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Secular and religious moral grounds resonating across state schools in Indonesia

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Abstract

This paper describes how teachers in Indonesia have implemented the Character Education policy. This policy required teachers to instil certain values in every lesson. Drawing on Durkheim's (1925) distinction between secular and religious morality, this paper considers how state schools promoted this 'rational/secular moral education', and how it interacted with religious moral education. Bernstein's concepts of pedagogic discourse, instructional and regulative discourses were adopted to analyse how teachers have re-contextualised this policy in the micro pedagogic settings. Three types of data were collected for this study: interviews, class observations and teachers' lesson plans. Four EFL teachers were interviewed on two occasions and three classes were observed for each teacher. Since character education was issued within the school-based curriculum that offered schools and teachers more choices to develop the local curriculum and its intent, the analysis focused on what moral premises were evident in their school and classes, and how such morality was transmitted through the EFL lessons. The conclusion suggests that teachers' implementation of moral education in their classes was dominated by their school communities' and the teachers' own preferred value of religiosity. Such values played out in the classes through both the regulative discourse and the instructional discourse.

Introduction

Prior to the shift to the 2013 curriculum, the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC) introduced a trial of character education (CE) while school-based curriculum (SBC) was still underway. Besides the integration of particular values in schools' vision and mission, intra- and extra-curricular activities, teachers were required to incorporate the particular set of values in their teaching syllabus and in their lessons. The eighteen values offered by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC) were derived from religions, Indonesia's Pancasila (Five Principles), Indonesian culture and the objectives of Indonesian education (Kemendiknas, 2011). The values included: 'religiosity', 'honesty', 'tolerance', 'discipline', 'hard working', 'creative', 'independence', 'democratic', 'curiosity', 'patriotism', 'nationalism', 'appreciative', 'being friendly', 'peace maker', 'love to read', 'environment awareness', 'social awareness' and 'responsibility'. By the term 'religiosity', the Character Education policy sought to encourage and value students' adherence to religious values and piety according to one's religion and God. As long as the character education policy was framed within school-based curriculum, educational authorities allowed schools to "menentukan prioritas

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pengembangannya" (Kemendiknas, 2011, p. 8), that is, to prioritise among the stipulated values as well as to add other values. Hence, despite the prescribed 18 values, each school might introduce additional values, for example, 'cleanliness' and 'tidiness' in accordance with each school's context and priorities. This raises the question of what other values were introduced alongside those nominated in the character education curriculum.

With the character education reform, the educational authority required that teachers implement such curricular policy in all classes, including English as a Foreign Language (EFL) classes. In this way, EFL teachers were required to nominate particular values and incorporate instruction on these values into their language learning activities. In other words, teachers were required to insert values in their existing lesson plans and to align their pedagogic design with those nominated values in the activities they prepared. This raises the additional question of how the teachers managed to integrate values and language learning.

In terms of secular and religious schooling, Indonesia has a unique educational system. The Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC) and the Ministry of Religious Affairs respectively administer notionally secular schools and religious schools (*madrasah* and schools of any other religion). This paper, however, will focus on the former, the secular state schools. In terms of curriculum implementation, secular state schools in Indonesia share in common the subjects taught, teachers' employment conditions, and their selective student recruitment system. State junior-secondary schools under the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC) teach the same core subjects: Religion, Citizenship, Indonesian Language, English, Maths, Natural Science, Social Science, Arts Education and Sport Education (UNESCO, 2011). In these public schools, the religious subject is taught to adherents of the five officially-recognized religions (Islam, Protestant Christianity, Catholicism, Buddhism and Hinduism). In addition, there are another one or two subjects taught to accommodate the local needs of the school and local community as intra- or extra-curricular activities. In contrast to madrasahs that recruit only Muslim children, the secular state schools cater for all students regardless of their religion. The madrasahs operate a differently balanced curriculum. Most obviously, hijab (veils for Muslim female) is compulsory for Muslim female students at the madrasahs but not at the state schools.

This paper reports on an empirical study that purposefully sampled classes in notionally secular state schools in Indonesia. This paper aims to see how the moral premises of character education were interpreted and enacted by state school EFL teachers in their classrooms. Most teachers in state schools are civil servant teachers who are employed and paid by the government. Although there are some state schools teachers employed and paid as honorary or part-time teachers, they are smaller in number than the civil servant ones. All teachers presented in this study were well qualified civil servant teachers who received plenty of professional learning and could articulate their understanding

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regarding the curricular reforms. This study analyses data derived from classroom observations and teacher interviews, to ask whether the state schools in Indonesia implement the CE reform as secular moral education or whether in their enactment they reinterpret its intentions as religious moral education.

Literature Review

The notion that education serves to train or socialise individuals to sacrifice themselves for the common good has been voiced since the time of Plato through his *Republic* which "focuses on education as key to the virtuous state" (Spring, 1999, p. 15). However, such undertakings in complex new times are debatable. Theoretical approaches to moral education have been developed by ancient to contemporary philosophers: from Aristotle to MacIntyre (Carr, 2008). Aristotles' analogy between character formation and skill acquisition resonates with philosophical thinking in current moral education theory. Aristotle argued that virtues are better cultivated in positive parental and educational climates of encouragement, love and support through "exemplification" or modelling of good conduct for the young (Carr, 2008, p. 114).

MacIntyre (2013) argued in the Aristotelian tradition that to build a better sense of morality, character, and action, people need to understand culturally valued literature and arts. Both philosophers advocated narrative forms of history, religious myth, imaginative literature and arts to trigger pupil's "understanding of themselves as individual and social selves acting in the world" (Carr, 2008, p. 115). MacIntyre's ideas are more applicable in research regarding official curriculum and decisions around what knowledge to select and legitimate at school. In contrast, this study focuses more on how a moral education that is prescribed by official curriculum is ultimately practised in classrooms regardless of the particular subjects taught (e.g. history, language or Arts), and how educators, more particularly Indonesian teachers, understand their roles and responsibilities to enact the official moral curricular reform in their classrooms.

Moral education and character education

The concept of character education has, at times, been understood as being interchangeable with the concept of moral education. While Smith (2006) describes moral education as a type of character education, Hill (1991) argues that character education is an alternative to moral education. Hill's argument is based on the history of teaching morality in the United States of America where there has been a tendency in much American literature to blur the separate discussions of religious, moral and social concerns in education "by speaking constantly about values education" (Hill, 1991, p.33). In this vein, Hill (1991) considered that a curriculum specifying a list of the desired values or traits to be acquired is the most definitive feature of character education. In this way, the Indonesian' character

education policy with its list of 18 shared values to model in classes would accord with Hill's definition.

Character education can also be described as "a wide tent, covering a variety of approaches to building good character" (Lickona, 1996, p.92). It focuses on meeting a wide range of students' needs including academic, moral, physical, psychological, and social needs. The call for character education has been amplified by what Lickona refers to "as troubling youth trends", "the decline of family" and "the desire for a recovery of shared, objectively important ethical values" (Lickona, 1993, p.8-9). There are other social problems that have made people in the United States of America aware of the importance of character education including high profile corporate scandals (Smith, 2006), and a "pervasive orientation to individualism" (Turiel, 2002, p.vii) that might lead to the devaluation of others and a disregard for courtesy (Ryan, Bohlin, & Thayer, 1996). In Indonesia, the call for character education aims to eliminate internal conflicts and corruption in order to create harmony and prosperity in the whole society (Nuh, 2011).

In terms of which values to infuse, Berkowitz and Bier (2005) argue that contemporary character education programs should focus on teaching students specific values—caring, courage, equality, freedom, generosity, hard work, honesty, kindness, resilience and respect—that help them think and behave in an ethical manner. In many cases, apart from these values, particular societies choose other desired values to instil. Australia, for example, adds the ethic of a 'fair go' to values education (DEST, 2005). Meanwhile, Indonesia has chosen other values to infuse in its character education. Interestingly, the Indonesian character education curriculum has not listed 'freedom'. The chosen values like 'religiosity' and 'social awareness' reflect the values and cultural principles of concern to the Indonesian community which are considerably different to other countries.

In this paper, character education (CE) is understood as the aspects of the official curriculum concerned with the development of students' manners, behaviour and conduct. It reflects a deliberate attempt to instil a list of desired values issued by the educational authority in the curriculum. Furthermore, in the context of this study, the MOEC requires teachers to clearly state the target curricular values in each lesson plan. The official *Handbook of Character Education* (Kemendiknas, 2011) outlines how to transmit these values. The goal of character education is thus not limited to meeting the academic needs of students but also focuses on their moral development.

Indonesian character education therefore can be regarded as realizing the government's aim to nurture and maintain a national core of shared values. Through the values offered by the MOEC curriculum, education is used as a mean to promote good behaviour and attitudes, regard for diversity and differences, and dispositions to face an increasingly competitive world. The official curriculum requires teachers to teach values as a purposeful way to prepare youth for a competitive world as well as re-energize their national identities.

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Thinking theoretically about moral education

Durkheim's foundational work in the sociology of education was particularly concerned about the nature of a secular moral education as applied in government schools. Durkheim's distinction between religious and secular morality in education offers a sociological grounding for the study of character education in contemporary education systems. As opposed to religious morality, secular morality is not derived from religion but it "rests exclusively on ideas, sentiments, and practices accountable to reason only" (Durkheim, 2002, p. 3). In this sense, Durkheim argued that morality must not be regarded as just a sacred thing by which people's moral conduct is only performed for reasons of religious obligation or devotion. Rather, morality is instituted for the advantage of humanity. To this end, Durkheim argued that morality in educational institutions should be explained to students by using a rational language and educators must present moral beliefs "as freely subjected to criticism" (p.10). In other words, when students understand the rationale behind moral conduct, they can critique and govern their own moral conduct.

Durkheim's ideas about the key role of education in positioning the human subject in relation to the prevailing social order lead some scholars to characterise him as "a specialist of moral order" and conservative (Davies, 1994, p. 12). Bernstein (2000) elaborates on Durkheim's ideas by arguing that school is a powerful form of symbolic control, or regulator of cultural reproduction and its change. Bernstein then pursues these issues into the micro level of educational practice, that is, the classroom. He introduces the concepts of pedagogic discourse, instructional discourse and regulative discourse. Instructional discourse (ID) is about *what* knowledge to teach, while regulative discourse (RD) refers to the underpinning moral order that regulates *how* knowledge is to be transmitted. ID thus captures the topic to be taught, such as English or Maths, while RD captures the way a teacher designs class activities and organises teacher/students relations. In pedagogic discourse, instructional discourse is necessarily embedded in a regulative discourse. Bernstein thus theorised the importance of nurturing a shared moral order in the regulative discourse in classroom. Hence, Bernstein argues that morality will be transmitted implicitly through class activities through the regulative discourse and its expectations of conduct, regardless of the content of the instructional discourse. In this way, teachers need to consider what moral forces lie behind their designed class activities. For example, when a teacher introduces group discussion as a class activity, she/he will necessarily be modelling and shaping the manners and conduct which are relevant or not for that activity to proceed. This paper is interested in how teachers recontextualised the character education policy in EFL classes. Bernstein defines the concept of recontextualisation as "the process of delocating a discourse (manual, mental, expressive), that is, taking a discourse from its original site of effectiveness and moving it to a pedagogic site, (in which) a gap or rather a space is created" (Bernstein, 2000, p. 32). In other words, this paper seeks to understand how EFL teachers implement the policy in their classes, more particularly, what moral values stipulated by the CE policy are transmitted in EFL classes and how

these values are transmitted: implicitly or explicitly. Bernstein suggests "in the case of explicit pedagogy the intention is highly visible, whereas in the case of implicit pedagogy from the point of view of the acquirer is invisible" (2000, p. 200). In this way, when teachers transmit moral values explicitly, this paper suggests the teacher addresses morality as part of ID. In contrast, when teachers transmit moral values implicitly through their design of class activities, this paper suggests morality is transmitted as part of RD.

Though Eurocentric in origin, Durkheim's theory of moral education and Bernstein's theory of pedagogic discourse are also relevant to my study about the implementation of moral curricular reform in Indonesian state schools. The philosophical thought and design behind the reform seeks to sharpen education's social role as a site of moral inculcation in the face of growing social diversity that threatens social cohesion. In addition, Durkheim's distinction between religious morality and secular morality is relevant to this project since this study is conducted in a site in which religiosity is salient in both the community and its schools. Indonesia's character education has been conceived and presented as a secular moral code – a set of values that make no reference to sacred texts or practices for their legitimacy. State schools, as opposed to the religious *madrasah,* cater for all students regardless of their religion. However, in settings such as Indonesia, whether the enactment of character education (CE) within school based curriculum (SBC) in state schools invoke religious or secular modes of morality becomes an empirical question.

Methodological design

The larger empirical project involved interviews with nine EFL teachers and classroom observations in both state and Islamic private schools. The participants presented in this paper are four EFL teachers working in Indonesian state junior-secondary schools. Semi-structured interviews were conducted twice with each teacher. The first interviews explored their ideas, thoughts, beliefs, and understanding about the curricular reforms and their professional development opportunities regarding the character curricular reform and school-based curriculum. Meanwhile, the second interviews captured their accounts of observed classroom events. Observations across a sequence of three classes were conducted for each teacher. Classes were audio-recorded, and detailed field notes were kept to track topics in the instructional discourse, to describe the regulative discourse design, and to document any explicit treatment of character education or morality more generally. To describe the processes and phases of teaching and learning in their EFL classes, Lemke's typology of classroom activity was used (Lemke, 1993).

Analysis

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This paper presents data analysis regarding teachers thinking and practice regarding what values to implement in their classes. The data excerpts below are taken from interviews and class observations with four state school teachers given the pseudonyms Astuti, Budianti, Citra and Dodik. Astuti and Budi worked at School 1 and School 2 respectively, while Citra and Dodik were both working in School 3.

What values to incorporate: EFL appropriate or professional priority?

As mentioned previously, the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC) stipulated a range of 18 values while requiring teachers to nominate then address one to five values in each lesson plan. In the first interview, which took place before classroom observations, each teacher spoke about the criteria they applied prior to selecting the values for their lesson plans. To a certain degree, these state school teachers shared ideas in common and reported competing considerations around the selection of curricular values.

In response to the interview question on how she selected values for each lesson, Astuti spoke about the criteria she applies:

> Astuti: It is our prerogative to choose the value. … There are 18 values to model but we could not just insert them all. We only choose the ones that are suitable with the teaching materials.

Astuti's account highlights the teachers' role in deciding which value to incorporate in lesson plans. Despite the degree of freedom offered by school-based curriculum, teachers were supposed to consider only values that aligned with their EFL teaching materials. The criteria of alignment between EFL teaching materials and the nominated values were reported by all state teachers in the sample. As a consequence, secular values such as 'cooperativeness', 'being respectful', 'love to read' and 'curiosity' were evident in teachers' EFL lesson documents.

Budianti elaborated on her process, criteria and sequence for selection:

> Budianti: Those values are chosen based on my teaching methods and materials. For example, if I asked students to write and retell a story, they have to be "creative". When I ask them to discuss with their peer, they should be "democratic" or regard others' opinion. I don't think I prioritize certain values. It is merely because they match with my teaching methods and materials. Hence, after I decided the methods and teaching materials, I write the values in my lesson plan afterwards. I cannot start with values. Teaching methods and materials must be first. It is difficult if I have to start with values. If I intend to teach students other particular moral values, I just teach the values in the classroom instead, without explicitly writing my intended values in my lesson plan.
>
> Researcher: Have you had any problems or difficult decisions to make?

> Budianti: Very often, I chose only certain values out of 18 values, not all, because some other values might be more suitable to be taught by teachers of other subjects. If I found certain values seemed strange for English, I would not choose those values. English is more suitable with values such as 'curiosity', 'honesty', 'precision', 'love to read', 'cooperative', 'communicativeness', and 'democratic'. I believe teachers of other subjects also do the same things; choosing the values that are suitable with their subjects. And I am certainly sure that the other values will be taught by teachers of another subject. .... in my understanding nationalism is more suitable for Citizenship subject, and religiosity is more suitable for Religion subject.

Budianti explained her process of nominating values to incorporate in EFL lesson. She mentioned how such values were modelled in her classes. In this way, she modelled the values through class activities such as modelling the value of being 'democratic' through group discussion. She also considered the alignment between CE values and EFL teaching materials. In Budianti's understanding, teachers should choose only the values relevant to their English teaching materials and EFL teaching activities, such as those she listed. However, she also considered the limitation on the number of values that could be assigned to a lesson since she could not model all 18 values.

However, when asked to name values that were usually taught beyond those mentioned in the lesson plan, these two teachers expressed similar ideas. Astuti explained as follows:

> Astuti: 'Religiosity' (pause) and 'honesty'. Although I did not put them in my lesson plan I implicitly teach these values in my classes. Students should be honest, especially when they have to work on tasks individually, that is, not to cheat. For 'religiosity', we always model it through our daily activities. For example, teachers greet the classes with "Assalamualaikum warahmatullahi wabarokatuh" ((Arabic language for May God gives you safe, bless and goodness)) rather than "Selamat Pagi" ((Indonesian greeting for Good Morning)). Before commencing the classes, I always read "Alfatihah" ((an opening verse of Quran)). We always recite Al Qur'an verses in the morning. Before we finish our schooling, we pray like good Moslems usually do and recite the short verses of Qur'an.

> Researcher: Can you explain more about why you need to do this?

> Astuti: I think we need to introduce religiosity from childhood, whatever the religion they have, to avoid kemerosotan moral ((moral erosion)). Now, there are more and more anak yg nakal sekali ((very naughty/problematic children)). Hence, we need to teach them about religion. That is why they are accustomed to recite Qur'an, (pause) to make them familiar with it. Many Muslims do not understand the core value of Islam; I think it is important to introduce such habits to the children.

Astuti reported that among the 18 values offered by the official curriculum, she tended to favour the values of 'honesty' and 'religiosity' although she did not nominate these values in her documented English lesson plans. By her report, she considered religious morality essential to model in her EFL

classes, as the answer for what she perceived to be the youth's moral erosion. To do so, she reported that she started her English lessons by greeting her students with such religious meanings. More importantly, the public school in which she worked required its students to recite Quran verses before they departed in the afternoon. These ritual activities were conducted by teachers and students in the observed classes. All state teachers in the sample reported such ritual activities in their classes. Budianti also reported as follows:

> Researcher: So, what values do you want to teach most?
>
> Budianti: Religiosity. I always teach religious values in my classes. Religiosity is not merely asking them such as "you should perform prayer!" Religiosity is broader than that. If students ignore shalat ((Muslim's prayer)), they might automatically ignore their parents. Being polite, obeying parents are sort of religious values. We can use any occasion to teach religious values. I think teaching those values in classes is more effective than when we have to just write the values in our lesson plan.
>
> Reseacher: why have you never listed "religiosity" value in your lesson plan?
>
> Budianti: because, I could always teach religiosity in my classes. If I have to write this value in my lesson plan, I feel worried because I am teaching religiosity too often.

On one hand, Budianti had reported that she would not insert 'religiosity' in her lesson plans. Despite this argument, she described her ongoing commitment to teach 'religiosity' because she considered this value to be very influential in promoting acceptable conduct. For her, teaching values of 'religiosity' in her English classes was the way to improve students' broader morality. Similar to Astuti, Budianti believed that religious rituals like prayers could lead to students' obedience to acceptable standards of conduct. In this way, Budianti revealed that she explicitly taught the values of 'religiosity' in English classes. However, her intention to always teach 'religiosity' created a tension related to the intensity of such religious values in her English classes. For that reason, she would not nominate religiosity on her lesson plans because–as she said in the last sentence—she did not want her EFL classes to be identified as ones that were dominated by the values of 'religiosity'.

Another reason for not inserting 'religiosity' in the lesson plan was because that value was not deemed suitable to the English subject. As she said in a previous excerpt *'If I found certain values seemed strange for English, I would not choose those values... nationalism is more suitable for Citizenship subject, and religiosity is more suitable for Religion subject'.* For that reason, she chose only the values that aligned with her English teaching materials.

Astuti and Budianti were both Moslem teachers. They shared ideas in common regarding the importance of incorporating 'religiosity' in EFL classes. The following excerpts were taken from Interview 2 with Citra, the only Christian teacher in the sample. Citra demonstrated a similar commitment to infusing 'religiosity' in her teaching:

> Researcher: You taught students with various methods, and I saw you repeatedly reminded them about the importance of love. Can you tell me about this?
>
> Citra: I think everyone needs to love others, love his God. That's good if I always remind them about this. For me it is very fundamental. When we do anything because of love, the world must be very beautiful.
>
> Researcher: We could not find 'love' in the list offered by the government. Is 'love' your own preferred value?
>
> Citra: Yes, it is. It may be because I am a Christian. Our fundamental principle is 'love'; love to God, and love to other human beings. In my view if all mankind do everything for love, the world will be peaceful; no one thinks about himself.
>
> Researcher: Can you tell me any values other than the government values you want to add?
>
> Citra: Love, tolerance, I think those values are very important to teach in today's situation.

Citra gave her reasoning why she always taught the value of *cinta* or 'love' in spite of her documented lesson plans. For Citra, loving God and humanity was the most 'fundamental' value to teach. By her report, her Christianity informed her practice to always teach this value in her English classes. In the last sentence of this excerpt, she offered her rationale in promoting peace and tolerance as a response to the current situation in her society. This mirrors the government's rationale behind the CE reform: to mend internal conflicts. In this way, she was using the freedom available to her in school-based curriculum in a very similar way, but without reference to the official curriculum.

Dodik, the teacher who worked in School 3, also highlighted the importance of 'religiosity' in character education when asked about his preferred values:

> Dodik: I personally ... and it is commonly believed that students' strong faith will inevitably guide whatever students do. With *iman yang kuat* ((strong faith)), their attitude must be good and honest. And now I focus on honesty because I notice our nation suffers from transgressions done by our leaders. I think there must be something wrong with our education. I tend to stress 'honesty' also 'respect' as I notice a lot of internal conflicts around our societies.

Like the other three teachers, Dodik argued that a stronger faith or value of 'religiosity' would be the answer to the growing phenomenon of problematic behaviour. He was concerned about societal leaders at large and the current social problems such as endemic corruption and growing conflict within Indonesia. Moreover, Dodik held the education system to blame, but cast teachers as important social actors whose work could help solve state problems.

Hence there emerges a shared concern among the sampled state teachers about the moral state of the nation. Besides choosing appropriate values, these teachers sought to incorporate and augment the

value of 'religiosity' in their classes. All state school teachers in this study agreed that 'religiosity' offered a solution to current social problems, such as immature behaviour (Astuti), disrespectful behaviour (Budianti), internal conflicts (Citra) and corruption (Dodik). These rationales for religiosity to be incorporated in EFL classes were presented as firstly teachers' professional priority and secondly as an active response to society more broadly. The former dominated Astuti's and Budianti's accounts, as these teachers believed that 'religiosity' would promote students' acceptable conduct. Meanwhile, the latter informed Citra's and Dodik's accounts since these teachers perceived greater 'religiosity' could help cure social problems such as internal conflicts and corruption.

To summarise this section, two different types of moralities were reported in these EFL classes. A secular morality was derived from the teachers' work to align CE stipulated values with their EFL teaching materials. A religious morality was more deeply rooted in the school context and teachers' professional priorities and practice. In this way, teachers' professional priority of 'religiosity' resonated with and augmented school values.

How to incorporate values: Explicit or implicit pedagogy?

This section explores whether such values were transmitted through EFL classes via explicit (visible) or implicit (invisible) pedagogies. When teachers were observed to name such values and teach them deliberately to their classes, they were considered to be applying an explicit or visible pedagogy of morality. Meanwhile, when teachers incorporated the values as aspects modelled in class activities, they were considered to implement the character education reforms through an implicit invisible pedagogy of morality. Using Bernstein's language, an explicit pedagogy of values addressed morality as Instructional Discourse, whereas an implicit pedagogy of morality embeds the desired values in the moral order of the regulative discourse.

As outlined above, the teachers used expressions such as *"to accustom"* and *"important to introduce such habits"* to indicate their ongoing treatments of 'religiosity' for moral education in their classes. By their reports, through the religious ritual activities promoted by the school community, the values of 'religiosity' were strongly infused in their EFL classes through routine activities. From the class observations, it was evident that all sampled teachers preferred not only modelling the inserted values as an implicit pedagogy but also teaching these values explicitly. Dodik, elaborated on the thinking behind his choices:

> Researcher: I also noticed that you spoke and reminded your students of the importance of being respectful to other people's opinion while making them into groups. What is your thinking behind this?
>
> Dodik: Actually all teachers have similar purposes in grouping students. But they have to always tell their students as well. Yes, remind them….

To answer my question regarding his choice to explicitly teach 'respect', Dodik reported that he and all teachers had a particular purpose behind grouping students, but also chose to name and teach the 'respect' value explicitly in order to make the intended values more explicit for students. Otherwise, he was not sure whether students would recognise the values behind the group discussion activities. His way to instil values therefore was to reinforce the implicit pedagogic design with an explicit pedagogic design.

In terms of visible or implicit pedagogy, the fieldnotes recorded Budianti's explicit teaching of 'religiosity' in her observed classes. Firstly she reminded students to perform their prayers on time (Class 3). Secondly, through the moral of a story, she repeatedly asked her students to respect their parents although she had not inserted the 'respect' value in her lesson plan (Class1). In her second interview, she expressed the opinion that respecting parents was part of the values reflecting 'religiosity'. In addition, she also used any opportunity to teach 'religiosity' such as in the following dialogue recorded between teacher and students (Class 1):

> Budianti: What you can learn from the story is, if you want to be clever and succesful student, what do you have to do?
>
> Class : Study hard...
>
> Teacher: Only that? What else?
>
> Class: Pray to Allah ((God)).
>
> Budianti: Exactly, pray to Allah ((God)) and study harder.

The dialogue between Budianti and her students indicated her infusion of 'religiosity' in English classes as a professional priority. She reminded her students to not only work hard but also pray to God in order to be successful students. In this way, she sought to explicitly teach her students about the importance of God in their life.

Fieldnotes recorded that all teachers sampled in state schools adopted a similar approach of mixing implicit and explicit pedagogies for moral education. Astuti reminded her students of the importance of 'responsibility' while asking her students to finish their work (Class 2) and reminded her students to have 'courage' when asking them to present their work (Class 1). Citra used a similar approach when she mentioned and reinforced the value of 'love'.

Moral grounds in Indonesian state schools

From the analysis above, it can be seen that both secular and religious moralities were being transmitted by these EFL teachers. Secular values were chosen based on their alignment with the particular English teaching materials. Meanwhile, a more diffuse religious morality was derived from

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the school's community and the teachers' professional priorities. Based on the teachers' interviews and classroom observations, all the state schools in the sample displayed a similar pattern of religious rituals in their school. Students were required to recite Qur'an verses in the first session and to pray before leaving the classes for home. Table 1 summarises the secular and religious values that were evident in the sampled schools and English classes.

Table 1-Secular and Religious morality in EFL classes

School	Teachers	Secular moralities nominated in lesson plans	Religious morality	
			Schools' religious community	Teachers' professional priorities
1	Astuti	Character Education values suitable with EFL materials: trustworthiness, respect, diligence, responsibility, and courage	Students recited Qur'an verses in the morning, students prayed before leaving for home	Reported in interview Observation: taught explicitly
2	Budianti	Character Education values suitable with EFL materials: communicative, democratic, precise, love to read, creative	Students recited Qur'an verses in the morning, students prayed before leaving for home	Reported in interview Observation: taught explicitly
3	Citra	Character Education values suitable with EFL materials: curiosity, cooperation, care, respect and confidence	Students recited Qur'an verses in the morning (Bible for Christian students), students, prayed before leaving for home	Reported in interview Observation: taught explicitly
4	Dodik	Character Education values suitable with EFL materials: confidence, appreciation of work and achievement of others, appreciation of diversity, courtesy, responsibility, democracy	Students recited Qur'an verses in the morning (Bible for Christian students), students, prayed before leaving for home	Reported in interview Observation: no report

First, to meet the Character Education requirement, teachers had to choose then insert the stipulated values in their lesson plans. Since teachers considered the alignment between teaching materials and curricular values, teachers only chose to nominate the values that resonated with a secular morality. In terms of religious morality, the schools promoted religiosity in their daily rituals before and after teaching and in learning activities. Additionally, Citra explained how School 3 organised Christian students in a different place in the morning for reciting the Bible. In addition, most of the sampled English teachers also reported that they taught (explicit pedagogy) or modelled (implicit pedagogy) religiosity in their classes. Hence, the value of religiosity was systemically supported in the sampled state schools. This phenomenon was not inevitable but it was facilitated by school-based curriculum that required every school in Indonesia to consider the local school context including school values, and the school community at large. Since the sampled schools were established in a Muslim dominated community, the state schools accommodated Muslim values accordingly.

Discussion

All the state teachers understood that character education would be implemented implicitly, that is, through an invisible pedagogy. In this way, teachers needed to design their classroom activities in such a way that they could instil the values through particular activities. However, two teachers working in state schools (Budianti and Dodik) reported an issue in the interview regarding this reliance on implicit pedagogies for inculcating values. For them, implicit pedagogy for values raised questions of whether students would recognise and realise that they were learning these values while doing activities in the classroom. This dilemma lead to their decision to not only model the values through classroom activities but also to teach the values explicitly to their classes, that is, to conduct an explicit pedagogy about values. From class observation and teachers' interview, it also can be seen that all the teachers also taught morality as part of their ID.

In order to understand teachers' approaches in transmitting values in EFL classroom, Figure 1 below is presented:

1 = religious and secular moralities as ID (explicit pedagogy)

2 = CE/EFL secular morality as RD (implicit pedagogy)
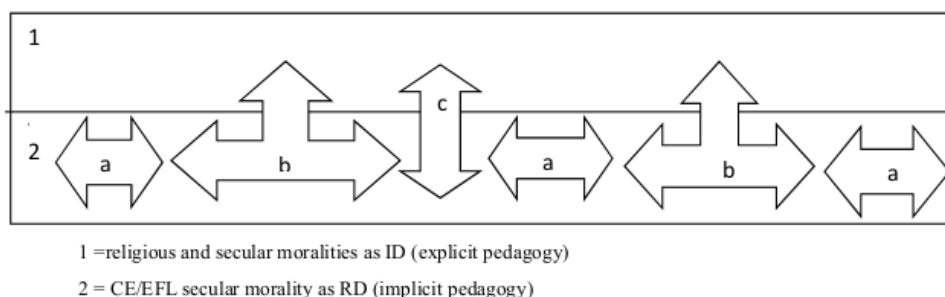
Figure 1. Three different modes for values transmission

The different shapes of arrows in Figure 1 indicate the possibilities in the operationalisation of moral education in the observed EFL classes. The horizontal line in the middle marks the boundary between explicit and implicit moral inculcation, that is, when the character education values were transmitted as ID or RD respectively. The bottom half is achieved through the RD design by which the teachers chose activities that required or invoked the desired values. The double headed arrows labelled 'a' represent activities that modelled the character education values in EFL activities. The three-headed arrows labelled 'b' that derive from Layer 2 and point into Layer 1 indicate episodes when teachers aimed to both model and teach their students the character education values that aligned with their EFL class. In this way, besides transmitting such values through their modelling in class activities, teacher also named and mentioned the values to encourage students' recognition. The vertical arrow labelled 'c' indicates how moralities can emerge in the ID and manifest as explicit pedagogy in the ID.

Based on the teachers' interview reports and class observations that were reported in Table 1 and modelled in Figure 1, the moral values were operationalised by EFL teachers in variety of ways, both implicit and explicit. Additionally, since teachers working in the state sector understood that there must be some alignment between English lessons and the stipulated values, they reported tensions between such EFL appropriate values and their own professional priority in values. It can be seen from the previous analysis that, in their opinion and their practice, the value of 'religiosity' was highlighted by these teachers as the most important value to teach and how this was what the community at large or school was concerned with. However since these teachers argued that the value of 'religiosity' was not often appropriate for the English subject, they thus reported a choice not to formally nominate the value of 'religiosity' in their lesson plans. Nevertheless, in order to accommodate their professional priorities, these teachers reported making improvisations by habitually introducing the value of 'religiosity' in their EFL classes instead. Figure 2 presents how the values of 'religiosity' were transmitted in EFL classes. More importantly, Figure 2 elaborates on the previous model of teachers' implicit and explicit pedagogies for morality to account for this deeper communal layer of commitment to the value of 'religiosity':
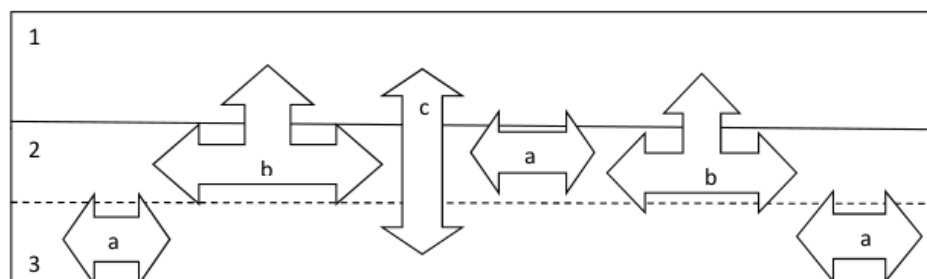
Layer 1 = religious and secular moralities as ID (explicit pedagogy)

Layer 2 = CE/EFL secular morality as RD (implicit pedagogy)

Layer 3 = religious morality underpinning professional practice in this context as RD (implicit pedagogy)

Different shapes of arrows = the possible operationalisation of values in class

Figure 2. Character education through layers of implicit and explicit pedagogies and professional preferences.

Figure 2 shows how state teachers' improvisations added a deeper layer of values pedagogy in their classes. This model proposes that there were two layers of moral premises in RD (Layer 2 and Layer 3). In this way, the moral values modelled or taught in EFL classes might be rooted in the nominated secular values for character education and/or EFL (Layer 2); or may stem from the community, school or teachers' priorities (Layer 3). As mentioned earlier, the different shapes of arrows indicate the possibilities in the operationalisation of these moral grounds in the observed EFL classes. The double headed arrows labelled 'a' that float in Layer 3 could represent ritual activities (for opening and closing the classes) promoted by the school community. The double headed arrow labelled 'a' that

floats in Layer 2 could represent an activity of modelling the CE values in EFL activities. The three-headed arrows labelled 'b' that derive from Layer 2 and point to Layer 1 could indicate teachers' aim to both model and teach their students the CE/EFL secular values. The vertical arrow labelled 'c' that derive from Layer 3 could indicate how the religious morality of the schools' community and teachers' professional priorities might intrude in the ID and manifest as explicit pedagogy in the ID. In other words, besides modelling and teaching the CE/EFL values in classes, teachers on certain occasions asserted their own professional preference for religious values in the instructional discourse. In this way, they taught their students explicitly the importance of particular religious values when they felt it was necessary (Layer 1).

Figure 3 below presents a model of how this mixture of implicit and explicit pedagogical approaches to teaching values might play out over the course of a lesson:
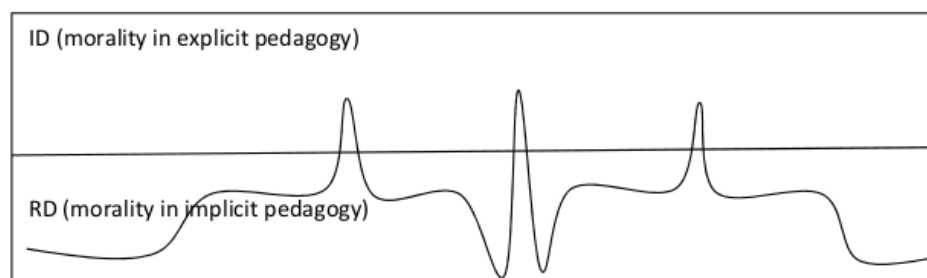
Figure 3. Character education through implicit and explicit pedagogies

Figure 3 models the state teachers' approaches to implementing character education in their classes. In the RD realm, the desired values were instilled through learning activities and henceforth, they both shaped the existing teaching methods as well as deeply influenced the way teachers regulated their EFL classes. It can be seen in the figure that the teachers also on occasion shifted to an explicit pedagogy: by naming the values and instructing the students in them as curricular knowledge. This is indicated in the spikes that show the moral discourse emerging explicitly in the ID briefly. The emergence of the values in ID was aimed to ensure learners' recognition of the learnt values. In this way, morality is unique in its capacity to operate and be transmitted in both RD and ID, through the moral order of class activities and through teacher instruction respectively.

In conclusion, this paper finds that the character education policy allowed different kinds of moralities to be transmitted in EFL classes. Both secular and religious moralities were evident in the notionally secular state schools sampled in Indonesia. The secular moralities were derived from alignment between character education and EFL while the religious moralities resonated with the school communities and teachers' own professional priorities. As the school communities and teachers'

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professional priorities were strongly influenced by religious premises, it was evident in the observed classes and teachers' report that the teachers' EFL classes were coloured by the value of 'religiosity' though the CE reform attempted to offer secular solutions to moral challenges in this highly religious society.

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