



Ideological Conflict and Power Dynamics in Indonesian Education Policy

Rifma Ghulam Dzaljad^{1*}, Andika Pamungkas²

*Corresponding author email : rifmaghulam@uhamka.ac.id

¹Informatics Engineering, Faculty Of Engineering, Prof. Dr. HAMKA University, Indonesia

²Communication Sciences, Faculty Of Social Sciences And Political Science, Prof. Dr. HAMKA University, Indonesia

Abstract. This study investigates the ideological underpinnings and power dynamics within the formulation of the Indonesian Education Roadmap 2020-2035, focusing on the absence of religious phrases and its implications for national education policy. Utilizing Gill Branston and Roy Stafford's theory of ideology and power, alongside discourse analysis within an Islamic framework, the research addresses the main question of how the Roadmap reflects broader ideological and power conflicts, particularly between Islamic and secular nationalist ideologies. The analysis reveals that the omission of "religion" from the Roadmap aligns with secular nationalist ideologies, potentially undermining the constitutionally mandated inclusion of religious values in national education. This omission has sparked significant public debate and criticism, suggesting a conflict between the government's secular approach and the public's expectation of an education system that incorporates religious values. The study highlights the importance of ideological considerations in the development of education policies and the potential for ideological conflicts to influence the substance and reception of such policies. By examining the broader ideological and power dynamics at play, this research contributes to the understanding of the complex interplay between education policy, religion, and national identity in Indonesia, calling for a more inclusive approach that respects the country's religious diversity and constitutional mandates.

Keywords: Religion, Ideology, Power, and the Indonesian Education Roadmap 2020-2035, Discourse.

1 Introduction

Education is an important aspect in shaping future generations. Education forms the whole person (kaffah), developing all human potential, both physical and spiritual. [1] Education is an activity carried out in a planned and systematic manner to develop students' potential based on Islamic principles. Education aims to achieve balance in the overall growth of the human person through psychological training, mind, intelligence, feelings and five senses.

In the development of education in Indonesia, the implementation of Indonesian education is faced with various problems and weaknesses. Information technology disruption,

demographic bonus, Covid-19 pandemic, the demands of the job market in the present and future, as well as the problem of the quality of human resources which is still low, faced with problems in the implementation of the learning process which is still unequal between access to education on the island of Java and other regions, the proliferation of expensive private and foreign schools, limited infrastructure schools and campuses, low quality of teachers and lecturer productivity, lack of support for services for children with special needs and disability groups, as well as the limited number of teachers and their welfare.

The education that has been implemented so far has not provided a balance between religious, moral, character and integrated and structured national education. In fact, national education should emphasize in its curriculum the realization of character education based on Indonesian excellence, religiosity and nationalism.

The various problems and weaknesses in the implementation of education above require the government to have a clear and measurable educational blueprint. So that the policies taken in educational development are not partial and patchy. The policies adopted must be comprehensive in describing the difficulties and problems faced in national education, and contain content that is appropriately capable of resolving various existing educational problems.

The 2020-2035 Indonesian Education Roadmap (PJP) which was submitted and discussed at the Working Meeting between Commission PJP also does not include four important issues in education, namely: access, quality, relevance and governance.

The preparation of PJP is not in accordance with the constitutional mandate, namely the fourth alinea of the Preamble to the 1945 NRI Constitution, as well as the provisions of Article 31 and Article 32 of the 1945 NRI Constitution. PJP is not in line with the provisions of Article 3 of Law Number 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System which aims to create Indonesian people who believe and are devoted to God Almighty.

There were problems with government communication in preparing the PJP as well as public concerns that ideologically, the PJP did not meet expectations. The main research question, how is PJP from an ideological and power perspective? The minor question is, why is there conflict in the preparation of the PJP? To what extent do conflicts in the preparation of the PJP affect the substance of the PJP? What is the ideological configuration like between Islamic and secular groups?

2 Theoretical Framework: Ideology and Power

Gill Branston and Roy Stafford say that ideology has a key role in connecting the media and various types of power, by giving more visibility to different views. Discourse helps us explore the “in-between” areas of how overarching and long-term ideologies become part of everyday practice, especially language, its assumptions, and the way it positions readers and users [2]

2.1 Marxist approach

According to Branston and Stafford, a set of ideas, even though they form a system, even a rigid one, cannot necessarily be classified as "ideology". A person may have obsessive ideas about personal matters and relate them systematically to the phases of the lunar cycle. But it is not called 'ideology' because it has nothing to do with the distribution of social power. Ideology refers to:[2] a set of ideas that provides some account of the social world; ideas that

are usually partial (in the second sense) and selective (because of all positions); the relationship of these ideas or values to the ways in which power is distributed socially.

Ideology is often used as one of the means by which dominant economic classes expand their control over others; and one of the ways in which dominant values and meanings appear 'natural' and 'obviously' socially compatible, in other words, how they work with, or against, a particular set of powers.

Marx argued that class differences, or people's relationships to the way in which goods and wealth are created and distributed (the 'means of production'), were key to the types of political values and ideas they held. Do they own and profit from factories, banks, state plantations, or do they have to earn a living by working for factory owners, banks and so on? Marx was interested in the capitalist relationship of factory owners with those they employed. For him, the working class had the power to change history with their united actions and their practical experience. Marx saw class conflict between these two groups as a motor for historical change in society.

Marx uses the concept of ideology to help account for how the capitalist class is able to protect and preserve its economic interests. According to Marx, there are three emphases related to ideology in media studies, namely: First, dominant ideas, which are part of society's common sense, that they work in the interests of the ruling class in securing its domination. Second, Marx argued that there was a clear connection between the ways in which the basic needs of the social order were met (through factory production in industrial capitalist orders, or rural production in landlord-peasant relations for example) and its superstructure. Second, political and ideological institutions such as religion and cultural life. Models like this are often called economic determinants. Third, through this series of power relations, the dominant class is able to make workers believe that the existing relations of exploitation and oppression are natural and unavoidable.

For media and cultural studies, the term dominant ideology is what Antonio Gramsci called hegemony, which is about how a dominant value system changes and controls society. For Marxists, the emphasis on economics and class struggle as the basis of ideology has been replaced by interest in other things, namely: a). oppression (repression, oppression); b). power structure; and c). the ways in which dominant assumptions circulate and challenge play out through the power of a particular discourse.

2.2 Post-Marxism and Critical Pluralism

Changes that resulted in questions regarding the strengths and weaknesses of Marxism and abandoning it as a scientific approach. This is based on that:

a. To speak of only one dominant ideology, which is directly linked to economic power, implies a free ruling class. Yet when it comes to capitalism, it is rooted in competition and a certain kind of contradiction. Such a 'single ideology' approach often makes highly patronizing assumptions about anyone other than the person doing the analysis.

b. More recent political challenges have offered ways to analyze other types of oppression. Such as being based on gender or ethnicity which influences life chances. They are not seen as absolute determinants, as class is in the Marxist model. But there is an important debate about the difference between diversity and inequality.

We live in a highly unequal capitalist society, driven by profits, high consumption and inequality that operates on a global scale. Meanwhile, a pluralist model of media ownership has developed, media as a free-floating power, and emphasizing diversity and a clear choice of media forms and products. There is diversity in media, especially in the internet (social media)

era, where website owners and large companies are encouraged to circulate many different ideas and identities in order to remain profitable.

3 Discourse and Living Culture

Media studies tend not to use a single dominant model versus a set of oppositional ideas, both rooted in class struggle (Marxist model) Discourse is a system of language use (arguments, descriptions, theories, etc.) constructed as part of a particular field of practice (e.g. law, fashion, politics, medicine).[2]

Discourse according to Michel O'Shougnessy and Jane Stadler (2005) is a paradigm or way of understanding communicated through text and the use of language, which organizes knowledge and social power. Discourse can be traced from Foucault's work and thoughts. Discourse is an integral part of the power of some practices. Foucault argued that discourse creates a "regime of truth" and shapes our perceptions. In a certain discursive formation (discursive formation) said Foucault.

In a cultural context, our attention to lived cultures brings us to Gramsci. Gramsci emphasized that hegemony is a process that is undertaken, never just imposed, or exists only in ideas. The power of "common sense" (rather than what he calls "good sense") comes from its relationship to cultural practices, rituals and various activities.

Everyday cultural practices involve visual discourse as well as verbal discourse, dealing with gender and family ideologies, exploring national identity, wielding political power and fighting for economic interests.[2]

4 Methodological Concepts

4.1 The Islamic concept of Mustadh'afin and Ra'sul Maliyah

The term mustadh'afin (oppressed people) refers to groups of people who are in an "inferior" social status, marginalized, oppressed socio-economically, and treated politically discriminatory. The term mustadh'afin has a contextual meaning and can represent other lower social classes, such as arâdzil (marginalized), fuqarâ' (indigent), or masâkin (poor people).

The term mustadh'afin presents three figures, namely: First, those who are mustadh'afin, second, those who oppress and commit persecution, third, those who help mustadh'afin. Ali Shariati said that the mustadh'afin were a group of people who rose up against tyrannical power. A confrontation between mustadh'afin and mustakbirin. Hâbil is depicted by Shariati as an oppressed, dominated and commoner (mustadh'afin), while Qabil is an oppressor, ruler and elite. In the history of humanity, this image manifests itself in two opposing classes of society.[3]

Farid Esack said someone is called mustadh'afin if someone is responsible for their suffering. A person only becomes mustadh'afin due to the arrogant behavior or policies of the authorities.[4] Meanwhile, Hasan Hanafi in his theological reflection said that even though according to the verses of the Qur'an we are one people (ummatan wahidah), in fact objectively we are separated into poor people and rich people.

The understanding of the mustadh'afin concept above is in line with the prohibition on monopoly in terms of wealth. Where, Rasul Maliyah, whether in the form of property, money,

investments, jewelry or other wealth must be understood within the framework of public benefit and used to support life (wasilat al-hayah). Assets must have social value. Property is a trust entrusted to humans according to al-Hadid (57): 7. According to az-Zamakhsyari, property is not yours. Your position regarding the property is only as representative and trustee. [5] Treasure it must be used, because if it is piled up and not used, the available capital (ra'sul maliyah) will be reduced, this can reduce the prosperity that the Qur'an longs for.[6] Concentrating wealth in just one or two groups of people will have the effect of reducing the circulation of wealth functions, both among individuals and groups (QS. al-Hasyr [59]: 7).

4.2 Islamic Criticism of Critical Pluralism

Islam's commitment to social order is very egalitarian and reflects equal distribution of justice and prosperity for all. In Surah al-Hujurat verses 11-13, it is stated that the ethics for creating peace and avoiding conflict are by developing ta'aruf, avoiding teasing, suudhdhan, tajassus, backbiting, and mutual pride because humans have the same level before Allah SWT. Shariati holds the view that humans are able to gain knowledge themselves through social interaction in the real world and coordinating with the interactive relationship between God, nature and humans. The human ability to acquire and master knowledge is because humans have awareness, have the freedom to choose, and have the power of creativity.[4] Islamic scholars in this group are what Shariati calls rûshanfekr, scholars.

4.3 Cultural Discourse in Islam

In a cultural context, conflict between values, beliefs or interests in ideological discourse and power is certainly something that cannot be avoided. Culture in Islam is understood in an open construction as part of religion. Culture is an aspect of Islamic teachings in muamalah duniawiyah, matters of human relations with other humans and their environment. This is different from the views of EB Taylor, Ernest Cassirer, or Bronislaw Malinowski who see religion as part of culture, thereby ignoring the "sacrality" of religion as God's revelation. Of course, this secular view is not in accordance with the Islamic worldview and our beliefs as Muslims.

Islamic education is education that aims to form a complete Muslim person(kaffah),[7]develop all human potential, both physical and spiritual. [1]This is as stated in QS al-Nahl/16: 125. According to Bakti, in the science of da'wah and communication there are four levels of success in communication, one of which is the level of conveying (tabligh) messages to other people, in this case the target is understanding and meaning. [8]With tabligh, the level of Islamic education will be able to lead the human person to balance and integrated communication, both with God and with others. Islamic communication is not only horizontal communication with others but also vertical communication with Allah SWT. Andi Faisal Bakti has developed various communication theories which have become alternative communication which we then call Islamic communication which upholds human values and the nature of human creation.

5 Research Subjects and Objects

5.1 History of Preparing Educational Roadmaps

The Education Road Map (PJP) is actually just a "pre-concept" as stated by Ledia Hanifa Amaliah, member of Commission X DPR RI[8] or as Chairman of Commission It has not met the regulatory context, it has not fulfilled various prerequisites when this road map is considered a national education road map

According to Ledia, the birth of PJP was initially the idea of the Minister of Education and Culture (Mendikbud) Nadiem Makarim at the request of Commission X DPR RI to create a blueprint for Indonesian education. A blueprint concept that can explain where Indonesian education is going down the road. Improving and perfecting the quality of Indonesian education is adjusted to the educational problems faced and the challenges of global development. PJP is directed as a conceptual strategy for developing Indonesian education in the next few years. The preparation of this PJP refers to the grand design of national education and is adapted to the planned revision of Law Number 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System.

The idea of needing to develop a PJP emerged in various DPR RI Commission X meetings around the end of 2019. Then came a request from Commission X DPR RI to the Ministry of Education and Culture to prepare an educational "blueprint". In the process, the Minister of Education and Culture explained the concept which was later called PJP in several DPR RI Commission X Working Meetings. At the Working Meeting on May 20 2020, the Minister of Education and Culture presented a 73-page draft of the 2020-2035 Indonesian Education Roadmap in PDF file format.

Commission and education sector associations, student and youth organizations, ministries and institutions, as well as other education stakeholders. The results of the RDP/RDPU are used as study material following the recommendations of Commission X which are submitted to the Minister of Education and Culture

5.2 Indonesian Education Roadmap 2020-2035

The PJP draft dated 11 December 2020, 75 pages thick, does not include the phrase "religion" in Indonesia's 2035 education vision. General Chairman of PP Muhammadiyah Haedar Nashir on 1 March 2021 said that the removal of the phrase "religion" was a form of going against the constitution (unconstitutional) because it traces hierarchy. law, policy derivative products such as road maps must not conflict with the regulations above, namely: Government Regulations, the National Education System Law, the 1945 Constitution and the peak is Pancasila. Haedar's statement then sparked debate and public criticism of the PJP draft material

PJP contains the following table of contents: a. Global trends and the future of learning; b. Overview of education in Indonesia and its challenges; and c. Indonesia's education road map. The first subchapter "Global trends..." consists of 12 slides explaining global technological, social and environmental changes; the Covid-19 pandemic and rapid structural changes in learning; ways of working in the future due to existing changes; problem-solving, cognitive and social skills are increasingly important, while physical skills are decreasing; future learning in the OECD Learning Compass 2030 forum; adaptation of education systems (benchmarks) from other countries; the need for changes in the Indonesian education system is linked to the need for superior human resource trends that are needed; demographic changes; digital literacy, political stability and success in eradicating poverty; changes in the labor market; as well as the need for educated, noble, adaptive and collaborative human resources to achieve the 2045 development targets.

The second subchapter "overview of education..." consists of 12 slides containing important elements of education; enrollment rates and education gaps; low equality of access to education;

PISA evaluation of primary and secondary learning outcomes which shows problems with teacher quality, infrastructure and gaps in government; there are problems with the quality of teachers, curriculum/programs, and industrial collaboration in higher education; inequality in the quality of education in Java and other regions of Indonesia due to government, regulatory and geographic limitations; and the importance of involving the private sector and industry in education.

The third subchapter "Roadmap..." consists of 46 slides which explain the important strategies and policies that the government must implement to achieve Indonesia's education vision 2035. The formulation in this subchapter is what mainly causes polemics because it does not include the phrase "religion" in the education vision Indonesia 2035.

6 Analysis Results and Discussion

6.1 Ideology and Power in the Education Roadmap

The most basic thing in preparing PJP is "Global Trends and the Future of Learning" which is marked by global technological, social and environmental changes. This description refers to the occurrence of technological disruption, structural changes due to the Covid-19 pandemic, sociocultural and demographic changes, energy issues and climate change, as well as adaptation to the future of Indonesian education by looking at benchmarks for the secular education systems of Australia, the Netherlands, Finland, Canada, Germany, China, Singapore, and South Korea.

Changes in the future of Indonesian education are directed towards the realization of educated, noble, adaptive and collaborative human resources as a development target for 2045. A structured and systematic depiction as a rational-empirical (positivistic) thinking framework in the style of August Comte (1798–1857) when describing the stages of society Positivist Europe. The emphasis on the phrase "educated, noble, adaptive and collaborative" is in line with the vision of Indonesian education 2035 as stated in PJP: 14, 29.

From the start, the construction of the PJP formulation did not use religion as a basis. This can be seen from the framework of thought that is used as the basis for arguments for change and the future of Indonesian education which eliminates the phrase religion. The absence of religious phrases in PJP was acknowledged by Ledia Hanifa Amaliah, member of Commission X DPR RI. According to him, since the beginning of the preparation of the "pre-concept" educational blueprint requested by Commission

This fact can be analogous to Karl Marx's criticism of religion by considering religion to be just opium. Trends in change and the future of Indonesian education can only be seen mechanistically, especially in emphasizing economic problems, market needs and according to development targets. The aim of secular-materialistic education is to produce intelligent people who master science and technology through the general education they follow. But such education has proven to fail to shape students' personalities and mastery of Islamic civilization. The foundation of secular materialism only provides long-term failure and dilemma for the future of Indonesian education.

It must be remembered that as Nurcholish Madjid stated, Dawam expressed it, by quoting John Gardner, an intellectual and Minister of Culture in John F. Kennedy's Cabinet who stated that all the world's great civilizations were always based on religion.[9]

Removing religious phrases in PJP according to Prof. Dr. Haedar Nashir is contrary to Article

31 paragraph (5) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Religion, Pancasila and culture are three interrelated entities. "These three are an important part in strengthening Indonesian education as a public good," said Prof. Dr. Azyumardi Azra, CBU. Therefore, separating religion and state is unconstitutional and ahistorical, said Prof. Dr. Abdul Mu'ti, General Secretary of PP Muhammadiyah[10] Religion has been proven to play an important role in Indonesia's struggle for independence and is constitutionally guaranteed in Article 29 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. Therefore, education, as an important part in building the nation's generation, must pay special attention to religion.

Apart from the loss of the phrase "religion", PJP is also faced with structural interventions that are systemically adapted from benchmarks for secular education systems in other countries. In fact, in the current practice of implementing national education, our education is faced with cultural interventions from various other education systems such as the use of foreign curricula, international standard schools, the opening of foreign schools, and so on. This clearly violates Article 1 of the National Education System Law which states that national education is education based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution which is rooted in religious values, Indonesian national culture and responsive to the demands of changing times. [11]

The direction of education outlined in PJP is different from the concept of tabligh and education in Islam which is in line with the function and goals of national education. Where education in the Islamic concept is universal and comprehensive, which should have no walls separating it.[12] This is demonstrated by basing education on a solid educational philosophy based on divine values (faith, piety, monotheism), not secular, and not dichotomizing religion and science. Because all knowledge leads to one goal, namely to know (ma'rifah) Allah SWT and worship Him.[12]

6.2 Nationalist vs Islamic Faction Conflict

Whether we realize it or not, the formation of ideology is influenced by the needs of its originators and the realities of the time. The existence of political parties cannot be separated from the orientation and perception of the party founders regarding the urgency of ideology as the basis for party movement and work. According to Gabriel A. Almond (1956)[13] religion, ethnicity, profession, and other sociological groupings can be factors in the establishment of political parties. More than that, people's religious orientation will more or less influence their political choices.

In the context of the drafting of the PJP which neglected to include the phrase "religion" in it, it actually has similarities to "ideology and power" which played out in the discussion process of the National Education System Law in 2003. The debate in the discussion of the National Education System Law revolves around whether or not to include "religious" discourse in the Law.[14] In its rejection, PDIP stated that:

"We need a cooling down phase first, to explain the vision and mission of this bill to the public. For him, this issue has gone astray and entered a vulnerable area and could threaten the integrity of the nation, therefore calm is needed to be able to explain things that have already become a conflict," said Roy BB Janis, Chair of the FPDIP Fraction."

In fact, the PDIP's rejection of the discourse of "religion" represents the "ideology and power" that has been practiced by the PDIP or secular nationalist circles. The deletion of the seven words in the first principle of Pancasila was a lobby by PNI figures, Hatta, regarding the issue of rejection or separation from Eastern Indonesia. The same narrative was voiced by President

Megawati Sukarnoputri when opposing the discussion of the National Education System Law. *"If the law is passed, Mega requests that the law be immediately socialized properly. That way, there will be no more rejection because it could trigger the disintegration of the nation. The problem is, various elements of society - especially eastern Indonesia - are threatening to separate themselves from the Republic of Indonesia if the law is passed."*

Genealogically, the PJP policy represents overall government policy, because it was stated in the Limited Cabinet Meeting on June 4 2020 chaired by President Joko Widodo. The absence of the phrase "religion" is an "intentional or political power strategy" which is repeated to confirm the ideological representation and will of the regime's power, which is actually secular.

6.3 Communication Context and Its Influence

In the context of communication or tabligh, there is a theory developed by Andi Faisal Bakti (2004) that communication is related to equal understanding between the sender of the message and the recipient of the message, and what the recipient of the message knows. Devotion[8] states that communication has several stages. First, communication by experts who express their opinions in scientific discussions and speeches. Second, communication is carried out through certain media. Third, communication that has an effect. This concept gave birth to effect theory and satisfaction theory. The first effect theory is that communication has a beneficial effect on the receiver (message recipient). The second effect theory explains that communication not only has a beneficial effect on the recipient but also has a satisfying effect.[2] Fourth, communication is human awareness, resulting in new concepts.

The communication pattern carried out by the secular nationalist regime by eliminating the phrase "religion" in the PJP is a form of opposition to correct information (tabligh) and the voice of the Muslim majority as the general audience receiving messages. The removal or separation of religion from public policy is reflected in efforts to clash religion (Islam) with Pancasila. We can read this from the PJP text page 30 which mentions the term "Pancasila Students" as the new jargon offered to replace the phrase "humans who believe and are devoted to God Almighty". The politics of facing (dichotomous) Islam and Pancasila is an orchestra that is played in the political policies of the Jokowi regime which is famous for the jargon "I am Indonesia, I am Pancasila".

The strong push of the power of secular ideology in eliminating the phrase "religion" is quite clear from the strategy implemented by Nadiem Makarim through the Ministry of Education and Culture with various educational policies that are not based on strengthening a complete and comprehensive educational philosophy in line with the provisions of the National Education System Law, namely being based on the value of religious teachings (iman-taqwa) and national culture (cultural values and national diversity). As implied in the main strategy of Merdeka Belajar which is open to change but not assertive or denying "inner strengthening" for the realization of people who believe and are devout. This strengthening only looks outward, towards the liberalization of other countries' education systems, pragmatism towards economic interests (markets) and technological changes,

7 Conclusion

Ideology and power are a discourse that requires a struggle for meaning and interests. Represents a viewpoint or perspective that is contradictory in reading and interpreting a

discourse. Moreover, this discourse shows the "truth claims" that the ideological political powers in power want to show towards other parties who have different views from them.

The national education discourse and the dichotomy that contrasts secular and religious education is an ideological battle from a Marxist perspective. This struggle shows discursive formations in fighting for ideological interests and the power that supports them. The meaning and analysis developed by one party will strengthen its power, while simultaneously eroding the role and power of the other party. In fact, power always tries to produce the same and repeated discourse to defend and preserve its ideological interests. This can also be seen in the struggle for the phrase "religion" or its opposition in Indonesian political policies, especially in the case of the 2020-2035 Indonesian Education Roadmap.

In reviewing communication and da'wah, the communication strategy demonstrated by the secular nationalist regime as communicator is inappropriate, because it contradicts the communication theory developed by Bakti, that communication is related to equal understanding between the sender of the message and the recipient of the message, and what is known to the recipient of the message. When the message conveyed is contradictory or not in accordance with the aspirations of the audience, the message will fail to be conveyed well, and will even give rise to dissatisfaction, resistance and the birth of a rival message.

Resistance or dissatisfaction with the message conveyed will encourage the audience or communicant to convey "another message" as a form of opposition, counter hegemony, or discursive formation that requires a change in the message conveyed. The removal of the phrase "religion" in the PJP, eliminates trust and gives rise to feelings of being treated unfairly (discrimination), thereby encouraging the public to loudly demand the inclusion of the phrase "religion" in the content of the PJP. In this way, inaccuracies in conveying messages, even though they are ideological, tend to cause commotion and harm to the actor or communicator as the giver of the message to the communicant or audience.

The search for the disappearance of the phrase "religion" in the PJP marks the play of ideology and power of the secular nationalist regime. Genealogically, the removal or elimination of the phrase "religion" is in line with the contestation of secular nationalist power in the erasure of the 7 words of Pancasila or the ratification of Law 20 of 2003 concerning the National Education System. This elimination effort strengthens the ideological roots of Nadiem Makarim as Minister of Education and Culture who drafted the PJP, the PDIP faction and the Jokowi regime as accomplices of the party's power and ideological interests.

The removal of the phrase "religion" means that national education is directed more towards mechanistic changes by relying solely on global technological, social and environmental change trends. A pattern of thinking that may succeed in producing breakthroughs in physical-materialistic progress, but will fail and be devoid of the true nature of humans and the meaning of education itself. The foundation of secular materialism only provides long-term failure and dilemma for the future of Indonesian education.

Education is a mirror of *tabligh* to convey messages of goodness (*amar ma'ruf*) and prevent evil (*nahy munkar*) so that a society and future generations who have faith and knowledge will experience obstacles. The Muslim audience as *khayriyyat al-umma* (exemplary community) will certainly not remain silent and allow the message conveyed to be ideologically contradictory to the religious values and cultural traditions they believe in.

References

- [1] H. Baharun, *Curriculum Development: Theory and Practice*. Yogyakarta: Cantrik Pustaka, 2017.
- [2] G. Branston and R. Stafford, *The Media Student's Book*. London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2003.
- [3] A. Shariati, "Islamic School of Thought and Action," in *Nasrulloh and Afif Muhammad*, Bandung: Mizan, 1992.
- [4] A. Shariati, *Ideology and Intellectuals*, in *Ideology of Intellectuals, An Islamic Insight*. Bandung: Mizan, 1992.
- [5] K. O. Haustein, "Smoking and poverty," *Eur. J. Prev. Cardiol.*, vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 312–318, 2006, doi: 10.1097/01.hjr.0000199495.23838.58.
- [6] M. Y. Roh Jung Ju and T.I.S., "Culinary As a Representation of Nationalism in the Novel Pulang By Leila S," *Chudori. Word J.*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 216–228, 2022, doi: 10.22216/kata.v6i2.860.
- [7] B. Umar, *Islamic Education*. Jakarta: Sinar Graphics Offset, 2010.
- [8] A. F. Bakti, "Building Religious Moderation in a Cross-Cultural Communication Perspective," in *PIM UIN Jakarta*, A. S. Abdallah, Ed. 2021, pp. 49–62,.
- [9] E. Amin, "Bediuzzaman Said Nursi's Da'wah Thoughts," *J. Da'wah Soc. Stud.*, vol. 22, no. 02, pp. 138–155, 2018, doi: <http://journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/dakwah>.
- [10] Research and development, "PP Muhammadiyah Diktilitbang Press Release Regarding Minister of Education and Culture Regulation No." 2021. [Online]. Available: <https://muhammadiyah.or.id/siaran-pers-diktilitbang-pp-muhammadiyah-terkait-permen-dikbudristek-no-30-tahun-2021/>
- [11] P. Eliza, *Final Report of the Legal Analysis and Evaluation Working Group Regarding the National Education System*. Jakarta: Center for National Legal Analysis and Evaluation, National Legal Development Agency, Ministry of Law and Human Rights, 2017.
- [12] H. Hadi, D. Hafidhuddin, A. Husaini, and E. Mujahidin, "No Title," *Natl. Educ. Policy Islam. Educ. Secur. Educ. MIQOT J.*, vol. XL, no. 2, pp. 390–409, 2016.
- [13] G. A. Almond, "Comparative Political Systems," *J. Polit.*, vol. 18, no. 3, pp. 391–409, 1956.
- [14] Armus, "Secretary General of the Indonesian House of Representatives," in *Minutes of the Discussion Meeting on the Bill on the National Education System*, 2003.

Open Access This chapter is licensed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>), which permits any noncommercial use, sharing, adaptation, distribution and reproduction in any medium or format, as long as you give appropriate credit to the original author(s) and the source, provide a link to the Creative Commons license and indicate if changes were made.

The images or other third party material in this chapter are included in the chapter's Creative Commons license, unless indicated otherwise in a credit line to the material. If material is not included in the chapter's Creative Commons license and your intended use is not permitted by statutory regulation or exceeds the permitted use, you will need to obtain permission directly from the copyright holder.

