a sense of belonging within their community, to help them understand the social structure and enable them to become independent and fully aware of the consequences of their actions and decisions (Durkheim, 1973; Sutcliffe, 1979).

This study aims to explore the influence of societal complexities and structures on shared connections and identities within the realm of moral education. Extensive research on social capital theory has indicated that social inequality arises when individuals or groups possess cultural capital, which emerges from their privileged cultural backgrounds (Liou & Chang, 2008). Another aim of this study is to identify social capital as a collective group norm that is reinforced by institutions (Coleman, 1988; Zhou & Bankston, 1994; Putnam, 2000). In this case, the main focus is to deconstruct the principles of moral education that are shaped by the state's agenda. It is important to recognize that these principles can be utilized as a means to exploit the ideas and beliefs of individuals, promoting a particular social structure and cultural values. In doing so, the emphasis is placed on valuing a specific resource within societal relationships. According to some sociologists, this process of capitalizing on moral education can be classified as a type of bonding social capital. It is characterized by the creation of a strong sense

of bonding and unity among members of a community, who are brought together based on shared interests and values (Tristan, 2018).

The researcher's argument suggests that the form of social capital described earlier can act as a mechanism that limits social change and educational development. This limitation arises as it tends to favor a unidimensional viewpoint of morality which emphasizes on a specific cultural and symbolic capital that inadvertently creates a subset of social class. While Coleman and Durkheim view education as a means of social integration from a normative perspective (Coleman, 1988), Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) offer a different viewpoint on education. According to him, education serves as a systematic function that preserves social class hierarchies and perpetuates the values of the "dominant class" across generations (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 177-178; Tzanakis, 2011). By examining these theoretical frameworks, the researcher aims to delve into the literature on moral education in Indonesia, exploring its implementation in schools. This research then analyzes the extent to which these two perspectives align in term of educating morality through capital-based means and establishing social integration.

The previous literature has extensively explored the topic of moral education in Indonesian schools. It has been noted that moral education aims to shape the students' personality by emphasizing the moral values found in cultural traditions (Harmawati et al., 2022). Due to Indonesia's diverse ethnic, cultural, and geographical background, the country has chosen to standardize moral values and incorporate them into civic education, known as *Pendidikan Pancasila*. This approach draws its moral values from key principles of Indonesia's national ideology, *Pancasila*, which also promotes nationalism and unity (Irfani et al., 2021; Sutiyono, 2018). Moreover, Indonesia being predominantly populated by Muslims, places a significant emphasis on Islamic values, which are not only acknowledged but also integrated into moral education. These values serve as fundamental references for teaching moral values, as supported by various studies (Ibda, 2012; Kaawoan et al., 2021; Rouf, 2016). These two ideas have established a structural framework in Indonesia's education system and are supported by various policies, including law No. 20 of 2003 on the National Education System, Ministry of Education Regulation No. 22 of 2006 on Content Standards for elementary and high school and No. 23 of 2006 on Graduate Competence Standards for elementary and high school. The Character Education Action Plan 2010, along with other policies (Kurniasih et al., 2017; Nurdin, 2015), provides schools with comprehensive guidelines to convey values within this specific framework.

One could argue that these ideas represent an example of social integration with the intention to unify complex and abstract moral concepts in a society that is

characterized by diversity. However, it is important to explore alternative methods that can better accommodate the constantly changing moral values and diverse beliefs of the society. The researcher believes that moral education should ideally include a comprehensive understanding of reality, rather than promoting a specific worldview. While existing literature emphasizes on the role, function, and effectiveness of implementing moral education, there is a scarcity of analysis regarding its systematic sociological perspective and its impact on addressing contemporary social changes in today's society.

Research Methodology

The approach employed in this research involves a semi-systematic literature. This approach provided an overview of the topic, identifying thematic analysis within the fields of education and macro sociology, and synthesizing data findings from diverse literature sources (Snyder, 2019). This approach facilitates the identification of common themes across different disciplines and enhances the theoretical understanding of data collected from literature – particularly within the specified context to support future research endeavors (Ward et al., 2009).

In this research, critical discourse analysis (CDA) is applied to explore, extract and observe the framework of moral education. This study aims to analyze the power dynamics embedded in language and discourse in the interactions between state and educational institutions. The primary objective is to gain a comprehensive understanding of the correlation between educational practices and their social context (Mullet, 2018). The use of CDA in this research serves as a tool to contextualize the social framework of education and comprehend the discourses from a critical sociological perspective (Skubic & Fišer, 2022). By incorporating the theoretical frameworks of Durkheim (1973) on education and Bourdieu's theory on social capital, this research aims to identify and interpret the contextual relationship between education and society. This involves defining the operational structural framework and conducting a critical analysis to understand the sociological role and function of education within society.

This study primarily relies on a comprehensive analysis of peer-reviewed literature that aligns with the research objectives. The researches included in this study applied a range of methodologies, including qualitative, quantitative, mixed-methods, and literature reviews. Given the sociological nature of this study, the main objective is to identify recurring themes in moral education through a critical interpretive approach to the literature. Indeed, it is essential to acknowledge that the researcher's analysis may involve a certain level of subjectivity.

Result and Discussion

Development of Moral Education in Indonesia

Historically, formal education in Indonesia originated during the Dutch colonial period, where local people faced a complex and segregated education system. They had limited access to educational opportunities and benefits compared to those of European origin. As a result, the participation of local people in schools was significantly lower. However, overtime, the segregated educational system was abolished, resulting in greater educational opportunities for the local population. Since then, Indonesia's education system has undergone a significant level of improvements (Raihani & Sumintono, 2010; Sumintono et al., 2015). In addition, the Islamic boarding schools, known as pesantren or madrasah, emerged as an alternative form of education in Indonesia. These schools placed greater emphasis on Islamic teachings and practices. Given that the majority of Indonesians are mostly Muslims, there is a strong preference for an education system that incorporates Islamic education and integrates local wisdom into their curriculum and teaching methods (Abdurrahman, 2020; Ma'Arif, 2018; Nilan, 2009).

This background highlights the decentralized nature of the education system in Indonesia, where there is no centralized education system or agreed-upon curriculum, particularly when it comes to moral education. However, ever since Indonesia gained its independence, there has been a growing interest in reforming and centralizing the country's education system, placing particular focus on moral education. One early manifestation of the philosophical underpinnings of moral education in Indonesia relates to the development of civic education, which was initially lacking a precise and detailed description within Indonesia's *Pancasila*. *Pancasila*, which is enshrined in Indonesia's constitution as the foundation of their independence, consist of five fundamental principles that form the core value of the nation: 1) Belief in the one and only God, 2) Justice and civilized humanity, 3) Unity of Indonesia, 4) Democracy guided by the inner wisdom emerging from deliberations amongst representatives, and 5) Social justice for all Indonesian people (Nishimura, 1995).

Pancasila emerged to address the gap in moral education by incorporating nationalism through the 1961 National Education Systems Law. During the new order regime under President Soeharto, the interpretation of *Pancasila* was largely controlled by the state. This approach was implemented to address social and economic challenges of the time and foster a sense of unity and collectivism to build resilience against external forces. The previous administration had not fully developed or understood the function of this approach (Haut, 1993).

Consequently, the term *Pendidikan Pancasila dan kewarganegaraan* became the preferred name for civic education in Indonesia. Over the years, civic education has evolved, emphasizing not only on nationalism but also serving as a means to deliver Indonesia's moral education.

Several policies have been implemented to promote the concept of *Pendidikan Pancasila*, particularly in The National Education System Law No. 2, 1989, and No. 20, 2003. These policies primarily focus on integrating civic education, also known as *Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan* (PKn) or *Pendidikan Pancasila dan Kewarganegaraan* (PPKn), as a compulsory subject across all level of education. The objective is to provide students with comprehensive learning experiences embracing morality, cultural values, political literacy, multicultural education, and conflict resolution (Maftuh, 2008). The intention is to equip students with the required character and moral education that is in line with Indonesian society. This approach aims to establish a strong foundation in basic democracy while discouraging morally deviant behaviors. By placing extra emphasis on these goals, the aim is to prevent delinquency and criminality among the youth population.

However, this approach raises concerns about the state's increasing authority in regulating social behavior. Critics argue that such measures can sometimes come at the cost of social and political development, as they may prioritize social cohesion over individual freedoms. A notable example is evident in the 'New Order' era of Indonesia, which occurred under the leadership of President Soeharto. During this tenure, various laws and policies were imposed to restrict the freedom of speech and choke the dissemination of ideas, as they were perceived as potential threats to the stability of the state. The state's-controlled interpretation of *Pancasila* resulted in numerous human rights violation (Juwana, 2003). This exercise of power aimed to leverage the Weberian concept of state authority, utilized violence and legitimization, which in this context, is enforced through education to monopolize cultural and moral values (Rao & Singh, 2018).

The promotion of moral education aligns with Durkheim's (1973; 1964) analysis of modernity, wherein the state assumes the responsibility to represent Individuals in society and fosters an independent unity that is different from religious institutions (Durkheim, 1984). However, in the context of Indonesia, the implementation of this idea has resulted in a more authoritarian state. Although Indonesia has moved away from its previous state of authoritative control, the notion that *Pancasila* serves as the foundation of moral education, continues to be taught in schools, enjoying support from both the people and government (Asmaroini, 2016). This demonstrates the alignment between the state and education in their shared objective of homogenizing and unifying its people

through moral education, while employing social capital as means to achieve this goal. *Pancasila* symbolically represents the essence of Indonesian moral values and culture, serving as a unifying philosophy for the nation. It suggests that the people of Indonesia have been extensively socialized across generations, influenced by both state and educational institutions to conform to a particular model of moral education and to support it through various means.

In the Indonesian context, moral education and character education are formulated within the subject known as *Pendidikan Pancasila* dan Kewarganeraan (PPKn). PPKn operates through a centralized approach involving the Ministry of Education and Culture (Mendikbud). This ministry plays a crucial role in formulating and regulating a systematic procedure that supports and promotes the state-controlled narrative of *Pancasila*, which is the official philosophical foundation of Indonesia. This narrative is reinforced through government-backed programs, national laws and policies (Ismail et al., 2021). The recent agendas in PPKn are often driven by concerns regarding perceived decline among youths in moral values and character. It is believed that Indonesian youths are vulnerable to deviant and amoral behavior (Wadu et al., 2019; Febrianti & Dewi, 2021). Alongside this primary objective, other key aims include multicultural education, religious tolerance, nationalism, political and civic education (Fortuna & Khadir, 2022; Hasna et al., 2021; Nanggala, 2020; Suharyanto, 2013).

In line with these objectives, one proposed method in Indonesia is the establishment of *Pelajar Pancasila*, which aims to create a student profile that aligns, adjusts and integrates with the Indonesian *Pancasila* philosophy, norms, and culture (Zuriah & Sunaryo, 2022). This method of integration conforms with Durkheim's (1973) proposition in his theory on education, wherein there is a subversive desire to control and capitalize on what is taught and implemented in moral education. The Indonesian government places high stakes and demands on shaping the future of Indonesian youths to maintain the country's status quo and as well as the image of its people. Durkheim's (1964) theory suggests that as society grows more complex and modern, there arises a need for an integrating factor that facilitates the cohesion of individuals into a collective entity. This factor plays an important role in maintaining social order, fostering harmony, and preserving tradition within the fabric of society (Sørensen, 2012). An excellent phenomenon can be seen in the context of Indonesia, where educational institutions and students are encouraged to embrace a narrative constructed by the state. The elemental objective is to cultivate a sense of shared values that align with the perspectives of both the state and the schools, ultimately representing the cohesive fabric of Indonesian society as a whole.

The establishment of homogenized ideology as a means of promoting social integration and moral education in schools can inadvertently lead to the creation of social classes formed around individuals' adherence and contributions to that ideology. In case of Indonesian context, individuals are expected to embrace and adhere to the *Pancasila* ideology and its moral guidelines. However, it is important to acknowledge that not everyone may have the same level of devotion to the *Pancasila* ideology, and there may be individuals who oppose the idea because they find it incompatible with their personal interests or too restrictive and rigid. This can give rise to the formation of a symbolic power that forms a distinctive social class characterized by its ownership of certain capital. In this context, the state applies a dominant role in monopolizing the interpretation and legitimization of the ideology to foster social solidarity and unity among its people (Riley, 2015).

The creation of symbolic classes based on loyalty and contribution to the idea of *Pancasila* can have implications for social mobility and the acquisition of different forms of capital within society. The more the individuals publicly demonstrate their dedication and support of *Pancasila*, the higher they are positioned within the symbolic class. On the contrary, those who challenge or oppose the ideology may face ostracism or occupy lower position in the hierarchy. This dynamic significantly influences individuals' social mobility and their access to different forms of capital. Education plays a crucial role in this process as it acts as a legitimate authority to propagate the state's ideological agenda, including moral values and other related concepts. Through education, individuals are exposed to and assimilated into the prevailing state interests and ideology (Loyal & Quilley, 2017; Rao & Singh, 2018). In addition to its role in spreading state ideology, education also functions as a mechanism for obtaining and accessing other forms of capital within society. Therefore, in order to access other forms of capital within Indonesian society, individuals are required to accept and conform to the dominant ideology, norm and identity that are regulated by the state. Education plays a crucial role in this process, functioning as a mechanism of socialization and culturalization. It serves as a platform for introducing and reinforcing the state ideology, effectively transforming it into a form of social capital.

Indeed, the ideology of *Pancasila* in *Pendidikan Pancasila*, functions as a unifying narrative and a source of social capital within Indonesian society. This ideology is widely propagated and reinforced through various methods, including the culturalization and socialization processes that are implemented by the state. These processes include education, policy-making, cultural initiatives, and the organization of social structures. By monopolizing the concept of morality, the state holds the power to shape and define what is considered as opposition to its interests and ideology. Within the context of civic education in Indonesia, there is a

tendency to incorporate anti-communist, anti-liberalist, and anti-left-wing sentiments (Dimiyati, 2018; Kariadi, 2016; Ruchliyadi, 2016). The incorporation of *Pendidikan Pancasila* as a political means within the education system serves the purpose of creating a separation between Indonesia and foreign politics, and as well as political ideologies that are considered contradictory to the country's democracy and national identity. By reinforcing the ideological nationalism of *Pendidikan Pancasila*, the effort is to maintain the existing political order. Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital provides valuable insights into the significance of this approach. The symbolic capital refers to the importance of social integration through legitimation of state's interests and the preservation of its cultural identity (Loyal & Quilley, 2017).

The main objective of *Pendidikan Pancasila* is to infuse students with the values of *Pancasila*, primarily through the *profil pelajar pancasila* program. The goal is to instill *Pancasila's* values, nurture a sense of national unity, promote social justice and religious tolerance, and cultivate a strong spirit of nationalism by supporting a shared identity and pride among students (Rahayu, 2017, Nurgiansah, 2021). *Pendidikan Pancasila* is imparted through various methods, such as lectures, discussions, and interactive activities – all aimed to implant these values within students. *Pendidikan Pancasila* functions as a theoretical framework that monopolizes moral education, legitimized by the state and institutionalized by educational institutions. This alignment serves the shared objective of preserving national identity and upholding the political status quo.

Similar to *Pendidikan Pancasila*, Islamic education in Indonesia operates within a similar framework. This system of education primarily relies on cultural and non-state actors, with religious authorities playing an important role in shaping its curriculum and monitoring its implementation. Even though Indonesia is officially not an Islamic country, the majority of its Muslim population recognizes and supports the Council, which includes Islamic scholars and leaders. This Council receives sponsorship and support from the government (Zulkifli, 2013), further harden its influence and role in shaping the educational system.

This framework presents a contradiction to Durkheim's (1973) proposal. Durkheim (1973) argued that the coercive control exercised by the state through moral education should exclude the authoritative power of religious institutions. Durkheim also supported students' self-autonomy in understanding social authority and making decision regarding their actions (Durkheim, 1973). However, in the Indonesian context, there is a strong connection between religion and authority figures who hold significant influence and possess a high level of trust among the general public. This symbolic power gives them the ability to shape and influence the public's perception, capitalizing on their authority and status within

society. The decisions and opinions of the Council of Indonesia Ulama (MUI) carry considerable influence and are widely acknowledged by both the government and public. The influence of MUI extends to matters of morality, as it aims to exert control through Islamic legal opinions or *fatwas*. These *fatwas* have the potential to influence state laws, policies and public discourse (Hasyim, 2015, 2020; Hosen, 2004).

In addition to the MUI, there are other influential Islamic organizations in Indonesia, such as Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah. These organizations represent different socio-cultural and religious streams within Islam in Indonesia, illustrating the religious diversity (Arifianto, 2021; Jung, 2014). Similar to the MUI, these organizations also hold significant control and influence over public perception and content of Islamic education in schools. These organizations contributed in the development of textbooks for the Islamic boarding schools, demonstrating their influence over the curriculum and educational objectives of schools (Chandra & Oktadio, 2020; Hadi, 2016; Nuqul, 2008). This further displays the authoritative role of religious institutions in society and shapes the objectives of educational institutions.

Islamic education has long held a significant position within Indonesia's moral education setting. It is considered compatible with the country's moral and cultural values and aligns with the interest of the state. Islamic education serves as a complement to *Pendidikan Pancasila*, the national ideology and is in alignment with the first principle of *Pancasila* of Indonesia. This subject demonstrates Indonesia's affinity towards a religious statehood (Hasanah, 2018; Zaman et al., 2022). Islamic education is often considered to provide fundamental principles and guidance for moral education. It is placing strong emphasis on the importance of students embodying religious attitudes and behaviors that reflect the characteristics of being a 'good Muslim' (Sobri, 2021). Character education is a core component of Islamic education, where schools prioritize teaching values such as religious tolerance, spiritual awareness, noble character, and manners. These aspects are included as compulsory components within Islamic education in schools (Ainiyah, 2013; Akhwan, 2014).

Historically, Islamic education has developed without the influence of the state, and is important to note that not all schools include it as a formal subject within their curriculum. Islamic schools such as *madrrasah* or *pesantren*, have played a significant role in formalizing Islamic education. These institutions have had their own autonomy in deciding their curriculum, teaching methods, and teaching material, leading to a diverse range of educational approaches and outcomes (Anas, 2012; Rahman, 2018; Azra, et al., 2007). Therefore, each school in Indonesia has its unique approach and curriculum for teaching Islamic education,

particularly in the context of moral education. Many Islamic schools incorporate local wisdom into their Islamic teachings (Rustam, 2020). After Indonesia gained its independence, there were educational reforms that aimed to centralize and standardize the educational system through laws and policies, including in Islamic schools. Since then, there have been several revisions and reiterations where Islamic education became compulsory in schools. However, some Islamic schools still maintain elements of their previous teaching methods and learning materials while being supervised by the state through the Department of Education and the Department of Religious Affairs. Additionally, Islamic organizations like the MUI are involved to ensure that the teachings of Islamic education align with the general consensus (Sya'adah et al., 2019).

Islamic education in Indonesia is highly valued and enjoys substantial support from both the government and the general public. It is recognized as a crucial element of moral and civic education. This recognition is evident through state policies and ongoing curriculum evaluations that prioritize its inclusion (Hatim, 2018; Yuniarti et al., 2022). Bourdieu's concept of 'spiritual capital' highlights the significance of religion as a form of capital that operates within a hierarchical social structure. In the context of Indonesia, Islamic education plays a crucial role in shaping and unifying moral values that align with both the state's interest and societal norms. This is achieved by leveraging the authoritative power of religion (Verter, 2003). Islamic education serves as an instrument for systematically enforcing moral values, symbolically integrating society, and exercising control over the education system through the guidance of religious institutions, clerics, and Islamic organizations.

Both civic education, represented by *Pendidikan Pancasila*, and Islamic education in Indonesia share a common objective of homogenizing and formalizing moral education within the country's core education system and curriculum. Their parallel existence and complementary nature imply that moral education serves as social capital. It creates a hierarchy of individuals based on their loyalty and adherence to normative values that are symbolically linked to the relationship between state and society (Kirmayer et al., 2009). Rather than acting as mediator, education intentionally serves as a tool to legitimize, culturalize, and enforce a set of collective moral values in order to integrate individuals into society.

Educational institutions play a vital role in transferring knowledge and cultural traditions as well as facilitating moral development among students. Schools provide an environment that seeks to influence students' moral value through their infrastructure, and human resources. In Indonesia, schools have the responsibility of aligning students with the country's religious and nationalistic identity, thereby contributing to a well-ordered society. Facilitated and regulated

by the state, this process involves shaping students' behavior and ideology and aims to maintain the social class hierarchy that is rooted in religious and spiritual capital. Perez et al. (2017) highlights the concept of “excessive entanglement” between the state and religion within this context. They argue that such excessive entanglement can lead to an unjustified hierarchy that favors the dominant or state affiliated religion. They also propose that the educational environment has a significant influence in carefully designing and maintaining the desired status quo. As a result, it reinforces the deeply ingrained belief system within society.

In Indonesia, spiritual capital holds significant value as a social commodity and serves as a means to acquire other forms of capital. The development of moral education in the country is deeply interconnected with nationalism and Islamic values, which elevates the authority of religious institutions. The state's endorsement of strong nationalism and Islamic beliefs, established a power structure that enforces set of moral values aligned with the existing status quo. Those individuals who possess spiritual capital that align with the interests of state, gain more authority and social standing. In contrast, individuals who dissent or hold conflicting beliefs face limited social mobility, reduced access to capital, and potential societal ostracism. Within this context, the educational system plays a crucial role in enforcing state interests by monopolizing and promoting this particular ideology. The aim is to socialize students and ensure predictable and uniform moral outcomes that align with the state's agenda.

The interpretation of morality by state and religious authorities presents a critical issue in the development of moral education in Indonesia. The monopolization of moral education restricts open-minded discussions and exploration of alternative moral frameworks. This can result in a conservative and ethnocentric mindset, where other moral perspectives are considered inferior or disregarded. Nationalistic discourse, as explained by Parekh (1995), further reinforces a sense of identity and restricts discussions on morality, both within society and educational institutions. As a consequence, moral education may become stagnant and resistant to new paradigms in the country. This has implications for political and educational development, as state-driven morality rejects radical or innovative concepts that challenge the existing norms. In such a system, individuals who conform to the interests of the state and demonstrate merit, are more likely to gain access to societal power and reinforce the current moral education status quo.

Implementation of Moral Education in Schools

The implementation of moral education in Indonesia is facilitated through *Pendidikan Pancasila*, also known as civic (PPKn, and PKn), and Islamic education. These subjects are governed by the Ministry of Education, which formulates and implements a standardized national curriculum (Hidayah, 2018). This approach offers flexibility for teachers and schools to adapt their teaching methods to cater the diverse backgrounds and needs of students. Educational institutions serve as external agents of control within society, charging their influence through teachers and schools, playing dual roles in society. On one hand, they contribute to maintaining the status quo by reinforcing the existing norms and values. On the other hand, they also have a transformative function, seeking to bring about social change (Nasution, 2016). The national curriculum in Indonesia plays a crucial role in promoting moral and character education by incorporating elements that are related to moral and character development, spirituality, culture, and religion (Al-Ansi et al., 2019; Aziz et al., 2022). In the context of implementing moral education in Indonesian schools, the curriculum management and design are largely influenced by the principles of *Pancasila* ideology and religious values. The Ministry of Education has taken measures to reinforce the importance of moral education and character development in schools. This is particularly evident through the inclusion of two compulsory subjects: Islamic education, and PKn (Latifah, 2014). The curriculum intervention by the Ministry of Education involves a collaborative effort between educators and experts in developing syllabi and lesson plans that prioritize moral education. These subjects not only emphasize theoretical knowledge but also aim to create an environment that cultivates moral understanding through habituation and collective awareness (Bahri, 2015; Noboru et al., 2021).

Textbooks also play a crucial role in shaping moral education in Indonesian schools. They provide a direct medium through which students engage with the content and concepts taught in the classrooms (Fajri et al., 2021). The systematic approach taken in moral and character education aligns with the standardized guidelines, set by the Indonesian education system. It aims to replicate and define the moral standards and values that are considered acceptable or unacceptable within the Indonesian collective society. This integration model of moral education acknowledges and addresses the complexities arising from the diverse backgrounds of students, including differences in religion, ethnicity, and beliefs. The presence of multiple branches and sub-branches within religions with their own range of norms and values, can lead to division and conflict of interest (Baidhawya, 2007; Kuipers & Yulaelawati, 2009).

Pendidikan Pancasila (Pkn), and Islamic education in Indonesia contribute to the development of civic moral duty and nationalism. They achieve this by placing emphasis on the importance of an individual's roles in preserving the state and upholding its political democratic system. This includes fostering an understanding and respect for the power of the judiciary system (Giwangsa, 2018). *Pancasila*, as the national ideology of Indonesian, includes a wide range of values, customs, culture and religion. These components hold great significance within Indonesian society. Through education, these values are transferred to students, emphasizing the need to interpret and apply them in their daily lives (Prajabti et al., 2022). In Indonesia, there is a strong belief that morality and character education derive from religion through its social dimension (Manshuruddin et al., 2019). The social aspect of religion, including communal practices, prayers, and celebrations, holds great significance for many Indonesians. Its aim is to foster a sense of connection and shared emotional reciprocity within the community. The compulsory nature of both Pkn, and Islamic education in Indonesia, from elementary to high school, indicates that the country's education system does not adopt a secular or optional approach to religion and civic education.

Therefore, moral and character education in Indonesia is often perceived to be closely intertwined and synonymous with religious or Islamic education. It is considered essential for instilling moral values, promoting human rights, preserving culture, and upholding the principle of *Pancasila*. It is widely believed that religion forms the foundational values that are inseparable from moral education, including qualities such as honesty, respect, tolerance and social care. Teachers play a crucial role in moral education by incorporating these values into their pedagogical practices. They do so through various methods, including habituations, classroom activities, study tours and social visits (Mukti et al., 2022; Negara, 2020; Rukiyati et al., 2020). The national curriculum in Indonesia places a significant emphasis on moral and character education, which emerged from religious teachings, the *Pancasila* philosophy, Indonesian culture, and humanistic values. However, it is important to acknowledge that the curriculum exhibits a biased orientation towards the *Pancasila* philosophy. This bias reflects the intertwining of Indonesian nationalism and religious ideology, as both concepts promote social collectivism. Religion and patriotic values are considered as shared principles in the curriculum (Saidek et al., 2016). This orientation highlights the significant influence of religion and the cultural context in shaping moral education. Islamic values and traditional culture are highly admired and integrated into all aspects of formal education, including both curricular and extracurricular activities. Efforts have also been made to incorporate extracurricular activities as a means to enhance and expand moral education. School clubs, sports, scouts and art are among these activities (Noboru

et al., 2021; Saidek et al., 2016). This further highlights the intention of cultivating an educational environment that encourages students to conform to Indonesian society.

Furthermore, teachers act as enforcers and facilitators, bringing the curriculum and lessons to life within the classrooms. They also serve as role models, embodying internalized models of cultural values and morality. They bear the responsibility of assessing and evaluating students' morals and character (Febriani et al., 2022; Nawawi, 2018; Sudarsana et al., 2020). This places a significant moral burden on teachers as exemplars for students, requiring them to adopt and demonstrate high moral standards. It also requires additional efforts from teachers beyond the scope of the classroom curriculum. They are entrusted with the authority and moral responsibility to cultivate a school environment that promotes moral values among students. According to Bourdieu, the school enforces symbolic violence by reflecting and reinforcing the ideology of the dominant group in society through school curricula, examination systems, and pedagogical practices that authenticate particular forms of knowledge (Dalal, 2016). Therefore, moral education extends beyond the boundaries of the classroom, creating an environment where teachers and educational staff actively contribute to shaping the moral development of students. They play an important role in fostering cultural and social integration (Anam et al., 2019; Umar et al., 2021).

Research on moral education in Indonesia primarily focuses on the issue of the limited scope of the school environment. This limitation mainly revolves around the role of institutions in manufacturing morality based on policy and cultural practices. As a result, schools can only provide outcomes that are confined to a controlled environment. Spaces within institutions, such as classrooms and school grounds, offer only a narrow perspective on the overall implementation and impact of moral education in society. The delivery of moral education primarily relies on text-based teachings from textbooks emerged from the national curriculum and school syllabus. The emphasis of moral education largely centers around the efforts of educational institutions in controlling and shaping students to achieve the desired outcome of moral education. As a result, when it comes to fulfilling activity requirements, schools do not strictly enforce rules to internalize morality but instead control activities and aspects that are considered manageable based on the available human resources and infrastructure (Hidayat et al., 2022). This gives the educational institutions significant authoritative power to shape the school environment and the students within it. They exercise this power to socialize and impart forms of symbolic power that align with the norms and values of Indonesian society. To achieve this, they construct a pedagogical framework for moral

education that aims to purposely emulate the 'ideal' Indonesian society beyond the boundaries of the school environment.

Although the literature discussed above provides a comprehensive understanding of moral and character education in schools, there is a notable concern that arises. Indonesia's morality does not seem to be specific or directed towards a particular moral ideology. Instead, there is a tendency to oppose Western-liberal ideas of morality. The moral teachings often emphasize the value of religion, particularly Islamic populism which tends to be normatively traditionalist. As a result, there is a noticeable rejection of ideas that are believed to conflict with the Indonesian and *Pancasila* philosophies of morality, which are considered the fundamental principles. These conflicting ideas include various aspects such as political freedom, inclusivity, the legalization of abortion, cohabitation, promiscuity, LGBTQ+ rights, and gender issues (Ermayani, 2017; Iriany & Paciana, 2019; Niswah et al., 2021).

Embracing different ideas and interpretations of morality outside of Islam and *Pancasila* becomes challenging in the context of moral education in Indonesia, as it strongly adheres to the strict parameters of traditional and normative social beliefs. Consequently, emerging new perspectives on moral education that deviate from religious and state ideologies may be perceived as conflicting and potentially face resistance. For instance, there is a growing push advocating for moral education to be less centered around religion and state ideology and more focused on promoting an inclusive social justice agenda. This shift in perspective reflects the influence of a globalized and diverse society that is becoming increasingly aware of inequalities and injustices, and seeks to address these issues through education (Carlisle et al., 2006).

Initiatives aimed at promoting social justice in education are seen as a pathway to acquire greater social equity. Advocates argue that it is the responsibility of the government to take action in order to reduce inequality and provide equal opportunities for marginalized members of society. By doing so, these initiatives enable individuals to meet their needs and contribute to a better future for society as a whole (Francis et al., 2017). Several countries, including the UK and the US, have proposed such initiatives that reflect a shared focus on anti-racism, diversity, and multiculturalism within their educational policies (Francis et al., 2017; Mills & Ballantyne, 2016).

Both the US and UK have recently faced common challenges in addressing educational inequality within marginalized communities. Social justice education aims to address these issues by empowering the state and schools to provide equitable support and opportunities in order to resolve education disparities. The goal of social justice education goes beyond promoting social welfare; it also

emphasizes understanding and embracing differences and diversity within society for the purpose of social integration. This includes socioeconomic class, race, religion, sexuality, and other factors that can influence the education system. The role of social justice in education also serves as a model for activism within the educational system itself. Observations have shown that practices and policies within the education system can inadvertently contribute to inequality and injustices by disproportionately segregating students based on class, race, and gender (Ryan & Tuters, 2017). Therefore, the concept of moral education within social justice education emphasizes inclusivity and activism in education. This shift in moral perspectives primarily adopts a humanist approach that places values on marginalized and disadvantaged groups, rather than relying on dogmatic perspective or value judgments from religion or authoritative state apparatuses.

A recent study conducted by Chang et al. (2022) examined the implementation of social justice in Singaporean schools. The study emphasized on the importance of a holistic approach to education, where teachers play a crucial responsibility in fostering creativity, critical thinking, inquiry-based learning, and the development of values and morality among students. Additionally, teachers are encouraged to address the learning needs of marginalized students while actively recognizing and challenging the systemic social and educational inequities. The ultimate goal is to create a society that embraces multiculturalism, inclusivity, and equity. Chang et al. (2022) recognizes the necessity for Singaporean schools to modify their educational framework in response to pedagogical challenges in establishing a common moral paradigm.

In Indonesia, the prevailing approach to moral education differs from the inclusive and diverse perspective seen in other countries. Instead, moral education is predominantly guided by an ideological and dogmatic framework that is regulated by the state. This approach heavily relies on Islamic principles and is commonly referred to as “religious education.” In addition, the nationalist propaganda based on the *Pancasila* ideology and a traditional cultural value derived from local wisdom, play a significant role in shaping moral education (Riyanti et al., 2022; Sinulingga, 2016; Susilo et al., 2022). It is important to acknowledge that religious education in Indonesia aligns with the country’s Islamic majority, and promotes a sense of national identity and plural harmony (Leirvik, 2004). This situation highlights the state’s monopolistic control over the moral paradigm, as it endeavors to align its interests with the dominant religious majority while avoiding explicit exclusion of minority religions. This effort aims to mitigate conflicts and tensions arising from religious differences within the sphere of state power.

One example of educational support for marginalized communities in Indonesia is the implementation of affirmative action. Affirmative action refers to a systematic effort to address inequality by providing the targeted communities with specific opportunities (Warikoo & Allen, 2020). In the context of education in Indonesia, affirmative action has played a crucial role in assisting communities in rural and remote areas, as well as impoverished and low-income families. It has enabled access to education that would otherwise be inaccessible due to their disadvantaged circumstances (Brewis, 2019). However, it is important to note that Indonesia's affirmative action initiatives in education still falls short in fully addressing the educational challenges faced by marginalized groups. Although measures such as quotas and financial support are aimed to assist disadvantaged students, the current system still tends to favor individuals with high social capital within their own social class. Indeed, this perpetuation of social inequalities through the educational system extends to favor individuals who conform to Indonesia's ideological principles. As a result, marginalized communities based on gender or differing ideologies often find themselves excluded from educational assistance due to conflicts with the state's interests. The relief model in Indonesian education, therefore, sustains social capital that reinforces moral values that are supportive of state authority. This perpetuation of social capital limits efforts to redistribute resources and address inequality within the education system.

The implementation of moral education has sparked a series of debates in the country as it is seen by some as a form of indoctrination that reflects the nationalistic and religious values of *Pancasila* and Islamic principles. This narrative suggests that individuals are required to conform to the established power structure and state hegemony. However, moral education can also be viewed as a means of promoting social integration as it places emphasis on shared geographical, historical, and cultural values.

It is important to acknowledge that moral education should not function as a form of indoctrination, which means avoiding the imposition of favored ideologies or simplistic religious judgments (Curren, 2014; Copp, 2016; Croce, 2019). Instead, moral education should be regarded as a space for inquiry and cultivation of critical pedagogical knowledge that can adapt to morally complex situations. By empowering teachers to guide and facilitate students' learning experience, students can actively participate in the exploration of moral concepts and develop the ability to critically and cooperatively evaluate the ethical claims. This approach promotes a free, inclusive, collective, and universal understanding of morality, where diverse perspectives are acknowledged and respected. In order to cultivate a truly effective moral education, it is imperative to embrace morally ambiguous situations. By doing so, we can create an environment that nurtures meaningful

discourse and encourages the development of critical thinking skills, which are crucial for personal growth. To foster a more fluent and engaging learning environment, it is imperative that students actively participate in the learning process through inquiry-based education, where their perspectives are central, rather than relying solely on the subjective views of educators and state-controlled curriculum. This approach encourages students to explore and seek knowledge by asking questions, conducting research, and engaging in critical thinking. An alternative approach is to focus on moral socialization and proportional morality, which promotes free, inclusive, and collective moral discussions. Education should foster critical and cooperative examination of moral claims, enable teachers to guide and facilitate students' learning experiences (Copp, 2016). This approach emphasizes on the importance of open-mindedness, critical thinking, and a broader understanding of morality, aligns with Durkheim's (1973) goal of moral education.

Considering that moral education should not rely solely on rigid and structured ideological framework, but rather should evolve naturally from a shared and inclusive aspiration to acknowledge differences and appreciate values of a particular moral substance. According to Dalal (2016), based on Bourdieu's analysis of education, the implementation of moral education in schools is not a culturally neutral endeavor. It rather embodies a cultural domain that reinforces, legitimizes and exercises a given symbolic violence to produce and implement a dominant group's ideology, exerting a form of symbolic violence. Dalal (2016) also describes how individuals within the education system play a role in conserving the existing structure. They do so by ensuring social stability as a tangible manifestation of the functional relationship between the state and the dominant structural class. However, in their efforts to maintain this stability, they also hide the objective truth, thus perpetuating the prevailing power dynamics and ideological hegemony.

Within the Indonesian context, it is discovered that teachers and the educational bodies of the state aim to construct an educational system that claims to promote social stability and harmony. However, this pursuit is often embodied through the monopolization of moral values, wherein a specific moral narrative of *Pancasila* and Islamic education is emphasized. Simultaneously, students find themselves compelled to conform and actively demonstrate the values associated with this ideology within the educational environment, aiming to internalize these values and the predominant social order even beyond the confines of the school setting.

Within the realm of education, morality has been utilized as a political and social appliance for the preservation of power. The implementation of moral education serves the interests of the dominant group and enables the state to

exercise control over all ideologies within the educational sphere. This, in turn, reinforces social capital and ideologies within the educational divisions; upholds the dominance of the powerful group and maintains the status quo aligned with *Pancasila* and Islamic teachings.

The researcher affirms that schools employ a form of coercive symbolic power to legitimize and ensure students' adherence to societal power structures, and actively promote the dominant ideology while disregarding alternative moral frameworks and diverse worldviews. Valk (2007) proposes a holistic and comprehensive approach to education, one that includes diverse perspectives and disciplines. This approach can help students develop a deeper understanding of morality and its complex connection with society. Nurturing social cohesion, collective moral responsibility, and a sense of belonging in fostering a nationalistic and religious identity, can be deemed somewhat appropriate. However, it is important to recognize that the outcomes may not always be successful in achieving a cohesive blend. These efforts do play a crucial role in providing the necessary foundation for establishing a basic homogenized understanding of morality.

Conclusion

This literature review presents a comprehensive and systematic sociological analysis of moral education in Indonesia. The primary objective is to examine the structural function of a moral education, constructing on the insights explained by Bourdieu's theory of sociology, education and social capital. This study provides a deeper understanding of centralized and authoritative control exercised by the state over the education system in Indonesia, particularly in the domain of moral education. This control is deeply rooted in the promotion of nationalism and religious values that align with Indonesia's national ideology of *Pancasila*.

The dominance of Islamic and *Pancasila* values in moral education can contribute to the influential role of the Islamic majority within Indonesian society. This dominance is reflected in various settings, such as government, educational institutions, and religious organizations. With their power and influence, the Islamic majority significantly shapes the moral education landscape within Indonesian society. Their presence and involvement in these sectors contribute to the prioritization and propagation of Islamic and *Pancasila* values within the educational system, thereby impacting the broader society. Enhancing cultural traditions serves the purpose of preserving their cultural traditions. This reinforces the use of these ideologies as social capital, and enables individuals to gain acceptance and other forms of capital within their respective societies. Schools play

a crucial role in the socialization and reproduction of these beliefs and understandings. Such efforts can be achieved through the mandatory implementation of civic and Islamic education, creating an environment that is conducive in shaping behavior and legitimizing existing power structures. This approach is seen as a way to achieve social integration and prevent conflicts that may arise from Indonesia's diverse ethnicities, religions, and belief systems.

The systematic structure of moral education reflects a manifestation of the collective aspiration for social solidarity and cohesion, which is used to maintain political and ideological power within the education system. However, the dominance of *Pancasila* and Islamic education in shaping moral values can be perceived as a form of indoctrination, as this limits the inclusion of diverse worldviews and complexities of beliefs and values present in society. This narrow focus raises concerns about the potential emergence of ethnocentric nationalism and the possible devaluation or hostility towards other ideologies and moral frameworks.

This literature review sheds light on the critical issues concerning moral education in Indonesia, with a particular focus on the discourse that emphasizes on the role of education in society and its connection to a specific understanding of morality. Through this review, it becomes evident that educational institutions, instead of promoting liberation and the advancement of knowledge, have become instruments for preserving the status quo and monopolizing ideologies that align with the interests of the state and the dominant majority. It is important to acknowledge that this research adopts a state-centric and critical sociological perspective on moral education, which may impose certain limitations on its scope. Future research should aim to evaluate the effectiveness of moral education implementation in schools. Such studies should consider its impact on the school environment, as well as on the students, and teachers in terms of their ability to address the issues that have been discussed in this paper. Conducting such investigations should provide a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the intricate complexities surrounding moral education in Indonesia.

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