



# **Accommodating a vision of diversity in different school contexts: “Unity-in-Diversity” in Indonesia**

**Tracey Yani Harjatanaya**

Department of Education  
St Stephen's House College  
University of Oxford

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of  
*Doctor of Philosophy in Education*

**Trinity Term 2019**

# Abstract

## *Accommodating a vision of diversity in different school contexts: “Unity-in-Diversity” in Indonesia*

*Tracey Yani Harjatanaya, St Stephen’s House, Department of Education  
Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education, Trinity Term 2019*

*This thesis explores the ways in which schools accommodate the national vision of a multicultural society, specifically focusing on Indonesia’s national vision of “Bhinneka Tunggal Ika” (Unity-in-Diversity). Employing a multiple-case-study research approach, it examines the ways head teachers, teachers, students, and parents from six state and private schools with different mixes of student ethnicity and religiosity promote this national vision in terms of educational practice. The research considers the perspectives of education stakeholders on the meanings of Unity-in-Diversity and their responses in promoting Unity-in-Diversity in schools and classrooms in contemporary Indonesia, drawing data from observations, interviews, photos, and documentary analysis.*

*Using multicultural education as a conceptual lens, this research finds that promoting religious diversity is key to achieving Unity-in-Diversity in religious and democratic Indonesia, and schools generally have demonstrated some commitment to promoting inter-religious harmony as mandated. Yet, it argues that the discourses of diversity, particularly of religious diversity, continue to be spaces of complex interpretation, rather than settled policy positions. In schools, this process of interpretation is manifested in the school policies, school cultures, and teaching across subjects in classrooms. The strong narratives of religiosity and piety in the current education system, which are found to privilege the dominant religious culture(s), have ramifications in the accommodation of Unity-in-Diversity in practice. In response to the different schools’ demographics, the nuanced accounts regarding the implementation of Unity-in-Diversity suggest the importance of considering identity and power dynamics, positionality, and contextuality in the school accommodation of the vision of diversity.*

*In light of this research, this thesis also presents the usefulness and challenges of applying a theory of multicultural education, which has focused mainly on ethnic and racial diversity, in researching the issue of religious diversity. Based in the largest Muslim country in the world, this thesis offers a critical insight into the complex role of education in the development of an inclusive, religious society.*

# Acknowledgements

Undertaking this DPhil has been a truly life-changing experience for me, and it would not have been possible to get to this point without the support, guidance and encouragement that I received from many people.

I first would like to express my eternal gratitude for the funding received towards my DPhil from the Indonesia Endowment Fund for Education (LPDP). In writing this thesis I have benefited from the advice of many people, especially my supervisors, Dr Nigel Fancourt and Dr David Johnson for their guidance, for reading drafts, and for offering constructive feedback. I have also benefited tremendously from attending the qualitative course run by Dr Emily Murphy, for the learning and critical discussion.

I am very grateful to Dr Chang Yau Hoon for convincing me to pursue the doctoral degree, for inspiring me with his work, and for the collaborative work, in which I gained more confidence in writing academically and critically. Dr Raihani and Dr Lyn Parker whose works in multicultural education in Indonesia have helped me understand the Indonesian education context better, as well as all the authors whom I have made reference to for their intellectual and inspiring works.

My deep appreciation also goes out to Mr Totok Supriyanto, the Head of Curriculum and Research in the Ministry of Education and Culture for the incredible support in this research and for providing a letter of recommendation, making the access to schools easier. Special thanks also to Dr Ni Putu Tirka Widanti and her assistant Surya Jaya for hosting me and helping me schedule the fieldwork in schools in Bali, Indonesia. Special thanks to Sarah Doyle, Thomas Granville, Emma Henkinson for their help in proofreading, Fransisca Kotsasi in editing, Dr Trisna Tungadi and Dorothy Ferary for their most helpful comments of the draft text.

I would also like to thank my college, especially my college tutor, Dr Mark Philpott for the warmth and support throughout my study. To my dearest colleagues in the Department of Education for supporting my interest in this topic, especially Ashmita and Henriette for their valuable inputs on my methodology chapter and Tinya and Inga for their friendship. I am also grateful to my childhood friends in Indonesia – SAINTS and those in Oxford, Birmingham and London who are always so supportive and helpful in numerous ways. Special thanks to Destry and Ibnu, Shendy and Iskandar. And of course a big thank you to all teachers, staff, and students in Sultan Iskandar Muda Educational Foundation for the encouragement and being the biggest source of inspiration. Special thanks to Mrs Finche, Mr Anto, and Mr Edy in the foundation, for the fruitful discussions and for reminding me about the complex reality of educating young Indonesians in multicultural and multi-religious Indonesia.

Last but not least, to Handi, who has been by my side throughout this DPhil, supported me tremendously throughout the process, and without whom, I would not have had the courage to embark on this journey. I would also like to say a heartfelt thank you to my mum, sisters, and brothers for always believing in me and encouraging me to follow my dreams. And to my father, who has been my lifetime role model for inspiring me to work in this field in the first place, for believing in me, and for teaching me about compassion and passion. This thesis is especially dedicated to your hard work and determination to build a more peaceful and just world.

# Table of Contents

<b>Abstract</b>	2
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	3
<b>Table of Contents</b>	5
<b>1 Introduction</b>	9
<b>1.1. Research Background</b>	9
<b>1.2. Research Questions</b>	13
<b>1.3. Outline of Chapters</b>	15
<b>2 Setting the Scene: Indonesian Context</b>	21
<b>2.1. Introduction: About Indonesian Diversity</b>	21
<b>2.2. Constructing the Vision of Unity-in-Diversity</b>	24
2.2.1. <i>Pancasila</i> and the Nationalist Project	25
2.2.2. <i>Bhinneka Tunggal Ika</i> (Unity-in-Diversity): Shifting Meanings and Challenges	32
2.2.3. Legal Framework on Religious Diversity	38
2.2.4. Conservative Islam and Unity-in-Diversity	44
<b>2.3. Unity-in-Diversity in Indonesian Education</b>	50
2.3.1. General Overview of Indonesian Education System	50
2.3.2. Indonesian Dual Education System: Contestation and Coexistence between the Nationalists & Islamists	52
2.3.3. Current Indonesian Policies and Provisions on Diversity	54
2.3.4. Religious Education to Promote Unity-in-Diversity	56
<b>2.4. Character Education and 2013 Curriculum</b>	60
2.4.1. Character Education and Unity-in-Diversity	60
2.4.2. Character Education and 2013 Curriculum	64
<b>2.5. Conclusion</b>	69
<b>3 Theoretical Lens: Multiculturalism and Multicultural Education</b>	71
<b>3.1. Introduction</b>	71
3.1.1. What is Multiculturalism?	74
3.1.2. Criticisms of Multiculturalism	78
<b>3.2. Multicultural Education: Theoretical Perspectives and Issues</b>	85
3.2.1. Historical Development, Definition, Trend and Critiques	85
3.2.2. Religion in Multicultural Education	90
<b>3.3. Multicultural Education in Indonesian Context</b>	97

3.3.1.	Understanding ‘Indonesian National-Multiculturalism’: The Nationalist Project of Unity-in-Diversity	97
3.3.2.	Meaning and Significance of Multicultural Education in Indonesia	99
3.3.3.	Situating Multicultural Education within the National Character Education Framework	104
<b>3.4.</b>	<b>Potential Benefits and Challenges of Implementing Multicultural Education in Schools</b>	<b>108</b>
3.4.1.	Dual Role of Education	109
3.4.2.	School Cultural Contexts: Homogeneous and Heterogeneous Schools	112
3.4.3.	Towards Critical Multicultural Education: Between the ideal and reality	114
<b>3.5.</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>117</b>
<b>4</b>	<b>Research Rationale and Conceptual Framework</b>	<b>119</b>
<b>4.1.</b>	<b>Research Rationale</b>	<b>119</b>
<b>4.2.</b>	<b>Conceptual Frameworks</b>	<b>123</b>
<b>5</b>	<b>Methodology</b>	<b>127</b>
<b>5.1.</b>	<b>Overview of Research Methodology and Research Design</b>	<b>127</b>
<b>5.1.</b>	<b>Qualitative Research Approach and Case Study Method</b>	<b>128</b>
<b>5.2.</b>	<b>The Role of the Pilot School Study</b>	<b>133</b>
<b>5.3.</b>	<b>What is a ‘case’ in this study?</b>	<b>134</b>
5.3.1.	Contexts of Study: Jakarta and Bali	134
5.3.2.	Selecting the Cases: Strategy and School Criteria	138
5.3.3.	The Case: Getting to Know the Schools	143
<b>5.4.</b>	<b>Data Collection</b>	<b>150</b>
5.4.1.	Fieldwork: Access and Ethics	150
5.4.2.	Data Collection Methods and Sources	155
<b>5.5.</b>	<b>Data Analysis</b>	<b>165</b>
5.5.1.	Organising and Managing Data	166
5.5.2.	Generating Themes	167
5.5.3.	Coding the Data	168
5.5.4.	Testing Emergent Understandings and Searching for Alternative Explanations	169
5.5.5.	Writing Up Data Analysis	170
5.5.6.	The Use of CAQDAS: Reflecting on Benefits and Challenges	170
<b>5.6.</b>	<b>Ensuring Research Quality</b>	<b>171</b>
5.6.1.	Language Differences and Translation	171
5.6.2.	Rigor	175
5.6.3.	Researcher’s Positionality	177

<b>6</b>	<b>Making Sense of the Meanings of Unity-in-Diversity Across Schools in Contemporary Indonesia</b>	181
6.1.	<b>Unity-in-Diversity as a Construction of Nationhood</b>	183
6.2.	<b>Unity-in-Diversity as Recognising and Accepting Religious Diversity</b>	194
6.2.1.	Relevance of Religion in Discussing Unity-in-Diversity	194
6.2.2.	The Road to Harmony: ‘Being Religious Means Being Tolerant’	197
6.3.	<b>The Contextual Meanings of Unity-in-Diversity in Schools</b>	200
6.3.1.	Meanings Beyond Religious Diversity	200
6.3.2.	Mapping Multiculturalism Positions	206
6.4.	<b>Relevance and Significance of Unity-in-Diversity in Contemporary Indonesia</b>	211
6.4.1.	Significance for the Minorities	211
6.4.2.	Relevance of Unity-in-Diversity in Education	220
6.5.	<b>Conclusion</b>	222
<b>7</b>	<b>Schools’ Responses to Unity-in-Diversity</b>	225
7.1.	Schools in Jakarta	227
7.1.1.	School 1 Jakarta (State School, Muslim majority)	227
7.1.2.	School 2 Jakarta (State School, Muslim majority)	232
7.1.3.	School 3 Jakarta (Private School, Chinese, non-Muslim majority)	235
7.1.4.	Synthesis: Jakarta case	241
7.2.	Schools in Bali	246
7.2.1.	School 4 Bali (State School, Hindu majority)	246
7.2.2.	School 5 Bali (State School, Hindu majority)	250
7.2.3.	School 6 Bali (Private School, Muslim school)	255
7.2.4.	Synthesis: Bali case	258
7.3.	Accommodating the Vision of Diversity: Contextualised Responses in Jakarta and Bali	262
7.4.	Conclusion	272
<b>8</b>	<b>Teachers’ Pedagogical Responses to Unity-in-Diversity</b>	275
8.1.	<b>Relevance and Significance of Teaching Unity-in-Diversity in Science and Mathematics</b>	276
8.1.1.	Teaching about Diversity in Science and Mathematics: Is it Possible?	276
8.1.2.	Science and Religion	279
8.2.	<b>Relevance and Significance of Teaching Unity-in-Diversity in Social Science</b>	282
8.2.1.	Religious Education: Content, Style, and Purpose	282
8.2.2.	Civic education: What does being Indonesian mean?	289
8.2.3.	Geography: Learning about Cultural Diversity	294
8.2.4.	History: Learning from the Past	297

8.2.5.	Sociology: Between theories and practices	301
<b>8.3.</b>	<b>Relevance and Significance of Teaching Unity-in-Diversity in Languages and Cultural Arts</b>	<b>305</b>
8.3.1.	Indonesian as the National Identity	305
8.3.2.	Local-Content Subjects: Mandarin, Cultural Arts and Other Specific Subjects	308
<b>8.4.</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>315</b>
<b>9</b>	<b>Discussion</b>	<b>319</b>
<b>9.1.</b>	<b>Accommodating the vision of Unity-in-Diversity in Different School Contexts</b>	<b>320</b>
9.1.1.	Unity-in-Diversity in Schools: Complex and Contextualised Meanings and Responses	320
9.1.2.	Unity-in-Diversity: Constructing National Identity	323
9.1.3.	Promoting Religious Diversity in Schools: Religious Education for all?	326
9.1.4.	Thinking about Educational Priorities in Schools	331
<b>9.2.</b>	<b>Usefulness of Multicultural Education as a Framework to Promote Diversity in Multicultural Societies</b>	<b>333</b>
9.2.1.	Religion in Multicultural Education and Multiculturalism in Religious Education	333
9.2.2.	Re-thinking Pedagogical Approaches in Critical Multicultural Education	336
<b>10</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>338</b>
	<b>REFERENCES</b>	<b>347</b>
	<b>APPENDICES</b>	<b>371</b>
	<b>Appendix 1 CUREC Approval</b>	<b>372</b>
	<b>Appendix 2 Interview Schedule for Head Teachers and Teachers</b>	<b>373</b>
	<b>Appendix 3 Interview Schedule for Parents</b>	<b>374</b>
	<b>Appendix 4 Student Focus Group Discussion Schedule</b>	<b>375</b>
	<b>Appendix 5 Coding framework</b>	<b>377</b>
	<b>Appendix 6 Analytical Framework</b>	<b>383</b>
	<b>Appendix 7 Coder's instruction</b>	<b>384</b>

# 1 Introduction

## 1.1. Research Background

*Current research interests are always the result of complex interactions between various prior interest and accidents of personal histories* (Walford, 2001:99)

In agreement with Walford, the choice of topic for this thesis has indeed been influenced by my personal and professional experiences of living in Indonesia as a member of an ethnic and religious minority (Chinese Buddhist) and working in the field of education and diversity. Being raised by an activist father, who set up a school with a vision to foster diversity, I have naturally grown up in an environment where the issues of majority-minority tensions, inequality and discrimination, as well as struggle and negotiation, were frequently discussed around the family dinner table. At a later stage in my life, my interest in accommodating and fostering diversity in education was also solidified by my experiences of teaching at my father's school and managing it with a view to achieving two main missions: eradicate poverty and promote peaceful coexistence through education. As a Board member in the school "Yayasan Perguruan Sultan Iskandar Muda" in North Sumatra, Indonesia, I have learned about the potential benefits and challenges of promoting diversity in an ethnically, religiously, culturally, and socially diverse school on a daily basis – aspects of education that this thesis aims to further elicit. What started as pragmatic discussions about education and diversity in the family and professional circles have gradually evolved into an academic interest in learning more about how to build a peaceful and egalitarian society through education.

This academic endeavour first started with my Master's project in 2011, which focused on the role of education in promoting positive inter-ethnic relations between the Chinese and non-Chinese communities in Indonesia (Harjatanaya, 2011); it was later published in an article co-authored with Dr Chang Yau Hoon (Harjatanaya & Hoon,

2020). Over the years, I have also engaged in various projects in the field of education and diversity, including an edited book project which presents a combination of academic and pedagogical accounts of implementing multicultural education at school and at classroom level, using the Sultan Iskandar Muda school as a detailed case study (Harjatanaya, 2015). The current thesis is an attempt to extend my prior academic work, which mainly focused on the issue of ethnicity (particularly Chinese Indonesians), by considering religious diversity in education, set in the contemporary multireligious Indonesia.

This personal endeavour of exploring ways to promote diversity in education is also strengthened, if not heavily driven, by a growing concern as an educator over the current social and political climate, not only in Indonesia, but also worldwide. Looking inward, Indonesia, as one of the most culturally diverse countries in the world, has been viewed as a tolerant Muslim country that embraces and celebrates differences. This is because, despite being the largest Muslim country in the world, Indonesia is not an Islamic state and does not implement Shari'a law nationally (Seo, 2012). The democratic state recognises religious diversity and protects the rights of non-Muslims to practice their religions. This acceptance of diversity is set out in the preamble to the 1945 Constitution, the national philosophy of *Pancasila* (The Five Principles) and the national motto of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity-in-Diversity). However, while the state was founded on diversity and diversity has been appreciated as the national asset, contributing to the overall national development, the discourses and the accommodation of diversity in various spheres have continued to be spaces of interpretation in contemporary democratic Indonesia. In the past decade, annual reports released by various high-profile Indonesian institutions have highlighted some alarming recurrent issues of intolerance and violence (e.g. Bagir, Hefner, & Ali-fauzi, 2014; Indonesian Ministry of Religion, 2015, 2016; The

Wahid Institute, 2014). These include the forced closure and destruction of places of worship of religious minority groups (e.g. Hamdani, 2012; Wijaya, 2016, 2017), attacks against the Shi'a and Ahmadi minorities and the LGBT community by the hard-line Islamic groups (e.g. Bagir et al., 2011; Burhani, 2014; Siregar, 2018), and the gradual growth of radicalisation and conservative Islam in Indonesia (e.g. Afrianty, 2012; Arifianto, 2018; Bruinessen, 2013; Lestari, 2016)

Indonesia is by no means alone in facing a plethora of issues arising from differences. From the neighbouring countries of Malaysia and Singapore, as well as India, Korea, and China, other countries in the East have also faced challenges in creating a sense of social cohesion among the multi-faceted diversity of their people (e.g. Goh, 2017; Ibrahim, 2007; Joshee, 2004; Salili & Hoosain, 2006; Thio, 2005; Zenz, 2019). In many Western countries, the wave of immigration post World-War II has contributed to the introduction of multicultural policies to address issues of inequality and manage the increasingly diverse societies (Ashcroft & Bevir, 2018). In the past decade, the rise of Islamophobia as a response to the concerns over extremist movements in the US, UK, Australia and other countries, especially in the aftermath of 9/11 and 7/7 has also affected the social, cultural, political and religious landscape (BBC News UK, 2019c; Field, 2007; Rod Gardner, Karakaşoğlu, & Luchtenberg, 2008; O'Brien, 2016). Reports of the surge of hate crimes post-Trump election in the US and Brexit in the UK (Choi, 2019; Weaver, 2018), where divisive rhetoric was heavily present and arguably often politicised, further indicate the pervasive nature of the issue of diversity in the globalised world at present.

As societies are becoming increasingly diverse, the main question now no longer concerns how to live *with* diversity, but *in* diversity (Antonsich, 2016; Antonsich & Matejskova, 2015). The use of "*in*" here suggests that diversity is no longer an option, rather it is a reality of all contemporary societies that needs to be embraced. The urgent

call for global action and commitment to build a just and inclusive world through education is manifested in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Developmental Goals (SDGs). The distinguished role of education in cultivating more open-minded, inclusive global citizens is also observed in the recently developed PISA 2018 Global Competence framework by OECD (2018:4). Recognising that schools are a microcosm of society and a complex system that is made up of individuals with different powers and statuses in different contexts has led many to scrutinise how schools prepare young people to respect and accept differences as well as live in multicultural societies.

There has been some evidence in the literature showing the positive role schools play in promoting peaceful coexistence (e.g. Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Hilker, 2011; Smith, McCandless, Paulson, & Wheaton, 2011) and countering religious extremism (e.g. Ghosh, Chan, Manuel, & Dilimulati, 2017), although at the same time, the same academics and others have warned of their potential to also contribute to conflict and perpetuate social injustices (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Davies, 2004; Gallagher, 2004; Hilker, 2011). One of the factors determining the effectiveness of educational institutions in promoting diversity is argued to be the demographic characters of the school (e.g. Hayes, McAllister, & Dowds, 2007, 2013; Hoon, 2013; Raihani, 2011). In general, heterogeneous schools are claimed to have been a more nurturing environment in promoting diversity than homogeneous schools, because the latter is deemed to be more culturally exclusive. However, some studies have argued that culturally homogeneous schools, including faith schools, can still promote diversity (Baidhaw, 2007; Hoon, 2014; Naim & Sauqi, 2010; Raihani, 2012a, 2014c). How do schools as complex systems create unity within the reality of diversity? Are there differences in the way schools in different contexts respond to the issues of diversity, particularly religious diversity and thus accommodate diversity? If so, in what way and what drives the different responses?

It is against this backdrop of the marked role of education in building harmonious multicultural communities in different religious and cultural contexts that this thesis is situated.

## **1.2. Research Questions**

Focusing on the case of multi-religious Indonesia, this thesis attempts to answer this overarching research question, ‘**How do schools with different religious and cultural settings accommodate the national vision of “Unity-in-Diversity”?**’ Three specific research questions are proposed to guide the research:

1. *What does “Unity-in-Diversity” mean to schools in contemporary Indonesia?*
2. *How do schools with different religious and cultural settings realise “Unity-in-Diversity”?*
3. *What are teachers’ pedagogical responses to the obligation of promoting “Unity-in-Diversity”?*

To set out a clear direction of this thesis, I wish to clarify three complex terms used often throughout the chapter, including in the thesis title and research questions. The first one is the term “school”; the meaning of which is often taken for granted as it is a concept known widely as an institution where formal education takes place. However, this thesis defines school as more than just a bounded, physical space where teachers teach, and students learn. It is described as a space where different stakeholders, such as policy makers, head teachers, non-teaching staff, parents, and local communities, with different power, functions, views, and expectations interact and construct meanings together (Kostoulas, 2018). School also becomes a place where educational policy is enacted by educational actors, although often with adjustments; a process which is not always linear and arguably complex (Ball, 2015). Recognising this complexity, this thesis treats each school as an individual case and defines it as a complex, dynamic system that is not absent from power struggles and inequalities.

The second one is the term “accommodate”. Educators who are familiar with the work of Piaget (Piaget, 1972) may immediately think of accommodation as one of the cognitive developmental stages (Block, 1982), but this is not how the thesis uses the term. Rather it is used in accordance with the two definitions in English; accommodation as lodgings or a place to stay as well as assistance and adjustment. The term accommodation here is suitably used to signify the provision of a safe space where people from various backgrounds can interpret the term ‘Unity-in-Diversity’ according to their own convictions. Second, it refers to a form of acceptance and adjustment of the vision of diversity, which is often used in the field of multiculturalism. In this thesis, accommodation is therefore used specifically to follow these two uses: “accommodating students’ religious needs” by making school a safe space for students to express their religious identity and “accommodating the vision of diversity” by adjusting the implementation of Unity-in-Diversity according to the schools’ contexts. The analysis of school accommodation involves the examination of school policies, school provisions (specifically regarding religious education), school culture, and classroom teaching.

The third one is related to the term “diversity”. There are many forms of diversity, but this thesis focuses on religious diversity. The decision to focus on religious diversity was not predetermined. Rather, it transpired after the fieldwork, where religion was viewed as the core social construct to achieve the Unity-in-Diversity in the context of multireligious Indonesia. This does not mean that other types of diversity are not important or that they are absent from the discussion because they are important and they are present, but they often interact with religion. It is worth emphasising here that while religious diversity takes the centre stage in this thesis, where applicable, the thesis will also comment on how other types of diversity, such as ethnicity, caste, and gender, can shape the vision of diversity.

### **1.3. Outline of Chapters**

Following this chapter in which I introduce the research, Chapter 2 comprises contextual information about Indonesia – the country in which this research is set. It starts with an introduction to the country’s demography and cultural profile before scrutinising the construction of the vision of Unity-in-Diversity through the study of the law, legislation, policies, and political rhetoric. I discuss the significance of *Pancasila* and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* as the two important pillars to Indonesian nationhood and national commitment to diversity by delving into the complex interpretations of the meaning of these two concepts in response to the ambivalent nationalist-Islamist and majority-minority discourses. Some key challenges to the implementation of Unity-in-Diversity, particularly in achieving intra- and inter-religious harmony in contemporary democratic Indonesia are discussed in relation to the legal framework and the rise of conservative Islam. I then give an overview of the Indonesian education system, discuss the historical development of the Indonesian dual education system, and peruse current educational policies and the provision of religious education. The last part of the chapter entails an analytical examination of how discourses of religiosity, nationalism and Unity-in-Diversity play out in Indonesian education and are enacted into practices, especially within the current 2013 curriculum and national character education agenda.

In chapter 3, I begin by explaining why I have chosen to conceptualise this thesis using a multiculturalist approach and opt for the term “accommodation”. In the first two sections, I describe the historical development of multiculturalism and multicultural education, define their meanings, and consider the criticisms of them before discussing the emergent study of religion in multicultural education. The third section, which is comprised of three parts, focuses on putting into context the conceptualisation and implementation of multicultural education in Indonesia. Within this section, I first

establish the intertwined relationship between multiculturalism and nationalism, arguing that Indonesian nationalism carries multicultural meanings, especially in the post-1998 reform era, and it is the main element in the formation of a national character that embraces “Unity-in-Diversity”. I then move on to critically examine the meaning and significance of multicultural education in Indonesia and specifically propound the relevance of including religion in conceptualising Indonesian multicultural education due to its significance as an identity marker in the Indonesian context (Baidhawiy, 2007; Hoon, 2017; Parker & Hoon, 2013; Raihani, 2014b). On account of the government’s recent agenda of strengthening character education as an integral part of the 2013 Curriculum (Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, 2017d), the third part of this section explores the usefulness of multicultural education in thinking about the promotion of values relevant to diversity. How this is embedded in the character education framework to achieve the envisioned ‘Unity-in- Diversity’ will be explored. In the last section, I critically enquire into the potentials and challenges of implementing multicultural education, drawing arguments from three perspectives: the dual role of education (positive and negative), the different school cultural contexts (homogeneous and heterogeneous), and the ideal-reality discrepancy.

In Chapter 4, I deliberate the rationale of conducting this research and highlight its contribution toward academia, research, education, policy, and practice. I then present the three conceptual frameworks: Kincheloe & Steinberg's (1997) taxonomy of multiculturalism, Banks’ five dimensions of multicultural education (e.g. Banks, 2009, 2010; Banks & Banks, 2010) and Raihani’s theory of the six elements of multicultural education (e.g. Raihani, 2011, 2014b) – all of which underpin the development of my own approach in the thesis.

In Chapter 5, I delineate and clarify the methodology employed in this research, including the rationale behind the use of a qualitative research approach and case study method; the definition of the case; the sampling selection (provinces and school sites); the data collection methods and sources; and the data analysis process. Ethical considerations, the issues of validity, reliability, and generalisability in relation to language differences, my positionality, and discussion about my dual identity as an “insider” and “outsider” in this ethnically and religiously sensitive research are also reflected upon, as they capture the nuances behind various methodological decisions.

In Chapter 6, I unpack the nuanced narratives and discourses of Unity-in-Diversity in contemporary Indonesia, especially those in relation to education. This is done through the analysis of the multiple voices of educational stakeholders such as head teachers, teachers, students, and parents across six school cases, as well as examining observation notes and photos. I then situate them within the national character education framework. To help make sense of the complex findings, I consider two levels of analysis (school and individual level) and use four emerging themes such as (a) construction of nationhood, (b) recognising and accepting religious diversity, (c) varied, contextualised meanings at different schools, and (d) relevance and significance in education in contemporary Indonesia. I begin the chapter by discussing the place of Unity-in-Diversity as a symbol of nationhood and national identity, with schools and teachers viewed as important agents in instilling this sense of nationhood. Next, I analyse the type(s) of diversity to which participants allude when thinking about Unity-in-Diversity, and I review the influence of the contextual differences (religious, ethnic, and cultural) and the majority-minority power relations in constructing the individual’s interpretations of the meanings of multiculturalism and thence approaches taken to multicultural education. Using Kincheloe and Steinberg’s (1997) taxonomy of multiculturalism, I attempt to map the

pattern of multiculturalist positions espoused by the participants. In the last section of the chapter, I examine the relevance and significance of Unity-in-Diversity in contemporary Indonesia.

Having explored the perspectives of education stakeholders regarding the meanings of Unity-in-Diversity in Chapter 6, Chapter 7 presents the schools' responses in accommodating the envisioned meanings at institutional level. In doing so, I draw upon the theory of multicultural education (Banks, 2009b; Raihani, 2014b) to analyse the schools' visions and policies alongside school culture and aim to find out the extent to which they accommodate the national vision of diversity. As the chapter is about schools' responses, where schools are treated as complex, contextual cases, the first and second sections of the chapter present an overview of six individual schools, grouped as Jakarta schools and Balinese schools to familiarise readers with each case. They contain reviews of the school's vision and mission statements, school policies on uniforms, provision of religious education (specifically for religious minorities), as well as school culture. At the end of each section, a synthesis of findings for each case group is added to tease out similarities and differences between the responses of schools in Jakarta and Bali to the obligation of implementing Unity-in-Diversity in the institutions. The last section of the chapter discusses analysis from cross-comparison of the school responses between those in Jakarta and Bali in relation to the local contexts. By treating Jakarta and Bali as cases within Indonesia, this research aims to demonstrate the influence of local values, cultures, and policies in the accommodation of the vision of diversity in schools.

In Chapter 8, the teachers' pedagogical responses in promoting Unity-in-Diversity are discussed from the multicultural education lens. I probe the teachers' narratives regarding the promotion of Unity-in-Diversity in their respective subjects, mainly focusing on the teachers' interpretations of their role in teaching the subjects, as well as opportunities and challenges in promoting multicultural values under the 2013 curriculum and character education agenda. To give a systematic structure, this chapter is divided into three sections, corresponding to the three categories of subjects taught by teacher participants, which are: sciences and maths; social sciences and religious education; and language and cultural arts. A synthesis of findings from cross-subject comparison is inserted at the end of the chapter.

In the penultimate chapter, I reflect on the findings in Chapter 6, 7 and 8 and revisit the literature to consolidate answers to the overarching research question posed earlier in this introductory chapter. I further scrutinise the complex and multiple interpretations and manifestations of Unity-in-Diversity in schools. I particularly highlight the varying commitment of teachers in promoting Unity-in-Diversity at school and classroom, while problematising the lack of conscious and systematic efforts at implementing critical multicultural education in both homogeneous and heterogeneous schools. I then discuss the privileging of majority cultures in schools, which is linked to the students' religious demography and the accommodation, negotiation, and compromise made by members of religious majority and minority groups to live harmoniously in a dynamic, multi-religious society. I also consider the usefulness of multicultural education as a conceptual framework for researching education and diversity, specifically religious diversity in a multi-religious setting like Indonesia. I end the chapter by pondering the overall educational priorities within schools, juxtaposing the

state and parental expectations and pressure on the school in reaching academic goals alongside the cultivation of good character traits, such as respect toward differences.

In the concluding chapter, I summarise the thesis and put forward several recommendations for educational stakeholders – local and national government, policy makers, schools, teachers, and other relevant parties. I then elaborate on the various implications of this research, especially for the conceptualisation of multicultural education research in the context of Indonesia and in the wider field of education and diversity. Finally, I offer recommendations for future research.

## 2 Setting the Scene: Indonesian Context

### 2.1. Introduction: About Indonesian Diversity

Indonesia is the fourth most populous country in the world, after China, India and the USA, with a population of approximately 261 million in 2017, spread over thirty-four provinces (Indonesian Statistical Bureau, 2018). Having approximately 17,000 islands, Indonesia is the largest archipelagic country in the world (see Image 2.1 for the map of Indonesia).



Image 2.1 Map of Indonesia (Source: <http://www.freeworldmaps.net/asia/indonesia/indonesia-map-political-big.jpg>)

In terms of culture, Indonesia is one of the most culturally and linguistically diverse countries in the world, comprising more than 300 ethnocultural backgrounds with hundreds of local languages. *Bahasa Indonesia* as the national language is used to unite the multi-lingual, multicultural citizens. Within the hundreds of identified ethnic groups, 31 different groups are statistically recorded by the Indonesian Statistical Bureau (2011a). Nationally, Javanese is the largest ethnic group in Indonesia with 40% of the population, followed by Sundanese (15.5%) and Bataknese (3.6%).

Indonesia is also home to the largest Muslim population in the world, with 87.2% of Indonesia's citizens embracing Islam, i.e. 207 million people in 2011<sup>1</sup>. Despite the large number of Muslims and the crucial role of Islam and Muslim leaders in the country ever since pre-Independence, Indonesia does not implement Shari'a law nationally, except in the Special Region of Aceh. Indonesia is not an Islamic state since 'Islam is neither instituted as the basis of the state in the constitution nor as a sole state religion' (Seo, 2012:1047). Instead, the nation was established upon the principle of diversity through the promulgation of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity-in-Diversity) as the national motto which guides all policies and practices.

Apart from Islam, the state officially recognises five other religions: Protestantism (7%), Catholicism (2.9%), Hinduism (1.7%), Buddhism (0.7%) and Confucianism (0.05%) (Indonesian Statistical Bureau, 2011a). In Indonesia, Christianity is officially distinguished into Protestantism and Catholicism, and these are regarded as separate religions. However, it should be noted that in official documents (such as in the population census report by the Indonesian Statistics Bureau, 2011a) and in daily practice, the term '*Protestan*' (Protestantism) and '*Kristen*' (Christianism) are either used interchangeably or together '*Kristen Protestan*' (Christian Protestantism). To avoid confusion and follow the national standard of religious categorisation in Indonesia, I have chosen to use '*Protestan*' (Protestantism) throughout this document to differentiate it from Catholic Christianity.

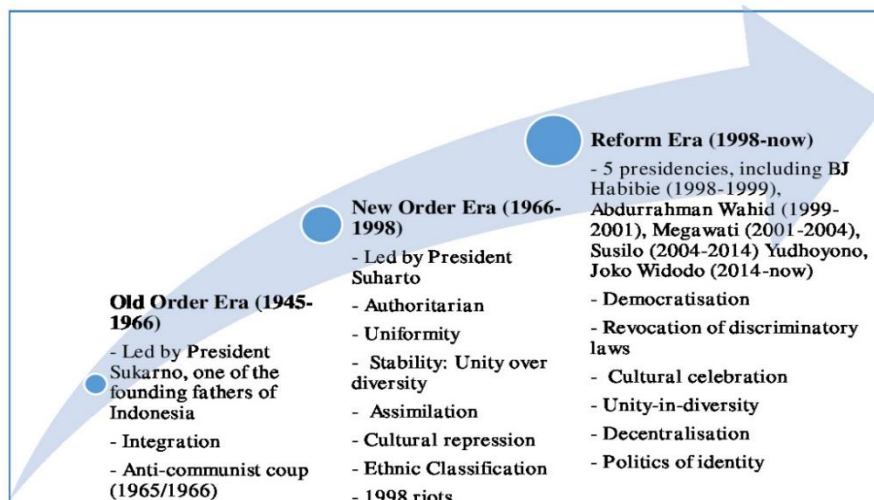
---

<sup>1</sup> The most recent statistical data on the 2017 Indonesian population census (Indonesian Statistical Bureau, 2018) does not include religious and ethnic composition. Thus, I use the 2010 census (Indonesian Statistical Bureau, 2011)

As a state, Indonesia adopts a republic form of government including an elected legislature and president. Since the proclamation of Independence on the 17th August 1945, Indonesia has been led by 7 presidents divided into three periods of political phases: Old Order (1945-1966, also known as Sukarno era), New Order (1966-1998, also known as Suharto era) and reformation era (from 1998-now). Key characteristics of these three marked political eras, pertinent to the issue of diversity are briefly summarised in Image 2.2. The summary was made for the purpose of familiarising the readers with the historical development of Indonesian politics. This familiarity is useful to comprehend the sections which follow, particularly regarding the nuances behind the continuously contested meanings of “Unity-in-Diversity” and the state management of issues of diversity. It is worth noting here that this summary only contains a simplified overview of Indonesian politics, which is developed based on a review of limited relevant literature. The description therefore does not capture fully the nuanced and fluid dynamics of the Indonesian social and political situation, and so it is important to treat it with caution.

*Image 2.2 Indonesian Political Eras and the General Characteristics*

(developed based on references to numerous sources (Heryanto, 1998; Prasetyo, 2005; Hoon, 2008; Nordholt, 2008; Suryadinata, 2010; Kuipers & Yulaelawati, 2011; Raihani, 2014)



## 2.2. Constructing the Vision of Unity-in-Diversity

The crux of the problem within the study of Indonesian diversity has always been about how democratic Indonesia accommodates and promotes the multifaceted concept of diversity in all spheres of society. This is because despite being founded on the principle of diversity, cases of intolerances towards different types of minority groups persist (particularly religious minority), which contribute to the difficult relationship between the majority and minority groups (Colbran, 2010; The Wahid Institute, 2014). This problem is further complicated by the persistent influence of Muslim groups in the democratic Indonesian society, particularly in shaping the social and religious life of its citizens.

To understand better how the vision of Unity-in-Diversity is constructed in Indonesia, this section propounds the analysis of the legal framework for ensuring equality and freedom of cultural and religious expression. It focuses on *Pancasila* and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* as the two important national pillars of Indonesia and other legislation that are linked to religious practices. Issues related to the contestation between nationalist and Islamist discourses, the changing nature of Indonesian Islam, and the synthesis of nationalist-religious (nationalist-Islam) political and social narratives in the last decade which describe the rise of conservative Islam in Indonesia are outlined. Their implications to the rhetoric of diversity and construction of the vision of Unity-in-Diversity in Indonesia at large are also considered.

### 2.2.1. *Pancasila* and the Nationalist Project

When discussing the concept of diversity in Indonesia, it is imperative to talk about it in relation to the national philosophy *Pancasila* (Five Principles). These Principles refer to (1) belief in the oneness of God, (2) humanitarianism, (3) Indonesian unity, (4) representative democracy, and (5) social justice. Out of the five principles, the first principle has arguably been the most contested for its vague meaning in relation to the overarching vision of a democratic and diverse nation (Iskandar, 2016; Seo, 2012). It states the significance of religion in Indonesian society clearly, but the monotheistic phrase of ‘one Almighty God’ left many citizens confused since Indonesia officially recognises 6 religions, namely Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Confucianism. One may then ponder if this ‘one God Almighty’ refers to the Islamic God *Allah*, bearing in mind the majority of the Indonesian population are Muslims. If it is not, one might then ask how this national philosophy guides the accommodation of multi-religious practices in a multi-religious Indonesia. To better understand this quandary, it is important to go back to the historical process of its formation and make sense of why this sole religious statement was inserted and why it was worded this way.

Leading up to the independence of Indonesia on the 17<sup>th</sup> August 1945, the Indonesian Investigating Committee for Preparatory Work for Independence (BPUPKI) was set up in March 1945 by the authorities within the Japanese military during their occupation to prepare for the independence of Indonesia (Bagir et al., 2014). The appointed members (comprised of mainly Indonesian leaders from different ethnic and religious backgrounds as well as some Japanese) worked together to produce a draft constitution and discussed the ideological basis which would be fitting for Indonesia to become an independent republic (Fogg, 2012). Both Islamist and secular nationalist leaders who played a major role in the struggle for independence had ideological

differences in the establishment of Indonesia (Mujiburrahman, 2006; Seo, 2012). As a country with the world's largest Muslim population, the Islamist leaders believed that Indonesia should adopt Shari'a law as the ideology, whereas the secular nationalist group which comprised of both devout Muslims and non-Muslims wanted the state ideology to include all religious groups (Na'im, 2008).

This ideological division was the reason why the drafting of the Pancasila and the Constitution involved a team representing both parties in order to bring together these disparate viewpoints. Between March and August 1945, different versions of *Pancasila* as part of the Constitution had been proposed by the members of the BPUPKI. The Islamist-nationalists proposed a version named The Jakarta Charter, which included what is popularly identified as “the seven words” in the first principle, delineating an obligation for Muslims to abide by Shari'a law – “Belief in God with the obligation to carry out the Islamic Shari'a for Muslim adherents” (Fogg, 2012; Hefner, 2013). After intense back and forth negotiations between the Islamist and secular nationalist leaders who came from different ethnic and religious backgrounds, the founding fathers of Indonesia, Sukarno and Mohammad Hatta decided to leave aside “the seven words” and finalised the first principle as “Belief in the Oneness of God” (Hefner, 2013). This was due to objection from the non-Muslim leaders who predominantly resided in the Eastern part of Indonesia (Mujiburrahman, 2006). Fearing societal disintegration, Sukarno and Hatta acting as the first President and vice President of the newly independent Indonesia, proclaimed *Pancasila* and the 1945 Constitution as the new Indonesian ideology in order to accommodate the various forms of diversity, particularly religious diversity. This complex process of the formation of *Pancasila* and the 1945 Constitution demonstrates the dynamic relationship between the nationalist and Islamist groups and the majority and

minority in Indonesia even then. The provenance of *Pancasila* has continued to be a point of political contention as well as negotiation until today (Mujiburrahman, 2006).

Despite serving as an inclusive philosophical foundation to guide all of Indonesian society, the presence of *Pancasila* is claimed to have ‘lost its near hegemonic authority’ (Nordholt, 2008:2) due to a prolonged course of abuse and manipulation by the New Order government (Hoon, 2017). Many scholars and activists have argued that Suharto’s interpretation of *Pancasila* was antithetical to the original spirit of *Pancasila*, asserting that ‘the spirit of pluralism that the national ideology was created to espouse became instead the main tool of an oppressive authoritarian regime’ (Hoon, 2017:2). *Pancasila* was redefined to meet the regime’s political aspiration which was dominated by a discourse of assimilation rather than diversity. In education, *Pancasila* was introduced as a compulsory subject and disseminated in schools and universities as part of civic education. It was used to be ‘merely indoctrination by the government to create loyal, nationalist citizens’ (Raihani, 2014a:30).

After the collapse of Suharto’s regime, *Pancasila* was subject to a public backlash due to it being exploited as a tool to justify the violent acts against those who were viewed as “*anti-Pancasila*” during the New Order (Hoon, 2017). Over the course of time, the name civic education has transformed from “Civic Education” (between 1968-1975) to “*Pancasila* Moral Education” (1975/1976-1984), where the subject had a heavy leaning towards Suharto’s iconic subject of P4 “*Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila*” (Guidelines for Understanding and Implementing Pancasila). This further changed to “*Pancasila* and Civic Education” (1984-1994) and has continued to oscillate between “Civic Education” and “*Pancasila* and Civic Education” during the reformation era (1998-now). This alternating interpretation of the subject shows clearly the ongoing struggle within the state in (re)interpreting and (re)constructing the meaning and

significance of *Pancasila* through education as a whole and primarily citizenship education within Indonesian society (Nurdin, 2015).

The supremacy of *Pancasila* as the unifying state ideology has been challenged by a wave of religious, ethnic and regional identity politics (Nordholt, 2008), which thrived in post-Suharto era. Understanding that the process of democratisation and decentralisation can threaten the place of *Pancasila* as the crux Indonesian ideology and fragment Indonesian unity, many state leaders, including the incumbent President Joko Widodo (also known as Jokowi) have acted to adjust the role of *Pancasila* as the national guiding philosophy (Nurita, 2019). These threats are illustrated by the rejection of national symbols, including *Pancasila*, the pervasiveness of pro-caliphate propaganda, which is promoted by radical Islamist groups across Indonesia (Affan, 2017; BBC News Indonesia, 2016b; Burhani, 2017; Nurdin, 2015), and the occurrence of intolerance cases, especially against minority groups (Bagir, Ahnaf, Tahun, & Asyhari, 2013; Bagir et al., 2014; Indonesian Ministry of Religion, 2016; The Wahid Institute, 2014).

President Jokowi as the head of state since 2014 has at least taken three direct steps to rectify the situation. First, he announced that the 1<sup>st</sup> of June was to be a national holiday to commemorate the Birth of *Pancasila* Day starting from the year 2017. This was legally set out in the Presidential Decree Number 24/2016. Through this affirmation, the President endeavoured to urge the society to fully embrace Indonesian diversity and come together as one (The Jakarta Post, 2017a). Second, governed by the Presidential Regulation Number 54/2017, the President established a Presidential Work Unit for the Development of *Pancasila* Ideology. This was in order to formulate the general policy direction for the fostering of *Pancasila* as well as to carry out coordination, synchronisation, and control of the development of a comprehensive and sustainable ideology of *Pancasila*. Third, the President issued the regulation in lieu of law (Perppu)

No.2/2017 to disband Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia (HTI), an Islamic organisation believed to aspire to establish a global Islamic caliphate. Activities of HTI were deemed to contradict the principles of *Pancasila*, the Constitution of Indonesia and Indonesian unity and diversity (Burhani, 2017; Erdianto, 2017). The naming of a hard-line cleric, Habib Rizieq, who is the chairman of the Islamic Defenders' Front (FPI), as a suspect for allegedly insulting *Pancasila* and defaming President Sukarno also sent a strong message that the government was taking serious steps to fight against radicalisation and ideological change, although the case was eventually dropped due to the lack of evidence (Aji, 2018).

Even though President Jokowi's actions to protect the sovereignty of *Pancasila* have been appreciated by many, some people have contended that the decision to limit religious activism could undermine the spirit of democracy and diversity (Iskandar, 2016). Moreover, the Perppu No.2/2017 which prohibits any mass organisation to 'abuse, defame, or blaspheme any religion adhered to in Indonesia' may be misused by the government and other religious organisations to ban religious minorities, such as Ahmadiyya and Shi'a, whose teachings have been considered deviant from those of mainstream Muslims, and to oppress any organisation opposing the government (Burhani, 2017:15). Some have also seen such restrictions of freedom of expression combined with the emphasis of *Pancasila* narratives as early signs of the possible resurgence of the New Order's discourses, which are characterised by the manipulation and indoctrination of *Pancasila*. Others have also pointed out how the historical birth of *Pancasila* retained a link with the alienation of Islamic political aspirations (The Jakarta Post, 2017a) and thus the use of *Pancasila* and diversity rhetoric as Jokowi's main "political weapon" during his campaign in the recent presidential election could be considered an effort to suppress Islamist movements.

In the speech commemorating the “Birth of *Pancasila*” day in 2016, Jokowi also emphasised the importance of upholding and implementing values of *Pancasila* as an ideological fortress to counter acts of terrorism and extremism (BBC News Indonesia, 2016b). Indeed, Indonesia has seen a surge in home-grown Islamist militancy after the occurrence of numerous high-profile terrorist attacks over the last two decades in various regions. These attacks include, but are not limited to, the deadliest one in 2002 in Bali taking the lives of more than 200 people (Whiteman, 2012); various attacks in the capital of Indonesia, Jakarta – the most recent major one was in 2016 (BBC News UK, 2016a); and the latest ones in three churches and a police station in the second largest city of Indonesia, Surabaya in May 2018 (BBC News UK, 2018; Hincks, 2018). The targets of the various attacks range from Westerners, to national and foreign government officials to worshippers in churches. Most of the perpetrators had links to the international militant groups, including the Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) and Islamic State (IS) (Counter Extremism Project, 2018). The Surabaya suicide bombings captured special attention from the media as the perpetrators were families comprising fathers, mothers, and children, alerting the public that these militias had penetrated home territory.

Since the 2000s, the Indonesian government across various administrations have demonstrated strong national and international commitment to combat terrorism and extremism. This commitment can be observed in the recent approval of the contentious counter-terrorism act in 2018 by members of the parliament (e.g. Diela, 2018) and the role of Indonesia in convening various counter-terrorism conferences (for a summary please refer to the report by the Counter Extremism Project, 2018). The commitment to fight against terrorism is also present within the education system, since educational institutions and student organisations have often been seen as a fertile site to foster radical thinking and indoctrinate young Muslims to become religious extremists in Indonesia

(Afrianty, 2012; Tan, 2011). More on how de-radicalisation policy is linked to the development of nationalism, diversity and religiosity within Indonesian education is discussed later in Section 2.4.1.

Fast forward to today, 74 years since *Pancasila* was first promulgated as the state ideology, the interpretation of how *Pancasila* should be implemented is still overwhelmed with contention. Over the course of 74 years, Islamist groups are reported to have continually made considerable efforts to gain support in order to revive the Jakarta Charter and implement Islamic law in Indonesia. The most prominent and contentious one in the last decade is Rizieq's video defaming *Pancasila* and promoting the Jakarta Charter (read Aji, 2018 for a synopsis of the case). However, to this day, *Pancasila* still stands as it is and strengthening its status as the national philosophy is a main priority of the current government. This contention also prevails in the academic discourse where the representation of *Pancasila* in Indonesian democracy has been described in two rather paradoxical ways. On the one hand, it can be denoted as a manifestation of an 'Indonesian version of secularism' (Seo, 2012:1056), which signifies 'the nationalist ideal to promote unity, sameness and belonging' (Robinson, 2014:15). On the other hand, scholars have noted the limitations of *Pancasila* – of how itself can be a biased entity, that is reliant on 'the hackneyed exceptionalism' (Iskandar, 2016:732) since it privileges a limited number of religions and beliefs and violates human rights by disguising 'forced ideological conformity' in the name of the 'democracy of *Pancasila*' (ibid, p. 726).

Indeed, the examination of the legal framework regarding the practice of religious diversity in Indonesia (which is covered in more details in Section 2.2.3) portrays this convoluted role of *Pancasila*. This complex role of *Pancasila* is made more difficult by its 'abstract and impractical nature' (Iskandar, 2016:726). Hence, while it carries a monotheistic message that is in accordance with Islamic traditions (Na'im, 2008), it may

also be considered a form of exceptionalism and therefore contradictory with the notion of religious diversity. As Iskandar points out, many secular nationalists and Islamists regard *Pancasila* as ‘an alternative to Islamic nationalism’ (Menchik, 2014:598). Given the complex history of its inception, I contend that *Pancasila* serves as a salient ideological representation of negotiated and coterminous vision of nation-ness that is based on both religious and national commitment. Yet, considering the intensification of Islamist discourse and the prevailing nationalist-Islamist debate in the last decade, it remains a challenge to find the balance between accommodating religious diversity and disparaging ideological aspirations and keeping the diverse nation in unity. Understanding the state interpretation of how to accommodate the Indonesian vision of diversity between that of nationalists and Islamists, as well as that of majority and minority, through analysis of policy, law and political narrative, is the main objective of the forthcoming discussion.

#### 2.2.2. *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity-in-Diversity): Shifting Meanings and Challenges

To further reaffirm the state’s ideological position that respects and accepts different cultures, religions, and ethnicities, the founding fathers of Indonesia, Sukarno and Mohammad Hatta decided to establish *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* as the national underpinning motto. The phrase *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, which was quoted from the Old Javanese poem, ‘Sutasoma’ by Mpu Tantular, is literally translated as “*walaupun berbeda-beda, tetapi tetap satu jua*” (in English “although we are different, we are one”) (Santoso, 1975:578, cited in Robinson, 2014:16). The English translation of this national identity is somewhat self-explanatory; that it imbues the notions of embracing and recognising diversity. Nonetheless, ever since its inception, there has been so much confusion and ambivalence surrounding the meanings, for example: ‘What forms of diversity are considered here? How do the varied types of diversity interact within the

frame of unity?’ A review of the literature suggests that any attempt to answer these complex questions requires wider understanding of the Indonesian socio-political contexts because *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* has been interpreted and manifested differently by individual state leaders across multiple political regimes.

Throughout the post-colonial period of Indonesia, it is observed that the meanings of Unity-in-Diversity have shifted according to Indonesian social and political situations. Similar to *Pancasila*, in the very beginning of its formulation, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* represents the ideological contestation between the nationalist and Islamist groups. The decision to finally proclaim *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* as the national motto denotes a successful negotiation performed by the nationalists to convince leaders from various ethnic, cultural and religious groups who had different viewpoints that Indonesia should be governed on the basis of diversity. This legal framework symbolises the Indonesian national identity that is multicultural and multi-religious.

Unfortunately, during the New Order era (1965-1998), *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* was heavily used as a political justification and argued to be largely an empty rhetoric of diversity (Harjatanaya & Hoon, 2020). It was abused by Suharto to meet his authoritarian style of governance. Under this regime, freedom of speech and expression were minimal – arguably close to zero. Any issues of divisive nature, especially those related to SARA – “*Suku, Agama, Ras, Antar golongan*” (ethnicity, religious, race and intergroup relations) were strictly prohibited from publications (Prasetyo, 2005). Diversity and freedom of expression were considered a threat to social integration and the government. Hence, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* was interpreted in such a way that it paradoxically undermined the intended practices of diversity. Instead of nurturing differences, Suharto’s political agenda at the time was ‘on maintaining order – *stabilitas* [stability] and *aman* [security] (Parker, 2003:246). In practice, Unity-in-Diversity was translated into ‘unity above

diversity' (Raihani, 2014a:30) where *bhinneka* (diversity) was sacrificed in the name of *ika* (unity) through the draconian enforcement of *Pancasila* at all levels of society (Hoon, 2008).

One example that was used to achieve what Robinson (2014:16) argues as being 'enforced cultural homogeneity' during the New Order was through the promotion of the standardised national language of Indonesian (*Bahasa Indonesia*). It was argued that the promotion of Indonesian as the shared, national language was key to national development and had a far-reaching effect in providing basic education for all children in multilingual Indonesia (Robinson, 2014). The use of Indonesian as a unifying factor in Indonesia did not trigger much resistance in most educational settings. Only *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) was said to have used local languages such as Javanese or the Arabic language of the Qur'an when studying topics outside of those within the national curriculum (Kuipers & Yulaelawati, 2011).

Another attempt to remove differences during the Suharto can be best seen in the assimilation policy which was introduced mainly to "manage" the ethnic Chinese. Regarding the Chinese as "a problem" (exhibited by the working terminology "*Masalah Cina*" which is translated as "Chinese Problem") for their perceived distinguished identity (Allen, 2003), the assimilation policy obliged ethnic Chinese to "Indonesianise" their name and leave their "Chineseness" behind (Nagata, 2003). The Chinese were asked to assimilate into the native Indonesian culture – a concept which remains contended to this day, and has negatively affected the development of the Chinese identity (Ang, 2001b; Freedman, 2003; Hoon, 2006, 2008; Mackie, 2008; Purdey, 2003, 2006). Throughout this

era, the use of the term *Cina* was strictly enforced while the term *Tionghoa*<sup>2</sup> was strongly discouraged to establish the sense of inferiority within the *Tionghoa* community (Prasetyo, 2005). The use of the terms *pribumi* (native) and *non-pribumi* (non-native) to distinguish those who were of Chinese descent from the native was viewed by many people as a mechanism to make the Chinese feel like “second-class citizens” (Coppel, 1983). More than one hundred regulations were released during the New Order to control the movements of the ethnically Chinese in political, economic, social, religious, and educational spheres (Prasetyo, 2005). Suharto at this time adopted what Tan (2001) coined as ‘selective nation-building’ by ‘favouring the putative majority ethnic group through the creation of institutionalized ethnic boundaries, which exclude or marginalize the minorities’ (p.949). As a result of the long cultural and political suppression, the ethnic Chinese in Indonesia are facing an identity crisis which other ethnic groups may not experience at the same level (Bachrun & Hartanto, 2000). The Chinese Indonesians have to carefully negotiate their identities and exhibit them strategically to overcome the essentialised stereotypes, often by engaging with the national discourses of diversity and applying Indonesian nationalism (Giblin, 2003).

There was an outpouring of euphoria following the end of the New Order in 1998 as democracy was re-introduced and a decentralisation policy was brought in, allowing the devolution of power to be applied. First, direct presidential and regional leader elections were held to ensure its citizens’ rights to democracy. As a measure to address the then prevailing human-rights issues, the government annulled discriminatory laws and cancelled the assimilation policy. One of them is through the enactment of the New Citizenship Bill No. 12/2006 under President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono’s

---

<sup>2</sup> Both terms refer to Chinese Indonesians. However, the term “*Cina*” (direct translation of China in Indonesian) is deemed derogatory by many Chinese Indonesians, especially from the older generation and hence the term “*Tionghoa*” is generally preferred.

administration, which guarantees that all ethnic groups, particularly the ethnic Chinese, will be awarded equal citizenship status. This bill revoked the use of the dichotomous *pribumi* and *non-pribumi* categorisation of citizenship in line with indigeneity. Later, Indonesia also ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination in 1999 and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in 2005 before passing Law No.40/2008 concerning the Elimination of Racial and Ethnic Discrimination.

After three decades of cultural suppression, there was distinct positivity at the beginning of the Reform Era towards the prospect of enacting the true meaning of Unity-in-Diversity across different cultural groups. This was especially true for the ethnic Chinese whose cultural identities were suppressed during the Suharto era – they were finally granted permission to openly celebrate their cultures. In the 2000s, Chinese New Year was announced as a national holiday which allowed the Chinese to celebrate publicly, schools were allowed to teach Mandarin, the ban on Chinese newspapers was lifted, and Confucianism was promulgated as the sixth official state religion (Hoon, 2008; Turner, 2003). The reformation era has also brought along discourses of multiculturalism that attempt to move away from the authoritarian-militaristic system, that was based on primordialism, towards one that truly embraces diversity (Mahfud, 2009).

Within the field of education, this shift of discourse has also influenced the philosophy and content of what is taught in schools. The concept of multicultural education has been discussed and developed by both the Ministry of Education (The Curriculum Centre of Research and Development Agency, 2007) and Indonesian academics (e.g. Al Arifin, 2012; Mahfud, 2009; Naim & Sauqi, 2010; Raihani, 2014b; Sutijono, 2010; Tilaar, 2004), although it has never been officially implemented at a national level.

Despite the positive portrayal of the translation of Unity-in-Diversity in the early years of reformation and democratisation, the reported increase of intergroup conflicts and recurrent cases of intolerances in recent years have raised concerns over the challenges to Indonesian unity. With the gained freedom to express individual and group identities in the reform era, there have been a surge in local egocentrism (the phenomenon of “*putra daerah*” or “son of the soil”) (Sutijono, 2010) and proliferation of regional identity politics (Nordholt, 2008). The political system which becomes more candidate-centric in the new democratic Indonesia has also contributed to the politicisation of ethnicity and religion (Fox, 2018).

Reports from various sources also reveal the prevalence of inter-religious and intra-religious tensions (e.g. Bagir et al., 2013, 2014, 2011; Indonesian Ministry of Religion, 2015, 2016; Mustafied et al., 2015; The Wahid Institute, 2014). Some of these inter-religious tensions were caused by the violation of freedom of religious practices such as forceful closures of and attacks on buildings of worship and religious symbols. Most of the reported cases mainly involved churches and temples, but cases involving mosques were also reported in primarily non-Muslim areas such as Papua (Indonesian Ministry of Religion, 2016). These reports are consistent with the findings of the survey conducted by CSIS in 2012 which revealed signs of rising intolerances. The CSIS survey found that 68.2% of respondents stated that they preferred no worship buildings of other religions to be established in their neighbourhoods. It also found that although 59.5 % of respondents did not mind having neighbours of different religions, 33.7% said they did mind (cited in Ahmad, 2013, p.6). Outbreaks of violence against Islamic religious minorities such as Ahmadiyya and the Shi’a communities due to their perceived deviant religious teachings as well as the growing influence of transnational ideologies (Bjork & Raihani, 2018; Burhani, 2017; Hadiz, 2014) have also added the list of problems of

religious diversity in Indonesia. Many have argued that intolerances against the minorities have been made possible by two things: the legal framework that disfavours the religious minorities, and the rise of a more conservative discourse within Islam. In the subsequent sections these two facets of the implementation of diversity, mainly religious diversity, which are facilitated by both state and non-state agencies, are under review.

### 2.2.3. Legal Framework on Religious Diversity

As part of the construction of the vision of Unity-in-Diversity, the state guarantees freedom for every citizen to adopt a religion and to worship according to his or her religion and belief. This freedom is clearly laid out in the 1945 Constitution and can be found in Article 28E verse (1) and verse (2), Article 28I verse (1), and Article 29 verse (2). Article 28E verse (1) states that ‘every person is free to adopt a religion and worship according to his or her religion, to choose education and teaching, to choose an occupation...’, and in verse 2 ‘every person has the right to freedom of belief...’. Moreover, Article 28I verse (1) also stipulates that ‘the right to religion constitutes human rights’ and Article 29 verse (2) also specifies that ‘the State guarantees the freedom of each citizen to adopt a religion’. The state’s commitment to ensure every citizen’s right to a religion and belief is further confirmed in Law No.30/1999, particularly in Article 22. The respect for religious diversity can also be seen in the official state national holidays which include celebrations of all religious events, although the duration of the holiday period is longer for Muslim events. In areas where the majority are non-Muslims, the decentralisation policy also offers the opportunity for the local governments to adjust the public holidays to meet the cultural and religious needs of the local citizens. For instance, in Bali where the majority of the population are Hindu-Balinese, the local authority stipulates specific Hindu holidays such as Sarasvati as public holidays, reflected in the school’s academic calendar (Head of Education Authority of Bali Province, 2017).

Whilst there seems to be a clear normative framework of the right to freedom of religion or belief in Indonesia, many scholars and human right activists have voiced concerns over the implementation of legislations and subordinate regulations and policies (e.g. Bush & Munawar-Rachman, 2014; Colbran, 2010; Kovacs, 2013; Pedersen, 2016; Seo, 2012). As Seo (2012) notes, ‘freedom in terms of religion and citizenship is not an absolute right in Indonesia as is evident in the regulations’ (p.1047). These concerns are prompted by the incongruity between some domestic legislations and policies and international human rights legislations. The two pieces of legislations claimed to limit the practices of religious diversity in Indonesia are:

1. Law No.1/PNPS/1965 which outlines the six state official religions and prevention of the misuse and/or the defamation of religions, also known as the Blasphemy Law
2. The 2006 Joint Ministerial Decree concerning the construction of the houses of worship.

#### **Law No.1/PNPS/1965**

As Iskandar (2016) points out, there is a limit to religious freedom in Indonesia. First, even though the 1945 Constitution guarantees a citizen’s right to choose a religion or belief, they can only choose one of the six officially recognised religions: Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Buddhism, Hinduism and Confucianism as outlined in Law No.1/PNPS/1965. Technically, this law does state that other religions are not prohibited in Indonesia, but in practice it has been widely interpreted to mean that only the six religions outlined previously are recognised in Indonesia. This is further attested by looking at the structure of the Department of Religious Affairs where there are only six directorates for each of the six ‘official’ religions as well as the establishment of six official religious institutions to represent the six religions (Colbran, 2010). There are at

least two implications to this law and the narrow interpretation of religious freedom which it elicits. First, the obligation to choose one of the six official religions implies that every citizen must choose a religion, which means atheism is not permitted in Indonesia. Historically, there were many Indonesians who followed indigenous beliefs, but after the bloody anti-communist coup in 1965 many Indonesians quickly adopted one of the six official religions because they feared being accused of being communist if they did not have a religion (Colbran, 2010; Seo, 2012). The status of religion which is clearly stated in *Pancasila* also strengthen the concern that being an atheist is “contrary to the *Pancasila*” and hence contrary to the Indonesian way of living (Colbran, 2010:682). The fact that every citizen needs to specify their religion on their identity card, which is a primary legal document used in all state-related matters (from education, employment, housing to voting) also forces people to adhere to one of the six official religions.

Second, Law No.1/PNPS/1965 has also been used to prohibit interpretations or activities that are perceived to deviate from the main teachings of a certain religion adhered to in Indonesia, making it known as the Blasphemy Law. Followers of religions or belief systems outside the six stipulated religions, are often accused of being members of splinter groups who must return to the mainstream religion, or of defaming official religions. One of the vulnerable groups in contemporary Indonesia who are often the main target of this law is the Ahmadiyya. Under this law, the Ahmadiyya group is accused of defamation of mainstream Islam by the Indonesian Council of Islamic Scholars (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia*, MUI), as well as other mainstream Muslim organisations in Indonesia (e.g. Bottomley, 2014; Burhani, 2014; Bush & Munawar-Rachman, 2014; Colbran, 2010). This is because their views on certain beliefs in Islam, such as the interpretations on the Finality of Muhammad and on the death and return of Jesus are perceived to be non-compliant from many mainstream Muslims. The Ahmadiyya’s belief that their leader,

Mirza Ghulam Ahmad is a prophet with a mission to ‘rejuvenate Islam from its malaise’ (Burhani, 2014:136) breaks the fundamental tenet of mainstream Islam which believes that Muhammad is the last prophet. While the Ahmadis call themselves Muslims, many mainstream Muslims and Islamists consider them as deviant, placing them in ‘the zone of indistinction between Muslims and non-Muslim’ (Burhani, 2014:135). The use of this law to determine if one religious belief system is deviant or not has raised the question of the role of Muslim institutions, especially NU, Muhammadiyah and MUI in deciding and defining the orthodoxy of a religion (Bush & Munawar-Rachman, 2014).

MUI’s standpoint on the case of Ahmadiyya has been clear. The MUI has issued two *fatwas* (legal responses), one in 1980 and the other in 2005 declaring the Ahmadiyya belief as dangerous and deviant, that it is outside of Islam and causes deviant practices, and Muslims who believe are apostates (Burhani, 2014; Menchik, 2014). NU and Muhammadiyah have also generally shared the anti-Ahmadiyya sentiment and have issued their internal *fatwas* declaring Ahmadiyya to be a deviant sect – the earliest one was by Muhammadiyah, which dates back to 1930 (Bush & Munawar-Rachman, 2014). However, more progressive individuals within the NU and Muhammadiyah such as Abdurrahman Wahid (the 4<sup>th</sup> President of Indonesia and the former head of NU) have marched alongside human rights activists from the Religious Freedom Advocacy Team to bring Law No.1/PNPS/1965 and the derivative of the verse 165a of the Criminal Code to the Constitutional Court for judicial review since they deem them to undermine human rights and religious freedom in Indonesia (Bush & Munawar-Rachman, 2014).

The Blasphemy law has later become a legal basis for the creation of the 2008 Joint Ministerial Decree which has been used to freeze the activities of Ahmadiyya, though it still allows members to practice their faith as long as it is not disseminated to anyone else. The issuance of this decree was criticised by many as a ‘dangerous

capitulation to radical demands’, enabling the radical groups to influence governmental policy (International Crisis Group, 2008). It was also seen as a form of violation to the constitutional guarantee of freedom of religion. Studies around the case of Ahmadiyya and its implications on religious diversity in Indonesia suggest that the Ahmadiyya identity in Indonesia continues to be ambivalent and their resulting life is argued to resemble that of ‘stateless people’ (Burhani, 2014:135). Many have been living in refugee-like camps and have also been marginalised by the state as their civil rights, such as having identity cards, access to education and to participate in political elections, were denied (Bagir et al., 2013, 2010). The murder of three Ahmadis in Ceusik, Indonesia in public with the police standing by has also called into question the government’s ability (or lack thereof) to protect this minority group since radical Islamist groups such as the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) and the Hizbut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) were able to attack and persecute the Ahmadiyya (and other minority groups) with impunity (Burhani, 2014; Bush & Munawar-Rachman, 2014; Kovacs, 2013).

In addition to the Ahmadiyya and Shiah, the Blasphemy law has also been used to prosecute a group of people who identify as non-Muslims on the basis of religious defamation. The blasphemy case that embroiled the former Chinese Christian governor of Jakarta, Mr Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (also known as Ahok) prior to him running for governorship in 2016, has sparked controversy and shaken the practices of diversity and democracy in Indonesia (Hadiz, 2017; Mietzner & Muhtadi, 2018). Ahok was sentenced to two-year-imprisonment after making a remark on a campaign stop in September 2016 in which he said that people should not vote for a candidate based on religious beliefs. This remark was interpreted as a criticism of the notion that Muslims cannot have a leader who is not also Muslim and hence an insult to the Qur’an. The high level of support from Muslims for this prosecution, led to the mobilisation of mass “anti-Ahok rallies” in 2016

and 2017 implying their view of Ahok's personal wrongdoings. However, many others, including many Muslims believed that Ahok's statement was not a direct insult of Islam and that the case was merely fuelled by ethnic sentiment and a political agenda. Prior to the Ahok case, in July 2016, 12 Buddhist and Confucian temples in Tanjung Balai, North Sumatra were also reportedly damaged as a result of uncontrolled anger from a group of people who believed a Chinese woman had insulted Islam after she lodged an official request to decrease the volume of *adzan* (call for prayer) from the neighbourhood mosque (Tehusijarana & Gunawan, 2018; Wijaya, 2016a). These two cases again exemplify how blasphemy laws can be used to oppress the minority groups and control the narratives of diversity and democracy in contemporary Indonesia.

### **The 2006 Joint Ministerial Decree**

Replacing the Decree No. 1/1969, the 2006 Joint Ministerial Decree, formulated by the Religious Affairs and Home Affairs departments, stipulates key conditions required to be met for legal permits to be granted to build new houses of worship. Although this legislation applies to all types of worship buildings, including mosques, many have seen that this regulation is being used to discriminate against Christians (Hefner, 2012). This is particularly because of the condition that requires the support of at least sixty residents of other religions within the community to agree on the construction are difficult to meet for religious minority groups (Seo, 2012). Many minority groups have proceeded to use private houses for religious gatherings, without applying for the permit. This loophole has subsequently been used by hard-line Islamist groups to shut down worship buildings which are suspected to be operating without a permit (Seo, 2012), such as those experienced by churches of GKI Yasmin Church Bogor and HKBP Filadelfia Bekasi (Hamdani, 2012; Wijaya, 2017). The case of the Yasmin Church (which is yet to be resolved) came to international attention in 2006 when the local Muslim mayor revoked

the building permit three months after it was issued following protests by radical Islamists (Wijaya, 2017).

#### 2.2.4. Conservative Islam and Unity-in-Diversity

There has been vigorous debate among national and international scholars in the study of religious diversity in Indonesia, and whether Indonesian Islam is becoming more “conservative” (Bruinessen, 2013) and “illiberal” (Hadiz, 2017). Given the prevalence of cases of intolerance and discrimination not only against the religious minorities but also other marginalised groups, such as those formerly discussed, it is not easy to argue otherwise. Moreover, there is evidence to suggest that the politics of Islamic law is on an upward trend – a trend that is made possible by the decentralisation and democratisation processes. Despite the failure of the Islamist groups to amend Article 29 of the constitution in pressuring the state to enforce Islamic law for Muslim citizens in the 2002 parliamentary vote, about half of the regional regulations in Indonesia are still Shari-a oriented (Hefner, 2012).

There are broadly two reasons why many democratically-elected politicians are thought to support Shari’a law and regulation: ideological conviction and the intent to appeal to potential constituents (Pisani & Buehler, 2017). Among these Shari’a regulations are the mandatory wearing of Islamic dress, especially for women in certain public space, the mastery of basic religious skills, prohibition to immoral acts (e.g. gambling, prostitution, consumption of alcohol), promotion of Islamic knowledge (e.g. reading the Qur’an), Islamic finance, and paying *zakat*, *infaq* and *shadaaqah* (religious alms) (Hefner, 2012; Pisani & Buehler, 2017). Numerous discriminatory regulations were also introduced in education, favouring those with good mastery of religious skills and adherence in Islam. For instance, one of the best universities in Indonesia in Bandung,

Padjajaran University states that one of the application criteria to receive a scholarship is the applicant's ability to recite at least 5 *juz* (sections) of the Qur'an (Susanti, 2016). The Mayor of Padang, West Sumatra – a province known for its strong Islamic influence – implemented a policy that gives privileges to students who can memorise the Qur'an to choose their school freely (Dja'far, Ferdhi, Nisa, & Hilaludin, 2016). Although many of the regulations are concerned with Islam, it should be noted that none of these regional regulations seek to apply Islamic criminal law and penalties mandated in classical Islamic jurisprudence, except in the Special Region of Aceh where Shari'a law is fully enforced (Hefner, 2012).

While there is a strong indication that the role of the state in building the discourse of Islam and allowing the intolerances to perpetuate, Bruinessen (2013), an eminent scholar in Indonesian Islam also argues that the “conservative turn” of Indonesian Islam which has largely been known as “moderate” has also been contributed by the active role of different Muslim leaders and organisations. In the aftermath of the downfall of the Suharto dictatorial regime in 1998, the MUI gained more independence in articulating their views on various national issues. While accepting several democratic principles such as equality before the law, protection of human rights, good governance, and participation of fair elections, the MUI Council also demonstrates a conservative standpoint and support for Islamist ideology when it comes to safeguarding Islam (Nasir, 2014). The Council's issuance of the 2005 *fatwa* that rejected pluralism, secularism and liberalism, the prohibition to send seasonal greetings to Christians and attending Christmas celebrations as well as their strong support for the blasphemy law against Ahmadiyya and other religious minorities further exhibits their conservative outlook when dealing with religious and political issues and democracy. The issuance of a *fatwa* condemning homosexuality (Lamb, 2017) which was used by hard-line groups to justify their

homophobic attacks also confirmed that their influence in defining the narratives of democracy and diversity as a whole is more wide-ranging.

Two of the largest Muslim organisations in Indonesia, namely Nadathul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah have also demonstrated an ambivalent position when it comes to the issues of religious minorities (Bush & Munawar-Rachman, 2014). These institutions generally adopt “moderation” or “central path” positions, exemplified by their declaration of a moderate interpretation of Indonesian Islam, with NU’s ‘*Islam Nusantara*’ (Islam of the Archipelago) and Muhammadiyah’s ‘*Islam Berkemajuan*’ (Progressive Islam). However, in certain cases such as those related to Ahmadiyya, their actions signify a conservative standpoint. For instance, their support for the 2008 Joint Ministerial Decree in restricting the activities of Ahmadiyya, in spite of strongly condemning the violent attacks towards Ahmadiyya, raises question on their “moderate” position and role in defining “orthodoxy” within Islam (Bush & Munawar-Rachman, 2014).

Examination of the media discourses on news related to the social and political tensions have also corroborated Bruinessen’s point on the influence of a “conservative turn” in Indonesian politics and how it influences the interpretations of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in contemporary Indonesia. Reflecting on Jakarta’s gubernatorial election in 2017, one of the most polarising and controversial elections in Indonesia (Setijadi, 2017), it can be seen how the terms Unity-in-Diversity or ke-*Bhinnekaan* (diversity) were used by the supporters of Ahok to counter the arguments of those campaigning against him for his minority ethnic and religious identity. With the election participants being two Muslims and a Christian, the political climate progressed into a majority vs minority contest; and the atmosphere escalated into a polarisation of the pro-Unity-in-Diversity-cum-nationalist group vs the against-Unity-in-Diversity-cum-Islamist group (Arifianto, 2017).

The politicisation of this blasphemy case by the Islamist hardliners, who became the organisers of the 2016 and 2017 anti-Ahok (or defend Islam) rallies, where they staged a ‘very effective smear campaign based on the rhetoric that a vote for Ahok is a vote against Islam’ (Setijadi, 2017). This was argued to signal the shifting of Islamic grounds to a more conservative one (Setijadi, 2017). Notwithstanding the fact that the mass Islamic rallies had a polarising effect, some have argued that the 2016 Islamist mass-demonstration did not automatically point to the rise of conservative Islam and widespread support for a more radical Islamist agenda (Fealy, 2016) and should not be seen as a rejection of the vision of Unity-in-Diversity. Indeed, Weng (2016) reported that some participants in the rallies argued that they were not anti-diversity; that it was Ahok who corrupted this vision by attacking Islam and that the rallies represented the spirit of Indonesian democracy and respecting diversity. Moreover, scholars have also warned of being mindful of associating the Islamist mass mobilisation as a sign of the rise of conservatism, because the driving forces behind the rally were multifaceted (Mietzner & Muhtadi, 2018) and it could be triggered just by a specific case, making it a product of political dynamics (Aspinall, 2017; Fealy, 2016; Mietzner & Muhtadi, 2018). Sakai & Fauzia's research (2014) that looks at the Islamic orientations of non-elite Indonesian Muslims also reveals that the general population of Indonesian Muslims are generally leaning towards cultural Islamism, instead of political Islamism. This means that they are more concerned about following Islamic morality to guide their lives, and their support for Islamic values and symbols in a public sphere represents their attempts to become better Muslims.

The politicisation of religious and national identities through the juxtaposition of nationalist (pro-diversity and anti-Islam) and Islamist (anti-diversity, anti-nationalist) discourses has continued up until the recently held presidential election, despite all of the participating candidates being Muslims. Hadiz (2017) in his article argues that Indonesian democracy is moving towards a new phase, in which conservative Islamic morality is becoming more mainstream in Indonesian politics. Media and academics have also drawn attention to the greater prominence of religion and the politics of religious identity in this political rematch between the two presidential candidates – the incumbent President Joko Widodo (commonly called Jokowi) and the former special force commander Prabowo Subianto – as a result of the Islamic initiated demonstrations against Ahok in 2016-2017 (e.g. Beech & Suhartono, 2019; Lahiri, 2019; Lamb, 2019; Setijadi, 2017). It is not difficult to read the political Islamic rhetoric, where both candidates have tried to appear ‘more Muslim’ to appeal to an increasingly conservative base of electorates. On one hand, Mr Jokowi who had been accused of being ‘anti-Islam’ and ‘anti-ulema’ made a political move to ameliorate this image by choosing Ma’ruf Amin, the head of the MUI, who is known to have a conservative outlook on Islam as the vice president and influences the issuance of fatwas considered hostile to minorities (Allard & Jefriando, 2018). He also tried to boost his personal piety by going on a pilgrimage to Mecca and meeting with the royals in Saudi Arabia. By pairing with a conservative cleric, Jokowi endeavoured to rebrand himself as a nationalist-religious candidate (Allard & Jefriando, 2018; Bayuni, 2017) – a political branding which was also adopted by the former President Yudhoyono (Mietzner & Muhtadi, 2018), in the hope of consolidating the nationalist-Islamist divide by reinforcing “godly nationalism” where national and religious commitments coexist (Menchik, 2014). On the other hand, Mr Prabowo had gained strong support from the hard-line Islamist groups in Indonesia from the very beginning, ever since he actively

participated and became one of the influential faces in the 2016/2017 Islamic rallies. It was reported that his campaign was marked with visible Islamic symbols and was said to promote a conservative-Islamist agenda if he were to become elected (Lamb, 2019).

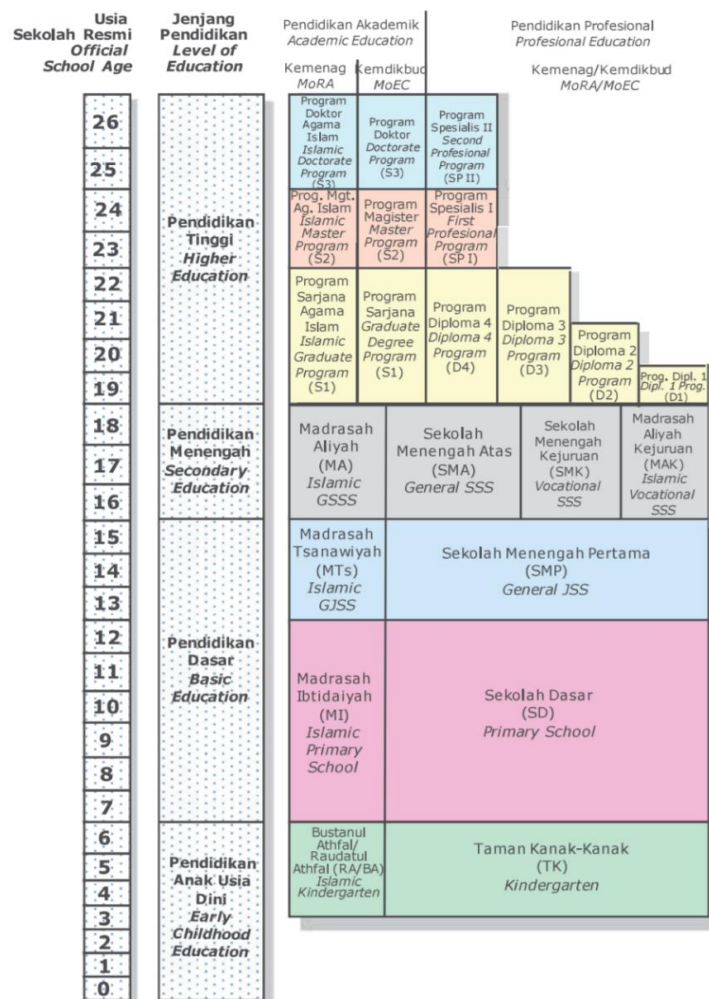
Regardless of whether Indonesian Islam is experiencing a conservative turn or not, the religiously charged political environment where elite politics continue to display politicisation of religious identity is not the most conducive setting for the construction of Unity-in-Diversity. This politicisation can further exacerbate the ideological cleavage between the nationalist and the Islamist groups, although at the same time there has been political attempts made by state leaders to ameliorate the gap through the manifestation of the coterminous nationalist-religious identity. The continuous marginalisation and intolerances against religious minorities, which is sanctioned by the state through discriminatory regulations and lack of protection towards the marginalised groups, serve as testimonies of the continuous challenges faced by Indonesia to achieve Unity-in-Diversity. In recent years, the nationalist-Islamist debate where Unity-in-Diversity is used by each group to justify their disparaging ideological positions and political agendas, has certainly contributed to the convoluted meanings of Unity-in-Diversity in contemporary Indonesia. Having set the complex historical, social and political context for this thesis, the following section scrutinises how this vision of Unity-in-Diversity is constructed in the Indonesian education system against the dynamic backdrop of nationalist-religious, majority-minority narratives.

## 2.3. Unity-in-Diversity in Indonesian Education

### 2.3.1. General Overview of Indonesian Education System

Based on the Education Act No.20/2003, the Indonesian education system is administered by two Ministries: the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) and the Ministry of Religion (MoR), as illustrated in Image 2.3 (Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, 2018a:15). The former oversees all comprehensive, non-religious schools while the latter manages religious education (including in MoEC schools) and Islamic schools such as *madrasah* (Islamic day school) and *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school).

Image 2.3 Indonesian School System (cited in Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, 2018:15)



Based on the Education Report 2017/2018 (Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, 2018), there are 307,655 MoEC schools (from Kindergarten to Upper Secondary Level and including special schools for students with special needs or learning difficulties), where 55% are categorised as state schools and the remaining 45% are private schools. Meanwhile, the same report also notes that there are 79,347 MoR schools (from Kindergarten to Upper Secondary Level), where an overwhelming 94% of the total schools are run privately and only 6% are state-run (for more details refer to Image 2.4, Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, 2018:16).

Image 2.4 Figure Number of Institutions by Type and Status of School 2017/2018

No. Jenis Sekolah / Type of School	Status Sekolah / Status of School		Jumlah / Total
	Negeri / Public	Swasta / Private	
<b>A. Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan / Ministry of Education and Culture</b>			
1 Taman Kanak-kanak (TK) / Kindergarten	3.363	87.726	91.089
2 Sekolah Luar Biasa (SLB) / Special School	563	1.594	2.157
3 Sekolah Dasar (SD) / Primary School (PS)	131.974	16.270	148.244
4 Sekolah Menengah Pertama (SMP) / Junior Secondary School (JSS)	23.227	15.733	38.960
5 Sekolah Menengah (SM) / Senior Secondary School (SSS)	10.251	16.954	27.205
a. Sekolah Menengah Atas (SMA) / General Senior Secondary School (GSSS)	6.732	6.763	13.495
b. Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan (SMK) / Vocational Senior Secondary School (VSSS)	3.519	10.191	13.710
<b>B. Kementerian Agama / Ministry of Religious Affairs</b>			
1 Bustani Athfal (BA) / Raudatul Athfal (RA) / Islamic Kindergarten (IKG)	0	28.268	28.268
2 Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (MI) / Islamic Primary School (IPS)	1.686	23.265	24.951
3 Madrasah Tsanawiyah (MTs) / Islamic Junior Secondary School (IJSS)	1.437	15.926	17.363
4 Madrasah Aliyah (MA) / Islamic Senior Secondary School (ISSS)	765	7.400	8.165

The dualistic education system and the statistical overview of the number of schools under each Ministry's jurisdiction highlights three important points. First, in both systems, the role of private institutions in Indonesian education is significant, despite also being one of the largest state school systems in the world (Kuipers & Yulaelawati, 2011:449). Second, the private role increases exponentially in the Islamic school sector, indicating the reluctance of the government to intervene in Islamic affairs and raising questions regarding the funding of religious schools. Third, the structural maintenance of a dualistic education system and failure to integrate both since the country was founded in 1945, albeit various attempts, suggests the continuous tension and coexistence between the nationalist and Islamist discourses in contemporary Indonesia, which I will explore next.

### 2.3.2. Indonesian Dual Education System: Contestation and Coexistence between the Nationalists & Islamists

As explained previously, religion is fundamentally embedded in national policies and practices, and although Indonesia is not an Islamic state, Islamic organisations are still highly influential. The dynamic between the nationalists and Islamists in the context of education is best portrayed by the transformative journey of the dualistic structure of the education system, where the separate secular and Islamic educational settings are argued to have gradually converged into an integrated and parallel system of national education (Fogg, 2018). To understand this journey, it is important to go back to the period when the two types of education were treated as two ideologically separate and divergent systems.

Historically, the dual system was born out of the difficulty of the first Indonesian governance (Sukarno-Hatta) to reach a consensus between the secular and religious nationalist leaders. The Islamic schools were first set up in the late 1800s to cater for the educational needs of the indigenous people during the Dutch colonisation era, as access to schools run by the Dutch was only made available to the Europeans (Vandenbosch, 1984, cited in Sirozi, 2004). Generally, there were two types of Islamic school models: the *Pesantren* and *Surau* model, established by the traditionalist Muslim leaders and the *Madrasah* model, established by the modernist Muslim leaders. The former emphasised the teaching of the Qur'an, Hadiths, and Islamic jurisprudence, whereas the latter more closely resembled that of the Dutch education model except that it was operated in a religious environment and incorporated religious learning (Sirozi, 2004).

Meanwhile, in the early 1900s, there was an emerging activist movement from groups of young nationalist intelligentsia who wanted to provide education that taught nationalistic values, Indonesia culture and language (Sirozi, 2004). It has already been

noted that the most challenging task for the Sukarno-Hatta governance was to develop national unity. In the education sector, it was especially difficult to ‘define the character of the national education system’ as both nationalist and Islamist leaders played central roles in the independence movement (Sirozi, 2004:134). It was noted that Islamic schools and Islamic students contributed significantly to the revolution of independence (Fogg, 2016). Sirozi (2004) argues that the dual system that has been applied since the Sukarno era ‘seems to have been the best and most pragmatic choice for the Indonesian government to take in order to accelerate the establishment of the National Education System’ (p.135). This “compromise”, to borrow Sirozi’s term (2004), provides both parties with platforms to develop educational models that suit their ideologies and interests.

Nonetheless, due to the different philosophical and educational perspectives, the MoEC and MoRA educational systems have been criticised for coexisting and operating in a rather competitive and separate way (Fogg, 2018; Steenbrink, 1994). Several attempts to unify the Islamic education sector into the MoEC were made during Sukarno’s Old Order and Suharto’s New Order (Mujiburrahman, 2006), but these were not successful. Despite the failure to integrate the administration of the two institutions to the MoEC, the integration process of madrasah into the national system did take place (Raihani, 2014b). This integration can be seen in the legalisation of the 2003 Education Act under the Reform era government in which *madrasah* and *pesantren* are described as an education institution equal to general schools (illustrated in Image 2.3.). As a result of this legal acknowledgement of integration, madrasah students follow the same academic requirements and standards of student competences and sit the same exams as their counterparts in general national schools. In terms of financial support, both madrasah and general schools technically receive equal treatment, although in practice the attitudes

towards madrasah and other Islamic educational institutions are argued to have been different (Raihani, 2014a). The growing trend of making wearing a headscarf compulsory for female Muslim students in many schools, including state schools nationwide (Bjork & Raihani, 2018), and the strong discourse of constructing religious identity in Indonesian education further indicates the convergence of Islam and the state education system.

### 2.3.3. Current Indonesian Policies and Provisions on Diversity

One of the important products of the 1998 social and political reforms was the new Education Act No 20/2003 introduced to replace the previous 1994 Education Act and implemented within the National Education System. With the aim to create an even distribution of educational opportunities, the 2003 Act highlights the significance of the principles of democracy, autonomy, decentralisation, and public accountability in Indonesia. Looking across the reformed policies and laws, there is some evidence that the notions of diversity and democracy permeate the policy discourse and texts. For instance, by analysing the 2003 Act, the notions of equality, democracy, and diversity form salient features in the reformed education system. As stated in Act No.20/2003, Chapter 3, article 4, verse 1: ‘Education is conducted democratically, equally and non-discriminatorily based on human rights, religious values, cultural values, and national pluralism’.

Similarly, the notion of diversity is also discussed in the second chapter of the Ministerial Decree No 22/2006 where it outlines the principles of framework and the structure of the curriculum. One of the principles states that ‘the curriculum is developed with respect to the diverse characteristics of students, local features, and the levels and types of education, *without discriminating against religion, ethnicity, culture and traditions, also social and economic status, and gender*’ (Indonesian Ministry of Education, 2006).

At face value, these two laws allude to the support of promoting diversity in education. However, when it comes to how they can be applied, no explicit explanation can be found. Having analysed these policies, Raihani (2014) argues that ‘one can read some rhetoric in some parts of the law’, but overall, the law only ‘vaguely provide(s) a foundation for the development and implementation of education for multiculturalism’ (p. 215). He further asserts his concerns over the policy makers’ lack of understanding about multicultural education and the inconsistent and potentially undermining effect on diversity laws.

In agreement with Raihani, my analysis of the Education Act also suggests that despite the strong political rhetoric on diversity in some parts of the Education Act, the words “diversity” and “national unity” are not present within the broader aims of Indonesian education.

*The National Education functions to develop the capability, character, and civilization of the nation for enhancing its intellectual capacity, and is aimed at developing learners’ potentials so that they become persons imbued with human values who are faithful and pious to one and only God; who possess morals and noble character; who are healthy, knowledgeable, competent, creative, independent; and democratic and responsible citizens (2003 Education Act No.20 Article 3)*

Instead, there are strong notions of faith, piety, and nobility. While this finding raises questions about the real significance of promoting diversity in education due to the inconsistent representation in the policies, the statements above underline the powerful place religion has on education. With regard to the significance of religion, the next section elaborates on the politics of religious education in Indonesia and how it can contribute to the promotion of Unity-in-Diversity.

#### 2.3.4. Religious Education to Promote Unity-in-Diversity

The prevailing tension and compromise between the Islamists and nationalists in education is also observed in the making of policy regarding religious education. Historically, religious education was an optional subject prior to the 1965 anti-communist coup (Mujiburrahman, 2006). The communists wanted to omit religious classes from school and so after the failed communist coup and acquired military power, the Islamists exerted pressure and succeeded in making religious education compulsory to protect young people and education against communism (Fogg, 2018). The act of making religious education a mandatory subject in state schools is in fact argued to contribute greatly to the converging of the two separate education systems (Fogg, 2018). The sacred and important status of religion in relation to producing good citizens of Indonesia is clearly stipulated in the Government Regulation No.55 Year 2007 on Religious Education and Religion Education, Article 3, which states: ‘each educational unit in all streams, levels and types of education is obliged to hold religious education’. Although it was reported that some attempts had been made to make religious education “optional” and to eliminate religious education from state schools in the early 2000s, the main concern of many nowadays is to ‘create religious education that is multicultural and tolerant’ (Suhadi, Yusuf, Tahun, Asyhari, & Sudarto, 2015:16).

An attempt towards this multicultural and tolerant religious education is demonstrated by the accommodation of religious education for all students, as stated in the 2003 Education Act, article 12, paragraph (1a). According to this law, both the state and schools have to accommodate the religious learning of each student by providing teachers who share the respective faiths and beliefs, even when the school may be dominated by students from a certain religion. Initially, the introduction of this law triggered debates among school and religious leaders, especially from the Christian and

Muslim leaders (Raihani, 2015). The opponents of this law argued that the arrangement could create social segregation within the school, especially in a faith school where some students may follow a religion different from that of the school (e.g. Muslim students in Christian school). Meanwhile the proponents asserted that the denial of such an arrangement and forcing students to attend religious classes other than their own was an act of intolerance (Raihani, 2015).

Setting aside this point of contention, I recognise that the law itself is somewhat problematic to start with for a number of reasons. First, the law assumes that all students have a religion or adhere to a religion recognised by the state. Atheism is not socially and legally accepted in Indonesia due to the ideological commitment – the first principle of *Pancasila* proclaims Indonesia as a religious nation. Thus, the law does not give anyone the right to opt out. Moreover, the fact that there are only six directorates of religious education corresponding to the six official state religions, the level of accommodation offered by the schools is technically limited to these six religions. As a result, students who follow minority religions that are not officially recognised by the state such as Ahmadiyya or Shi'a may not be able to receive religious education according to their belief systems. This limited interpretation of freedom to access religion means the law inherently marginalises certain groups of people.

Second, considering religious education is a compulsory and examinable subject, religious minority students whose religions are not facilitated in schools may face being forced to study another religion, taught under confessional style, in order to pass the subject. Raihani (2015) found that some Muslim students in a Catholic school in Central Kalimantan chose to follow the Catholic practices in school in order to gain good marks in that subject. The implication of this forceful religious education is foreseen to be more pronounced under the current character-based education in which grades for religious

education are acquired through cognitive, skill, and attitudinal assessments. The use of multi-dimensional assessments in religious education is problematic, especially for Ahmadis or Shi'i minority students because their understandings of the Ahmadiyya and Shi'ite teachings are considered different from the mainstream Islam – the religion which they are likely to opt for in schools. Resultantly, these students might find it difficult to demonstrate the accepted 'good' level of piety, which is commonly evaluated through ability to perform prayers (*shalat*) or read and interpret the Qur'an. As non-cognitive assessment is prone to subjectivity, the prejudices directed to their identities may also influence teachers' perspectives about them, and hence the marking for their religious trait. Issues of assessment aside, the effects of forced religious choices as a possible by-product of the law can be paradoxical. While this restriction on access to religious education may be seen as a violation of rights which is contradictory to the objective of the law itself, some students in Raihani's study (2015) admitted that learning about religions other than their own was beneficial to the development of their understanding of religious differences.

Third, the analysis of other policies on religious education reveals that at a policy level, the 2003 law only focuses on the provision of religious learning in classrooms and not on the accommodation of religious practices. Referring to the Government Law No. 55 of 2007, article 4, paragraph (7), schools are not obliged to provide a worship facility for religious minority students. The lack of prayer facilities and proper learning rooms for religious classes is indeed one of the key problems identified in the accommodation of religious education for minority students in Indonesian schools (Raihani, 2015; Suhadi et al., 2015). This finding suggests that a wider accommodation of religious diversity in schools and the definition of equality in religious education are reliant on the vision and agency of individual head teachers and teachers in schools.

Notwithstanding the limitations of the accommodation of religious education and religious practices in Indonesian schools, academics have commented on the pertinence of religious education in achieving Unity-in-Diversity in Indonesia in view of the important status of religion in Indonesia and the prevalent inter-religious tension (Baidhawiy, 2007; Parker, 2014). Baidhawiy (2007) and Tan (2014) have proposed the concept of multiculturalist-theology education and dialogical education respectively, which they argue can be applied effectively in Islamic schools in Indonesia in order to teach about religious pluralism. Parker (2014) also found that some Catholic and Islamic schools in Yogyakarta and West Sumatra chose to break the 2003 law by restructuring their religious education to allow more critical learning about religions, religious practices, and religious tolerance. These proposals of alternative approaches to religious education and examples of case studies, where religious diversity is taught critically and reflexively, open up possibilities of optimising the role of religious education in promoting peaceful coexistence in Indonesian schools. However, both state and religious schools are argued to still lean toward what Baidhawiy (2007) describes as “dogmatic indoctrination”, where the teaching of religious education adopts an exclusive model that views ‘their own systems of religion or belief as the truth [...] and regard(s) other religions as inferior’ (p.18). Parker (2014) also found that schools that have restructured their religious education and moved away from the conventional confessional style of teaching religious education, as per stipulated by the 2003 Law, are mainly private schools. Taking into account the rigid bureaucratic structure of the state school system, it is very likely that state schools would find it more challenging than private schools to implement religious education that can facilitate inter-faith dialogue.

## **2.4. Character Education and 2013 Curriculum**

### **2.4.1. Character Education and Unity-in-Diversity**

In contemporary Indonesia, the promotion of Unity-in-Diversity in education is currently facilitated through the national character education paradigm. Before I further discuss the most recent version of the character education framework, it is important to first look at the older concept of character education, which was introduced in 2011. This is because the older version was the one referred to by the participants of this study during the time of fieldwork. Based on the Ministry of Education and Culture, character education consists of eighteen characters (Harjatanaya, 2015): (1) Religious; (2) Honest; (3) Tolerance; (4) Discipline; (5) Work hard; (6) Creative; (7) Independent; (8) Democratic; (9) Curious; (10) Nationalism; (11) Love the nation (patriotism); (12) Appreciate achievement; (13) Communicative; (14) Peace-loving; (15) Love to read; (16) Environmentally-conscious; (17) Social awareness; (18) Responsible.

Under the administration of President Jokowi, the character education is reconceptualised to correspond to the nine national development priorities called “*The Nawa Cita*”. Through the Presidential Regulation Number 87 of 2017, this newer version of character education is called “the Strengthening Character Education (PPK)”. The most apparent change of this re-conceptualisation is the condensation of the eighteen values into five core values: (1) religiosity, (2) nationalism, (3) independence, (4) integrity and (5) collaborative work. These five values are argued to be the essential characters of the ‘Indonesian golden generation’, including those in schools currently, that according to *Pancasila* are to face a dynamic future (Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, 2017d). The construction of only five values does not mean that the other thirteen values are no longer included in the character education agenda. They are in fact still part of the

character education, but now they are developed under the conceptual umbrella of the five fundamental character values (refer to Image 2.5).

Image 2.5 Character Education Framework, with an addition of English translation (Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, 2017a)



The PPK movement, which is part of the bigger “National Mental Revolution Movement” is defined as ‘an educational movement in schools to strengthen the character of students through harmonisation of emotion (ethics), sensory (aesthetics), mind (literacy), and physique (kinaesthetic) with the support of public involvement and collaborations among school, family, and the wider society’ (Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, 2017a). Within these four dimensions, emotion (ethics) is specifically described as having spirituality, piety and devotion to God; sense (aesthetics) as having moral integrity and artistic and cultural sense; mind (literacy) as developing academic competence and life-long learning; and physique (kinaesthetic) as having a healthy body and the ability to actively participate as a citizen (ibid). Through the development of these four dimensions, PPK aims to address the wide-ranging challenges faced by the nation, which include, but

are not limited to: low human development index, socio-economic inequalities, moral degradation, corruption, national identity crisis, intolerance, radicalisation, pornography and sexual disorientation (Budhiman, 2017). To understand better the relevance of character education in building the envisaged “Indonesian golden generation” who possess so-called “national-characters” and determine the relationship between character education and Unity-in-Diversity, I turn to the PPK Framework as a reference (Image 2.5).

The first thing that is clear from the diagram is that the four pillars of nationhood, namely the 1945 Constitution, *Pancasila*, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, and NKRI (The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia) are at the heart of the development of PPK. This is illustrated by the four pillars encircling the word PPK in the centre of the diagram. The positioning of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* alongside the other pillars in the centre of the diagram reaffirms its role in guiding the overall implementation of PPK and the national education, and it too simultaneously underlines the role of the education system in manifesting the vision of Unity-in-Diversity.

Second, the five core values which underpin the PPK framework (nationalist, religiosity, independent, integrity, and collaborative work) are translated and expanded into twenty values in total. By identifying “nationalist” and “religiosity” as core values, it reiterates how the construction of Unity-in-Diversity involves the process of building both religious and national identities. It also reflects the aforementioned tension and compromise of nationalist-religious discourses in the education system. Included in the ‘nationalist’ dimension is the value of respecting diversity which in turn reasserts the multicultural element of national identity and nation-ness. Meanwhile within the ‘religiosity’ dimension, the personal development of piety and devoutness to God is aligned with a more social-orientated development of tolerance, which somehow

implicitly points to the dual role of religious education (inward and outward). The inclusion of these values solidifies the strong notion of diversity in character education. It is worth noting here that tolerance might not be the best term to describe an ideal, equal relationship between two parties because there lies a notion of an uneven power relation (Brown, 2009). “Tolerance” contains a negative connotation of withstanding the differences rather than accepting “the others” fully, where ‘tolerance always presupposes a control over what is tolerated’ (Hage, 2000:89). However, it should be clarified that in Indonesia, the term is still positively associated with the effort towards inter-religious harmony and is used pervasively in both policies and practices, and so the term “tolerance” is used as a positive attribute when discussing about Unity-in-Diversity in Indonesia.

Third, the insertion of “De-radicalisation” and “Anti-Violence” policies in the framework suggests that the Indonesian government sees them as serious issues in education, and schools are perceived to have a role in preventing violence and the potential to de-radicalise fundamentalists and extremists. This is an unsurprising move since Indonesia has seen a surge of home-grown Islamist militancy after the occurrence of numerous high-profile terrorist attacks and violent acts made on religious grounds over the last two decades in various areas of Indonesia, as was perused earlier in this chapter. It is interesting to find that the “De-radicalisation” policy is positioned under the development of nationalism section, whereas the “Anti-Violence” policy is placed under the development of religiosity section. This positioning could imply that radicalisation is viewed more as a threat to national unity than inter-religious harmony, and how strengthening nationalism and love for the nation can help with the de-radicalisation process. It represents the view that radicalisation is seen as a national security issue that is fundamentally linked with ideological difference instead of religious difference.

Meanwhile, the placement of the “Anti-Violence” policy within the religiosity category demonstrates the state’s awareness of the risk of people using violence on behalf of their religion. The introduction of these two inter-related policies within the character education framework reaffirms the expected role of education in protecting and accommodating the national vision of diversity.

#### 2.4.2. Character Education and 2013 Curriculum

The discourse of character education is found to be deeply ingrained in the 2013 national curriculum and school practices across all educational levels with the main priority being towards students in primary and lower secondary education, although it does also include upper secondary education (Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, 2017a, 2017b). Alongside the holistic implementation of the “School Literacy Movement” which is intended to increase students’ interest in reading and overall literacy skills, the full integration of character education across all aspects of schooling is said to be the main indicator of successful implementation of the 2013 Curriculum (Kurniasih, 2018).

Before I discuss further how the character education agenda fits into the 2013 curriculum, it is important to first understand the current situation regarding the implementation of the 2013 curriculum. When this research started in 2015, the Indonesian education system was in a transition period from the 2006 curriculum (known as KTSP) to the 2013 curriculum (known as K-13) (Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, 2015). At this time, schools were given the authority to choose which curriculum to follow, but they would all have to implement the new curriculum by 2020. The underlying reason for this long transitional period are based around the varied level of readiness of individual schools, both in terms of infrastructure and teaching apparatus as the implementation of the 2013 curriculum requires a drastic overhaul (refer to Table 2.1

for a summary of the changes). In order to be able to implement this new curriculum, schools need to be equipped with a certain level of technological facilities as well as the teachers having to change their teaching style toward a more student-centred style.

*Table 2.1 Characteristics of 2006 and 2013 Curriculum*

No	KTSP 2006	2013 Curriculum (K-13)
1	Process of learning and assessment are knowledge-based	Process of learning and assessment comprise of the dimensions of attitude, skills and knowledge
2	Separation between subjects that build attitudes, skills, and knowledge	All subjects have to contribute to the formation of attitudes, skills and knowledge
3	Each subject stands alone as an individual subject	All subjects are bound by core competencies
4	The standard process of learning consists of exploration, elaboration, and confirmation	Adopts a scientific approach. The standard process in learning in this approach consists of observing, inquiring, processing, presenting, concluding, and creating
5	ICT is an individual subject	ICT is not an individual subject, but is used as media for all learning
6	Streaming/phasing/tracking system starts in Year XI (2 <sup>nd</sup> year of upper secondary)	Streaming/phasing/tracking system starts in Year X (1 <sup>st</sup> year of upper secondary)

There are at least three key characteristics of the 2013 curriculum that have direct implications on the implementation of character education. These include student-centred learning, development and assessment of multi-dimensional competencies, and integration of ICT into teaching. Firstly, the shift from the more authoritarian, didactic approach to a student-centred approach of learning means there will be more opportunity for creative, independent, and cooperative learning. This is consistent with the goals of PPK which is supposed to equip students with 21<sup>st</sup> century skills which are ‘critical, creative, communicative and collaborative’ (Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, 2017a). Regarding teaching for Unity-in-Diversity, this shift of learning objective also opens up the possibility of implementing initiatives that nurture students’

character in respecting diversity and practising tolerance. The fact that under the new curriculum all subject teachers are expected to implement character education, as opposed to it being the sole responsibility of civic education and religious education teachers as in the previous curriculum, the promotion of Unity-in-Diversity should be more systematically and holistically integrated in the school.

Secondly, the development of multi-dimensional competency assessments requires teachers to change their teaching paradigms, from focusing solely on knowledge transmission to one that includes the development of skills and character-building. This changing of educational paradigm is consistent with the goals of PPK and the Regulation of the Minister of Education and Culture No. 5/2015 on Student's Graduation Criteria, which states that the result of national examinations should no longer determine the students' graduation. The pressure to do well in national examinations has caused great concern not only among students and parents, but it has also put pressure on schools (Parker & Raihani, 2011), which leads to the result-driven process of teaching and learning in schools. This major change in the educational paradigm would ideally give more opportunities for teachers and students to focus on learning processes and developing multiple competencies, instead of merely paying attention to the end-product and developing the cognitive aspect. However, the question regarding assessment remains, notably on how teachers assess the abstract construct of aspects of a student's character such as their religiosity. A student report provides the student's ranking and determines student's grade promotion. As it comprises of four types of assessment (cognitive, skills, attitudes, and spirituality/religiosity), there is a high risk of subjectivity, and therefore assessment can be an extremely complex and problematic task.

Thirdly, the 2013 curriculum is supposed to be IT-based, where learning is delivered using different modes of media and teachers are expected to integrate the learning of ICT into their teaching. This is problematic for two reasons. Apart from the superficial and limited learning of ICT, not all schools and students have the technological equipment to support this IT-based, interactive learning. Even if they do, not all teachers and students have the ability to use the technology to meet the set standard. The expectation for students and teachers to utilise the internet to maximise their learning also raises the issue of safeguarding students and teachers from unreliable sources and radicalised content. As found in the study conducted by the Wahid Institute (Huda, 2017), the rise of intolerances and radicalised thinking within the young, millennial generation of Muslim Indonesians in urban areas is closely related to a higher intensity use of technology. The lack of interest in conventional reading (e.g. books) and the preference of using mobile phones rather than other media to find out about news and information are some of the key features of this vulnerable group. With the prevalence of hoaxes or false news, misinformation and radicalised content in Indonesia is often disseminated through the internet and various social media platforms (BBC News Indonesia, 2016c; Kwok, 2017; The Jakarta Post, 2019). This suggests the importance for teachers to supervise the prominent use of technology in learning. The development of critical thinking and the enactment of the de-radicalisation policy, which are the objectives of character education (Figure 3) and the 2013 curriculum, needs to be prioritised to shield students from radicalised and provocative content.

With all the recent educational reforms taking place in Indonesia, especially when they massively overhaul the nature of performance assessment, the learning objectives are widened and schools are expected to offer more well-rounded learning (knowledge, skills, and attitudes). This therefore creates possibility of more creative, autonomous, and

critical learning, which in turn sets a healthy foundation for learning about diversity in school. Nonetheless, if we are to consider the Indonesian education system as a whole with reference to the character education framework, it soon becomes clear the complex role schools play and the plethora of expectations they have thrust upon them. As the largest archipelagic country and a developing country with a high level of geographical diversity, the inequalities between a more developed province (e.g. Jakarta) to a less developed one (e.g. Papua) and between the urban and rural areas is wide (Suryadarma & Jones, 2013). While there are schools which are ready to implement the 2013 curriculum, character education, and other programmes, many are still in poor condition (dilapidated buildings, insufficient teachers, etc) (ibid).

In view of these ongoing problems, the responses regarding the implementation of the 2013 curriculum and character education have not always been encouraging. Many have criticised the government for rushing into the implementation since they believe there are still many long-standing, pressing issues that need addressing such as poor school infrastructure, low quality of teachers, teachers' absenteeism, and poor access to schools, to name but a few (see Suryadarma & Jones, 2013 for more). The Ministry have set a target that by 2019/2020 all schools should already be using K-13 (Ministry of Education and Culture Indonesia, 2015). However, in 2018, it was reported that there were still seventy-eight-thousand schools which were yet to implement the 2013 curriculum. Officials from the Ministry of Education and Culture said that 2018/2019 would be the last academic year that these schools would be provided with assistance and training from the government to transition to fully implementing the 2013 curriculum (Kurniasih, 2018). All these educational issues revolve around issues of access and quality of education. This adds to the delicate balance surrounding the implementation of the curriculum, which in turn bears the wider question of the multitude of expectations

on the education sector, the relevance of character education and also the importance of teaching about diversity. In the forthcoming chapter, the complex role of education in promoting the vision of Unity-in-Diversity is conceptually discussed through a multicultural education lens against this dynamic ideal-reality backdrop.

## **2.5. Conclusion**

Indonesia is one of the most culturally and linguistically diverse countries in the world. To accommodate diversity in this vast country, Indonesia adopts “Unity-in-Diversity” (*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*) as its national motto. Together with *Pancasila* as the Indonesian ideology, both serve as legal frameworks and guiding principles for Indonesian citizens to live together despite their many differences. Although Unity-in-Diversity is an official national motto and has been an integral part of Indonesian nationhood ever since the establishment of this country in 1945, the meanings of Unity-in-Diversity remain highly contested and continue to be interpreted in contemporary Indonesia, particularly with regard to the aspect of religion. This is partly because the concepts of *Pancasila* and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* have been sources of contention between the nationalist group (who want Indonesia to be based on diversity) and the Islamist group (who want Indonesia to adopt Shari’ah law) ever since they were first proclaimed as Indonesian ideology. At the same time, these two national pillars have been used across time by various state, religious, and political leaders as political rhetoric to support their different political agendas which makes their meanings even more tangled. This is why it is important to make sense of how the term Unity-in-Diversity is understood by the educational stakeholders in schools (see Chapter 6) in order to further comprehend their responses in accommodating this national motto in schools and classrooms (see Chapter 7 and 8).

The discussion in this chapter has also demonstrated the central role religion plays in the construction of Unity-in-Diversity in contemporary Indonesia. As a manifestation of Unity-in-Diversity in this religiously diverse country, freedom of religion is legally protected by the state. However, a review of legislation and literature show that there are boundaries to this “freedom”; this freedom neither includes the freedom to be atheist nor freedom to choose a religion outside of the six official state religions. Religious practices of religious minority groups, (including those who perceive their own beliefs to be affiliated to Islam) also remain restricted, and in some cases, members of these groups have also been alienated and attacked for practising their beliefs (Bottomley, 2014; Burhani, 2014; Colbran, 2010; Mustafied et al., 2015).

The nationalist-Islamist dynamic and the complex relations between majority and minority groups in Indonesia have also influenced the establishment of the dual Indonesian education system. Review of current educational policies, particularly those linked to the notion of diversity and provision of religious education has suggested that the vision of Unity-in-Diversity has been enacted into education, though this is argued to be somewhat vague and limited. The implementation of values of Unity-in-Diversity is evidently facilitated in the 2013 curriculum and character education agenda through the obligation to develop values of nationalism and religiosity instead of simply advocating the construction of religious and national identity in schools. The potential benefits, challenges, and limitations in accommodating the vision of Unity-in-Diversity in schools and classrooms are further explored in Chapter 7 and 8.

## 3 Theoretical Lens: Multiculturalism and Multicultural Education

### 3.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I discussed the contextual meanings and significance of the national motto '*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*' (Unity-in-Diversity) in Indonesian society. This chapter theoretically assesses this concept of diversity as understood on a local level through the theoretical lens of multiculturalism, and how it is used to examine the role of education in promoting peaceful coexistence in multicultural Indonesia. This is important because an aim for the thesis is to contribute to a better model of multicultural education through the use of the concept as an analytical research lens.

Among the many theories of diversity, the approach of managing Indonesian diversity in a post-authoritarian era has been largely discussed academically using multiculturalist and pluralist discourses (Bagir et al., 2014; Hefner, 2001; Hoon, 2006, 2017; Parker, 2017; Raihani, 2014b). This could be due to the strong push for the state to accommodate and recognise the various ethnic and religious groups (especially minority groups) and individuals who identified with these groups in the reform era; a phenomenon that is conceptually facilitated by multiculturalism and pluralism. Whilst both the terms *multikulturalisme* (multiculturalism) and *pluralisme* (pluralism) are commonly used by Indonesian academics (e.g. Munawar-Rachman, 2010; Pedersen, 2016) and in everyday life to discuss the issue of diversity, pluralism is used more cautiously following the 2005 MUI *fatwa*, which rejects the promotion of pluralism, liberalism and secularism (Hasyim, 2015; Hoon, 2017).

As a result of the negative connotation attached to pluralism, notably when examining the issue of religious diversity in Indonesia, it makes multiculturalism a relatively less controversial concept. A review of the literature on multiculturalism also suggests its appropriateness and usefulness as an academic platform to discuss the core notions related to the Indonesian philosophy of diversity (Unity-in-Diversity), such as on the topics of cultural diversity, religion, nationalism, identity, and citizenship. A more focused review of the literature within the field of education and diversity signifies an emerging use of multicultural education in examining the educational role in teaching religious diversity, which is also addressed in this research. The emphasis of multiculturalism on accommodating the different cultural needs and interests, of both individuals and groups, also resonates with the objective of this thesis; that is, to explore each school's own approach to accommodating a vision of diversity through recognition of rights of religious minority groups. A detailed explanation on how the theories of multicultural education are used as the conceptual framework in this study is outlined in Chapter 4.

With respect to the scope of theoretical coverage, I am aware that the study of multiculturalism and multicultural education is very complex, extensive, and highly contended. The ideas of multiculturalism and multicultural education have been utilised to conceptualise a wide range of topics such as diversity, encompassing ethnicity, race, religion, gender, socio-economic status, language, sexual orientation, and disabilities in various national and cultural settings (e.g. Banks & Banks, 2010; Harjatanaya & Hoon, 2020; Ibrahim, 2007; Parker, 2011, 2017; Salili & Hoosain, 2006; Yuval-Davis, 1997). For the purpose of this thesis, the scope of discussion about multiculturalism is limited to aspects of multiculturalism deemed relevant to understanding the role of education in promoting harmonious relations, specifically in the case of Indonesia. The elements of

diversity I am focusing on are mainly religion and ethnicity, although given the multiplicity and fluidity of identity, they also intersect with other types of diversity such as gender (e.g. veiling for female Muslims, discussed throughout this thesis), socio-economic status (e.g. the case of minority Chinese Indonesians, discussed in Chapter 2) and language (e.g. the case of Papuan used in Bali, later discussed in Chapter 6-8). Thus, specific discussion of wider aspects of diversity are considered when relevant and appropriate.

This chapter starts with defining multiculturalism and engaging with the debate about the relevance of and criticisms of multiculturalism. It then describes the historical development of multicultural education and how the notions of religion, nationalism and citizenship are conceptualised within the theory of multicultural education. Appropriate examples regarding the policy, practice, and academic discussion on multiculturalism from numerous countries are provided to represent an international insight in the debate from Western countries such as Canada, the US, Australia, and the UK. However, more examples from the UK will be used due to my familiarity with its political and social situation. The second half of the chapter describes the Indonesian contextualised approach to multiculturalism and the suitability of multicultural education in promoting harmony in Indonesia and other countries before discussing the potential for, and challenges of, implementing multicultural education. Regional examples from neighbouring countries in Southeast Asia are also carefully selected to provide more insight and relevance to the example of Indonesia as well as to highlight the importance of contextuality when discussing multiculturalism and multicultural education.

### 3.1.1. What is Multiculturalism?

Many academics in the field of multiculturalism have agreed that multiculturalism needs to be understood as a dynamic and versatile entity that constantly undergoes construction and reconstruction to fit into particular temporal and spatial circumstances (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; Nye, 2007; Samad, 1997). On account of this, it is crucial to understand the provenance of multiculturalism and its fundamental principles as only through understanding its historical development, one can see the bigger picture of how and why multiculturalism as a term is highly contested and contextual.

Support for multiculturalism as a political ideology stemmed from the civil rights movement after the end of World War II (Banks, 2009a). In countries with a high influx of immigrants, such as the US, the UK, Canada, and Australia where institutionalised racism became the norm, multiculturalism was used as a direct response to counter the hegemonic racially segregated culture. In the 1960s and 1970s, many countries started introducing multiculturalist policies to deal with different types of diversity and immigrant integration (Ashcroft & Bevir, 2018; Bennett, 1998; Nasar Meer & Modood, 2011; Race, 2011). During this period, multiculturalism was welcomed with optimism and viewed as a political and social symbol of respect towards cultural diversity and equality, and between majority and minority groups.

Nonetheless, in recent years, governments in several states, notably the Netherlands have decided to withdraw their multicultural policy whilst many others, including the UK, Germany, and France, have voiced concerns over the effectiveness of multicultural policies in integrating immigrants (BBC News UK, 2010; Cameron, 2011; The Telegraph, 2011). In his speech in Munich Security Conference in 2011, David Cameron (Cameron, 2011) stated that by emphasising celebration of group cultures, mainly of the minority groups, multiculturalism has led to social disintegration as these

minority groups live in culturally exclusive neighbourhoods and tend to disengage with the wider society. The anxieties over home-grown terrorism in the aftermath of the various terror attacks in the UK, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands have also contributed to the debate about the success of multicultural policies. In the case of the UK, despite some political backlash, multicultural policies have not been fully retracted (Ashcroft & Bevir, 2018; Mathieu, 2018). Instead, civic integration policies, such as the introduction of citizenship tests for immigrants, the development of “fundamental British values” to promote social cohesion (Department for Education, 2016) and the “Prevent Duty” programme (HM Government, 2015) which seeks to detect potential radicalisation in educational institutions have been introduced concurrently to supplement the multicultural policies. This demonstrates the continuous relevance of multicultural policies in managing diversity, even though the idea of multiculturalism has been under critical scrutiny, both politically and academically.

Drawing from this brief overview about the development of multiculturalism internationally, it can be inferred that multiculturalism as a term has been defined, used, and discussed in multiple forms. Multiculturalism is used to mean a policy, a political rhetoric, and a philosophy or ideology, all at the same time. It is exactly because of this multiplicity of understanding that it is challenging to encapsulate the meaning of multiculturalism neatly. To add to the complexity, all these forms of multiculturalism are then discussed academically across a variety of discourses, from politics to sociology and throughout education (Hoon, 2017; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). Even among the advocates of multiculturalism such as Kymlicka and Parekh, the conceptualisation of multiculturalism varies slightly depending on both their philosophical views, and personal and academic experiences of diversity. Kymlicka, who is based in Canada has a more liberal approach to multiculturalism. One of his main theses on multiculturalism,

which he coins as multicultural citizenship, emphasises the interconnection between multiculturalism policy with citizenship to achieve civic integration (Kymlicka, 1995, 2001, 2011, 2018). By contrast, Parekh (1998, 2006a, 2006b), a renowned political theorist on multiculturalism who was born in India and is now based in the UK, has proposed a slightly different approach to multiculturalism. In order to avoid privileging liberalism, Parekh's version of multiculturalism emphasises the importance of intercultural dialogue to help groups and individuals talk through and across their differences and to see the strengths and weaknesses of their own groups through the eyes of others (Parekh, 2006b). However, as part of the conceptualisation of equal citizenship status, Kymlicka also includes the importance of political autonomy for minority groups which is not explicit in Parekh's work. As Meer & Modood (2011) aptly write, 'multiculturalism as a concept is – like very many others – “polysemic”, such that multiculturalist authors cannot be held entirely responsible for the variety of ways in which the term is interpreted.' (p. 5).

To shed some light on the complexity surrounding the definition of multiculturalism, some academics have formulated various typologies to delineate the different rubrics of multiculturalism. For example, Nye (2007:111-113) catalogued three ways of looking at multiculturalism: (1) multiculturalism as an ideology, (2) multiculturalism as a social issue, and (3) the academic study of multiculturalism, whereas Fleras (2009) divides multiculturalism into five levels: (1) multiculturalism as an empirical fact, (2) multiculturalism as an ideology/philosophy, (3) multiculturalism as an official policy and program, (4) multiculturalism as a practice, and (5) multiculturalism as a counter-hegemony.

Regardless of the variations of the conceptualisation of multiculturalism, at the heart of multiculturalism is the building of positive relationships among different groups in society, often based on the principles of equality and social justice. One common principle of multiculturalism is essentially about recognising and accommodating the rights of groups in order to preserve and develop their cultural group identity. A politics of recognition toward the rights of the minority who often feel powerless is therefore seen as paramount in the implementation of multicultural policy because misrecognition or non-recognition of these groups and their rights can lead them being subject to oppression, subordination, and discrimination (Taylor, 1994).

In this thesis, I am using multiculturalism as an academic lens to situate this study. As a result, I theoretically use it to describe an inclusive state of diversity that accommodates and recognises the rights and identities of different groups (particularly the minority groups). It is also used to conceptualise a response to diversity (by the state, educational institution, and individual), which is explored in the form of rhetoric, policy, program, and practice.

In addition to clarifying the definition of multiculturalism, the aforementioned categorisation is also useful to address critiques of multiculturalism, which often stem from misunderstanding of the different conceptualisation of multiculturalism. Indeed, reviewing the literature on multiculturalism and other forms of integration theory, multiculturalism has been so heavily criticised during the last two decades that it is now often defined by these critiques (e.g. Barry, 2001; Cattle, 2012). Many academics whose work is related to multiculturalism have to regularly address the critiques with regard to what multiculturalism is not, rather than explaining what multiculturalism is. Comparisons between multiculturalism and other concepts of diversity such as pluralism

(Hoon, 2017) or interculturalism (Meer & Modood, 2011) are also made in order to straighten out misinterpretations about multiculturalism and highlight its characteristics and continuous pertinence in promoting peaceful coexistence. Similar to all these multiculturalists, I too feel that it is imperative that this thesis engages with these criticisms, especially when multiculturalism has received negative responses from politicians, media, and academics during the last two decades (Mason, 2018). Criticisms on multiculturalism and the corresponding counter arguments are presented next.

### 3.1.2. Criticisms of Multiculturalism

There are at least four main criticisms directed towards multiculturalism which are derived from the two notions of multiculturalism as a theoretical underpinning and multiculturalism as a political rhetoric and/or policy. In short, these criticisms are related to the issues of cultural essentialism, promoting group exclusivity and civic disintegration, incompatibility with the construction of national identity, and the potential of breeding domestic terrorism.

#### **Multiculturalism and Essentialism**

The first main critique of multiculturalism concerns the consequences of emphasising group identity and cultural celebration. When multiculturalism was first introduced, efforts were directed towards the celebration of minority cultures, such as through food, music, and vibrant clothing. Albeit trying to promote cultural diversity, the emphasis on this tokenistic approach is claimed to have ignored issues such as institutionalised racism and structural social injustices associated with majority-minority power relations within the society (May, 1999, 2011). This celebratory approach to multiculturalism and the emphasis on the recognition and accommodation of group identity has led to cultural essentialism where culture is treated as a static, fixed and homogeneous entity (Ang, 2001a; Yuval-Davis, 1997). The emphasis of multiculturalism on celebrating group

identity is argued to have perpetuated group stereotypes and undermined the fluidity of individual identity.

When looking at those who are critics of essentialism, some academics (e.g. Anthias, 2001; Hall, 2000) have discussed the usefulness of the concept of hybridity in blurring the rigid boundaries of identity, arguably perpetuated by multiculturalism. It is particularly relevant when discussing diaspora or second-generation citizens when 'people are often obliged to adopt shifting, multiple or hyphenated positions of identification' (Hall, 2000:227). Authors of the concept of cultural hybridity in particular have highlighted the multiplicities of one's identity and warned of the inappropriateness to define one's identity unilaterally (Ang, 2001a; Anthias, 2001).

The notion of cosmopolitanism has been popularised by some authors including Appiah (2006) and it is also claimed to be a useful lens to conceptualise identity in the increasingly globalised and international world. It constructs the relationship between local and global identities whilst ensuring the responsibilities of each person as being a citizen of a nation(s) and the wider world. Often juxtaposed with inward-looking patriotism and nationalism, cosmopolitanism posits that everyone is part of one big international community, where 'allegiance is to the worldwide community of human beings' and bonded through humanity and global citizenship (Nussbaum, 2002:4). Other concepts such as anti-racism (e.g. Troyna, 1993) and interculturalism (e.g. Cattle, 2012), which were introduced to replace multiculturalism, are posited to be the better versions of multiculturalism since they also aim to address racism and essentialism. By acknowledging the risk of cultural essentialism and employing a reductionist approach, the proponents of multiculturalism have continued to redefine and develop the concept of

multiculturalism to ensure it provides a more critical view towards understanding and promoting diversity (e.g. Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; May, 2011).

### **Cultural Exclusivity in Multiculturalism**

The second critique is that multiculturalism has driven minority groups to live exclusively in their own communities. This has become one of the main arguments of many politicians for the failure of multicultural policies. Multiculturalism has been accused of being too naïve in not considering the challenges of cultural diversity, and for assuming that the recognition of minority rights alone can automatically lead to a harmonious multicultural society. In the UK, prior to Cameron's administration, New Labour had already begun to problematise the failure of multiculturalist policy and started introducing assimilative policies to encourage immigrants and minority groups to embrace British traditions and culture (Ashcroft & Bevir, 2018). New Labour also introduced a new British citizenship test and tightened immigration and asylum law (Ashcroft & Bevir, 2018). While this idea that segregated living has been maintained is often used as part of the anti-immigrant rhetoric, such as during the Brexit campaign, research conducted by Heath & Demireva (2014) demonstrate that in reality immigrants do not lead parallel lives since residential and workplace segregation is actually rather low. They also found that while some groups of immigrants from Pakistani and Bangladeshi backgrounds have more reservations with intergroup marriage, they are no more inclined to reject integration into British society, to reject a British identity, or to contemplate violent protest than other ethno-religious groups.

Advocates of multiculturalism have refuted these criticisms, highlighting two key tenets of multiculturalism, often unnoticed by the critiques. First, they contend that multiculturalism is not a one-way process that solely benefits and targets the minority

groups. Parekh (2006b) postulates that central to multiculturalism is its dialogical quality, that multiculturalism is about building relationships between individuals and groups based on multi-directional instructions. Multiculturalism is not only about respecting the cultures of the minority groups, but it is also about the minority groups respecting the cultures of the majority. Thus, the building of harmonious multicultural societies is based on mutual recognition and respect of each other's cultures. Second, the minority groups who are mainly immigrants in the Western context are perceived to have low levels of loyalty and sense of belonging to the country they reside in, and by preserving the culture of their origin country, they are seen to have a stronger attachment to their origin country as opposed to the host country (Mason, 2017; Mirza, Senthilkumaran, & Ja'far, 2007). The construction of identity is not based on a zero-sum principle where a stronger affinity to one aspect of identity does not equal a weaker affinity to another aspect of identity (Mathieu, 2018). As such, an individual can develop both cultural and national identity and hence it is misleading to assume that multiculturalism is the reason for exclusive living and segregated society among minority groups.

### **Nationalism and Multiculturalism**

The misinterpretation that multiculturalism is only concerned with group cultural identity and that it leads to disintegration means it is often presumed that multiculturalism ignores the significance of national identity as being the glue that brings all differing communities together (Barry, 2001). In liberal circles, the contested relationship between multiculturalism and nationalism and the concepts of each of them are often perceived as incompatible and they place them at each end of two contrasting spectrums which also further complicates the situation (Asari, Halikiopoulou, & Mock, 2008). In many contexts, nationalists are described as those supporting right-wing, white supremacy politics, and so by this assumption, are also anti-immigrants.

In response to these criticisms and assumptions, some multiculturalists have rebutted and deliberated over the importance of national identity in multiculturalism. In reviewing the work of Parekh, Uberoi (2018) contends that Parekh has advocated a concept of national identity within the theory of multiculturalism ever since the 1970's, based on the principle of cultural inclusivity (Parekh, 1995, 2006). Kymlicka (1995) has established the concept of multicultural citizenship where embracing multiculturalism is part of the right and responsibility of each citizen, such as in the case of Canada. Uberoi & Modood (2013) have also proposed that a shared, inclusive sense of national identity should be jointly reconstructed by all groups to build a strong sense of belonging, instead of being imposed by a group of elites with their own homogeneous views and narratives. When a shared civic national identity is inclusively constructed in a multicultural society, 'diverse individuals and groups within a population can easily incorporate, adopt or identify with it, without compromising their own distinctive cultural values' (Asari et al., 2008, p.3).

### **Radicalisation and Multiculturalism**

The fourth criticism of multiculturalism moves the discussion away from the ethnic and racial arena to a religious one. This appears to mainly target the Muslim community in Western countries as Muslim groups are often portrayed as a threat (Davies, 2016; Kundnani, 2012). This critique holds the view that multiculturalism has led to the growth of radicalisation, more specifically home-grown radicalisation in the Western world. In the UK, it was not only David Cameron who cited multiculturalism as the culprit of domestic terrorism. Previously, Mirza, Senthilkumaran, & Ja'far (2007) in their report entitled "Living apart together British Muslims and the paradox of multiculturalism" also held multiculturalism responsible for the growth of extreme Islamism in the UK. It states, 'the emphasis on difference has been a long-standing tenet of multiculturalism, but

despite concerted efforts to make Muslims feel included and protected in British society, the opposite has occurred' (Mirza, Senthilkumaran, & Ja'far, 2007:17).

Parekh (2006a:180-181) asserts that the perceived threat of Islamic radicalisation can be attributed to negative stereotypes about Muslims where they are depicted as 'collectivist, intolerant, authoritarian, illiberal and theocratic', and that they use their faith as 'a self-conscious public statement ... not only to remind them of who they are but also to announce to others what they stand for'. Surveys conducted in Britain on people's perspectives about Islam report that 77 percent of people believe that 'Islam has a lot of fanatical followers' and 64 percent believe that Muslims 'treats women badly' (Field, 2007:453). These strong assumptions around Islamic identity and how Muslims behave are seen as disparate from the mainstream culture and considered as a threat to Western values such as liberalism and democracy. This negative reputation that Muslims carry in the Western world (Ghosh et al., 2017), including in the UK especially after the 7/7 London terror attacks as well as specific cases of radicalisation such as the controversial Shamima Begum case (see BBC News UK, 2019) have consequentially meant that Muslims have been subjected to self-exclusion and social exclusion. It is thus unsurprising to see that the counterterrorism work in the UK is often linked explicitly to assimilative policies, targeting particularly Muslim communities (Meer, 2010).

Due to the assumed relationship between Islamic fundamentalists and terrorism (Kundnani, 2012), it is unwise to reproduce narratives in which Islam and Muslims are portrayed as the perpetrators and non-Muslims and Western people as the victims. In many terrorism events worldwide, such as in Indonesia, most of the victims have been identified to be Muslims in the so-called Islamist radical movement, thus showing that Muslims are also targeted. Within the critical multicultural frame of mind, it is thus

important to avoid homogenising or perpetuating prejudices against certain groups and instead start understanding that violent, radical, and terrorist acts are religion-less and colour-less. Antisemitism in Nazi Germany which led to discrimination and the massacre of Jews (and other minority groups) and the apartheid system in Africa have illustrated how other radical thinking such as that of white supremacy had spread terror and violence against the supposedly inferior racial groups. In fact, white nationalist supremacy has continued to be an important ideology for the far-right movement in the US, the UK, and other European countries where they spread hate and violence (Butcher & Luxen, 2019). In the revised Prevent Duty Guidance (HM Government, 2015), the white supremacist ideology is described to ‘pose a continued threat to [the] safety and security [of people in the UK]’ as it provides ‘both the inspiration and justification for people who have committed extreme right-wing terrorist acts’ (p.3). The New Zealand terrorism attack on two mosques was carried out by a man suspected to be a white supremacist. This attack caused the death of more than 50 Muslims and became a horrifying reminder of the prevalence of white supremacy (BBC News UK, 2019b; Roy, 2019). As such, it is important to define terrorism in a more general, larger context. It is misleading to blame multiculturalism and Muslim communities for terrorism acts.

Given the increasing importance of religious identity and the global concern in fighting radicalisation and terrorism, as well as the prevailing discussion surrounding religious symbols in the public sphere and accommodation of religious needs within the milieu of multiculturalism, further elaboration on how religion is conceptualised in multiculturalism is presented next. This topic is also pertinent to the case of Indonesian multiculturalism where religion has become a significant identifier of peaceful coexistence.

## **3.2. Multicultural Education: Theoretical Perspectives and Issues**

### **3.2.1. Historical Development, Definition, Trend and Critiques**

Multicultural education was first developed in the US as a direct response to the multiculturalism policy which emerged following the civil rights movement in the 1960s and 1970s (Banks, 2009a). This move towards multicultural education was pioneered by the African American civil rights movement and inspired marginalised ethnic groups in other countries such as the UK, Canada, and Australia to follow suit. During this period, the waves of immigration to Western countries led to the increase of ethnic, cultural, racial, religious, and linguistic diversity. Educational institutions, among others became significant targets of the civil rights movement, being seen as a site where group differentiations and power relations are socialised, constructed, reflected and reproduced (e.g. Banks, 2009c; Gillborn, 1992, 2006; May, 1999; Tzanakis, 2011). The inequality in the society is permeated by all aspects of education, from policy to practice through the school vision and mission, curriculum, textbooks, school culture, teacher attitudes and expectations, languages and dialects spoken in the schools, and extracurricular activities (Banks, 2009b; Raihani, 2011b). Multicultural education then serves as a critique to the previous mono-cultural, assimilationist ideology of education which tends to breed arrogance, insensitivity, and racism (Parekh, 2006b). Against this backdrop, the founding father of multicultural education, Banks (Banks & Banks, 2010, p. 3) defines multicultural education as:

*...at least three things: an idea or concept, an educational reform movement, and a process. Multicultural education incorporates the idea that all students – regardless of their gender, social class, and ethnic, racial, or cultural characteristics – should have an equal opportunity to learn in school.*

Banks' definition encompasses at least three main goals of multicultural education. The first goal aims to reform educational institutions so that they can provide equal learning opportunities for all students. The second is that educational institutions are part of the wider multiculturalism agenda, and that they have an active role in fighting against institutionalised racism and in promoting democracy and social justice. The third goal is that educational institutions become a site where transmission of multicultural values and the construction of an inclusive identity of young people take place. They hold an integral position in the society in shaping the future of nations that are more just, accommodating, and respectful towards differences.

With regard to the trend of multicultural education research, a review of the literature reveals that the focus of research on multicultural education often falls under either one of these two dimensions: (1) multicultural education to promote peaceful coexistence and (2) multicultural education to achieve equality in academic achievement. Those focusing on the first dimension typically aim to explore ways in which educational systems can eliminate racism, accommodate diversity, and promote equality to achieve a democratic, inclusive society, just as is endeavoured by this thesis. The main subjects of these studies largely centre around the issues of ethnicity and race, although the two edited books on multicultural education by Banks (2009c) and Banks & Banks (2010) have illustrated that multicultural education has been and can be conceptualised beyond these two elements. Gender, religion, sexual orientation, social class, culture, language, and disabilities as well as their intersectionality between these have been considered in the development of multicultural education.

Other research within this field explores the second dimension of multicultural education, or the overlap of both dimensions, typically seeking to understand how these identities play out in the education system and how they may correlate with academic achievement. In many countries including the US and the UK, one of the most notable causes of low academic achievement in minority students, who are mainly identified as immigrant students, is a problem of language (Stritikus & Varghese, 2010). Many language education programs have been introduced, especially in the early phases of multicultural education to address this problem, though they remain contentious. Reviewing the historical evolution of language policy in the US, Stritikus & Varghese (2010) argue that this has been controversial. While there has been some support for multilingualism, generally there is an inclination towards English-only policy. Critics of bilingual or multilingual education contend that such education can promote segregation and undermine the unity of the United States since their official language is English. The issue of the mismatch between the culture of the marginalised groups and the school culture, which is argued to be a mirror of the mainstream, white, upper-middle-class society also becomes another contributing factor to the academic gap (Persell, 2010; Reay et al., 2007; Tzanakis, 2011).

Examining the historical trajectory of the development of multicultural education since the 1970s, the concept of multicultural education has been heavily criticised for broadly similar reasons as multiculturalism. In many countries, alternative concepts of education that deal with the issue of diversity have been developed. The conception of “anti-racism” education was widely advocated in the 1980s and early 1990s in the UK (see Gillborn, 1992; Mullard, 1983; Troyna, 1993), and arguably to a lesser extent in the US (e.g. Apple, 1996). This was to challenge the previous multicultural education policy which was criticised for its tokenistic approach and failure to address the deep-rooted

issue of racism in the society (May, 2011). In the UK, the shift of narrative from multicultural position to anti-racist position in education is reflected by the tone of recommendations in the Swann Report and the MacPherson Report respectively (Race, 2011).

Just as multicultural education is a product derived from multiculturalism policy, anti-racism education and intercultural education, among a myriad of existing concepts of diversity, are products of shifting political and philosophical discourses around the concepts of anti-racism and interculturalism. Due to this, their differences in terminologies and features are often as a repercussion of historical, social, and political contexts in which such educational concepts were initiated and developed. Each paradigm may serve certain agendas at certain times and settings, and hence may have different aims and foci (see Race, 2011 for details of the development of diversity discourse in education in the UK). As they are highly political in nature, they are prone to reinterpretations to fit the contexts in which they are used. Nonetheless, they ultimately share the same overarching vision of creating an inclusive and just society, where differences are respected and embraced. Some may even argue that one conception is characteristically part of the other; e.g. interculturalism is part of multiculturalism (see Meer & Modood, 2011). Journal searches also confirm that there is an occurrence of cross concepts of education and diversity, even in specific journals (e.g. multicultural education in the journal of intercultural education and vice versa). Because of these perceived resemblances, when reviewing relevant studies to this thesis, I have included research that adopts other conceptual frameworks of education and diversity such as anti-racist education, intercultural education and civic education as well as variations of multicultural education such as multicultural civic education and critical multicultural education.

Among the various kinds of diversity, ethnicity and race appear to be the more well-researched topics, which is expected considering the historical origin of multicultural education. However, in recent years, more academics in the field of multicultural education have called for more studies to include the topic of religion to address religious biases and prejudices due to the growing concern over radicalisation and inter-religious tensions. There has been a steady increase in the number of followers of all major religions, but Islam in particular is reported to be the fastest growing religion in the world (Pew Research Centre, 2011, 2017). As a result, it is important to think about the relevance of adding religion into multiculturalism. Many Americans also consider their religious identity as more important than other types of identity (Gollnick & Chinn, 2006), but the critical role of religion and religious education in multicultural education has been largely ignored and downplayed. Echoing similar comments, Parker & Hoon (2013:162) in their article on religion and multicultural citizenship in Australia and Indonesia state that ‘most academic books on multiculturalism theory and diversity fail to address religious diversity’, and that within the study of multiculturalism in Australia, more attention is directed towards ethnic and cultural diversity.

In his definition of multicultural education, Banks also does not include the element of religion, although in the introduction of *The Routledge International Companion in Multicultural Education*, he writes that the growth of the Muslim population and the rise of radical Islam and Islamophobia worldwide, especially in Western nations have influenced education significantly (Banks, 2009c). In his more recent book, Banks (2017) has also discussed the recent developments, trends, and issues of multicultural education where the issue of religious diversity and the responses towards Islam in the Western world. So overall given the changing landscape of multiculturalism issues and the vital role of religion in social and political spheres, there is an emerging

study of religion in multicultural education, including in this thesis. Due to the growing significance in this field and relevance in this thesis, the next section is dedicated to the discussion of conceptualising religion and religious education in multicultural education.

### 3.2.2. Religion in Multicultural Education

At the beginning of the multiculturalism movement in the 1960s and 1970s, the demands made by minority groups largely dealt with the issues of fighting against racial discrimination and to gain political equality. Nonetheless, in recent years the demands have shifted to include the accommodation of the different lifestyle choices shaped by religious teaching such as clothing, food, and ideology. This debate surrounding the recognition and accommodation of religious diversity as well as the construction of religious identity is also manifested in the educational sphere. Three recurring themes are identified within the educational literature concerning the study of religion in multicultural education.

The first theme concerns the schools' responses towards students' religious identities, encompassing questions regarding school policy on clothing, the wearing of religious symbols, special sanctions related to religious holidays, provision of religious education, and the accommodation of food requirements or seating plans. To elaborate on these points, it is first pertinent to engage with the debate about the appropriateness and obligation for a school, or a certain type of school, to respond, if at all. Within the academic literature on religion and education, there has been a long-standing contestation surrounding the provision of religious education, presence of religious symbols, and accommodation of religious needs in notably state schools, especially in secular, multicultural nations (Lessow-Hurley, 2009). It is a constant battle of discourses between the protection of individual human rights and the freedom to practise religion,

maintaining state neutrality, and between treating religion as a part of citizenship where the state is involved and religion as a private matter. In secular nations where religious expression in public space is problematised, such as in France, state schools oblige students and teachers to remove all religious symbols in the schools' perimeters in order to maintain state neutrality (Gaudin, 2017). One, if not the most affected religious group, from such regulation are female Muslim students and teachers who have committed to wearing a hijab. By contrast, in nations where the multicultural policy allows the expression of religious identity in the public sphere, such as in the UK, state schools are encouraged to accommodate the religious requests from all represented religious groups within reason and in compliance with the state's policy (Faas, Foster, & Smith, 2018).

Religious clothing aside, the presence of religious symbols in a school setting through the display of religious objects, images, or posters has also raised pedagogical questions. One of the most notable debates is whether the presence of non-living, passive objects represent a form of indoctrination. In an article about the pedagogical assumptions regarding displaying a crucifix in a classroom (Italy vs Lautsi case), Fancourt (2017) propounds that the implications of the symbol on students are related to the spatial and symbolic contexts of learning. He contends that while symbols themselves can carry meanings, the extent of the effect of them is related to multifarious factors; it requires the individual student's and teacher's response towards the symbols, the spatial dynamics and organisational practices of the school between one symbol in relation to other symbols, and wider school-based approaches to diversity.

The second theme concerns the ways schools critically teach religious diversity. Alongside citizenship education (Dejaeghere, 2009; Dilworth, 2004; Hoon, 2013; Kiwan, 2008; Osler & Starkey, 2001; Rapoport, 2011), religious education has been argued to

play a significant role in promoting inclusive diversity (Barnes, Davis, & Halstead, 2015; Ipgrave, 2012; Parker, 2014). Many authors have argued that building understanding and literacy about other religions is key to promoting open-mindedness and counter the prevailing negative stereotyping that one may have about certain religions (Barnes, Davis, & Halstead, 2015; Fancourt, 2015; Ipgrave, 2016; Moore, 2009; Wang, 2013). The purpose of the teaching of various religions is to enrich students' knowledge about the perspectives of other religions and to invite them to 'ponder the complexity of religious experience, resulting in a deeper appreciation of the experience' (Hoosain & Salili, 2006:4). It is neither meant to replace their personal or familial religious experience, nor weaken their commitment towards their own religion by promoting and/or vilifying another religion. Notwithstanding the positive role religious education can have, in post-conflict, deeply divided societies, Fontana's (2016) study in Lebanon, Northern Ireland and Macedonia states that religious education tends to contribute to the entrenchment of existing cleavages. One of the reasons for this is because the content of the lesson and pedagogy reproduces the assumption that children belong to mutually exclusive and separate confessional groups.

Ever since the rise of radical Islamism, there has been a heightened level of Islamophobia especially in the Western world (Field, 2007; Rod Gardner et al., 2008). The portrayal of Islam and Muslim people as an embodiment of the 'Other' who pose a threat to society and are viewed as the perpetrators for various bombings and killings worldwide has led to social exclusion towards those seen to be representing the Muslim identity. Moore (2009) argued for the importance of including Islam in multicultural education in schools in the United States and urged that the role of Islam and Muslims in American society needs to be included in the curriculum in secondary education in order to address the misrepresentation and misconception of Islam, especially following the

events of 9/11. Just as it is important to avoid homogenising ethnicity, race, or gender, it is also crucial to avoid homogenising religious identity and treating religion as a static entity if schools are to develop open-mindedness and debunk misconceptions. Homogenisation can only contribute to the maintenance and reproduction of existing stereotypes and misconceptions against certain religious groups. It is thus vital to demonstrate the plurality of identity; that an individual's identity cannot and should not be defined by a single dimensional identity – be it religious, ethnicity or others.

Moreover, when learning about religious diversity, it is imperative to problematise religious knowledge (Hoosain & Salili, 2006) and appreciate how religions and religious communities evolve through time and adapt to their contexts (Fancourt & Ipgrave, 2019). In an article about western Islamic schools, Merry (2006) argues that Islamic knowledge needs to be divorced from specific interpretations of it as Islamic knowledge is not neutral and needs to be considered contextually. The varied interpretations and constructions of religious teachings point to the importance of recognising the fluidity of one's religious identity and the heterogeneity within one religion. Because of this, multicultural educators need to consider a cultural-sensitive strategy (Subedi, Merryfield, Bashir-Ali, & Gunel, 2006) and apply the 'equity pedagogy' approach (Banks, 2017) to ensure that the student's cultures do not put them in a disadvantaged position.

On a related note, many scholars have also argued for a non-partisan or impartial paradigm in the critical, reflexive, and inclusive teaching of religion (Jackson & Everington, 2017; Skeie, 2017). Being impartial here is distinct from being neutral where teachers' and students' views are kept hidden and are not to be disclosed. The principle of impartiality emphasises providing equal opportunities for expressing views 'within agreed limits' (Jackson & Everington, 2017:10) and enabling an open and safe forum for

dialogue and discussion. Within this paradigm, teachers are allowed to express their beliefs, but the teaching needs to be delivered in a dialogical way, allowing both students and teachers to engage in a two-way discussion (Fancourt, 2007).

The third theme emerging from the literature review about religion in multicultural education considers the debate surrounding the teaching of specific areas of study and their relationships with religious viewpoints. Some of the most talked about topics of controversy include topics of evolution, sexual education, or sexual orientation. The topic of evolution is notably challenging to teach because it has been highly disputed and conceptualised using a multitude of lenses – ranging from the Darwinian theory of natural selection in biological evolution, to the evolutionary history of life, and to the transcendental, religious explanation which indeed itself varies from one religion to another. Alongside this, another scientific topic that is equally controversial is the debate surrounding the shape of the Earth – whether it is round or flat. From reading ‘the Flat Earth society’ website, one can read that the arguments used to challenge the scientific view that the Earth is round have been based on a mixture of scientific and religious explanations, but the main line of argument has been centred around religious interpretations of the Bible. In Indonesia, these two contrasting viewpoints of the shape of the Earth have somehow been linked to affiliations to certain political and/or religious orientations. During the Jakarta gubernatorial election and the Indonesian presidential election, supporters of opposing candidates have referred each other as “the Flat Earth society” and “the Round Earth society”, arguably causing further political polarisation (Ramadhanny, 2017). Those who are perceived as “dogmatic, anti-fact and anti-government” are labelled as “the Flat Earth society” while those who are viewed as “rational, pro-government, and pro-liberal” are called “the Round Earth Society” (ibid).

Meanwhile, objections from various educational stakeholders towards the teaching of certain subjects due to religious-orientated values have also seeped into the teaching of social sciences. Recently, media organisations reported that hundreds of parents in a primary school in Birmingham have protested against the inclusion of a “No Outsiders lesson” in the curriculum which aims to challenge homophobia and promote equality (Parveen, 2019). The parents, identified mainly as Muslims, claimed that the school had promoted gay and transgender lifestyles – a topic which they argued to be age-inappropriate for their young children. They object to the framing of the protests as an issue of Islam. This case clearly demonstrates the various issues faced by schools in relation to multicultural education. They entail a human rights-religion dynamic, the negotiations of identities, and the complex role of education in constructing students’ complex identities as both a Muslim and a British citizen. On the one hand, the inclusion of the “No Outsiders lesson” into the school programme is in keeping with the implementation of the Equality Act in schools, in which an understanding of LGBT rights is part of the state’s vision towards equality. On the other hand, respecting the children’s and the parents’ religious beliefs is also part of the same multiculturalism journey and it is argued that the protest was concerned with ‘age appropriateness of conversations with young children in the context of religious backgrounds’ (Parveen, 2019). As suggested in Parveen (2019), the school has considered both perspectives and suggested that parents, faith leaders in the Muslim community and LGBT rights groups would work together on a suitable curriculum – this emphasises the importance of dialogue in multicultural education as highlighted by Parekh (2006b). Indeed dialogic education that is based on mutuality and openness has been argued to be an effective approach to multicultural education, as dialogue allows learning to be contextualised and knowledge to be co-constructed instead of being simply transmitted (Bialostocka, 2016; Tan, 2011).

As expected, the discussion about religion in multicultural education predominantly targets and affects the Muslim group. However, it is important to point out that other religious adherents also experience various challenges and have to negotiate their religious identity, though the nuance and intensity surrounding the negotiation differs from that of the Muslim group. For instance, in the case of dress code accommodation, the Sikh community in the UK has appealed to be exempt from wearing a helmet when Sikh men ride a motorcycle, so that he does not need to remove his turban (Mathieu, 2018). This was granted by the Motor Cycle Crash Helmets (Religious Exemption) Act 1976 as part of the implementation of the Race Relations Act (RRA) 1976 that forbids any kind of discrimination on the grounds of race, religion or belief since 1976 in the UK (Mathieu, 2018). In schools, this RRA 1976 also guarantees the right for Sikh men to wear a turban (Antonsich, 2016).

The seemingly disproportionate emphasis on Islam in the literature regarding religion in multicultural education could also be because most of the existing English publications on the subject are produced for the international academic community, and are therefore situated in Western context. In the West, the perceived “antagonism” between Western and Islamic paradigms and educational goals has been rooted in the assumption that Western values are viewed by Muslims as being secular and its societies are home to unbelievers (Merry, 2006) whereas Islamic values are seen by the Westerners as illiberal and promoting fanaticism (Field, 2007; Parekh, 2006a). Studies looking at societies where Muslims are the dominant religious group such as in Indonesia are limited. As this thesis intends to demonstrate, in Indonesia the position of power is reversed, and the non-Muslims instead become the marginalised groups who need to negotiate for religious recognition and accommodation.

### **3.3. Multicultural Education in Indonesian Context**

#### **3.3.1. Understanding ‘Indonesian National-Multiculturalism’: The Nationalist Project of Unity-in-Diversity**

Differing from other countries such as the US, UK, Australia and Canada where multiculturalism was introduced as a political philosophy to manage diversity as a result of increasing diversity during post-immigration waves in the country, multiculturalism in Indonesia is not an ‘add-on’ concept. In Indonesia, the term multiculturalism itself may only have gained popularity as a political approach and academic concept around the 2000s following the end of authoritarian Suharto era. However, Indonesia was already founded as a nation in 1945 based on the spirit of diversity. Yet, similar to the continually evolving concept of multiculturalism (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997), the meanings of the Indonesian national philosophy, Unity-in-Diversity, are subject to (re-)interpretations and (re-)constructions. Reflecting upon the historical journey of political responses in implementing Unity-in-Diversity in Indonesia deliberated in Chapter 2, the interpretations of Unity-in-Diversity, which are inextricably intertwined with Indonesian social and political contexts, shifted from assimilation to multiculturalism. During the New Order, the assimilation policy was applied to repress public discussions of ethnic, religious, racial and intergroup differences (SARA) for the sake of stability and in order to deprive minority groups, especially the Chinese from expressing their cultural identity. This shares a similarity with what Kincheloe and Steinberg’s refer to as conservative multiculturalism. The post-authoritarian era, which was characterised by the annulment of discriminatory laws against marginalised cultural groups and state recognition of minority rights, provides a supporting framework to implement the “true” multiculturalism where Unity-in-Diversity is expected to be more democratically enacted.

However, as discussed previously, the implementation of Unity-in-Diversity and hence multiculturalism remains highly contested and challenging.

One of these challenges is due to the lack of critical multiculturalism. Resonating with the critiques of the implementation of multicultural policy in the Western world, the introduction of a multicultural policy in the 2000s in Indonesia, albeit gaining popularity amongst activists and academics, also sparked controversy for its risk of homogenising group culture, celebrating diversity superficially, and generating national disintegration. Multicultural policy in Indonesia has been criticised for mainly focusing on the representation of ‘superficial and decorative aspects of certain cultural forms’ (Hoon, 2008:19), which at times intensifies homogenisation of group cultures. It pays less attention to critically tackling the deep-rooted discriminatory and power-relation issues. This more critical approach to multiculturalism is challenging in its implementation. The reason for this is because the idea of giving opportunity to a minority group to participate in all aspects of nation-building would be problematised by dominant groups in the society, including the Muslim majority (Muqtafa, 2004 cited in Hoon, 2011:153).

Furthermore, while multiculturalism can conceptually nurture respect and understanding between different cultural groups, excessive exposition of group differences may strengthen ethnic and religious identity, which can subsequently lead to ethnocentrism, fanaticism and disintegration (Tilaar, 2004a). Therefore in practice, the implementation of the concept of multiculturalism in Indonesia needs to be handled cautiously through the balanced relationship between diversity and unity (Tilaar, 2004b), often through advocating a strong sense of nationalism. Considering the centrality of nationalism within Indonesian society, including in Indonesian education and notably in the national character education framework, the next section reviews the notions of nationalism and national identity in the case of multicultural Indonesia.

### 3.3.2. Meaning and Significance of Multicultural Education in Indonesia

The direct transfer of theories developed in a Western context has always been problematised in the world of research. For this reason, Indonesian multicultural education needs to be developed uniquely by considering the theory of multiculturalism in tandem with the concept of Indonesian nationalism and national identity which includes the vision of diversity enshrined in the national motto, *Bhinneka-Tunggal-Ika* (Rahmawati, Yi-Fong, & Chen, 2014; Tilaar, 2004a, 2004b). As discussed in Chapter 2, notwithstanding the imperfection, this national vision of diversity is arguably manifested in education. The notions of equality and diversity, which are found to be embedded in both educational and non-educational policies, reflect and accommodate Indonesian diversity, suggesting the applicability of multicultural education in Indonesian education (Harjatanaya & Hoon, 2018; Raihani, 2017; Sutijono, 2010).

Since all policies (including the educational policy, its derivations and their practices) need to concur to the *Pancasila* and the 1945 Constitution of Republic of Indonesia, the meaning of multicultural education cannot be stretched too far from these two national pillars. As Tilaar (2004a), an Indonesian expert in the field of multicultural education, states that the aim of multicultural education in Indonesia is to ‘nurture Indonesian individuals who have their own ethnic cultures, to preserve and develop them, as well as at the same time build an Indonesian nation with Indonesian culture as mandated in the 1945 Constitution’ (p.192, my translation).

In spite of the pertinence of multicultural education within the education system in Indonesia, there is a consensus among studies within the practices of multicultural education that they remain challenging (Bjork & Raihani, 2018; Harjatanaya & Hoon, 2018; Hoon, 2013; Raihani, 2014). One of the reasons behind this is because teachers and schools lack an understanding of the concept of multicultural education (Raihani, 2014b).

Differing from Canada, the UK or Australia where pronounced multiculturalism policy is adopted and multicultural education is evidently utilised as a term of policy where it guides the educational policies and practices, the discourse of multicultural education in Indonesia is not widely promulgated and is merely used in certain elite and academic circles (Parker, 2017). It is also one of the motivating reasons for me to only use it as a conceptual lens and not as a working term when communicating with participants. Indeed, since the introduction of character education in 2011, the discourse of character education has taken over the mainstream educational narrative. However, an understanding of how multicultural education was politically conceptualised prior to the introduction of character education could provide an insight into why the framework of multicultural education was never strongly advocated by the government and was later replaced with character education.

I presume that there may be more documents produced by the Ministry of Education and Culture on the implementation of multicultural education, especially following reformation in the 2000s when the discourse of multiculturalism was at its peak. Yet during my search, I could only locate one governmental, educational document directly related to multicultural education, which I received through personal contact with an employee in the Ministry of Education during my Master's dissertation project in 2011 (Harjatanaya, 2011). This official document produced by the Curriculum Centre of Research and Development Agency, Department of National Education (2007), was created to offer guidelines for educational institutions to develop themselves as multicultural schools. The document started by reviewing the suitability of the three models of multicultural education operated in other countries, namely the "nationality" model (e.g. France), the "nationality-ethnic" model (e.g. Germany) and the "multicultural-ethnic" model (e.g. Canada and Australia) before suggesting that

Indonesia has to develop a unique multicultural education model that considers its pluralistic society, as well as geographical condition. In Chapter 2 of the document, it outlines the benefits of multicultural education to both teachers and students. For students, the aims of multicultural education comprise of reducing extreme views of other groups, challenging negative stereotypes, and increasing tolerance. For teachers, the aims entail mainly nurturing their understanding of effective and integrated strategies for the implementation of multicultural learning models. The fact that multicultural education targets both teachers and students, demonstrates the availability of an open educational space for both to talk about issues that might have been considered taboo and sensitive in the past. In Chapter 4, the document proposed a holistic approach as the best way forward, arguing that the values of multiculturalism need to be integrated into all subjects, and that its application should be done without impeding the teaching of core units of studies. The emergent model proposed in the document suggests that the subject matter should contain “affective”, instead of “cognitive” materials and should be contextually implemented inside and outside classrooms. The continuity between school life and all other aspects of life outside of school is also expected.

Overall, the analysis of the document suggests that the proposed Indonesian multicultural education model aims to promote cultural understanding, tolerance, and co-existence for the students, teachers and wider society through a holistic, dialogical approach, reflecting some elements of “prejudice reduction” and “content integration” (Banks, 2010). Nonetheless, this model appears to be rooted mainly in the notion of “culture”, illustrated in the statement ‘culture is one of the foundations for curriculum development...’ (p.2). This cultural-oriented approach also resonates in the introductory section, stating that: ‘The emergence of a number of **inter-cultural conflicts** recently demonstrates that there is a substantial **cultural misunderstanding** within the conflicting

groups. The impact of conflict can give rise to social trauma which requires an educational process to heal it' (p.1; emphasis added).

Even though cultural-driven conflict does exist and this cultural approach may be effective in addressing inter-cultural conflict, literature suggests that other kinds of conflict such as religious, ethnic, or socio-economic conflicts are more prominent in Indonesia (Naim & Sauqi, 2010). Using merely this cultural approach in an attempt to reconcile these other kinds of conflict would not yield meaningful results because the excessive focus on cultural symbols may obscure the underlying structural issues (Donnelly, 2008; May, 2011). For instance, if we draw on the case of Chinese Indonesians, it can be seen that cultural differences contribute to creating tension between the ethnic Chinese and non-Chinese groups. Challenging cultural stereotypes may ameliorate the relations between these groups, but the issues of economic disparity and religious differences play a big part in igniting conflict (e.g. Heryanto, 1998; Hoon, 2008). In fact, among the different kinds of diversity, conflicts and tensions linked to religious diversity have evidently been prominent when focusing specifically on Indonesia (Abdi, 2014; Ahnaf, Maarif, Asyhari-Afwan, & Afdillah, 2015; Burhani, 2014; Mustafied et al., 2015; The Wahid Institute, 2014) and the usefulness of promoting inter-religious harmony in multicultural education has been advocated (e.g. Harjatanaya, 2015; Hoon, 2017; Mahfud, 2009; Naim & Sauqi, 2010; Raihani, 2014b). Thus, the cultural approach proposed in the 2007 document is not sufficient to address the underlying problem. For this reason, although the multicultural education model proposed in the document analysed here looks promising, its excessive emphasis on only cultural dimensions may debilitate the conceptual strength and limit the capacity of critical multicultural education. It is perhaps this perceived limitation that causes the discursive and political retraction from the multiculturalism paradigm.

Furthermore, it is argued that although conceptually multiculturalism can nurture respect and understanding between different cultural groups, many have warned that the excessive exposition of differences may lead to separatism, fanaticism, and disintegration (Tilaar, 2004a). This is in keeping with the aforementioned critics of multicultural education. This retraction could also be because multicultural education was seen as being unable to address the wide-ranging national problems as effectively as character education can (Budhiman, 2017). It is also possible that the shifting trend of political narratives from multiculturalism to a “nationalist-religious” approach in the last decade also affects the shifting of educational paradigms. The overall importance of religion in Indonesia where “godly nationalism” (nationalism that is bound by the commitment to the “state-sanctioned pathways to God”) – as Menchik (2014:594) calls it – has become a part of being an Indonesian citizen, the education paradigm also needs to accommodate this vision. This is evident in the huge emphasis of religiosity and piety in current Indonesian education under character education, where religiosity forms one of the five core values of PPK and religiosity/piety is one of the four dimensions of educational assessment. Therefore, the big question is: how does multicultural education contribute to the policy and practice of national character education? In the next section, the potential benefits of implementing multicultural education within the character education framework and the possible challenges of this are considered.

### 3.3.3. Situating Multicultural Education within the National Character Education Framework

In recent years, ever since the introduction of the character education agenda by the Ministry of Education and Culture and the overarching character-building rhetoric, the popularity of multicultural education as an education concept has died down. With respect to this trend, one may wonder what the relevance of multicultural education in the Indonesian education system. Is there a place for multicultural education within the curriculum and character-building agenda? If there is, to what extent can multicultural education contribute to the overall national education goal? In response to these two questions, a review of educational policy documents and the limited literature on the implementation of character education in Indonesia demonstrates that there are two main reasons that multicultural education can work hand in hand with character education, especially within the student-centred 2013 curriculum.

Firstly, as a product of the theory of multiculturalism, multicultural education places great importance on aspects of cultural diversity and building intergroup harmony. These are part of the PPK framework, but their significance is incomparable with religiosity and other characters, based on the assessment formats and rhetoric used in education documents. As previously discussed in Chapter 2, character education is concerned mostly with the personal development of aspects of morality and character, although this is amongst the wider twenty character values that affect personal and social aspects of one's character. Therefore, multicultural education can be used as a suitable complement to character education and can support the process of achieving the aims of national education which is based on the envisioned philosophy of Unity-in-Diversity.

Secondly, in the current education system, religious education is taught using a confessional approach where students are encouraged to develop their devotion to the one religion they or their parents choose. When this confessional religious education is coupled with the strong emphasis of religious manifestation under the 2013 curriculum and character education agenda, students' and teachers' religious identities are strengthened. Without the concurrent efforts to promote inter-religious understanding, the strengthening of religious identity can increase the imminent risk of religious fanaticism and intensify inter-religious tension. As informed by Mietzner & Muhtadi's study (2018), there is a shift of demographic profiles of those people leaning towards Islamic conservatism, from the uneducated and lower status backgrounds to the more educated and middle-upper class backgrounds. This finding suggests that there are at least two implications for education. First, it challenges the assumption that those who are poorly educated are more prone to being indoctrinated and provoked than the well-educated. Second, the fact that the educated group is found to be more conservative raises the question of the extent to which education, particularly schooling, contributes to the development of such a conservative outlook. As a result, it becomes more pressing for multicultural education to be applied concurrently with character education (which appears to be religious-focused) to counter-balance the possible effects of practising religiosity through a single-view understanding.

Despite the potential benefits however, it is likely that the application of multicultural education, especially regarding religious education, will continue to receive some backlash. If and when religion is taught in a multicultural way in Indonesia, whereby students learn about the perspectives of all six official religions in Indonesia, it may be mistaken by some for encouraging proselytism. By exposing students to other religious teachings, there is a concern that students may start questioning their original

faith and the truth behind their own religious teaching, which could in turn lead to the dilution of their commitment to their original faith (Hoosain & Salili, 2006; Nieto, 2000). The possibility of such dilution may be frowned upon especially since it may jeopardise the religious-strengthening objective of character education. Moreover, considering this is a sensitive topic and it is feared there could be accusations of blasphemy, there may be hesitation amongst teachers in Indonesia to talk about religions other than their own. Feeling threatened by diversity, many teachers were also found to ask students to strengthen and preserve their own faiths and values, and be cautious of other cultures and religions (Raihani, 2017).

The challenges in teaching multicultural religious education in Indonesia are closely linked to the way the state and religious institutions are managing religious diversity in the wider society. Within the multicultural education framework, there lies an assumption that all religions have equal status; that no one religion is better than another. However, the MUI, as the largest Muslim clerical body in Indonesia, believes that by recognising the equal presence of other religions, it compromises the belief of those who follow the teaching of Islam (Munawar-Rachman, 2010). Indeed, the influence of MUI and the issuance of fatwas (such as forbidding Muslims to send religious greetings to non-Muslims) have arguably contributed to the challenges in teaching religious diversity in schools and generally put some strain on inter-religious relationships in society (Gillespie, 2007; Hasyim, 2015; Nasir, 2014). The assumption that all religion is equal also contradicts the goal of confessional religious education, which is to inculcate loyalty and piety towards the students' chosen religion. Therefore, although teachers have a responsibility to promote religious tolerance, there are boundaries on how to teach diversity, and particularly religious diversity in Indonesia (further explored in Chapter 8).

This boundary of how diversity is defined and the extent to which it fits into the so-called “Indonesian culture” goes beyond the topic of inter-religious diversity. As discussed in Chapter 2, long-standing tensions among different groups of Muslim communities (e.g. the case of discrimination against Ahmadiyya group, ideological and political wars between the more conservative and liberal Muslims, and the NU-Muhammadiyah divide) have been identified, potentially complicating the deliverance of multicultural education in schools. One of the reasons for this complication is because individual teachers are entitled to have their own opinions and many have pre-conceived stigmas and sentiments towards certain groups which can influence the way they address topics that may emerge during learning (Alviar-Martin & Ho, 2011; Forrest, Lean, & Dunn, 2016; Halai & Durrani, 2017; Hue & Kennedy, 2015; Subedi et al., 2006)

Although this thesis is mainly concerned with the issue of religion and ethnicity, it is important to also recognise another point of conflict between the narratives of multicultural education and character education in order to reveal the bigger picture, especially within the character education agenda. The Ministry of Education has identified a plethora of problems which drive the development of strengthening the character education agenda, one of which is the problem of sexual disorientation (Budhiman, 2017). This is indicated by the existence of 149 known LGBT communities in Indonesia as quoted from UNDP & USAID (2014). Referring to this document, there is a marked contradiction between the Western conception of multiculturalism and multicultural education with the current goals of character education in Indonesia. While there is still resistance and discrimination within Western countries towards the LGBTQ community and the inclusion of LGBTQ ideas in critical multiculturalism is still limited, challenges to homophobia as part of the equality and diversity movement within the society and academic discourse of multicultural education are rising (Mayo, 2010;

Parveen, 2019). The mood is quite different from the one in Indonesia, where the LGBTQ community is still overwhelmed with hatred and discrimination and they have to constantly fight for their basic rights (Siregar, 2018). While the current social-political situation makes it challenging to incorporate critical learning in all aspects of diversity, this limitation at the same time opens up an opportunity for multicultural educators to gradually break the cultural barriers and start introducing an alternative, more positive narrative of various kinds of diversity. The emphasis of multicultural education in promoting equality and diversity therefore provides an opportunity to deliver character-education goals in a more critical and inclusive manner.

### **3.4.Potential Benefits and Challenges of Implementing Multicultural Education in Schools**

In this section, I review the challenges of implementing multicultural education in schools, presented from three perspectives. Firstly, I discuss these challenges in relation to the contested dual role of education, caused by the nature and culture of the schooling process in contributing to or hindering the implementation of multicultural education in schools. Secondly, I discuss the challenges that emanate from different student demographics, that is whether the school is culturally homogeneous or heterogeneous as this has been argued to influence the different aspects of schooling from school culture, vision, policy and practice. Thirdly, the challenges are also presented in terms of the discrepancy between the ideal/expectation and reality (theory vs practice) in applying multicultural education in schools.

### 3.4.1. Dual Role of Education

Within the study of international development, education is viewed as a fundamental aspect of national development. Many nations, especially low-income countries, have invested in expanding the education sector to catch up with developed countries, evidently demonstrated through the commitment of 193 countries adopting “SDGs frameworks” and the prior “Education for All” agenda. Rooted in the study of economics, human capital theory places education as an instrumental tool to produce a skilled workforce which in turn brings economic returns at a macro level and can help with social mobility at a micro level (McCowan, 2015). In addition to economic growth and ending poverty, education is argued to contribute positively to build a better and more inclusive society through the transmission of knowledge, skills and culture (Power, 2015; UNDP Indonesia, 2015). The enrolment to education is also argued to minimise the risk of social tension and potential conflict caused by poverty because it reduces the risk of leaving the youth “idle” and increases the possibility of employment (Matsumoto, 2011; UNESCO, 2011). In conflict-affected countries, education in post-conflict times ‘has a critical role to play in the wider reconstruction of the society, from building peace and social cohesion to facilitating economic recovery and getting the country onto an accelerated development track’ (World Bank, 2005:27). As civil war itself increases the likelihood of further outbreaks of conflict, education can help build stronger resilience and hence prevent the reoccurrence of conflict (World Bank, 2005).

In contemporary Indonesia, the pivotal role of education in nation-building is depicted by the inclusion of education in *Nawacita*, the nine development priorities in the Jokowi-Kalla national developmental agenda (Kementerian Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional, 2015). It holds a pivotal role in the preparation of the 2045 Indonesian Golden Generation (in commemoration of 100<sup>th</sup> year of Indonesia) and is at the forefront of the

national character-building “Mental Revolution” agenda. In terms of building national identity, education has historically proven to be a vital medium in the socialisation and reproduction of Indonesian as the national language – which is deemed salient in keeping the nation together amidst the rich diversity (Kuipers & Yulaelawati, 2011).

Notwithstanding the critical role education plays in nation-building, there have also been discussions about the potential harm education and its institution may bring into the society. Education (especially formal education) has been argued to be a site of maintenance and reproduction of power and social and economic inequalities, creating further segregation in the wider society (Ball, 2015; Tzanakis, 2011). Many authors (e.g. Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Davies, 2004; Gallagher, 2004) also highlight the ways education and schooling can contribute to conflict by promoting ethnic and religious tensions and hatred. Within a pluralist society, hegemonic groups often have the power to construct the minority culture, define its representation and set boundaries to this culture (Hoon, 2006). As hierarchical institutions, schools therefore are not absent from these power relations and can therefore be potential sites where inequalities perpetuate. The symbolic violence may not be apparent; it can be done by dissimulating it as egalitarianism and through ‘abnormalising diversity and reinforcing the “otherness” of minority students, by misrepresenting or ignoring their cultural identities, and of reinforcing erroneous assumptions about “race”, racism and the nature of difference more generally’ (Bryan, 2009:298).

In schools, symbolic violence can be imposed through formal and hidden curriculum, i.e. ‘unstated norms, values, and beliefs embedded in and transmitted to students through the underlying rules that structure the routines and social relationships in school and classroom life’ (Giroux, 1983:87). These values can be disguised in many elements of schooling. Textbooks, for instance, are argued to be prone to cultural biases

and the contents can be distorted (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Davies, 2004; Hilker, 2011). The controversial Lautsi case exemplifies how the display of passive objects such as a crucifix can be deemed by some as a form of indoctrination and symbolic representation of a certain majority group (Fancourt, 2016). Similarly, Parker (2017) observes that there is a power interplay between the Muslim minority and the Hindu majority when it comes to the prohibition of wearing a hijab by the female Muslim students in predominantly Hindu-Balinese state schools in Bali. Schooling thus should not be seen to automatically be of benefit to individuals and societies as its results depend on the nature, purpose and priorities of education (Harber, 2004).

It is perhaps because of this presence of a hidden curriculum in the highly politicised process of schooling that the prevailing critiques of multicultural education emanate. One of the classic criticisms towards the enactment of multicultural education in schools is that the process of learning often lacks critical thinking and fails to recognise unequal, structural power relations and institutional social injustices that take place on a daily basis in the society (Raihani, 2014). It is this failure to address the more fundamental aspects of education in order to achieve social coexistence and equity, such as engaging students with discourses of unequal power relations and injustices, that makes schooling bound up in an essentialising of cultures (Hoon, 2006; May, 2011). As a result, education that aims to promote diversity in practice is often represented by celebrations of culture in schools that are mostly ceremonial, superficial and tokenistic (Gay, 2011; Harjatanaya & Hoon, 2020)

Despite the aforementioned critics, many academics still share some optimism of education's contribution in conflict resolution and social cohesion (e.g. Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; World Bank, 2005; Banks & Banks, 2009). Some of the recommendations about achieving effective implementation of such education include maximising intergroup

contact (Pettigrew, 1998; Hayes et al., 2013), cultivating critical thinking (e.g. Davies, 2004; Hoon, 2013; Matsumoto, 2015) and adopting holistic approaches (e.g. Al Arifin, 2012; Raihani, 2011b).

#### 3.4.2. School Cultural Contexts: Homogeneous and Heterogeneous Schools

The contexts of the educational institutions are said to have repercussions on the resultant learning process and performance. Some research suggest that homogeneous schools have limitations in nurturing values of diversity (Kymlicka, 2001; Hoon, 2011) and heterogeneous schools are more successful than their counterparts in building inter-religious tolerance (Hayes et al., 2013). The main argument for the inherent success of heterogeneous schools here is that these schools are accessible by any student, with diverse cultural, ethnic and religious backgrounds, and therefore they are more likely to expose students to a multicultural setting and interactions with people from different backgrounds. A study by Vervae, Van Houtte, & Stevens (2018) in the Flemish context also found that teachers in schools with a higher proportion of ethnic minority students tend to apply more multicultural teaching.

Intergroup contact has long been argued to have a positive impact in reducing prejudice and building intergroup harmony. Allport (1954), one of the most influential theorists of inter-group contact theory, hypothesised that contact between different groups could only lead to better group relations when these four key conditions were held: equal group status within the situation; common goals; intergroup cooperation; and the support of authorities, law, or custom. To a certain extent, the New Order's assimilation policy in schools did experiment with contact theory by forcing schools to find an equal number of Chinese and non-Chinese students. However, it is premature to assume that the mere demographic heterogeneity would directly lead to positive results. As Allport (1954) propounds, there needs to be conscious, systematic, and concerted commitment from all

educational stakeholders. In order to achieve promising results, there also needs to be an enabling environment that ‘provide(s) the participants with the opportunity to become friends’ (Pettigrew, 1998:76) where students from different groups treat each other equally and work together to achieve a common goal.

Furthermore, it is unwise to draw a parallel and assume all heterogeneous schools invariably promote inclusivity and hence produce more tolerant students. It is equally unwise to assume homogeneous schools promote exclusivity and hence produce less tolerant students, simply because they do not have the ideal ecosystem (i.e. diverse student demography) to do so. A number of researchers that look at homogeneous, and notably religious schools contend that religious schools have the potential to become sites to implement multicultural civic (Halstead & McLaughlin, 2005; Hoon, 2013; Naim & Sauqi, 2010; Raihani, 2012). Naim and Sauqi (2010), for instance suggest that multicultural education can be applied in Islamic schools by referring to the notions of “Unity-in-Diversity” and “Islamic transformative”, and aim to create a peaceful society that is tolerant and based on the values of divinity. Hoon (2013) argues the implementation of multicultural civic education in Christian schools can lead to better results when multicultural values are taught beyond civic education class and are incorporated holistically within all aspects of students’ lives through the collaborations of schools, home, and community. Looking at the post-conflict city of Palangkaraya, Raihani (2014a) described how a tolerant culture could be established when parents took part in inculcating tolerance at home. When the cultural capital of tolerance was formed at home, students could bring this embodied cultural capital to schools, share it with their peers, and schools could play their part by accommodating and strengthening it.

In a separate study, Raihani (2012) also noted that in many cases it has been individual educators, rather than the schools as a whole, who have promoted multicultural

education. The role of a teacher here raises an important point around the implementation of multicultural education – that school demography can be irrelevant if it is not coupled with conscious and systematic efforts from the actors in the school. In other words, as much as heterogeneous schools provide a better natural ecosystem for the population to practise multicultural values than its homogeneous counterparts, the relevance and results of multicultural education are still heavily reliant upon the teachers' commitment to, and vision of, multicultural education.

#### 3.4.3. Towards Critical Multicultural Education: Between the ideal and reality

If we look at the vision of education (within Indonesia and other countries), it suggests that education is expected to produce various outcomes, ranging from developing individual intellectual capacity, to inculcating religious values and creating good citizens. Nonetheless, the realisation of this big vision is found to be difficult to accommodate in practice. First, many proponents of multicultural education have called for a more critical and holistic approach to multicultural education, where the focus of multicultural education moves beyond the celebration of cultures through festivals or simply telling students the beauty of diversity. Rather, multicultural education has to engage students in discussing pressing, yet challenging deep-rooted societal issues encompassing notions of inequalities, discrimination, racism, assumptions, and power relations. However, despite the potential benefits, many challenges remain, and as this thesis elaborates in the forthcoming chapters, the presence and intensity of the aforementioned challenges vary between one school to another, determined by the school contexts. The lack of parental participation in learning about diversity in school (Hoon, 2013; Parker & Raihani, 2011) and a teacher's limited understanding about multicultural education (Napitupulu and Soebijoto, 2011; Raihani, 2012, 2014b; Santoro, 2009) are found to hinder the effective implementation. Studies have also found that teachers feel that they lack the

understanding to facilitate a meaningful discussion or they feel uncomfortable and wary about discussing sensitive topics. The concerns become more distinct when teachers themselves feel that they are perceived as a minority within the school (Merry, 2006; Subedi et al., 2006). In addition to teachers, Raihani (2014b) asserts that policy makers in Indonesia also lack understanding about multicultural education, which is reflected by the inconsistent and potentially undermining way they have produced diversity laws.

Second, implicit to all visions of education, the ideal is that every child has the same opportunity to learn, and hence the same, equal outcomes. However, this is hardly ever the case in reality. Studies have suggested that children with privileged backgrounds are more likely to do well in school because they have resources and cultures that put them in an advantageous position (e.g. Calarco, 2017; Green, Preston, & Janmaat, 2006; Reay, 2017). Theory aside, hard numerical data, such as that from the World Inequality Database on Education (WIDE), also shows that educational gaps between gender, socio-economic groups, and inter-regions in many countries are still widespread. In Indonesia, for instance, the completion rate in secondary schooling continue to have large gaps, with a difference of 29% between urban/rural areas, 43% between the most deprived and developed regions and 62% between the poorest and richest (UNESCO Global Education Monitoring Report, 2012). Economic disparity may not be the primary dimension to consider when looking at diversity, but many authors have argued that the unequal distribution of educational access and resources can affect social cohesion (e.g. Green, Preston, & Janmaat, 2006; Stewart, 2008). As Stewart (2008:11) hypothesised, ‘cultural differences do not lead to violent conflict unless there are major economic and/or political issues.’ It is important to understand the complex and nuanced reality behind the implementation of education for diversity as they encourage us to look beyond the

rhetoric and consider the overall contexts in which education process takes place. As Langer & Brown (2008) writes:

*Official rhetoric of cultural inclusion may be used to mask other types of inequality – this is the “dark side” of cultural status equality. In some cases, the official recognition of cultural status equality on the part of the state, combined with symbolic promotion of ethnic or religious diversity, has served as part of a political agenda to divert attention from underlying socioeconomic and political inequalities (p.45)*

In agreement with Langer & Brown (2008) this research recognises that the discussion about ethno-religious diversity cannot be separated from social issues caused by the socioeconomic and political inequalities. The use of identity as a provocation tool to gain political support has exacerbated the intergroup sentiment and division (Ahnaf et al., 2015; Cochrane, 2017; Nordholt, 2008). Socio-economic inequalities have also been an influential factor triggering conflicts in Indonesia, especially when coupled with ethnic and religious sentiments such as in the case of 1998 riots (Hoon, 2008; Purdey, 2006; Turner, 2003). As such, this thesis intends to highlight the complexity of the meaning of Unity-in-Diversity and the enactment of this national vision in schools as dynamic, complex microcosm of multicultural society.

Finally, at the heart of the challenges in implementing effective multicultural education lies the problem of teachers not able to find the balance between educating for academic excellence and educating for citizenship. Teachers often struggle to incorporate multicultural values into learning due to the heavy curriculum structure and the academic-oriented learning goals (Raihani, 2014). In the case of the current Indonesian education system, given the myriad of issues that Indonesia is facing as a developing country, there are many expectations for schools and teachers. As deliberated in the objectives of the 2013 curriculum and character education, these expectations range widely, from infrastructure to curriculum, alleviating poverty, and addressing low literacy to

radicalisation (Budhiman, 2017). In view of this complex role, the journey towards critical multicultural education in Indonesia needs to incorporate multi-faceted learning objectives, which are holistically integrated in all aspects of schooling and society. It also calls for wider collaboration between educational stakeholders – policy makers, educational authorities, head teachers, teachers, administrators, parents, students, and communities as a whole (including religious leaders, state leaders and public figures).

### **3.5. Conclusion**

Many politicians and academics have declared the death of multiculturalism, arguing that it has driven societies into further segregation and exclusivism (Mason, 2017; Mathieu, 2018; Mirza et al., 2007; Nye, 2007). This chapter has provided arguments from both the advocates and critics of multiculturalism (Modood, 2007; Parekh, 1998; Uberoi & Modood, 2015), and the review of literature suggests that despite the limitations, theories of multiculturalism as well as multicultural education remain pertinent in conceptualising the multifarious aspects of diversity. While the review reveals an established applicability of the theories of multiculturalism and multicultural education in ethnicity and race (partly due to the provenance of multiculturalist movement in the US, the UK, and other Western countries that were strongly linked to racism) (Banks, 2009b; Banks & Banks, 2010), the conceptualisations of other types of diversity, particularly that of religion, through the lens of multiculturalism are still not as well-established (Hoon, 2017; Hoosain & Salili, 2006). With respect to the changing landscape of global discourses of diversity, which strongly include religion, and the expectations for education to promote inter-religious harmony, the study of religion in multicultural education is of great importance.

In the context of Indonesia, the principles of multiculturalism are ubiquitous in all segments of the society. Even though Indonesia does not apply the same global discourse when it comes to multiculturalism policies, Indonesia has a clear national discourse of *Pancasila* and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity-in-Diversity), the nation's philosophical foundation, which embodies the spirit of multiculturalism. They represent a vision of diversity that the society needs to uphold and share. This vision is also found to be embedded in the Indonesian education system, reflected by various educational policies and laws that directly and indirectly state the importance of education in accommodating and promoting Indonesian diversity. Although many academics have argued for the applicability of multicultural education in Indonesian education and called for the implementation of multicultural education (e.g. Harjatanaya & Hoon, 2018; Mahfud, 2009; Rahmawati, Yi-Fong, & Chen, 2014; Raihani, 2011b, 2014a; Sutijono, 2010; Tilaar, 2004), some challenges remain. These challenges are linked to (1) the contested dual role of education, which is caused by the nature and culture of the schooling process, in supporting or hindering the implementation of multicultural education in schools (e.g. Bush & Saltarelli, 2000); (2) the different school demographic profiles (culturally homogeneous or heterogeneous) as they have been argued to influence the different aspects of schooling from school ethos, policy, culture, and practice (e.g. Faas, Foster, & Smith, 2018; Gallagher, 2017; Hayes et al., 2007, 2013; Hughes & Loader, 2015); and (3) the discrepancy between the ideal educational aim and reality (theory vs practice) in applying multicultural education in schools (e.g. Bjork & Raihani, 2018; Suryadarma & Jones, 2013). The accommodation of the vision of diversity through the lens of multicultural education will be further discussed in the forthcoming chapters with respect to these three dimensions.

## 4 Research Rationale and Conceptual Framework

### 4.1. Research Rationale

There are broadly five rationales behind carrying out this research, which help to clarify how this research is situated within the broader picture of educational research.

First, it is evident from literature searches that quality international academic publications which engage with the concept of diversity and education within South-East Asia, specifically about Indonesia, are scarce in number. The introductory chapter of the first volume of the Oxford Studies in Comparative Education series devoted to the South-East Asia region, (Brock & Symaco, 2011:7) state ‘the academic literature on this area is in general rather thin’. Lyn Parker, a leading scholar in the field of multiculturalism and education in Indonesia, in the foreword section of Raihani’s book “*Creating Multicultural Citizens: A portrayal of contemporary Indonesian education*”, says ‘the book is not only an insightful ethnographic study of education in Indonesia, but also **the first** to evaluate how the education system in Indonesia is contributing to the development of a peaceful and tolerant society in Indonesia.’ (2014:xi, emphasis added). These statements indicate the dire need for more comprehensive study on the subject of Indonesian education. Conducting a case study in Indonesia as the third largest democracy country, with the world’s largest population of Muslims also offers an insight into the ways a multicultural and religious nation manages multi-faceted diversity and the complex issues that come with it within a democratic setting.

Second, Indonesia has undergone many reforms; politically, socially, and economically within the last two decades. In amongst this, education has been targeted as one of the main areas of improvement in current governance. The 2013 curriculum only began to be imposed within a limited number of schools in 2014 with the target of full implementation by 2020. At the time of my fieldwork in 2016, it was found that not all schools had used this curriculum. Hence, being able to study this phenomenon within this transitional period places this research at the forefront of understanding the contemporary Indonesian education system. A recent literature search suggests that only a few similar research projects have been conducted with specific reference to the 2013 curriculum, and these have mostly focused on one specific subject (e.g. Suhadi et al., 2015). Moreover, the 2013 curriculum is primarily concerned with achieving multi-dimensional competences including attitudes, skills, and knowledge, instead of solely one-dimensional academic competence as in the previous 2006 curriculum. This study can thus benefit from gaining insight into the ways schools and teachers respond to the change of educational paradigm toward student-centred learning with the objectives of achieving multiple competences. In doing so, this research endeavours to expand the limited scholarly research work on the subject of Indonesian education by reviewing the school practices under the new curriculum.

Third, the concept of character education, which is deeply entrenched in the 2013 national education has affected the dynamic of educational discourses, policies, and practices in Indonesia. The launch of the ‘Strengthening of Character Education’ Program (*Program Penguatan Pendidikan Karakter* or *PPK*) in 2017 – an elevated program of character-based education which was first introduced in 2011 – serves as a framework for schools to implement twenty values which include religiosity, nationalism, and tolerance. Politically this PPK program has also been used to respond to various problems, including

growing societal intolerances and radicalisation (Budhiman, 2017). This program is also being used to develop student's character in order to achieve the national vision of the Indonesian Golden Generation by 2045. Schools and teachers are expected to integrate character-building into the student's learning experiences both in the classroom and at school level. Situated in this contemporary setting, this study encompasses an additional element of novelty in trying to understand the ways in which schools accommodate the complex political vision in contemporary Indonesia. Internationally, especially in the UK, there is a growing interest in the concept of character-based education both as a theory and within educational practice. This is demonstrated by the establishment of the Jubilee Centre for Characters and Virtues in Birmingham. By studying this in Indonesia, this research can provide a comparative insight into the conceptualisation and implementation of character education which places religiosity as one of the core virtues of character-building. Moreover, since the research uses multicultural education as a conceptual framework, it provides a compelling perspective on how character-building is discussed within the paradigm of multicultural education research.

Fourth, most studies looking at how schools promote harmony and diversity in Indonesia use only single-denomination, often religious, private schools in their case studies (e.g. Hoon, 2011; Raihani, 2012b). They rarely look at multiple comprehensive schools with different mixes of pupil ethnicity and religiosity. These limitations present important gaps in knowledge about how each school, both state and private, with different cultural demographics manage diversity and make decisions about how to accommodate the national vision and respond to any political changes. The choice of looking at two-culturally distinctive provinces: Jakarta and Bali – Jakarta with a predominantly Muslim population, and Bali with a predominantly Hindu population – enables the study to juxtapose the narratives created by the Muslim participants living in an Islamic-dominant

province in Jakarta and those living in a society where Islam is the minority (and equivalently for participants from the national minority religious group). As a result, this research can uncover a more comprehensive and nuanced account of the practice of Unity-in-Diversity, specifically in Indonesia, and it can contribute widely to the understanding of religious diversity within the largest population of Muslims in the world. Moreover, by putting forward Indonesia as a case study, this thesis can also contribute to the study of how a Muslim-majority state manages the convoluted relations between religious majority and minority through education.

Fifth, as a religious country (but not a religious state), religion is a significant identity marker in Indonesia. Hence, the discussion about multiculturalism and multicultural education in Indonesia has to include religious diversity. Religion as a social construct was not originally the main concern of the study of multicultural education in the 1960s, and so understandably studies looking at the issue of religious diversity through the conceptual lens of multicultural education had not been as well-developed as those studying issues of racial, ethnic and cultural differences. However, in the last two decades, academics in the field have begun to elucidate the relevance of multicultural education in examining the role of education in promoting inter-religious harmony (e.g. Banks, 2009b; Hoon, 2017; Raihani, 2017; Salili & Hoosain, 2006; Wang, 2013). By exploring the conceptualisation of existing theories of multiculturalism and multicultural education in multi-religious Indonesia, this thesis attempts to engage with the works of wider international academics in refining the concept of multicultural education.

## 4.2. Conceptual Frameworks

A review of the literature has revealed a variety of ways to frame the discussion in this thesis. I have chosen to consider the works of three prominent authors; Kincheloe & Steinberg (1997), James Banks (Banks, 2007, 2009, 2017; Banks & Banks, 2010), and Raihani (2011, 2012a, 2012b, 2014a, 2014b, 2017) since each author contributes to the development of ideas and framings of this thesis in different ways. As a reference, the overarching research question that this thesis is addressing is: “**How do schools with different cultural and religious settings respond to and accommodate the national vision of diversity “Unity-in-Diversity”?**”, which is broken down into three specific research questions as follows:

1. *What does “Unity-in-Diversity” mean to schools in contemporary Indonesia?*
2. *How do schools with different religious and cultural settings realise “Unity-in-Diversity”?*
3. *What are teachers’ pedagogical responses to the obligation of promoting “Unity-in-Diversity”?*

Kincheloe and Steinberg’s five categories of multiculturalism are useful to help map the participants’ interpretations of the Indonesian concept of diversity and Unity-in-Diversity, to the theoretical lens of multiculturalism. This categorisation is also relevant and significant to this study in considering the on-going shift of social and political situations in Indonesia. It is hoped that this categorisation, which is critically applied, will help illuminate a more nuanced portrait of views on diversity – that there is a spectrum of multiculturalist positions adopted by the diverse Indonesian society. Moreover, determining the teachers’ positionality within the idea of multiculturalism is of utmost importance, as such a position can influence their decisions and views when it comes to fostering, managing and teaching the value of diversity (e.g. Alviar-Martin & Ho, 2011;

Zembylas & Iasonos, 2010). Even though in principle multiculturalism alludes to the issue of ethnicity, race, gender, or religion, in practice it carries different meanings in different political and social contexts. By understanding the participants' interpretations of this term and its personal and institutional significance, the study can thus offer an insight into the complexity of the concept of multiculturalism and hence the intricacy of teaching about diversity in Indonesia.

Kincheloe & Steinberg (1997:3-26) categorise the positions of multiculturalism into five:

- a. Conservative multiculturalism (assimilation of diversity into the normative culture)
- b. Liberal multiculturalism (emphasising similarities and the notions of equality and humanity)
- c. Pluralist multiculturalism (emphasising differences without challenging power relations and inequalities)
- d. Left-essentialist multiculturalism (emphasising differences where the perspective of the marginalised group is claimed closer to truth than that of the mainstream)
- e. Critical multiculturalism (focusing on differences linked to social injustices and challenging power relations)

While Kincheloe and Steinberg's theory is mainly used to help frame answers in respect to the first research question, Banks' theory of multicultural education, especially the five dimensions of multicultural education and Raihani's theory of the six elements of multicultural education are adopted to provide a guiding direction on how to answer the second and third research questions. It is worth noting that although I only mention these two specific theories of Banks and Raihani, their overall work on multicultural education has shaped this thesis and my work in many more ways. As the founding father of multicultural education, Banks' works are seminal for any research in the field of

multicultural education. In the previous section, the discussion about the historical development and trends of multiculturalism and multicultural education demonstrate that contextuality is highly pertinent and closely related to the development of multicultural education in any country because multicultural education is part of any social movement. Thus, even though Banks' theory does not put much emphasis on religious diversity specifically, where it is a focal element in this thesis, Banks' theory still proves to be applicable to a certain extent. The interpretation of multicultural education practice is often found to be limited to integrating superficial content related to various ethnic, cultural, and racial groups in learning. Instead, Banks' five-dimension model moves beyond this softer, and somewhat "cosmetic" cultural approach of multicultural education, offering a more critical approach on the teaching of diversity within schools (see Chapter 8). The five inter-related dimensions of multicultural education are as follows (2004, cited in Banks, 2011:15-17):

1. Content integration: use examples from various cultures in teaching,
2. Knowledge construction: teaching activities helping students make sense of the ways in which cultural assumptions influence the construction of knowledge,
3. Prejudice reduction: helping students develop democratic racial attitudes,
4. Equity pedagogy: modifying teaching strategies to facilitate the academic achievement of students from diverse groups,
5. Empowering school culture: restructuring school culture to empower students

Meanwhile, I turn to the works of Raihani (2011, 2014b), an Indonesian academic who focuses on examining and developing multicultural education specifically in Indonesia, in order to address the aforementioned issue of contextual incompatibility. The two concepts described above (by Banks and Kincheloe and Steinberg) were developed within a Western context. Hong (2010), who studied multicultural education in Korea has

warned about the potential incompatibility of Western-derived multicultural education theories and practices used in Asia. In fact, a notable Indonesian education scholar, Tilaar (2004a, 2004b) has called for a unique multicultural education model to be developed for Indonesia because according to him, none of the approaches in the West fit perfectly into the Indonesian context. For this, I turn to Raihani (2011, 2014) who has developed a concept for a whole school approach to multicultural education, which consist of six interrelated school elements:

1. School's vision and policies
2. The quality of the curriculum and teaching
3. Leadership and management,
4. School culture (which encompasses the school ethos, norms, and rituals),
5. Student activities, and
6. Collaboration with its wider community

As an established scholar in the field of multicultural education in Indonesia, Raihani's studies have contributed to the development of this study in a variety of ways. I have particularly drawn inspiration from this approach to inform which aspects of schooling I should focus on during my fieldwork as well as help design my analysis on school responses regarding their teaching of multicultural education in both the wider school and at classroom levels. For the purpose of this thesis, I have analysed school's vision and policies and school culture in Chapter 7, though some connections are made to other elements of schooling when necessary. The quality of the curriculum and teaching is scrutinised in Chapter 8. Moreover, Raihani's work also considers religion, and hence it can provide an insight into the religious element that is missing in Banks' framework.

## **5 Methodology**

### **5.1. Overview of Research Methodology and Research Design**

To answer the research questions, I employ a qualitative multiple case study approach, involving six purposely selected schools located in two-culturally distinctive provinces in Indonesia – Jakarta and Bali. The study draws on a variety of data sources, from school documents, observation notes, photographs, and transcripts from interviews and focus group discussions. It explores the perspectives of a total of 164 education stakeholders, comprising head teachers, teachers, students, and parents. This extensive data, capturing various levels of analysis (individual, classroom and school levels), enable the study to present comparative accounts of the promotion and teaching of “Unity-in-Diversity”, not only among the schools, but also between the provinces in Indonesia. By looking at these two-tier case studies (case studies of six schools and two provinces), this study offers a critical insight into understanding the complex and contextual practice of accommodating and teaching the concept of diversity in the case of multicultural Indonesia.

Many scholars (Gomm, Hammersley, & Foster, 2000; Meyer & Meyer, 2001; Stake, 1995; Swanborn, 2010) have called for the importance of transparency in explaining the researcher’s rationale behind important methodological decision-making. In this chapter I outline and clarify the methodology employed in this research, reasons for using case studies, definition of the cases, sampling selection, data collection, and the analysis process to research ethical considerations and limitations. The position and role of my identity in this ethnically and religiously sensitive topic of research are also highlighted throughout the chapter, where appropriate, as they provide an insight into the nuances behind various methodological decisions. The research design used to answer each corresponding research question is summarised in Table 5.1 and explained subsequently.

Table 5.1 Research Design Summary

Research Question	Sources of Information and Methods of Data Collection	Interview Participants		
		Educators	Students	Parents
1. What does 'Unity-in-Diversity' mean to schools in contemporary Indonesia?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Field notes from school and classroom observations</li> <li>Verbatims from semi-structured interviews and focus group discussion</li> <li>School documents</li> <li>National, local and school policies (including curriculum)</li> <li>Photographs of school surroundings (e.g. pamphlets, announcement boards)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>6 head teachers</li> <li>6 deputy heads of curriculum</li> <li>8 school administrators</li> <li>73 subject teachers and mentors</li> </ul>	A total of 63 students: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>15 one-to-one interview participants</li> <li>48 focus group discussion participants</li> </ul>	8 parents
2. How do schools with different religious and cultural settings realise "Unity-in-Diversity"?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Field notes from school and classroom observations</li> <li>Verbatims from semi-structured interviews and focus group discussion</li> <li>School documents</li> <li>National, local and school policies (including curriculum)</li> <li>Photographs of school surroundings (e.g. pamphlets, announcement boards)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>6 head teachers</li> <li>6 deputy heads of curriculum</li> <li>8 school administrators</li> <li>73 subject teachers and mentors</li> </ul>	A total of 63 students: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>15 one-to-one interview participants</li> <li>48 focus group discussion participants</li> </ul>	8 parents
3. What are teachers' pedagogical responses to the obligation of promoting 'Unity-in-Diversity'?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Field notes from classroom observations</li> <li>Interviews (semi-structured and focus group)</li> <li>National, local and school policies (including curriculum)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>6 deputy head of curriculum</li> <li>73 subject teachers and mentors</li> </ul>	-	-

### 5.1. Qualitative Research Approach and Case Study Method

The research questions in this study all begin with the words *what* or *how*, which invite a more 'open and emerging design' (Creswell, 2003:106). Framed around these questions, this research draws on a qualitative approach as it is deemed to be the most appropriate from both practical and philosophical perspectives.

This research intends to explore the role of education in promoting the Indonesian vision of diversity, 'Unity-in-Diversity', in various school settings which are comprised of distinctive cultures and policies. Qualitative research approaches are a suitable choice as it allows a collection of rich and in-depth data to be gathered in order to probe the phenomenon in question (e.g. Bryman, 2008; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Moreover, the research also aims to understand the potential benefits, and challenges of, promoting Unity-in-Diversity in schools in contemporary Indonesia through the perspectives of multiple educational stakeholders. Additionally, it involves building narratives and

meaning-making based on my interpretation of the participants' perspectives and other forms of data. The emphasis of interpretation and recognition of subjectivity, which are arguably the most distinctive features of qualitative research (Stake, 1995), suggests that the research adopts a constructivist philosophical position. Epistemologically, due to the nature of inquiry, this interpretivist/constructivist research paradigm has been associated with qualitative research (Creswell, 2013).

Within the various research methods available to conduct qualitative research, I chose to use a multiple two-tier case study research method. I will firstly explain the three reasons why I opted to use case study research in general before providing the rationale for choosing a multiple, instead of a single-case study as the research design. The first reason for choosing case study research is because it is known to have an inherently "holistic" character (Stake, 1995; Swanborn, 2010). This means it takes into account the complexity involved when looking at certain social phenomena or cases where the process of inquiry considers a larger number of variables of interest (Yin, 2013) and where the difference between "*explanans* (the statements that explain) and *explanandum* (the thing to be explained) disappears" (Swanborn, 2010:19). The "holistic" label thus implies the need to consider the interrelationship between the phenomenon and its contexts (Stake, 1995). Informed by the review of literature (Chapters 2 & 3) and the framing of the research questions, this research involves many variables (including policies, school documents, head teachers, teachers, students, and parents), applies within-case, cross-case and multi-level analysis (national, school and individual), and incorporates interdisciplinary areas of research (social, politics, and education) – making the phenomenon in question complex. Through triangulation of data, sources and analysis, case study research can therefore facilitate the complex inquiry. The discussion of findings in the upcoming chapters (Chapters 6-8) will set this out more clearly.

Second, using a case study approach is also a relevant choice as this research examines a real-life contemporary context or setting, i.e. contemporary Indonesia (Creswell, 2013; Yin, 2013). Within the period of nearly four years of undertaking this research (2015-2019), certain aspects, from research design to conceptual framework have indeed evolved appropriately, driven by contextual changes that have taken place in contemporary Indonesia. Some of the changes, which were covered in Chapter 2, include the contested meanings of Unity-in-Diversity, the revision of the 2013 curriculum, and the introduction of the new framework of character education as a national education agenda by the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture in 2017. As Yin writes, ‘the more that your questions seek to explain some present circumstance (e.g., “how” or “why” some social phenomenon works), the more that case study research will be relevant’ (2013:4).

Third, despite the complexity and holistic features, case study research is still a bounded (Creswell, 2013; Merriam, 1998) or an integrated system (Stake, 1995). This means that when undertaking the inquiry, it is important to set the boundaries of the context in which the phenomenon occurs and define the phenomenon of interest (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Having said this, these boundaries are not always easy to distinguish since case study research tends to move between the general and the specific (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). The notion of contextuality as well as relationship between topics of inquiry and context indeed form a salient feature of this research. This is reflected in this research by the careful consideration of contextual differences during the case selection process and discussion on contextually driven findings.

Focusing more specifically on the research design, this research has adopted multiple case studies. Referring to the research questions in hand, the research intends to highlight the similarities and differences that might occur due to the different demographic settings, and therefore a multiple case study approach is a fitting choice (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Yin, 2013). However, the end goal behind this cross-case comparison is not to find out which school implements the national vision of Unity-in-Diversity best. Rather, it intends to demonstrate how each school operates differently according to their context. This underlines the importance of contextuality when designing a critical multicultural education framework as each school may encounter different cultural and contextual issues with regard to accommodating diversity. By employing multiple-case replication logic (Yin, 2013) and comparing and contrasting findings from multiple cases, (the six schools and two provinces), the research provides a more comprehensive, robust, and compelling insight (Merriam, 1998) into understanding the complex role of education in promoting peaceful coexistence in multicultural Indonesia specifically and more generally worldwide.

As well as being informed by the literature around case study methodology, the selection of multiple case studies as the research method was also inspired by the research design used in previous notable research conducted in the same field, particularly that of Raihani (2014b). In Raihani's (2014b) study on the implementation of multicultural education in Indonesia, a wide range of schools was selected (including private and state, as well as religious and secular) on both Java and Kalimantan islands allowing readers to 'ponder possible comparisons with the same types of schools in similar contexts' (p.8). In this research, I have also chosen to study this same variety of schools (state-private and secular-religious), though confined only to national schools administered by the Ministry of Education and not those supervised by the Ministry of Religion. This is so that the

research can provide a better comprehension of Indonesian education conditions, especially in relation to the accommodation of Unity-in-Diversity in schools following the national school system, as described in the next section. Raihani's concept of a whole-school approach, especially the six inter-related dimensions to multicultural education (as described in Chapter 4), has also influenced the design and framing of the research. That is, to consider multi-variables of schooling including policies, leadership, teaching and school culture to capture a greater understanding of this phenomena. The inclusion of a private school with only Chinese students in Jakarta as one of the cases was encouraged by Hoon's work on multicultural education, civic education and religious education in private Christian, Chinese schools in Jakarta in which he critically interrogated the role of the school in constructing ethnic, religious, and national identities as well as preparing the Chinese minority students to become Indonesian citizens (Hoon, 2011, 2013, 2014).

While the choice of qualitative, multiple case study research was initially driven by the research questions, it by no means suggests that the process was one way. In fact, as in many qualitative studies, iterative and reflective processes occurred frequently during the data collection and analysis stages, which have in turn helped refine the research questions (Agee, 2009). The characteristics of case study research, including real-life contemporary setting, complex cases, in-depth inquiry, and a holistic approach of data collection have indeed contributed largely in opening up new areas of inquiry which might have not been explored had this study employed other more limited approaches to the research. This is evident from the revision made to the initial research questions, which were set prior to the fieldwork, to strengthen the research focus. As case study research is essentially a study of a case, identifying what a case is, is integral in order to respond to the research questions. In the next two sections, I describe the role of a pilot school and give a detailed account of how I have defined a "case" in this case study.

## **5.2. The Role of the Pilot School Study**

Before I began conducting fieldwork in the six schools, a pilot study was undertaken to clarify the value of schools as cases. The chosen pilot school is a multicultural school with which I am affiliated. The choice of a familiar school was made on the basis that the pilot allowed me to familiarise myself with conducting research within a school setting and to explore the types of relevant data I could obtain to enhance my analysis. Piloting in a familiar school also provided me with easy access to various national documents and guidelines related to the 2013 curriculum and character education. Having knowledge about the recent changes in the education system proved to be helpful in building a good rapport with teacher participants in subsequent schools.

Above all, one of the primary concerns prior to conducting this fieldwork was the appropriateness and effectiveness of interview protocols and the use of supporting scripts as a visual aid during the interview – more specifically, to make sure that they were not misleading or culturally and emotionally insensitive. Conducting a pilot study in a familiar environment with supportive teacher colleagues meant they would be more comfortable and eager to provide more transparent and honest feedback on my research methods than if conducted in an unknown school. Due to the practical aims of piloting, the findings from this pilot school are not analysed and hence did not contribute in answering the research questions.

### 5.3. What is a ‘case’ in this study?

In this research, the case study broadly comprises of two levels of cases. The first level encompasses the cases of two provinces, Jakarta and Bali (described as the contexts). The second level of cases involve six schools (described as unit of analysis) spread across these two provinces. A salient feature of case study is identifying the contexts and units of analysis (Yin, 2013), which forms an integral part of defining what a case means in this study (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995). For this reason, I elaborate in detail the elements of the cases alongside the reasons behind my selections.

#### 5.3.1. Contexts of Study: Jakarta and Bali

The provinces of Jakarta and Bali were purposely chosen as the research sites because first, they have stark cultural, political, and demographic differences. The second reason is related to issues of safety and access.

#### **Choice of Provinces: Diversity in culture**

The two provinces are culturally and religiously different. The dominant religion in Jakarta is that of Islam whereas in Bali it is Hinduism (religious demographic data of both provinces and Indonesia are tabulated in Table 5.2).

*Table 5.2 Religious Demographics in 2010 Census (Indonesian Statistics Bureau, 2011)*

Religion and Details	Provinces		National Statistics
	Jakarta	Bali	
Islam	85.36%	13.37%	<b>87.18%</b>
Protestantism	7.54%	1.66%	<b>6.96%</b>
Catholicism	3.16%	0.81%	<b>2.91%</b>
Hinduism	0.21%	83.46%	<b>1.69%</b>
Buddhism	3.3%	0.54%	<b>0.72%</b>
Confucianism	0.06%	0.01%	<b>0.05%</b>
Others	0.03%	0.01%	<b>0.13%</b>
Not answered	0.03%	0.00%	<b>0.06%</b>
Not asked	0.32%	0.14%	<b>0.32%</b>
<b>Total</b>	100%	100%	<b>100%</b>

When compared to the national statistics, the religious profile of Jakarta is relatively similar to the national trend whereas Bali, with its Hindu tradition is one of the five provinces in Indonesia where a non-Muslim group is the dominant religious group. However, across Indonesia, it should not be assumed that Hinduism is always the alternative majority. In East Nusa Tenggara, for example, more than half of the population is Catholic (54.14%), followed by Protestants at 34.74% (i.e. 88.88% Christian when combined) (Indonesian Statistical Bureau, 2011). In North Sulawesi, West Papua and Papua, the dominant religious groups are Protestants with 63.6%, 53.77%, and 65.48% of the population respectively. In North Sulawesi and West Papua, the second largest religious group is Islam comprising 30.9% and 38.4% whereas in Papua, it is Catholic (17.67%).

Apart from their religious demography, the two provinces are also different in terms of their ethnic composition. Across Indonesia, 31 different ethnic groups are officially recognised (Indonesian Statistical Bureau, 2011). Nationally, Javanese is the largest ethnic group in Indonesia including 40% of the population, followed by Sundanese (15.5%) and Bataknese (3.6%). In order of prominence, Balinese is numbered 15<sup>th</sup> out of the 31 categories (1.67%). Jakarta, as the capital city of Indonesia, is comprised of several ethnic groups, with the three largest being Javanese (35.9%), Betawi (28.1%) and Sundanese (14.6%). In contrast, Bali is less ethnically diverse with more than 85% of the Balinese population being identified as ethnically Balinese, followed by 9.5% being Javanese and 0.76% being Madurese. As a result of these different religious and ethnic groupings, the two provinces have a considerably different cultural landscape.

Looking closely at the statistical data, the data showing those who are Hindu followers and those identified as Balinese are almost identical, which explains the strong presence of a Hindu-Balinese culture – a mix of Hindu religion and Balinese cultural traditions. Meanwhile in Jakarta, although the Betawi are native inhabitants, and while Betawi culture has a presence in Jakarta, it is not as strong as the Balinese in Bali. This may be caused by the larger number of Javanese people in Jakarta and the considerably higher ethnic heterogeneity in the nation's capital, due to internal migration from elsewhere in the country (Indonesian Statistical Bureau, 2011c). In terms of the religious culture, the high percentage of mosques in Jakarta (about 88.5% of the total places of worship in the province, Indonesian Ministry of Religion, 2016) suggests that Islamic culture is more influential than any other religious culture.

In addition to the distinctive ethnic and religious cultures, my choice to study schools in Jakarta and Bali was also influenced by the results of the study conducted by the Indonesian Ministry of Religion (2015), which measures the inter-religious harmony index (IRHI) in all provinces in Indonesia. This study reveals that Jakarta scores below the national index whereas Bali is one of the best performing provinces in this study (Indonesian Ministry of Religion, 2015). By examining a wide array of narratives about diversity from different stakeholders in various settings (one in a predominately Muslim province and the other in a predominately Hindu province, as well as one with higher IRHI and the other with lower IRHI), this study can juxtapose narratives created by the Muslim participants living in an Islamic-dominant province in Jakarta and those living in a society where Islam is the minority (and equivalently for participants from the national minority religious groups). With this juxtaposition, this research can uncover a more critical and comprehensive account of the practice of Unity-in-Diversity in Indonesian schools.

### **Choice of provinces: safety**

While the rationale behind the choice of research sites should be in the interests of the research and seek to address the research questions, my personal and the participants' safety is also equally important. Considering the social and political turbulence in Indonesia leading up to, during, and even after the fieldwork, which revolved around the issue of diversity (see media reports such as Almanar & Prasetyo, 2016; BBC News UK, 2016b; The Jakarta Post, 2017b; Widhiarto, 2016; Wijaya, 2016b), I had to be more cautious in choosing research sites without compromising both the quality of research, my personal and my respondents' safety. Of course, it would be tempting to find a province with a very low inter-religious harmony index (Indonesian Ministry of Religion, 2015) such as the Special Region of Aceh or West Sumatra, where both provinces have approximately 98% and 97% of Muslim adherents (Indonesian Statistical Bureau, 2011a). However, it was anticipated that obtaining access to conduct fieldwork in those provinces would be more challenging, especially as a triple minority myself: female, Chinese and non-Muslim. Furthermore, the Special Region of Aceh (DI Aceh), is the only province in Indonesia to implement Shari'a law (Pisani & Buehler, 2017). Hence, it would not be a good sample for this research as it is unrepresentative of Indonesia generally, and the Indonesian education system and schools specifically.

During my fieldwork in Jakarta, I was sent multiple emails from the UK Government alerting me to the danger of political turbulence in Jakarta on 4<sup>th</sup> November and of 212 rallies demanding the imprisonment of Ahok, the ethnically Chinese Christian governor of Jakarta, for blasphemy (see Almanar & Prasetyo, 2016; Widhiarto, 2016). I am not from Jakarta and had not lived there for an extended time. However, due to having close family and friends who were raised and lived there, I was able to gather information regarding the situation, which broadened my perspectives about the nuances of the social

and political situation in Indonesia; reliance on family contacts is not unusual in fieldwork (Abu-Lughod, 2000). Similarly, having a family friend in Bali also helped me learn about Hindu-Balinese culture. This background knowledge led me to amend my research design, as well as guide me during my fieldwork in schools and later in analysing my data. This insider knowledge thus helped me refine the research, but it also needs to be recognised as a potential source of bias (more of this in Section 5.6.2). Taking into account the diverse social, political and cultural landscapes, and the personal safety and practicality issues, I concluded that Jakarta and Bali would be suitable places to answer the research questions.

### 5.3.2. Selecting the Cases: Strategy and School Criteria

The research applied purposive sampling and recruited six upper-secondary national schools (under the Ministry of Education) with the following criteria:

1. Two state schools and one private school in each province
2. At least one school is dominated by students associated with the religious majority group of the province (i.e. Islam in Jakarta and Hindu in Bali) and 1 school is predominated by students associated with the religious minorities of the province (i.e. Buddhist/Christians in Jakarta and Islam in Bali)
3. The schools were implementing the 2013 national curriculum
4. Academically mediocre-performing schools
5. Students were from low-middle income families

The reasons for such criterion are elaborated in detail next.

## ***1. Why State and Private Schools?***

According to the most recent statistical data on education in 2015/2016, private high schools play a significant role in Indonesia, accounting for 42% of the total high school students in Indonesia (Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, 2016a). This is a contrasting trend from Jakarta, in which state schools only accommodate approximately 37% of the total high school students, whereas the percentage rises to 60% in Bali. This different degree of significance of state and private schools in Jakarta and Bali further suggests the need to look at both types of school to create a more representative sample.

Moreover, studying both types of schooling adds a different layer of complexity to the phenomena in question. It provides a more comprehensive insight to the overall Indonesian education system. In comparison to state schools, private schools generally have more autonomy in how they manage the school due to their financial independence. This greater independence is found to affect the school policy and practice, especially in the provision of religious education as found in both Parker's (2014) and this research (elaborated in Chapter 7 and 8). Distinctive school provisions and practices were also identified across state schools, even though they are supposedly guided by the same national and/or regional policies. Hence, studying two state schools per province helped to tease out the implications of school autonomy policy, especially in state school system, after the introduction of the decentralised education system nearly two decades ago. Methodologically, conducting multiple cases with the same design also enables the research to increase the degree of replicability, validity, and generalisability.

## 2. *Why religious majority and minority schools?*

The initial design involved conducting fieldwork in the three schools in each province of Jakarta and Bali with these profiles: one school dominated by students representing the religious majority group in the province, one school comprising students from various cultural groups, and one school dominated by students representing the religious minority group in the province. I chose these three types of schools as this study aims to explore the school responses towards diversity against the different demographic backdrop. Nonetheless, during the sampling search, it proved difficult to locate schools with a good ratio of religious heterogeneity. State schools are typically attended by students coming from religious majority group in the province and private schools are usually built to cater to a certain group of students – mostly from religious and ethnic minority groups (e.g. Chinese Christian or Chinese Buddhist) as well as those economically privileged families (Hoon, 2011). Based on interviews in this study, these schools were also found to accommodate many of those who fail the admission requirement to go to a state school. Because of this difficulty, the schools that participated in the study fell into two categories: state schools with predominantly religious majority students and private schools with predominantly religious minority students. See Table 5.3. for summary of the initial and final sampling

*Table 5.3 Summary of the initial and final research sampling profiles*

	<b>Province</b>	<b>State/ Private</b>	<b>Initial Planned Demography Profiles</b>	<b>Final Demography Profiles</b>
<b>School 1</b>	Jakarta	State	Muslim Majority	Muslim Majority
<b>School 2</b>	Jakarta	State	Multi-religion (representative)	Muslim Majority
<b>School 3</b>	Jakarta	Private	Protestant or Catholic or Buddhist majority	Protestant & Buddhist Majority
<b>School 4</b>	Bali	State	Hindus Majority	Hindu Majority
<b>School 5</b>	Bali	State	Multi-religion (representative)	Hindu Majority
<b>School 6</b>	Bali	Private	Muslim Majority	Muslim Majority

To further understand the religious profile of each school, statistical data of the students' religious affiliations is summarised in Table 5.4. While it is common to use religion as a form of student identification, since the end of assimilation policy in 1998 it is no longer a practice for schools in Indonesia to record ethnicity in their student profile. Thus, no data on the ethnic composition of students was collected.

Table 5.4 Summary of School Demography Based on the Students' Religious Affiliations

Name of School	Total Students	Muslim	Protestant	Catholic	Hindu	Buddhist	Confucian
<b>State School 1 Jakarta</b>	747	<b>88.6%</b>	7.6%	2.7%	0.4%	0.7%	0.0%
<b>State School 2 Jakarta</b>	855	<b>82.0%</b>	14.4%	3.3%	0.3%	0%	0.0%
<b>Private School 3 Jakarta</b>	268	18.9%	<b>37.7%</b>	7.5%	0%	<b>35.9%</b>	0.0%
<b>State School 4 Bali</b>	1525	0.8%	0.5%	0%	<b>98.7%</b>	0%	0.0%
<b>State School 5 Bali</b>	1545	5.4%	0.8%	0.6%	<b>92.8%</b>	0.4%	0.0%
<b>Private School 6 Bali</b>	561	<b>100%</b>	0%	0%	0%	0%	0.0%

### 3. *Why Schools with the 2013 Curriculum?*

This criterion was added as currently two types of curriculum are being applied in schools across the nation: the 2006 KTSP Curriculum and the more recent 2013 Curriculum. Not all schools have yet transitioned to the new curriculum, although the government aims that by 2020 all schools will be using the 2013 Curriculum. Some of the key changes in the 2013 Curriculum include the student-centred learning approach, the integration of IT in all subjects, and the strong influence of character-based education (more on 2013 Curriculum in Chapter 2). Character education is crucial in achieving the President's "Mental Revolution" agenda, which is one of the nine national development priorities namely *The Nawa Cita* to overhaul the character of the nation. By applying this criterion, this research can understand the ways in which these schools operate under the most

recent educational policy and within character education discourse, and to examine if such policy has any repercussions on the teaching and learning about diversity.

#### ***4. Why mediocre-performing and middle-low income schools?***

The reason for the inclusion of academic achievement and economic status are to ensure there is some constant variables among the already many variables in the cases, to allow for comparison. Socio-economic background is generally known to have a significant impact on schooling experiences, educational values and academic performance (e.g. Reay, 2017; Willis, 1977). In the context of Indonesia, Hoon's research (2013) on two Chinese Christian schools with students from different social classes exemplified the relationships between education and ethnic, and religious and class identities. The study showed that students from both schools have different degrees of exposure with people from different ethnic and religious groups due to the activities they engage in. In the school where students come from privileged families, the intergroup contact was more limited than those from lower-middle class families. The school catering for the upper-class students is also described to have better learning facilities and academic reputation, reflected by the higher tuition fees, which in turn contributes to their higher academic achievement when compared to their counterparts.

### 5.3.3. The Case: Getting to Know the Schools

Based on the criteria, I have selected six schools with different characteristics. To get a better understanding of each school, I present a short overview of the school profiles.

#### **State School 1 Jakarta**

School 1 Jakarta is a state school which was established in 1990. The school is tucked away in a small alley of a semi-rural area of East Jakarta. Of the five administrative cities in the Special Capital Region of Jakarta, East Jakarta has the highest population with 2.69 million people in 2010 (Indonesian Statistical Bureau, 2011c). The majority of the population is Muslim (89.7%), followed by Protestant (7.0%), Catholic (2.1%), Hindu (0.2%), Buddhist (0.5%), Confucian and other (0.5%) (ibid). These statistical figures of the region are comparable to the religious profile of the school (see Table 5.4).

In terms of the students' socio-economic status, students were said to have come from a predominantly lower class, where around 115 students out of 747 were reported to receive funding from the government through the *Kartu Jakarta Pintar* (KJP – Jakarta Smart Card) and *Progam Indonesia Pintar* (PIP – Indonesia Smart Program). A smaller group of students came from middle-class families, demonstrated by the sighting of them being taken to school by cars or riding motorcycles to school. The school itself is located in a lower-middle class neighbourhood, but the school area is rather large (nearly 10,000 sqm) and well-maintained. In addition to classrooms, the school has a good selection of supporting facilities, including a two-floor mosque (for male Muslims) and a smaller Muslim prayer house (for female Muslims). Teachers in School 1 claimed that the school's mosque was known to be the largest school mosque in Jakarta. In addition to prayers, the mosque also serves as a multi-function space for other non-religious school activities such as sport and student or staff meetings. It was also open for people living in the neighbourhood to use for prayers and various events (e.g. for the sacrifice ritual during

the Eid al-Adha, a Muslim festival of sacrifice). Based on interviews with students, many attended the school because of their failure to get into their preferred school due to their low grades and/or due to the school location. Although it is not an academically high-achieving school, teachers and students noted that the school had a strong reputation for fostering discipline and character-building, which were favoured by many parents. This opinion was confirmed during my observations, where on a daily basis I saw students queuing up at the front gate to shake and kiss the hands of teachers on morning rota to greet them 'good morning'. A group of teachers were also seen waiting by the school gate holding student books of conduct to report any student breaking school regulations, such as students' dress, poor punctuality to class or morning prayers.

### **State School 2 Jakarta**

School 2 is a state school located in the Northern area of Jakarta which has a vibrant religious and ethnic community. In terms of number, North Jakarta is the second largest home to non-Muslims after West Jakarta, but they both generally share a similar religious demographic profile (Indonesian Statistical Bureau, 2011c). Approximately 80% of the population of North Jakarta are Muslim and the rest are Protestant (9.3%), Catholic (4.1%), Hindu (0.3%), Buddhist (6.3%), Confucian and others (less than 0.1%). The relatively high number of non-Muslim residents matches the reasonably large number of non-Muslim students in the school. Similar to State School 1 Jakarta, this school is also located in a low-middle class neighbourhood and positioned in a corner of a cul-de-sac road, which makes access limited. Nearly a third of the students received allowance from the Indonesian government, either from the provincial (KJP) or national government (PIP). The school has a decent-sized mosque and sufficient learning facilities.

When asked about the school's main educational goal, the newly appointed head teacher in the interview asserted that he was determined to enhance the application of character education in the school to compensate the lack of student academic achievement. In the year of my fieldwork, this school was chosen by the educational authorities as a "pioneering school" (*sekolah rintisan*) and so it had many joint events with other schools. A pioneering school is carefully selected by the educational authorities and provided with a sum of funding in order to propose and run educational programs that are beneficial for the school itself and for the other schools in the vicinity. Among the three schools in Jakarta, School 2 was the only school with an active parent committee. The parent committee, whose role is to monitor the running of the school, had a table in a joint office alongside the vice principal in charge of studentships and the student counsellor. During the fieldwork, members of the parent committee who had different religious backgrounds visited the school frequently and took part in the planning of many school activities, including a retreat for Christian students and leavers' event.

### **Private School 3 Jakarta**

School 3 is a private non-denominational school that is located in the Western part of Jakarta within the Chinese business district in a low-middle class neighbourhood. West Jakarta is known to have a high concentration of Chinese Indonesians, and this is represented by the reported large number of residents adhering to Buddhism and Confucianism, whose teachings are based on the traditional Chinese values and philosophy. Approximately half of the total Buddhist and Confucian adherents in Jakarta reside in West Jakarta (Indonesian Statistical Bureau, 2011c). I have also observed some Buddhist and Confucian temples as well as a few other private denominational schools, which either follow a Buddhist or Christian ethos around the school neighbourhood.

School 3 was founded at the end of the 1960s by a Chinese Indonesian philanthropist, in order to provide education for children in the neighbourhood who could not afford to go to school. Originally it was established as a Chinese school with a Chinese name. However, it was later renamed to have a more nationalistic name to match the assimilation school concept – a phenomenon that was common for Chinese schools during the New Order era (Pelly, 2003). At the time of research, the school was managed by the grandchildren of the founder, and the interview with them indicated their plan to modernise the school to attract more students, as the school was struggling to stay open. The school followed the national curriculum and welcomed students from all religious and ethnic backgrounds. While there were some students from non-Chinese and Muslim backgrounds and the teachers were predominantly non-Chinese Muslims, most students were Chinese following mainly Buddhism and Christianity (Table 5.4). Teachers also commented that despite the nationalistic name, it had been perceived by the wider society as a Chinese school.

#### **State School 4 Bali**

School 4 is a state school, situated on the outskirts of the Badung regency of Bali. Among the nine regencies in Bali, Badung is the third most populated area after Denpasar and Buleleng, with a total of around 543,000 people (Indonesian Statistical Bureau, 2011b). Of these, 76.3% are Hindu, followed by Muslims (17.7%), Protestants (3.4%), Catholics (1.9%), Buddhists (0.5%), Confucians and others (0.2%). Students in School 4 were predominantly Hindu and only a handful were Protestant or Muslim. The student's religious make up does not match that of the Badung region, and this could be because the school is sited in a rural area of Badung, with a smaller number of immigrants. Due to its location, the relationship between the local community and the school was considerably stronger than those in other schools, even with the other Balinese state

school in this study. Many students and teachers were said to live in the neighbourhood, and some exchange students from Papua also stayed with host families nearby.

Surrounded by a beautiful landscape of paddy field, the school enjoys a level of serenity amidst the hectic daily routines of educating more than 1500 students. The school buildings were artistically furnished with some Balinese carvings, showing a strong influence of Balinese culture. A Hindu temple positioned in the school front yard was used by students and teachers every day to perform the morning and afternoon prayers as part of the Hindu Balinese “three-evening-prayers” *Tri sandhya* routine as well as other religious celebrations. Acknowledging that the students’ interests and skills lied in non-academic activities, the head teacher invested more on developing the students’ talents in sports and arts.

### **State School 5 Bali**

School 5 is a state school, situated in the corner of an alley in a Hindu-Balinese, low-middle class neighbourhood in North Denpasar. As the capital city of Bali, Denpasar is the most populated and culturally diverse regency in Bali. It is home to the biggest number of Muslims (equivalent to just over 43% of the total Muslim population in the province). In relation to other religious groups in Denpasar, the Muslim community accounted for about 28.6% whereas the Hindu community were estimated to be 63.3%. Percentages of other religious groups are as follows: Protestants (4.4%), Catholics (2%), Buddhists (1.5%), Confucian and others (0.2%). According to the accounts of teachers and students in schools in Bali, Muslim parents preferred sending their children to private Muslim schools instead of state schools. This is because state schools were predominantly Hindu and so tended to privilege Hindu culture, whereas Muslim schools were argued to better accommodate the students’ religious needs, particularly of the female students who may

choose to wear a headscarf. Although School 5 is a state school and it is not at the centre of Denpasar, it has a more significant number of Muslim students than School 4, which is likely to be caused by the multicultural profile of the regency as a whole. I also spotted some teachers wearing headscarves, signifying the presence of Muslim teachers in the school.

Similar to School 4, School 5 also has a Hindu temple in the schools' complex. Balinese culture was also noted in the school's architecture and the overall school culture, though to a lesser extent than that in School 4. Being one of the youngest schools in Bali, School 5 showed pride in its reputation and commitment to nurturing students' cultural knowledge and skills through music, dance, and arts.

### **Private School 6 Bali**

School 6 is a private Muslim school located in West Denpasar in a neighbourhood that has a mixed Hindu-Balinese and Muslim population. It follows the national curriculum, but it is administered by one of the largest Islamic organisations in Indonesia, which means the school ethos is aligned with that of the organisation. This alignment is clearly exhibited in the school vision and mission as well as the existence of the compulsory subject of 'organisational studies' which is used to familiarise students with the history, structure, and values of the organisation. Although the recruitment of students gives priority to internal members of the organisation, the school also welcomed and admitted Muslim students from other organisations. As an overt Muslim school, practically all the teachers and students are Muslim. Female students and teachers (and other school administrators) were obliged to wear headscarves at least in the school premise. Most teachers (and students) immigrated from neighbouring Lombok (known as a city of a thousand mosques) and other nearby cities in Java. The teachers were either recruited

from inside Bali (who were born in Bali and identified themselves as Balinese) or outside Bali and were deployed to teach in Bali. Only a few school staff such as security guards were Hindu-Balinese who were used to help make the coordination with people in the neighbourhood easier.

Across from the school, there stands a Hindu temple and during my fieldwork within the school, I could hear the chanting of Hindu prayers and the music of gamelan accompanying what sounded like Hindu religious processions. Inside the school, there was a mosque that functioned as a worship place for the students and teachers as well as for the wider Muslim community. During Friday prayers, the school became rather crowded with the presence of largely male Muslims attending the service and listening to lectures. This is because there are only a limited number of mosques in Bali.

Despite being a private school, the school did not appear to cater for the rich. From my interview with the head teacher, a large number of students came from an economically marginalised group. This is corroborated with the data provided by the school that in the year 2016/2017 129 students received an allowance of Rp.1.000.000/year (=£57.5) through the Smart Indonesia Program from the national government and 5 students were given Rp. 1.500.000/year (=£86) from independent sources.

## 5.4. Data Collection

### 5.4.1. Fieldwork: Access and Ethics

Fieldwork in Indonesia commenced in October 2016 and was completed in March 2017; from October 2016 to January 2017 in Jakarta and from January 2017 to March 2017 in Bali, with a month's break in December and January due to the school exam period and the festive Christmas holidays. This conveniently allowed for reflection on the fieldwork in Jakarta. The duration of fieldwork from one school to another varied depending on teachers' timetables, the schools' internal management, school activities and public events; they ranged from 10 days to three weeks. In School 1, the fieldwork was completed within the designated two-week period as there were no exams or school events taking place and the teachers were always present and cooperative, whereas in School 2 and 3 a few days break from the normal interview and observation routine had to be taken due to school events taking place (such as Youth Pledge Day<sup>3</sup> celebration and an Arts and Literature school competition). In School 3, there were a couple of days (during the 4<sup>th</sup> November Peaceful Rally and aftermath) where no fieldwork was done for efficiency and safety reasons. First, the school was not fully in operation and the majority of the students were absent. Second, the proximity of the school to the main location of the rally alongside the highly concentrated Chinese minority population in the school neighbourhood made the school vulnerable and a potential target of attack. Nonetheless, despite these minor setbacks, overall the fieldwork in the three schools were completed on schedule according to the initial timeline.

---

<sup>3</sup> The **Youth Pledge** (Indonesian: *Sumpah Pemuda*) was a declaration made on 28 October 1928 by a group of young Indonesian nationalists in the Second **Youth** Congress. They proclaimed three ideals: one motherland, one nation and one language which is Indonesia. Youth Pledge Day is one of Indonesian national days and is celebrated in schools annually on the 28<sup>th</sup> October.

Unlike Jakarta where a rigid fieldwork schedule worked well, in Bali the schedule had to be prolonged due to a higher rate of teacher absenteeism, several missed interview appointments and less time to meet the teachers. One of the main reasons for this is the influence of strong community values, social and religious norms in Bali which has an impact on work culture. As will be explored later, Hindu-Balinese culture and its social norms play a significant factor in the lives of many Balinese teachers. One teacher from State School 5 in Bali said how she would prioritise attending a religious-cultural event held by her community over going to work, even if that meant risking her job security. This was because the social implication for missing the event was exclusion from her community. Based on observation, head teachers were considerably more lenient and forgiving in giving permission for teachers to be absent from school or be late to school when the reason was religious-oriented. Moreover, unlike teachers working in state schools in Jakarta who normally had to be present for the full day of work (from 6.30 am to 3 pm or later if they had other extra obligations), teachers working in state schools in Bali did not have to be present for the entirety of the school day. This discrepancy might be due to the decentralised regional and local regulations and/or different work cultures between Jakarta and Bali, but this clearly impacted on data collection.

### **Access and Process of Recruitment**

The process of recruiting the schools for their participation in the research was generally divided into two stages: securing access to school sites and gatekeepers and getting access to individual interview participants. Access to the pilot school was secured in February 2016 through direct, personal contact with the head teacher. Since I am affiliated with the school institution and know most of teachers, the process was more straightforward. For the other six schools, the process of recruitment was more bureaucratic and procedural.

After getting CUREC approval in March 2016 (see Appendix 1), I contacted two gatekeepers, the Head of Research and Development in the Ministry of Education in Jakarta and an established educator in Bali to suggest some potential schools that fit the studies' criteria. They provide recommendation letters and/or verbal referrals to help with access to the selected schools. The letter of recommendation from the Ministerial education official was found to be particularly helpful, as it served as confirmation of my identity and research purpose and proof that the research had been acknowledged by the government of Indonesia. Having the referral from the Balinese educator who is also a renowned public figure helped me acquire access into community circles since cultural and familial ties appeared to be equally as important as a bureaucratic government letter of approval in Bali. Different from Jakarta, where I was allowed to visit the school on my own, the Balinese gatekeeper suggested that it would be best if I was escorted by an 'insider' when visiting the Balinese schools. She explained that the schools would be more accommodating if they knew that I had a Balinese host. The process was proven to be quicker too when the introduction was done by a Balinese local in the Balinese language.

Once appropriate sample schools were identified, I contacted the head teachers to explain the premise of the research and asked for their participation. This was done through face-to-face meetings as communication via emails was not a common practice in Indonesian schools. Moreover, explaining the research directly did indeed prove to be a better strategy to secure access as I was able to respond to their questions and concerns directly. This first meeting really helped build rapport with the head teachers and other key administrators and enabled me to briefly be acquainted with the general character of the head teachers and their leadership and management styles, which later helped me to act appropriately around the schools.

In general, all of the six schools I approached agreed to participate, and no significant issues were encountered in securing access to the participating schools, except in one of the schools – the Islamic school in Bali – that initially decided to pull out in January 2017. The head teacher was concerned that the timing of the research coincided with the exam preparation period. As the number of Islamic schools in central Bali was limited, I re-approached the head teacher to convince him that the length of the fieldwork could be shortened and that the research did not intend to assess the school's performance in implementing the 2013 curriculum. During the second meeting, which was arranged through the help of a powerful insider, the head teacher expressed his concerns. He said he was afraid that he and the staff would not be able to provide maximal cooperation as they would be busy preparing for national exams and meeting all the demanding changes that came with it, which only came into effect that year. In response to this, I used my identity as a former teacher and a school administrator to convince the head teacher that special treatment was not necessary, and I told him that he should not worry about how “messy” the school was getting due to their unusual nature of operation. I was eventually able to gain permission to do my fieldwork for 10 days, which was slightly shorter than other schools.

Access to interview individual teachers was gained through the help of the head teachers. In general, the head teachers appointed the deputy head of public relations or the curriculum to provide assistance, although the level of organisation differed among the appointed persons. In schools where the appointed persons were less organised, I relied on the help of teacher participants to help introduce me to their colleagues. Access to student interviews were gained through referrals of the deputy heads of public relations, curriculum or studentships, whilst actual consent was provided by their parents.

### *Ethical Considerations*

The research was conducted in accordance with the guidelines for the British Educational Research Association (BERA), and CUREC approvals were obtained for the study before the fieldwork commenced from Oxford University's Central University Research Ethics Committee (CUREC) as of 29<sup>th</sup> March 2016 (Appendix 2). All participants were given a research information sheet explaining the research and their rights as participants. All participants were also asked to complete and sign consent forms prior to interviews, except when the participants were below the age of 17 where the consent form was signed by a parent or guardian.

Although this research is primarily interested in educational questions regarding the learning and teaching of the national motto "Unity-in-Diversity", they implicitly involved talking about, and raised sensitive issues related to, ethnicity and religiosity, amongst others. Throughout the fieldwork, I observed that a small group of teachers and students were anxious and concerned about discussing this issue, especially when the terms "*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*" or "*Kebhinnekaan*" (diversity) were being heavily used in media at the time with regard to Ahok's blasphemy case and throughout the reporting of the religiously polarising Jakarta gubernatorial election (see Arifianto, 2017; Cochrane, 2017; Lamb, 2017). Two teachers for example, seemed uncomfortable that the interviews were going to be audio-recorded and refused to be recorded. In these interviews, no recordings were made and only notes were taken throughout the interviews. All participants were also reminded about their rights to withdraw from the study at any time by contacting me via email or phone which was provided on the participant information sheet. Some students and parents were also concerned that their responses would be passed on to the teachers. I addressed this concern by re-iterating the anonymity and confidentiality of their identity and responses.

Furthermore, to protect the identity of the participants, all recordings of interviews were stored on an external hard drive. Interview transcripts, school documents and photos were copied onto my personal laptop which has been password protected. The school name has been replaced with an anonymous reference containing a number, the type of school and province (e.g. State School 1 Jakarta, Private School 6 Bali, etc). In addition, a pseudonym was used in place of the participant's name, alongside the subject taught/status in the school and corresponding number assigned to school (e.g. Mrs Smith History Teacher School 2, Ellen Student School 4, Mr Salim School 6). Apart from ensuring data privacy and confidentiality, when conducting research in an Eastern context, it is equally important to consider the culture of the research sites. One of my ways to be ethically-responsive was by adhering to the cultural-appropriate, modest dress code. During the fieldwork, I wore national *Batik-patterned* attire on Fridays and long-sleeved, loose-fitting shirts and long trousers on every other day to all schools in order to respect the school culture and follow the common professional conduct in Indonesian schools.

#### 5.4.2. Data Collection Methods and Sources

All scholars in case study research have emphasised the use of multiple methods of data collection and multivariate sources of information as one of the advantages and key characteristics of case study (e.g. Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995; Swanborn, 2010; Yin, 2013). In this research, four types of data were collected: (1) verbatim interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs), (2) fieldnotes from observations, (3) school documents and, (4) school photos. Details of the methods and sources used are provided next.

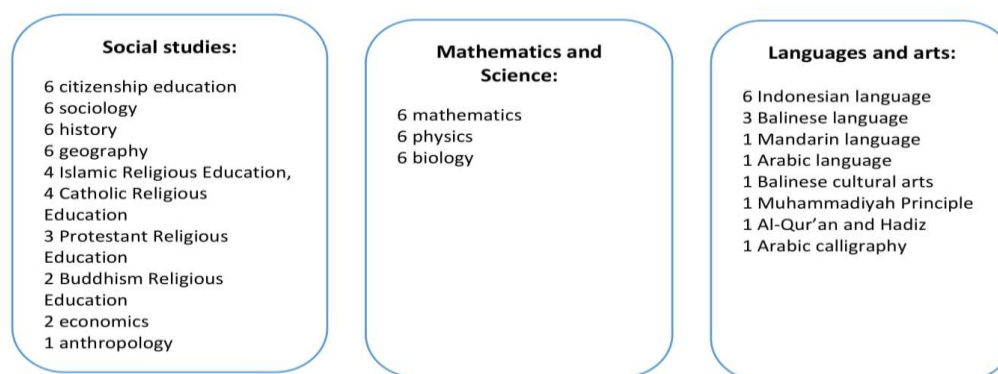
## Interviews and Focus Group Discussions

### Participants

The research involved school-based representatives (head teacher, deputy teacher, school counsellor, teachers, students) and community-based representatives (parents). The number of participants who took part in the interviews and focus group discussions total 164, comprising more specifically of six head teachers, six deputy heads of curriculum, eight school administrators, seventy-three teachers, sixty-three students, and eight parents. Details of the statistical sample can be found in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5 Summary of Participants

Name of School	Province	No of Teachers	No of Head Teachers	No of Deputy Head of Curriculum	No of School Administrators	No of One-to-one Interview Students	No Focus Group Discussion Students	No of Parents	Subtotal
School 1 State	Jakarta	11	1	1	1	2	8	0	24
School 2 State	Jakarta	13	1	1	1	3	8	4	31
School 3 Private	Jakarta	12	1	1	2	0	8	0	24
School 4 State	Bali	11	1	1	1	5	8	1	28
School 5 State	Bali	12	1	1	2	4	8	2	30
School 6 Private	Bali	15	1	1	0	1	8	1	27
	Subtotal	73	6	6	8	15	48	8	
								Total	164



Teachers selected for the study were categorised by their taught subject into social-studies, mathematics and science, as well as language and arts groups. Within these categories, there are compulsory subjects read by students in all streams, and specialised subjects read by students in specific streams. Recruitment of social science teachers, especially civic education, religious education, history, and sociology (and anthropology) teachers were the most obvious and relevant group, as informed by previous studies

conducted in a similar research area (Alviar-Martin & Ho, 2011; Dilworth, 2004; Hoon, 2013; Raihani, 2014c). The addition of geography was to provide a new insight and to balance the sample of specialised subjects between those studied in science and social science streams. The modules of social science subjects also cover topics pertinent to this research, including building nationalism, developing religiosity, fostering peaceful coexistence, and teaching about citizenship. Language and science teachers were added because language teaching has been found to play a role in inculcating identity (Banks, 2009a; Hoon, 2013), whereas few past studies have included science teachers in similar research. The inclusion of science and mathematics teachers was also motivated by Banks' (2010) statement that most teachers in this group struggle to implement multicultural education in the classroom. It is compelling to see how and if multicultural education is regarded relevant for Indonesian science and mathematics teachers.

In terms of quantity, the number of teachers involved varies from one school to another as there were local-content subjects which were only offered in certain schools (e.g. Mandarin language in School 3, Balinese language in School 4 and 5, Arabic language in School 6). The number of religious education teachers who participated also depended on the students' religious make up and the school's policy on the provision of religious education teachers (especially for the religious minorities). The number of participants in the student focus group discussions (eight students) was the same across all schools. Specific selection of students tried to balance representatives, taking account of voice in terms of gender and class streaming (science and non-science) whereas those recruited for one-to-one interviews varied depending on the situation. Most students who participated in the interviews were either head of student councils or from a religious minority in the school whose voice were not necessarily represented in the focus group discussions. All participating students were between the age of 16-18. For parent

participants, the research was unable to achieve the designated number of samples, especially in Jakarta due to parental work commitments. The initial plan was to interview the school-parent liaison committees, however, in two schools in Jakarta (State School 1 and Private School 3), these committees were no longer active. In State School 2, I managed to interview 5 parents from the parent committee and secure 1 parent in each school in Bali.

### Conducting Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews with head teachers, teachers, students, and parents were mostly conducted within the school premises, except for interviews with one parent and one head of parent committee in Bali who would only do an interview at their workplace and at home. In both interviews, I was accompanied by school administrators. All interactions with the participants were using the Indonesian language and interviews were audio-recorded, except for the two participants who requested not to be recorded.

In the initial research design, I planned to use short scripts extracted from textbooks of each subject on issues related to “Unity-in-Diversity” as well as other random topics as complementary material to stimulate the interviews with teachers and students. I hoped that by using these scripts, teachers would find the interviews less intimidating. However, in the pilot study, I found that in practice the scripts distracted the flow of the conversation as some teachers kept reading the scripts. It was also noted that the reading of the scripts might have influenced the answers of the teachers, leading them to give more theoretical answers containing language typically found in standard textbooks. For these reasons, no scripts were used in interviews in the other six schools. Please refer to Appendix 2 and 3 for interview schedules.

### Conducting Student Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussions with students were also employed in order to triangulate and complement data gathered from interviews with teachers and individual students. I chose focus group discussions instead of one-to-one interviews as it was expected that the group dynamic would drive the production of richer data (Punch, 2005). Due to the sensitive nature of the research, focus-group discussions could ‘help in the discussion of taboo subjects since less inhibited members may break the ice or provide mutual support’ (Robson, 2002: 284). Nonetheless, having conducted student discussions across all six cases, it was found that group dynamics differed from one school to another, influenced by the group’s affiliated religious composition. When student discussions were held with a group of students of the same religion, the discussion flowed more naturally, and students were more open in expressing their views. However, when they were attended by a group of students with different religions, I noticed that students became more reserved and wary to speak up as they might not want to offend their peers within the group. I was aware that I had to be more sensitive in moderating the discussion to avoid upsetting anyone. A one-to-one interview with religious minority students in each school was therefore additionally conducted to give them the privacy to voice their views and explore their educational experiences as a minority in the school. A piece of paper was also given to students should they wanted to share their views more discretely, but none were used. The selection of participants was based on the recommendation of the head teachers and deputy heads of the studentship within the specified guiding criteria (having a balanced combination of gender and class).

Some adaptations to the initial design of focus group discussion had to be made in response to the social and political turbulence, triggered by the Ahok blasphemy case, during the fieldwork (see Appendix 4 for student focus group discussion protocols). As

the topic of discussion is sensitive in nature, it was important to minimise any possible emotional discomfort or any leading instructions that caused the students to problematise the implementation of Unity-in-Diversity in Indonesia. To make the discussion flow more naturally, I altered the student discussion design and divided it into sections. The first section consisted of a brief introduction from all student participants about their motivation for attending the school and their future aspirations. The second section consisted of discussions surrounding a wide range of citizenship topics including; special characteristics of Indonesia, the meanings of Unity-in-Diversity and its implementation at school and societal level, and challenges faced by Indonesia as a nation. The order of the themes of the questions depended on the answers of the participants and dynamics in the group. After these themes were covered, the student discussions moved on to the third section – a role-play activity.

In this role-play activity, I first asked the students to imagine themselves as being part of the Indonesian government holding key political positions: president, vice president, members of parliament and ministries. I then asked them to rank eight issues ranging in scope and covering multifaceted topics faced by Indonesia, on the basis of urgency. The eight issues were: (1) inter-religious harmony, (2) economic inequality, (3) lack of nationalism, (4) corruption, (5) global warming, (6) gender disparity, (7) dishonesty, and (8) student brawls. They were given 15 minutes to discuss amongst themselves and decide the rankings. The goal of this activity was to reach a consensus on which issues they collectively, acting as the government of Indonesia, wished to strategically address by priority. They then had to explain why they decided to sort them in such a way. This addition of this third section was the primary change to the focus-group discussion design. The purpose of this was to find out if the students viewed inter-religious harmony as a key issue worthy of immediate response and to let them share their

thoughts about it without me posing direct questions. Apart from allowing the framing of the student discussion to be as civic education which appeared to be less intrusive and more educative to both teachers and students, this role-play activity was also found to be favourable among head teachers since the student's time out of class to attend the discussion was compensated by this educational activity. Positive feedback from the students and teachers were received, where the former mentioned they found the discussion interesting and eye-opening.

### **Observations**

Apart from verbatim interviews, fieldnotes from school and classroom observations are another source of empirical data. Direct observations were comprised of both classroom observations and school observations.

#### Things to observe

School observations aimed at observing:

- routine school activities such as: flag raising ceremony, morning prayers, any cultural or national celebrations held in schools
- interactions between and among teachers and students to have a more holistic understanding of the school culture, especially the culture of shaping the religious and national self as well as character-building

Classroom observations generally covered aspects of:

- teaching style,
- teacher-student interaction (including permission to ask questions),
- teacher's response to the questions,
- main learning activities and learning topics,
- classroom setup and decorations, and

- any attempts to integrate values relevant to character education and principle of Unity-in-Diversity into the learning. When such an attempt was present, further observation was done to examine the nature of such integration and types of multiculturalism being promoted (e.g. monoculturalism, pluralist multiculturalism, liberal multiculturalism, or critical multiculturalism).

#### *School and classroom observation procedure*

School observations were conducted when no other research activities were taking place. They were either led by teachers in the school or done by myself. In the former instance, field notes were often written afterwards while in the latter field notes were taken at the time of observations. Classroom observations were conducted in all relevant subjects taught by the interviewed teachers. Observations in the class taught by each teacher lasted between forty and eighty minutes depending on whether the lesson was a single or double period. Although in most cases interviews with individual teachers were scheduled prior to classroom observation to allow me to have a better rapport with them, and hopefully allow them to be more comfortable with my presence in the classroom, some classroom observations were done before the interviews due to a restricted timetable. Upon my request, I sat at the back of the class – sometimes with a student or by myself – to minimise distraction which might be caused by the presence of a stranger.

During classroom observations, teachers normally gave a brief introduction regarding my presence and capacity as a passive observant, though occasionally, some teachers spontaneously asked for my active engagement in class. On two occasions, I was asked to take over the class to share my experiences of studying abroad. In these circumstances, I politely declined. However, one teacher insisted and said that it was the last lesson and he would end the class earlier in any case. In this circumstance, I used the

period to answer questions about my experiences studying in the UK and share my insight about securing scholarships as a way to build a rapport with students.

### *Challenges of conducting observations*

Being an Indonesian myself who is fluent in the national language, the language barrier was not a prominent issue during observations. In Jakarta, most of the participants speak Indonesian both in a formal and an informal setting – only occasionally teachers spoke in Javanese, Sundanese or Batakese languages – and so no significant problem was encountered during observation. However, the level of understanding was different when conducting research in Bali, as most of the informal communications that took place outside the classrooms, and at times during the classroom learning, among teachers and students were in Balinese. When in doubt, I had to ask those around for points of clarification to avoid assumptions and misinterpretations. In interviews, there were a few occasions when I asked the Balinese teacher participants to clarify their responses as they often assumed I understood Balinese. Thus, even though there was no major problem during data collection due to this language barrier, understanding Balinese would likely be advantageous to better capture the nuance of phenomenon observed in Bali.

Apart from the practical challenge of carrying out observations in multiple languages, there were some methodological issues attached to observations. First, as Steadman (2005) points out, it can be difficult to decide where to stand or sit during observations because an observer wants to be in a place where he/she can see without being a nuisance. This proved awkward at times, but to minimise any difficulties I requested to sit at the back of the class. Interactions with students were kept to a minimum to reduce any distraction which might occur due to my presence. Second, observation over an extended period can feel like ‘shadowing’, and there is a risk of becoming ‘an

oppressive presence' (Steadman, 2005:5). It was apparent that some teachers were very nervous about the observation, but I convinced them that the main aim of the observation was not to make any assessments of their pedagogical performances, and that I had no intention to report anything to their superiors. Third, it is important to consider the timing on notetaking. As Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw (1995:45) write, 'in most social settings writing down what is taking place as it occurs is a strange, marginalising activity, marking the writer as an observer rather than as a full, ordinary participant', and this statement captured exactly what I felt in the early days of fieldwork.

Even though Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (1995) suggested that it would be better to postpone the writing to get a 'more fully experiential style of fieldwork' (p.43), writing observation notes as events took place can minimise the chance of missing information, especially when events being observed were rich in information and involved many people. In this research, observation notes and jottings were mostly made as things happened, except when I was engaged in conversation where sensitive and emotional issues were being shared. In this situation, the writing was undertaken later. I made additional reflective field notes at the end of each school fieldwork session, in order to provide preliminary summarised thoughts on what was observed and experienced in the school particularly in response to the research questions.

### **School Documents**

I collected school documents which comprised of electronic and physical copies of the curriculum, student and teacher demographic data, school prospectuses and/or school regulation handbooks as well as lesson plans (when available). Most of these school documents were shared by the deputy head of curriculum, although some lesson plans were shared by subject teachers.

## **School Photos**

I took photos of each school using my phone camera which was password-protected. The photos include photos of school buildings, school events, and any pamphlets, posters, and wall photos found in corridors and/or classrooms. Permission was sought from the head teacher before any photos were taken, and photos capturing people's faces are pixelated when/if documented.

### **5.5. Data Analysis**

In principle, the research adopts a qualitative thematic analysis approach to analyse the data. According to Marshall & Rossman (2011), there are six phases of thematic analysis:

1. organising the data,
2. generating categories or themes,
3. coding the data,
4. testing emergent understandings of the data,
5. searching for alternative explanations of the data,
6. writing up the data analysis.

As this research involves multiple case studies, these phases were generally divided into two stages: within-case analysis and cross-case analysis. Phases 1, 2, and 3 were carried out as part of within-case analysis comprising transcribing the interviews and focus group discussions and coding the verbatim records, fieldnotes and school documents. In Phase 4 and 5, cross-case analysis was conducted by applying analytical techniques of pattern-matching and building explanations across cases. These techniques were only consistently applied in cross-case analysis and not in within-case analysis because in this research, the unit of analysis is the six schools and not the individual participants. Even when specific research inquiries involved looking closely at

individuals' certain attributes the pattern matching was not focused between individuals, but between collective groups of individuals (e.g. not between Muslim Teacher A and Muslim Teacher B, but between Muslim participants and Christian participants). This was used, for example, to understand the different responses towards the meanings of Unity-in-Diversity between participants identified as the religious majority and religious minority group or examining the different multicultural education strategies applied by science and social science teachers. Phase 6 cuts across both stages of case analysis.

#### 5.5.1. Organising and Managing Data

All empirical documents related to research were stored on a personal, password-protected laptop in order to adhere to the Data Protection Act. Only electronic data such as verbatim interviews and focus group discussions as well as photographic data were managed using N-vivo 11, a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software. Anonymised audio files from interviews and a back-up copy of all electronic data were stored separately on an external hard drive. All the physical data such as observational notes and school documents were stored in organisational boxes separately according to each respective case.

Before the transcripts were analysed, all audio-recorded interviews and focus group discussions were transcribed in verbatim form in the Indonesian language to minimise the risk of meanings becoming lost in translation. Only parts of verbatim transcripts that were used as the subject for discussion with my supervisors and colleagues, as well as utilised as quotes in this thesis were translated into English. A back-translation technique was employed for the selected quotes of transcripts used in the thesis to reconcile the potential inaccuracies caused by language translation. The person who did the back-translation is an English native speaker who is fluent in Indonesian and had research experience in Indonesian education. The combination of knowledge about

Indonesian education as well as language fluency is important in order to make the translation more nuanced and contextually appropriate (Hambleton, 2005).

Due to the high volume of interviews to be transcribed and the limited timeframe, the transcribing was done by both me and a paid Indonesian transcriber. The transcriber was asked to sign a confidentiality agreement form to keep the identity of the participants and any information related to the research confidential. To make sure the participants' emotions and nuance of the discussion shared during the interviews were considered in the analysis, I listened to the interviews whilst reading and coding the conversations verbatim. The research objective concerns mainly the perspectives of participants on the topic of Unity-in-Diversity and education. Denaturalised transcription was thus considered appropriate as it focused on the meanings and perceptions constructed and shared during a conversation and less on how one communicates those perceptions (Oliver, Serovich, & Mason, 2005). A naturalist transcription approach was not chosen as it often involves reading non-standard orthographies. The orthographies which are often associated with certain racial and class assumptions are argued to jeopardise the integrity of the analysis, especially in coding, as well as confidentiality of the participants identity (Oliver, Serovich, & Mason, 2005).

#### 5.5.2. Generating Themes

In agreement with Elliott (2018), the decision-making behind the creation of the coding framework in this research was an ubiquitous process. Prior to fieldwork, an initial coding framework consisting of categories, themes, and codes (known as parent and child nodes in N-vivo) had been generated to give some direction to the collection of relevant types of data. Generating a coding frame, which is key to the processing of data analysis was developed in English based on the review of relevant theories in the literature as well as my previous empirical research in similar research areas. It also considers the overall

research design and research questions, my own research philosophy as the researcher who collects and analyses the data, as well as the practicalities of the study (Elliott, 2018).

During the fieldwork, this first draft of the coding scheme was then further complemented by empirical data and gradually revised as the ‘direct interpretation of the individual instance’ and ‘aggregation of instances’ took place (Stake, 1995:74). Employing a hybrid approach of both concept-driven (deductive) and data driven (inductive) analysis, the second draft of the coding framework was created (Appendix 5).

### 5.5.3. Coding the Data

Before each coding process began, I always read through the interview and student discussion transcripts whilst listening to the audio file to gain an understanding of the conversation and to make some initial notes. After that, using the second draft of the coding framework, I decided to initially test it using a sample of twelve verbatim transcripts (about 10% of the total transcripts), consisting of transcripts of two participants (one head teacher and one subject teacher) in each of the six schools. The results from this piloting stage of the coding process were utilised to inform changes to further enhance the coding framework. This third draft of the coding framework was then applied to all verbatim interviews, field notes and school documents; and when new categories and codes began to emerge, the codes were re-classified, and the framework was revised accordingly. All data were coded systematically, and alternate manual coding and electronic coding aided by N-vivo were carried out. All manual coding processes were transferred to the software to ensure the analysis was recorded and managed efficiently.

#### 5.5.4. Testing Emergent Understandings and Searching for Alternative Explanations

After applying these codes to the data, a certain understanding of the data within the cases began to emerge. As data were reduced and themes continued to develop, some theoretical and conceptual constructions started to form. When a good grasp of understanding of the data within each case was achieved, I then moved on to cross-case analysis by using a pattern matching technique. Pattern matching was helpful for checking both the consistent pattern of emergent findings and identifying the “black swan” (rival explanation) (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Yin, 2013). It also enabled comparison of findings across cases as well as between the current case studies and those found in existing literature/previous research (Yin, 2013). When patterns began to emerge, explanations about cases were generated as a result of a lengthy iterative process. This perpetual, back-and-forth cycle of reflective iterations (Srivastava & Hopwood, 2009), which is key to developing meanings, entails proposing a statement, comparing findings, providing sequential, logical evidence, revising and refining the statements, and connecting with previous studies (Yin, 2013). As mentioned earlier in the document, this reflexive process has been integral in qualitative research and should connect every stage of qualitative research, from formulating research questions, creating research design, analysing data, all the way through to data presentation.

To guide me throughout the process of reflexive inquiry in this research, especially during the data analysis stage, I have referred to Srivastava’s framework for data analysis which comprises three questions (Srivastava & Hopwood, 2009:78):

*Q1. What is the data telling me?*

*Q2. What is it I want to know?*

*Q3. What is the dialectical relationship between what the data are telling me and what I want to know?*

#### 5.5.5. Writing Up Data Analysis

I also employed Srivastava's framework (Srivastava & Hopwood, 2009:78) to create an analytical framework (see Appendix 6) to help me think about the reporting design, relationships between the emerging themes and different social constructs, and variables to consider during the analysis and write up. Each finding chapter corresponds to each research question and emerging themes are used as a guiding framework to structure the resultant arguments, which are informed by the empirical findings and literature review.

#### 5.5.6. The Use of CAQDAS: Reflecting on Benefits and Challenges

N-vivo software has been used to manage data and aid in data analysis within this research. Effective data management aside, N-vivo has become an increasingly favourable tool to be used by qualitative researchers as it can offer numerical insight into qualitative data. By integrating numbers in qualitative data collection, analysis and reporting, it contributes to 'the internal generalisability of qualitative researchers' claim' (Maxwell, 2010: 478), provides 'systematic evidence for diversity that may be overlooked by both the researcher and participants themselves' (ibid, p.479) and helps identify patterns that may not be apparent from non-numerical qualitative data.

On the other hand, the use of CAQDAS in qualitative research has at the same time been criticised because it can make the analytical process too procedural, and can distance the researcher from the data, especially if he/she has an overwhelming amount of data to code (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013). To minimise the risk of mechanical application of the coding technique, some strategies were employed. The first one was by switching the method of data coding between the conventional paper-and-pen approach and the coding-using-software approach to avoid exhaustion caused by doing the same, repetitive procedures. The second strategy was by revisiting the fully coded scripts randomly and re-reading the scripts every two weeks during the coding period to make

any necessary improvements. The third one was by being reflective and making a note of the conscious key decisions made regarding which categories to focus on, the process of data iteration and interpretation of the meanings behind the data in the research journal.

## **5.6. Ensuring Research Quality**

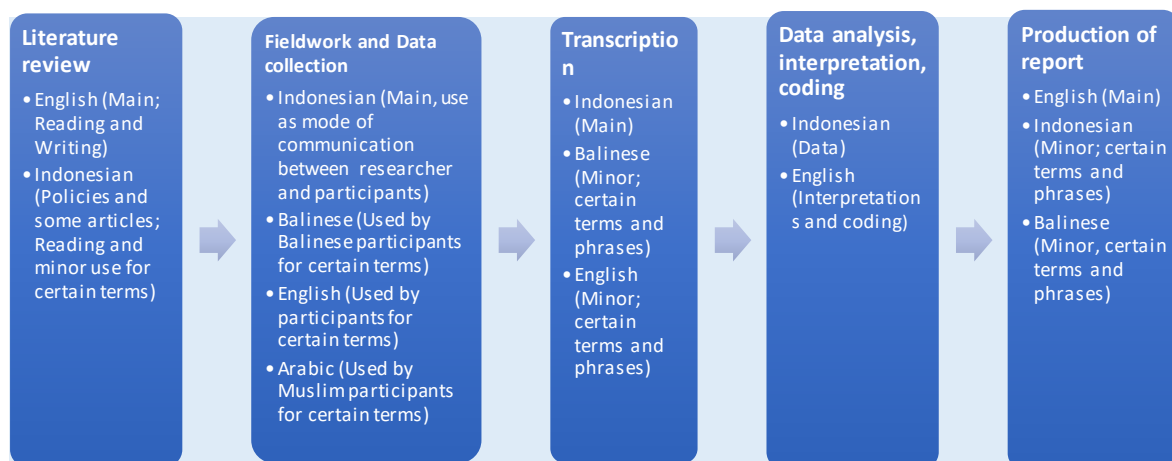
### **5.6.1. Language Differences and Translation**

This discussion of language differences in cross language qualitative research is often implicit, yet it has a significant purpose for both the reader and the researcher. For the reader, clarification of how, when, why, and by whom translation is conducted can help the reader engage with the text and the cultural nuances, as well as its representation relative to the position and viewpoint of the researcher (Temple & Young, 2004). For the researcher, the discussion of translation processes can be a mechanism to help check the validity of any interpretations (Young & Ackerman, 2001). For its significance, this section discusses the challenges of language differences in this research, where the researcher acts as the translator.

This research is set in a context in which the first language of the participants and the main researcher is a non-English native language and the non-English data leads to an English publication. This context has led to the occurrence of language differences in various phases of the study, such as in the literature review, coding and the interpretations of findings, and translation of quotations used in the thesis report. With participants and the main researcher speaking the same language (i.e. Indonesian), no major language differences are present in the data gathering and transcription, although occasionally participants used some terms and phrases in English (e.g. “thank you” or “quality education”), Arabic (mainly Arabic and Islamic religious teachers), and Balinese (mainly Balinese language teachers) during interviews and observations (see Image 5.1. for summary of language differences in this research). Balinese is an ethnic language mainly

used by Balinese people and is very different from Indonesian in both speaking and written forms. The Indonesian language is written using the Latin alphabet whereas Balinese uses its own scripts. Since I do not speak and understand Balinese, I found fieldwork in Bali more challenging as I was not able to fully capture the informal interactions between participants, which mainly took place in Balinese. The use of Arabic was less frequent, and mainly took place during the Arabic and Islamic religion class observations. When the participants used non-Indonesian words during the interview, I asked for an Indonesian translation from the participants to clarify statements.

Image 5.1 Language differences in research process



Throughout the process, the main challenge in this cross-language qualitative research was to ensure that the translation does not negatively affect the validity of my interpretations. As Nes, Abma, Jonsson, & Deeg argue (2010), ‘translation is also an interpretive act’ and so ‘meaning may get lost in the translation process’ (p. 313). With the involvement of multiple languages, though at varying levels, there is a question of whether there is an equivalence of terms in the two languages. For instance, the classification of Protestant and Catholic as separate religions in the six official religions in Indonesia, but not between Sunni and Shia or Ahmadiyya makes the meaning of religion in Indonesia different from other countries. To address this problem, I have employed various strategies at different phases of the research.

First, a pilot study was conducted in the initial stage of the research to ensure the questions posed used suitable terminology and to help identify any sources of bias or leading questions, and hence minimise the risk of losing meanings during translation. Second, the development of a coding framework and themes as well as the process of coding were all effectively confined to English. No coding labels were developed from the participants' words. This coding process is possibly where language changes took place most intensely. I read the transcripts in English, but I interpreted them in English and then analysed them using English coding labels. Having lived and studied in the UK for nearly fifteen years, I am used to compartmentalising my thoughts in different languages. When thinking about academic work, particularly regarding the area of multicultural education (a topic I have mostly learnt through reading English books and articles), I only think about and understand subject specific terms in English, and so most of my interpretations were carried out in English.

After I completed the analysis process, I selected relevant quotations to be used in the production of this thesis and only those selected quotations were translated into English and sent to a back-translator. Back-translation and cross-checking techniques were employed in order to minimise any discrepancies in meanings and errors in the translation as well as helping control the quality of the translation (Brislin, 1986). The use of an experienced translator is important; that 'translators should be more than persons familiar and competent with the languages involved in the translation. They should know the cultures very well, especially the target culture' (Hambleton, 2005:10-11). Hambleton (2005) also states that it is highly desirable if the translator has subject matter knowledge. The hired back-translator in this research is an English native speaker who has a good level of linguistic competence in Indonesian, proven by her work as an Indonesian language tutor for non-native speakers. She has also conducted research on higher

education in Indonesia for her PhD, and so she has contextual knowledge about Indonesia and its culture, helping her translation to be more nuanced. To protect the participants' anonymity, privacy and confidentiality, the back-translator was asked to sign non-disclosure agreement form and the quotations sent were all anonymised.

During the later stage of writing this research report, I also carefully considered when it may be appropriate to use a translated text or the original text in Indonesian. The decision of which one(s) to use was made based on the intention of providing sufficient contextual understanding without overwhelming the reader with too many unfamiliar and redundant words. During the review of the literature, most sources of academic literature were written in English whereas all policies were in Indonesian. I have decided to only provide the English translation of the 2003 national education Act because the words used in the Act have direct parallel meanings to English. Meanwhile, for the national character education framework (Image 2.5), I have decided to include both the Indonesian text and English translation, so that the reader can see the original image of the framework and the relationship between different notions. In the findings chapters, I present words or phrases with both the original text in Indonesian or Balinese and the translated text in English because they demonstrate stronger relevance with the topic. For instance, the use of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* alongside the translated term Unity-in-Diversity is often used to remind the reader of the localised vision of diversity. When the participants used the word '*Kebhinekaan*' in an interview, I purposely kept it in the quotation, but not for the nearly identical word '*keberagaman*' because despite sharing the same meaning of diversity, the former has a more direct tie with the national motto of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. Finally, I asked for feedback from non-Indonesian readers (mainly from the UK) regarding any contextual explanations in order to minimise the potential intercultural gap due to my assumed interpretations (e.g. Protestant and Catholic differences).

### 5.6.2. Rigor

Despite the growing popularity and unfaltering efforts made by qualitative researchers to make qualitative research more systematic, qualitative research has continuously been criticised for lacking robustness in comparison to quantitative counterparts (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011; Miles & Huberman, 1994) – especially in case study research (Gomm et al., 2000; Hyett, Kenny, & Dickson-Swift, 2014). One of its main criticisms is because of its disposition to subjectivity. From the very beginning of this research, the choice of research topic and then research design has been driven by personal motivations and experiences and are therefore inherently influenced by assumptions – all of which are subjective in nature. As interpretive research focusing on participants’ perspectives about Unity-in-Diversity and its implementation, this research values subjectivity. However, efforts have been made to ensure bias was addressed and a good standard of qualitative research was maintained throughout, from the planning of research design to collecting data to analysing data and writing up the findings.

Next, to increase the validity and reliability of the coding scheme, two independent coders were recruited to code a sample of verbatim transcripts to see whether they would use the code in the same way I did. One of them comes from a scientific background whilst the other works around issues of gender and education. Both were sent the coding framework and instructions on how to code (see Appendix 7) alongside a confidentiality form. I am fully aware that the coders may not have the same depth of knowledge as I do in interpreting the interview data and so there is some danger of superficial coding (Morse, 1997). However, as they are both Indonesian academics and are familiar with the Indonesian context, I view their lack of attachment to the research as being useful in offering alternative and objective insight into the analysis process, should any themes have been overlooked. In the later stage, this research applies data and

source triangulation during the analysis and writing processes to ensure the findings offer a degree of validity and reliability (refer to Table 5.1 for the matrix pairing the findings and sources used in data triangulation to answer each research question).

The issue of generalisability has undoubtedly been another often-raised critique against case study research. Different authors have different views on whether the findings found in case study research can be generalised or whether generalisation should be a goal of the conduct of case study at all (Donmoyer, 2000; Gomm et al., 2000; Guba & Lincoln, 1982; Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2013). In view of the discussion on generalisability in case studies, this research aims to achieve “analytical generalisation” (Yin, 2013) or “naturalistic generalisation” (Stake, 1995), but it does not intend to make statistical generalisation or claims about the interpretive findings found in Jakarta and Bali. With the emphasis of contextuality through the recruitment of various kinds of schools, the research in fact underlines the impossibility of statistically generalising the extent to which schools in Indonesia collectively implement Unity-in-Diversity. It also implies that it would be inappropriate to expect there to be a one-size-fits-all framework in promoting Unity-in-Diversity in schools in Indonesia and worldwide.

Despite the best efforts, I am aware that my personal assumptions and identity might have influenced the findings of the research. Further discussions on the role of my positionality and dual identity as an ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ as well as ways to minimise potential bias and increase research reliability and validity continue to be addressed next. My personal account of how I was perceived and treated during the fieldwork could give some insight into the minority’s ambivalent status in the country, although it should not be viewed as a representation of how all minority groups are treated in Indonesia. I also hope that this account will contribute to the academic discussion about methodological issues in and implications of interracial, interethnic or interreligious research, especially

ones where the researcher is viewed as a member of an outgroup (e.g. Sin, 2007; Törngren & Ngeh, 2018).

### 5.6.3. Researcher's Positionality

The research took place in my home country, meaning I could be considered as an “insider” who has “insider” knowledge. However, although I am Indonesian by nationality and the Indonesian language is my native language, having Oriental facial features and fairer skin, I am visibly different from the majority of the Indonesian population. I am racially ascribed and ethnically identified as Chinese. Because of my racial identity, I faced circumstances where my nationality was questioned, and I was positioned as the ‘other’ and therefore considered an ‘outsider’ (Hoon, 2006). My overall fieldwork experience illustrates how my racial, ethnic, gender and religious background was negotiated during the interactions and simultaneously how participants negotiated the different and shared backgrounds through questions they asked. In agreement with Törngren & Ngeh (2018), I argue that the demarcation of boundaries of different identities is fluid, where the assignment of various categories to oneself is a result of daily interactions (Hatoss, 2012) and situational contexts (Sin, 2007).

Across the schools, statements such as “*Where are you from?*”, “*You do not look like an Indonesian with the small eyes*” were made during interview and informal interactions. On a few occasions, students in the schools greeted me in other foreign Oriental languages such as Korean, Japanese, and Chinese. A food-vendor in a school’s canteen also asked me if my name was *Ling Ling* – a name he thought was a typical female Chinese name and would be appropriate for a Chinese-looking person like me. Although these interactions might be perceived as being rather offensive at first, they could simply depict their curiosity about my nationality and ethnic identity. It is possible that they wanted to confirm my identity to ensure that they could give socially desirable

answers, which is something common in qualitative studies settings (Punch, 2005). Regardless of the motive, these questions, especially “where are you from?”, reveals the interviewees’ intention to clarify my identity. It also suggests their categorising and positioning of me as an outgroup member from mainstream society (Hatoss, 2012).

In many interviews, the interviewees apologised for sharing what they believed their religions’ attitude was and inquired about my religious affiliation. It was likely that the participants who were associated with the religious and ethnic majority group would be more cautious when talking about diversity issues (Sin, 2007; Törngren & Ngeh, 2018), considering the high level of cultural tension within Indonesia after the blasphemy case at the time of the interviews. My shared racial identity with the alleged perpetrator of this blasphemy might make them wonder about my intentions with regard to conducting research on the topic of diversity. As a result, it is possible that they gave answers they thought I would want to hear and suppressed negative racial attitudes in order to maintain the flow of the interview (Krysan & Couper, 2003).

On the other hand, when I conversed with religious and ethnic minority participants, my identity as a minority appeared to be an advantage. Being considered as someone “*in the same boat*”, denoted by the use of reference terms like “*us minority*”, they seemed to be more open in expressing their opinions and feelings. During my fieldwork in Bali, the Hindu-Balinese participants represented the majority group in Bali, but they still referred themselves as a ‘minority in Indonesia’. Despite not embracing the same religion, I was somehow regarded as an ‘ingroup member’ for practicing Buddhism as it was seen similar to Hinduism. Having similar culture, from using offerings and incense in praying, meditating as part of religious practice, to consuming pork as part of the daily diet – all of which were examples of similarities raised by the participants during the conversations – I was instantly able to build good rapport with the Hindu participants.

To try to break the stereotypes associated with being a female Chinese Indonesian and make my identity less fixed and more fluid to the participants, I positioned myself as a researcher from Oxford University who has received a scholarship award from the Indonesian government. I also informed the participants of my educational background and long settlement in the UK in order to create different layers of identity so that no singular identification as a member of the “other” could be simply construed. By letting the teacher participants know my professional experience as an educator also helped to build a good rapport and trust with the participants and in one of the schools identifying as a teacher helped in gaining access. While using the teacher identity when communicating with teachers and head teachers, my identity as a researcher from Oxford University was emphasised more to parents, students, and other participants.

In Bali, when invited to attend the religious ceremony of Sarasvati, which was held in school, I wore a traditional Balinese costume to show my respect to the tradition. As a Board member in a multicultural school and an active proponent of multicultural education, the wearing of religious and local attire reflects my standpoint in advocating intercultural understanding and multiculturalism. This may thus affect the participants’ views about the issues being investigated in this research. For instance, a male teacher in School 4 Bali commented how delighted he was seeing someone outside of the community wearing the Balinese costume. He said, ‘I wish everyone in Indonesia could do the same [as you] because this shows tolerance. This is key to living harmoniously.’

In order to minimise the effects of bias, a conscious effort was made to ensure no pre-emptive questions were asked during the interviews. Moreover, as a Chinese Indonesian who has experienced some discrimination as a minority in the country and a scholar who works on research related to Chinese identity, politics and multicultural education, it would have been easy for me to fall into the trap of engaging in political

debate on social media. During this research, I decided to not post anything on any social media sites in order to reduce the risk of developing greater political bias and being caught in any emotional distress.

I recognise all the potential biases which might have occurred due to my perceived ethnic and religious identity. I am aware that an ethnic-matching strategy has been argued to increase data reliability (Davis, 1997) and carrying out research as an “outsider” may yield distorted results (Sin, 2007). Multiple strategies were applied to minimise this “race-of-interviewer” effect, as explained throughout this chapter. For instance, in focus group discussions, I introduced the role-playing activity and then left students undirected to discuss the issues among themselves. This enabled them to express their thoughts more freely in a more natural setting. During the interviews, the questions were purposely designed to be general and open-ended, framed by the notions of civic education and the Indonesian education system. This was designed to avoid encouraging the participants to discussing issues related to religious sentiment and ethnic identity.

Owing to outsider and insider effects upon research, academics (e.g. Savin-Baden & Major, 2013; Sin, 2007) have pointed out that an outsider’s perspective can offer a different insight into the phenomenon of inquiry and warned of the potential danger of conducting researcher as an insider – one of which is the potential for dismissing things that are too obvious. It is thus noted that whichever position a researcher is assigned to, reflectivity needs to be practised regularly to make sure that any personal views and agenda are not imposed upon the participants during the data collection and influence the analysis and reporting processes (Finlay, 2002; Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). Apart from reviewing the academic literature, I also exchanged ideas and carried out discussions with colleagues who had little knowledge about Indonesia and this topic of research to continue developing reflexivity and maintain a degree of academic objectivity.

## **6 Making Sense of the Meanings of Unity-in-Diversity Across Schools in Contemporary Indonesia**

This chapter presents the complex meanings of Unity-in-Diversity across schools in contemporary Indonesia. These meanings are interpreted through two levels of analysis (individual and school level) by examining fieldnotes, photos, and the general view of multiple educational stakeholders such as head teachers, teachers, students, and parents on (i) what Unity-in-Diversity means to them, (ii) the implementation of Unity-in-Diversity in Indonesia, and (3) the manifestation of Unity-in-Diversity in schools. Understanding the interplay of nuanced narratives of different stakeholders about Unity-in-Diversity at these levels as well as how they interweave with each other is of utmost importance. It offers a valuable insight into the ‘bigger picture’ of how schools as complex systems operate, of how independent stakeholders with their own agendas, values, and expectations interact, negotiate, and work together in one system.

As integral educational institutions in society, schools and their frontline actors notably head teachers and teachers, are obliged to implement and promote Unity-in-Diversity among many other policies within the national education and character education agenda. However, as this chapter aims to show, notwithstanding the omnipresence of Unity-in-Diversity in Indonesian society, its meaning is interpreted and is not fixed; it varies from one person to another across times and contexts. The interplay between these interpreted meanings of stakeholders with different roles (head teachers, teachers, parents, students), level of authorities (leaders and staff), and status of group membership (majority and minority) inevitably creates the dynamics of power, which influences the ways schools interpret and accommodate the vision of Unity-in-Diversity. Since schools are systems that are constructed and operated by the stakeholders within

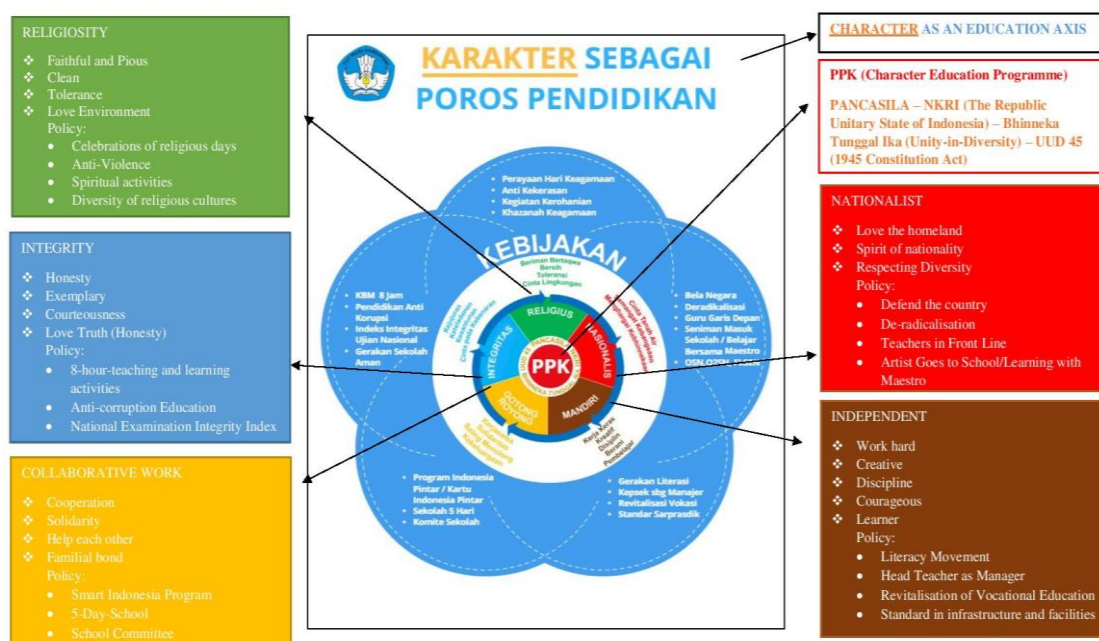
them, this study argues that the accommodation of the vision of diversity in schools is subject to interpretations too, making it a non-linear and complex process. The process of accommodating the vision of diversity is also found to be highly contextualised and shaped by many other factors: national and local policies, local culture, and school demographic profiles, to name a few.

In order to present the nuanced findings, four emerging themes are introduced: (a) construction of national identity, (b) recognising and accepting religious diversity, (c) contextuality of meanings at different schools, and (d) relevance and significance of Unity-in-Diversity in Indonesian education. The first and second themes elaborate on how Unity-in-Diversity is described as a framework for constructing national identity and recognising diversity, particularly religious diversity. The accounts on the perceived meanings of Indonesia's diversity presented in this chapter and the overall thesis mainly revolve around the issue of religion because it is the primary aspect of diversity which all participants commented on when discussing Unity-in-Diversity and its implementation in society. However, it is important to emphasise here that many participants also associate the term Unity-in-Diversity with other types of diversity, and this association is shown to have been shaped by their individual identities and societal contexts. With this recognition, the third theme deals with the participants' interpretations of Unity-in-Diversity in relation to other social constructs such as ethnicity, caste system, and intra-religion belief systems. The last theme aims to critically consider the perceived significance of the term for members of religious majority and minority groups as well as religious majority and minority schools before reflecting on the relevance of all these nuanced interpretations about Unity-in-Diversity when situating them within the overall framework of education.

## 6.1. Unity-in-Diversity as a Construction of Nationhood

The symbolic role of Unity-in-Diversity in Indonesian national identity in bringing the multicultural and multireligious society together is evident in education. Referring to the national character education PPK framework (Image 6.1), the term *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* is positioned at the centre of the image, encircling the word PPK alongside the three other national pillars (*Pancasila*, 1945 Constitution Act and The Republic Unitary State of Indonesia). This positioning suggests the fundamental role of Unity-in-Diversity as the national philosophy in guiding in all aspects of the schooling and education program.

Image 6.1 Character Education Framework, with an addition of English translation (Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, 2017a)



One of the ways schools accommodate the vision of Unity-in-Diversity as a symbol of nationhood is depicted by the mounting of three pictures: the Garuda bird with Pancasila statements, the President, and the Vice President of Indonesia. Based on my observations, these pictures are hung in all classrooms across all six schools, at the centre of the wall above the board, and facing the students, as shown in Image 6.2, as well as in various

important parts of the schools such as administrative and teacher work rooms and/or entrance of the schools.

Image 6.2 Photo of Garuda in front of the class in State School 5 Jakarta

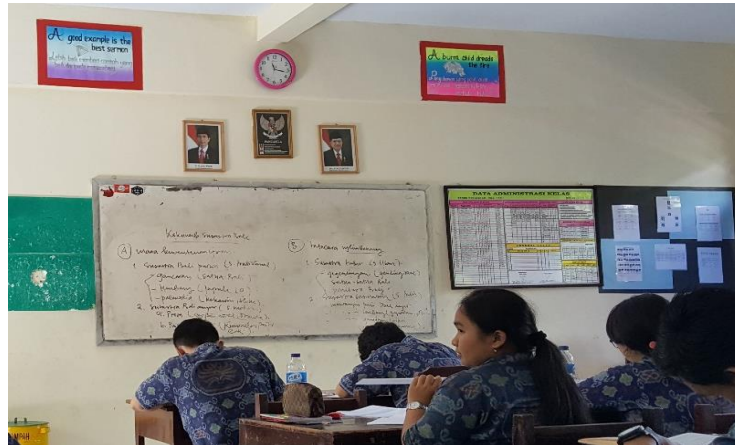


Image 6.3 Indonesia National Emblem - Pancasila and Garuda Bird



These framed pictures consist of imagery of various symbols of nationhood (including the nation's emblem of the Garuda bird<sup>4</sup> with the full text of *Pancasila* and a scroll bearing

---

<sup>4</sup> The national emblem of the Garuda bird is a complex national symbol, created in 1950. The symbol was drawn from an amalgamation of Hindu-Buddhist, Javanese and Balinese traditions and cultures. During its design process, discussions were carried out to accommodate both Islamic and minority perspectives. There are 17 feathers on each wing, 8 on the lower tail, 19 on the upper tail and 45 on the neck, which represent the date Indonesia proclaimed its independence (17 August 1945). The Heraldic shield (each section of the shield corresponds to the symbols of five principles *Pancasila*) is attached to its chest and a scroll bearing the national motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity-in-Diversity) is gripped by its legs.

the national motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, gripped by its legs illustrated in Image 6.3) which is positioned in the middle, and the self-portraits of the President and Vice President of Indonesia to each side. The mounting of these pictures within schools alongside photos of national heroes has been reinforced since the Suharto regime and is now stipulated in the circular letter issued by the Minister of Education and Culture (MoEC) No 21042/MPK/PR/2017 as part of the implementation of the elevated program of character education, called *Penguatan Pendidikan Karakter (PPK)* (Strengthening Character Building) (Budhiman, 2017; Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, 2017b, 2017d). It is likely that the issuance of this circular letter is part of the government's effort to consolidate the supremacy of *Pancasila* as the Indonesian ideology and the Constitution of Indonesia after the growing threats from the actions of conservative Islamist groups such as HTI (Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia) which aims to change the Indonesian ideology into a pan-Islamic caliphate based on Shari'a law (BBC News Indonesia, 2016a, 2016b; BBC News UK, 2016b; Burhani, 2017).

Apart from symbolic exhibitions through images, the construction of the national identity is also manifested through various activities at both school and classroom level. At school level, this is exemplified by the mandatory weekly 30-minute-flag-raising ceremony on Monday mornings which takes place at all educational levels. Its execution adheres to a protocol set by the Ministry of Education, aimed at instilling commitment to national values and the four pillars of nationhood, i.e. *Pancasila*, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, 1945 Constitution, and NKRI (Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia). To illustrate how the typical Monday flag-hoisting ceremony is held in schools in Indonesia and how it is one of the core school activities intended to strengthen national identity, I present my fieldnote from State School 1 Jakarta:

*I am sitting on a bench in the corridor to observe the Monday ceremony today. All students in their all white uniforms are rushing to get into their positions and stand in line in silence according to their classrooms. The students are divided into male and female lines. All teachers are also seen standing in line opposite the students. The acting head of ceremony, who is a female Muslim teacher, takes her place and the ceremony begins at 7.00 am. The head of ceremony declares that the ceremony can commence, and a group of trained students acting as the Flag Hoisting Troop, "Paskibra (Pasukan Pengibar Bendera)" is seen starting to march in harmony toward the flag pole to perform the flag hoisting. The leader of the troop tells the head of ceremony that the flag hoisting can take place. With the approval from the head of ceremony, the flag hoisting ceremony begins, accompanied by the singing of the national anthem "Indonesia Raya" led by the student choir. All students and teachers are in the saluting position and sing the national anthem along. After the flag is up, the acting head of ceremony gives a speech about exam preparation. Before the ceremony ends, there are recitals of Pancasila text, the opening text of the 1945 State Constitution, student oaths and teacher oaths (which is less commonly found in other schools) and the singing of national songs. When this series of activities is completed, the head of ceremony dismisses students and teachers and kindly asks students to return to their classrooms to start the first lesson. [10 October 2016]*

In addition to the mandatory Monday flag-hoisting ceremony, the special flag ceremony is also held on Indonesian national days, such as on Indonesian Independence Day, National Heroes Day, National Education Day, and Youth Pledge Day, to name but a few. The guidelines on the protocols of conducting weekly or special flag raising ceremonies are outlined by the State and authorised Ministries, depending on the purpose of the national days, and schools are required to follow them accordingly (Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, 2016b, 2017c; Indonesian Ministry of Law and Human Rights, 2017). This construction of nationhood is also manifested in the regular daily singing of the national anthem and/or national songs to begin the day and the singing of folklore songs to end the day. These activities are made compulsory and are intended to strengthen the students' national characters, as formally set out by the Ministerial Regulation of the Ministry of Education and Culture No 23/2015 on Fostering Characters in school and later reinforced by the Minister of Education and Culture (MoEC) circular letter No 21042/MPK/PR/2017.

On a similar note, all six schools were also found to enhance the student's and teacher's national identity through the commemoration of national days. The purpose of this commemoration is to remind them of the historical significance and/or the contribution of national heroes and of such events in nation building, as recommended by the government (Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, 2017c). During the fieldwork in Private School 3 Jakarta, I had the opportunity to attend and observe the marking of the Youth Pledge Day. In addition to the normal flag raising ceremony routine, there was a communal recital of the Youth Pledge (of one nation, one language, one motherland of Indonesia) and a speech by the head teacher talking about the ways in which students could contribute to the nation through studying hard. Following the flag raising ceremony, students and teachers participated in cultural celebrations, which were filled with the discourse of diversity. Carrying the theme "Youth Pledge and the Month of Literacy", the celebration included speeches, poetry, singing and dancing competitions where students represented their classes to compete against each other. It is compelling to observe that the performing students, who are mostly of Chinese descent, wore traditional ethnic costumes, sang, and danced to Indonesian national and ethnic songs, which represented various ethnic groups in Indonesia. The wearing of *batik* uniform (usually using a Javanese clothing pattern which has become the national clothing fabric and worn as one of the school uniforms) and the inclusion of Indonesian flags (Image 6.4) during a performance in the school celebration in School 3 conveys the "nationalist" image.

Image 6.4 Youth Pledge Celebration School 3 Jakarta



The idea of constructing nationhood is also evident in State School 2 Jakarta. Using the momentum of the Youth Pledge day to strengthen the unity of all students, Mr Teddy as the head teacher of State School 2 Jakarta, said that ‘during the 28<sup>th</sup> October Youth Pledge ceremony, I lectured the students again that at birth we are already different, our ancestors were all different. Could you imagine if the differences were sharpened, our future would not be good’ (14 November 2016).

Students expressed their interpretations about the essence of the Youth Pledge day through posters displayed on the walls of the main school corridor. As illustrated in Image 6.4. and 6.5, the posters contain messages promoting ‘Unity-in-Diversity’. This is demonstrated by the use of the term ‘*Bhinneka-Tunggal-Ika*’ in the last line of the Malay form of poetry (called *pantun*) in Image 6.4 and the insertion of the national emblem of the Garuda bird gripping the *Bhinneka-Tunggal-Ika* scroll in Image 6.5. The lines of the poetry in both posters also encourage unison over tension. The Indonesian map, coloured in red and white to resemble the colour of Indonesian flag in Image 6.5 and the use of Sukarno’s portrait (one of the founding fathers of Indonesia) as the background in Image 6.6, further illustrates the students’ expressions of nationhood.

Image 6.5 Poster on Youth Pledge Day in State School 2 Jakarta



Fallen plane loses contact  
 Its missing leaves sorrow  
 Youth pledge in unison  
 In *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*

Image 6.6 Poster on Youth Pledge Day in State School 2 Jakarta



As time goes by, we are more divided  
 It's really heartfelt when we split up  
 Don't let this unity get separated  
 And don't let this nation perish  
 Creation of the children of the nation

Image 6.7 Poster on Youth Pledge Day in State School 2 Jakarta



**YOUTH PLEDGE**  
 Students go to Minahasa  
 Dropping by in a market to buy chairs  
 Let us cultivate language  
 Because language unites my nation

Slightly differing from Image 6.5 and 6.6 which focus more on general depiction of Indonesian unity and nationhood, the poster in Image 6.7 is more thematically focused on the Youth Pledge Day Celebration, represented by the use of the term 'Youth Pledge' as the main heading of the poster. The insertion of various traditional houses and costumes also illustrates Indonesia's cultural diversity whereas the content of the poetry underlines

the importance of the national language in binding the diverse nation together. Similar to Image 6.4, the group photos of male and female students in Image 6.6, likely representing different religious beliefs (portrayed by the careful inclusion of students wearing headscarves and lack thereof), are a symbolic representation of Unity-in-Diversity. The display of these posters in the school corridor shows that the vision of Unity-in-Diversity is being promoted and (re)constructed as part of nationhood at an institutional level.

Moving on to an individual level, the interpretation of Unity-in-Diversity as an integral part of Indonesia's national identity is also consistently found in the responses of all kinds of participants. It is viewed as 'a promise made by each individual recognising that we are all different, but sharing a common goal' (Rita, Student, FGD School 2, 18 November 2016). Diversity is described positively as a unique characteristic of Indonesia which should be embraced as 'a reality of life that cannot be rejected' (Mr Teddy, Head Teacher School 2, 14 November 2016). It is 'not something that breaks us apart, but it becomes our strength' (Mrs Ellen, Citizenship Education, School 1, 13 October 2016).

Many participants from different backgrounds have commented that this acceptance of embracing and implementing Unity-in-Diversity is an obligation of Indonesian citizen, because it is part of Indonesian history and identity. A Protestant parent, who sent his daughter to State School 2 Jakarta said, 'for me Unity-in-Diversity is a commitment. Our late leaders knew that this nation could not have been built without *Kebhinekaan* (diversity). Thus, we cannot afford not to accept the fact that diversity forms the nation of Indonesia. That is why it is important for us to respect *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*' (Mr Ben, 5 November 2016). A similar line of reasoning was also made by Mr Sean, a biology teacher in School 4 Bali, who aptly explained that the founders of Indonesia, Sukarno and Hatta 'realised that Indonesia comprises of various ethnicities and races. That is how *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* was born. Even though we are all different, we are one

Indonesia' (24 January 2017). Another teacher, Mr Bernard, teaching history recalled that the spirit of unity began even before the promulgation of *Pancasila* and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*; it was rooted in the 1928 Youth Pledge and it became 'a milestone of unity where people in Indonesia from any religion, any ethnicity, integrate to become one, as Indonesian society' (School 5, 8 February 2017).

While there is a consensus among stakeholders that Unity-in-Diversity is a blessing, a significant number of head teacher, teacher, student, and parent participants collectively identified the risk of these differences if people do not fully embrace it. This is because 'the realisation of the concept of *ke-Bhinnekaan* (diversity) requires what we call commitment since it is difficult to realise in practice' (Yuri, Sociology teacher, School 2, 15 December 2016). Another social science teacher, Mr Bernard also expressed the importance of managing this diversity and said 'if we are good at managing this country, Indonesia is going to be a good one. If we manage it wrongly, it can be dangerous because we are so diverse. We are *Bhinneka*, different in terms of ethnicity, religion, race' [History teacher, School 5, 8 February 2017]. Some participants pointed out that various group conflicts, mainly driven by religious and ethnic differences, have taken place over the years in various parts of Indonesia. In the student focus group discussion (FGD) in Islamic School 6, a Muslim student specified how 'people from different groups still blame each other, for example saying Christians do this to mosques, then Muslims do that to churches' which proves that 'people have not lived in harmony, not yet *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, even though we are *Bhinneka*' (Peter, FGD, 18 February 2017). Others talked about the rise of ethnocentrism and the degradation of respect for the sovereignty of *Pancasila* and Unity-in-Diversity as the symbol of nationhood. One of them is Mr Sean, who said:

*“Bhinneka Tunggal Ika” is being tested right now. There are certain parties that want to tear this “Bhinneka” (diversity) and want to change and attack “Pancasila”, mistreating our flag. That makes me very sad [...] It is not only the government’s job. If we do not take part in fighting and defending all these, that would be dangerous. Our country can break into pieces [Biology teacher, School 4 Bali, 24 January 2017]*

The head of the school committee in School 5, Mr Arnold also asserted that the poor implementation of Unity-in-Diversity means that ‘we are now heading toward the degradation of our identity as a nation’ (9 February 2017). Recognising this internal threat, several teacher participants called for the strengthening of the spirit of Unity-in-Diversity and *Pancasila*, such as Mr Sean above and Mrs Debbie who asserted that ‘as long as you are still in NKRI (Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia), *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* is a fixed value and we need to protect those values’ (Citizenship Education, School 2 Jakarta, 14 November 2016).

One popular way that many teacher and student participants agreed on to avoid disintegration due to Indonesian diversity is through the development of nationalism. Mrs Sally, the head teacher of Private School 3 Jakarta, said, ‘we have to emphasise nationalism because it has a very close relationship with *Kebhinekaan* (diversity)’ (8 November 2016). During the School 6 FGD, all eight students also concurred that ‘without nationalism, Indonesia will disintegrate’ (18 February 2017).

In the present reformation era, through the process of democratisation, Indonesia’s nationalism is expected to reflect the spirit of nationhood which is ‘based on the confession of diversity of the community and culture of Indonesia’ (Tilaar, 2004a:355). However, this idea of nationalism as a “common project” in Indonesia’s “imagined community”, as Anderson (1999) calls it, where everyone as part of the community deserves to ‘participate voluntarily, enthusiastically, **equally, and without fear**’ (ibid, p:9; emphasis added) is yet to prove its inclusiveness. This is evident in Mr Asen’s

account on his children's negative experiences as a Catholic Chinese minority attending Muslim-majority state schools:

*Sometimes my children in schools experience bullying. Their peers made fun of their names and their faiths [...] Also based on our experience of the 1998 riot, I still think Unity-in-Diversity is just a discourse, a rhetoric; it is just to protect each other's feelings. It is not yet rooted and fully embraced to be truly applied [Mr Asen, Parent, School 2, 5 November 2016]*

Kenneth, a Hindu minority student in the Muslim majority State School 1 also shared how his appointment as a class monitor was considered an outlier case:

*Mrs X was so surprised and asked, "how did you do it"? She said that it is very rare here to have leaders from different religious backgrounds. To be the head of the student council here is not possible if you are not a Muslim. "Bhineka Tunggal Ika" is not yet implemented here and I think the minority is still alienated [18 October 2016]*

These accounts of the risk of disintegration and the prevalence of power struggles between majority and minority groups in schools above demonstrate how systematic inequalities in society do play out in the realm of education. The school effort to build nationalism through ceremonial and symbolic methods explained earlier in the section then become frivolous and constrained in addressing the structural issues of diversity. These challenges combined with the increasingly dominant discourse of religious education which is deeply engrained in the character education agenda (as discussed in Chapter 2) can increase the likelihood of creating religious exclusivity and thus jeopardise the unity of the diverse groups in Indonesia, especially in a homogeneous school culture. The potential benefits and challenges of the centrality of religion within the accommodation of the vision of Unity-in-Diversity in the education system will form the discussion next.

## 6.2. Unity-in-Diversity as Recognising and Accepting Religious Diversity

### 6.2.1. Relevance of Religion in Discussing Unity-in-Diversity

The important status of religion in Indonesian society, including in the current education system and character education framework has been delineated in Chapter 2. At school level, the centrality of religion in achieving Unity-in-Diversity is depicted by the school leaders' recognition and accommodation of religious needs of all students, which is mainly manifested through 'the provision of religious education and activities for all religions' (Mrs Angeline, Head teacher, School 1, 10 October 2016) and 'the marking of various religious festivals, facilitated by the school' (Mrs Sally, Head teacher, School 3, 14 November 2016).

It is also represented by the existence of religious spaces for the dominant religions (such as mosques in the two Muslim-majority state schools in Jakarta and Hindu temples in the two Hindu-majority state schools in Bali) (see Image 6.8 and 6.9). More on the schools' systematic responses in accommodating the vision of religious diversity will be scrutinised in Chapter 7.

*Image 6.8 Mosque School 1 Jakarta*



Image 6.9 Celebration of Hindu festival (Sarasvatiday) in the School Temple in School 4 Bali



At an individual level, this importance is reflected in the responses of most participants – teachers and students, majority and minority – both explicitly and implicitly when asked about the meanings of Unity-in-Diversity:

*“Bhinneka Tunggal Ika” is the Indonesian motto which means “berbeda-beda tetapi tetap satu jua” (although we are different, we are one). What I mean by “berbeda-beda” (different) here is different religions because there are six religions in Indonesia that are recognised. “Tetap satu jua” here means we are one which is Indonesia. So we do not care whatever the religion is, but our goal is one that is to make Indonesia an advanced country, not a developing country [Mia, Student FGD, School 1 Jakarta, 18 October 2016]*

*It is “berbeda-beda tapi tetap satu jua”, so it means although we all have different religions in this country, we are still one to “Tuhan Yang Maha Esa” (God Almighty, referring to the first principle of Pancasila) [Mrs Renata, Buddhist RE teacher, School 3, 3 November 2016]*

*It is unity in diversity. We were created by God different. In the Qur'an, there is also a passage that states we are born with different nationalities and ethnicities so that we can be brothers and sisters [Yuri, Sociology teacher, School 2 Jakarta, 14 December 2016]*

The importance of religion in the interpretation of Unity-in-Diversity demonstrated by different actors with different roles and religious identities above means nurturing religious diversity is key toward achieving Unity-in-Diversity. Some Muslim teacher, student and parent participants expressed how Indonesia upheld tolerance well because

despite being a predominated Muslim country, through the principles of Unity-in-Diversity and *Pancasila*, the state acknowledges and protects citizens of different religious beliefs. A few participants in Bali also shared this positive remark, though limited it to the smaller scope of Bali instead of Indonesia as a whole. One of which is Mr Wesley, a Hindu-Balinese parent who said that ‘in Bali, we can see that during the Hindu festivals Muslim people also help guard the temples and when Muslims have theirs, the *pecalang* (Hindu religious leaders) also do the same’ (Parent, School 5, 7 February 2017).

Other teacher, student, and parent participants, particularly those in minority positions, often criticised the imperfect implementation of Unity-in-Diversity in Indonesia in different spheres, stating that, ‘*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* is only a symbol, but the implementation is not yet visible’ (Peter, Muslim minority student in Hindu-majority Bali, Student FGD, School 6, 18 February 2017). Kenneth, a Hindu student in Muslim-majority State School 1 Jakarta also spoke up on how his religious choice had limited his political opportunity in Indonesia, particularly in Jakarta:

*For me, “Bhinneka Tunggal Ika” in Indonesia is not yet achieved. This can be seen from small examples such as from my past experience in lower secondary school when I ran for the election for the head of student council. Usually during the religious education lesson, I would be in the classroom, even though I am not a Muslim. Now during the time of this election, I was asked by the RE teacher to leave the class. I didn’t know at first what the teacher said until a really close friend of mine told me “Brother, do you want to know what the teacher said earlier?”. I said “what did the teacher actually say?” “He said not to vote for anyone who is a non-Muslim.” From there it is clear that “Bhinneka Tunggal Ika” has not been achieved. Not to mention I heard from my Dad’s friend that for him to be a Minister here, his religion needs to be Islam. He has to change his religion on the ID card [18 October 2016]*

In view of the potential risk of disintegration due to religious differences, all kinds of participants stressed that the nurturing of religious tolerance and developing of harmonious relations among people of different and within the same religions is imperative to achieving Unity-in-Diversity in Indonesia. As an Islamic religious education teacher in School 6, Mrs Kelly (14 February, 2017) stated:

*There is only one (way to achieve) the ideal society [...] now that the [Ahok blasphemy case] most current issue, that is a complicated one. The most important thing is that even though we **have different religions, but we live in harmony** [...] The point is that the society respects each other, uphold Bhinneka Tunggal Ika.*

This finding reiterates the urgency to put religion in the nexus of discussion when talking about issues pertaining to Indonesian multiculturalism and Unity-in-Diversity. As religious diversity is identified as the primary element of diversity that causes social cleavage in Indonesian society, the ideal vision of the manifestation of Unity-in-Diversity is often found to be interpreted by all participating educational stakeholders as “Unity-in-Religious Diversity”.

#### 6.2.2. The Road to Harmony: ‘Being Religious Means Being Tolerant’

Drawing from the literature review and the analysis of documents on character education and empirical data from previous sections, it is inferred that religion was problematised as a powerful source of division in Indonesia. Yet at the same time, it is interesting to find that strengthening one’s faith and religious character was viewed by participants across the board as one of the solutions to the social problems, including those triggered by religious differences. In parallel to the guidelines on the implementation of PPK that places the characters of respecting diversity and practising tolerance under the same category of developing religiosity (Image 6.1), many participants presumed that a religious being was identical to a tolerant being. There was an underlying assumption that a religious person would be a good person possessing good moral and social attributes

that can lead to peace, as illustrated by the conversation with Mr Edward, the head of the school committee in Muslim-majority School 2 (17 November 2016):

*Researcher : May I know what your hope is for Indonesian education?*

*Mr Edward : My hope is that the materials can be more focused, and education is up to date to any advancement to meet the challenge of globalisation. For non-formal education, it is important to keep our “keBhinekaan” and not to forget religious education. Without strong religious education, our children will struggle to live together in this diversity after school.*

*Researcher : Why do you think religious education is important to keep “keBhinekaan”?*

*Mr Edward : Because the kids may have good marks, but their manners are not so good. If their characters or behaviours are not good, their sense of solidarity is lacking too. For example, they may not help out their friends who are struggling. Good religious education can build good characters*

In the same vein, Mr Ghazi, an Islamic religious education teacher in School 6 also asserted that ‘if all religious persons want to read and comprehend their own scriptures, there will be peace. There is no one religion that teaches us to get into war. There is none. War is violence.’ (24 February 2017).

While many teacher, parent, and student participants generally agreed upon the importance of practising religion to be a better person and therefore promoting inter-religious harmony to achieve Unity-in-Diversity in contemporary Indonesia, there are mixed interpretations as to how religious diversity needs to be practised. Large numbers of participants firmly believed that practising religious diversity needs clear boundaries, and religions should never be discussed together. Promoting religious diversity is about keeping ‘*agamamu agamamu, agamaku agamaku* (your religion is yours, my religion is mine)’ (Richard, Student FGD, School 6, 18 February 2017). As religion is about ‘personal faith, they should not be a topic of debate or discussion because they are certainly different. One religion is surely different from another, and so the strategy is we

cannot talk about cross-religions. Religion should be kept and discussed privately. That is the way' (Mr Edward, Muslim, Head of the School committee, School 2 Jakarta, 17 November 2016). This is the case not only for inter-religious discussion as another Muslim parent, Mrs Sherly, also pointed out the benefits of avoiding intra-religious discussion to promote peace in Muslim communities: 'with NU we are indeed opposite. It is best to keep you-you, us-us, so we would never really have a discussion on our different values' (School 6, 24 February 2017).

In contrast to the views of these two Muslim parents, Mrs Leslie, a Muslim Indonesian teacher in School 2 expressed the benefit of learning about different religions: 'sometimes I like to learn from my friends who are from other religions or ethnicities. I can learn the differences. If she is a Buddhist, she does this [...] Living in diversity makes us learn more' (16 November 2016). Mr Harry, a citizenship education teacher in Muslim School 6 Bali also called for the need to teach about other religions to his Muslim students:

*I give understanding to my Muslim students about something outside of Islam. "Pancasila" talks about God Almighty and there are six official religions. We need to know what is being manifested in Islamic scripture, then how about Hindu's and Confucian's, when are the festivals? We need to give understanding of all these to students and I believe this insight can automatically make Indonesia peaceful. There is no reason not to do it just because the majority of Indonesia is Muslim [Citizenship education teacher, School 6, 13 February 2017]*

The assumption equating religious beings with tolerant and good beings may not be entirely wrong considering the vital role of religion and religious organisations in peacekeeping in Indonesia (Bush & Munawar-Rachman, 2014). However, it can be misleading and detrimental when and if the focus of religious education is inward-looking and religious values are interpreted in terms of a single (dominant) religion and/or denomination, instead of universal religious values.

Reflecting on the responses from all stakeholders across the schools about the implementation of religious diversity, there is strong evidence to show contrasting interpretations on how inter- and intra-religious diversity should be promoted in schools. While some teachers and parents have emphasised the role of schools and teachers in building an inclusive, safe space for inter-faith dialogue to enhance understanding about religions of others, others showed signs of favouring a more compartmentalised way of living together. This challenge in engaging more stakeholders in inter-faith discussion may be contributed by the long-standing confessional style of religious education in Indonesia. I discuss further the teaching of religious education and its role in promoting Unity-in-Diversity in Chapter 7 and 8.

### **6.3. The Contextual Meanings of Unity-in-Diversity in Schools**

This section which is divided into two parts interrogates the importance of recognising contextuality and variations when examining the complex and dynamic narratives of Unity-in-Diversity in schools in contemporary Indonesia. In the first part, accounts of other types of diversity (beyond religion) which are admissible to understanding the wider interpretations of the meanings of Unity-in-Diversity across schools are presented. In the second part, meanings of Unity-in-Diversity which are interpreted at mainly individual levels, are examined through the conceptual lens of multiculturalism, developed by Kincheloe and Steinberg's (1997).

#### **6.3.1. Meanings Beyond Religious Diversity**

Each school in this research is unique; they have different student cultural and religious settings, and so the issues related to diversity faced by each individual school on a daily basis are found to vary. The contextualisation of educational policies and any other policies in Indonesia has been made possible by the decentralisation policy that was brought about following the reformation era. For schools, the school autonomy policy,

which is part of the decentralised system, reaffirms school's freedom to develop their own educational goals in order to meet the conditions and interests of their students and teachers. Considering the change toward a more democratic education system, the effective implementation of Unity-in-Diversity in schools therefore heavily relies on the initiatives and personal perspectives of educational stakeholders. All educational stakeholders, including teachers, students and parents thus contribute to accommodating their own contextualised meanings of Unity-in-Diversity.

One of the contributions of these individual contextualised meanings into the understanding of Unity-in-Diversity in schools in contemporary Indonesia is the expansion of the scope of "diversity". As argued in Section 6.2, participants across all groups identified religion as the core construct of diversity in contemporary Indonesia, yet they also determined additional social construct(s) pertinent to the school's religious and cultural settings. For instance, in Private School 3 Jakarta, where the majority of the students were Chinese, ethnicity was regarded equally, if not more important as an identity marker alongside religion. Thus, Unity-in-Diversity was discussed by teachers and students with reference to ethnicity, although religion was at times mentioned concurrently or used interchangeably with ethnicity. For instance: 'the majority of the teachers are Buddhists, Christians, ehm...sorry I meant *keturunan* (Chinese descent) and in fact there are not many of us *pribumi* (native Indonesians)' (Mrs Susi, Maths, School 3, 2 November 2016). This is because in Indonesia, most Chinese Indonesians are reported to be non-Muslims, situating them as double minorities in Indonesia (Suryadinata, Arifin, & Ananta, 2003).

During the student discussion in this school, ethnically Chinese students talked about their concern over their safety and perceived unsettled citizenship status. A male student, Terence, said, 'Indonesia has many religions, right? They always look down on

people like us. They always say, “you Chinese are this and that”, but we stay silent. When it is our turn saying something about them, they are not happy about it’ (School 3, 8 November 2016). This sense of insecurity as a result of being a double minority was also confirmed by an account of a Muslim civic education teacher, Mrs Cecil in the school. She mentioned how her students recalled their parents’ traumatic experiences in the 1998 riots, and expressed their fear of being attacked during the peaceful Anti-Ahok rallies in 2016, which they identified as demonstrations filled with anti-Chinese sentiment:

*Their parents said that if they [the students] mingle with “orang pribumi” (non-Chinese, native Indonesians) later this and that are going to happen [...] the parents here looked back to the 1998 event. I think the 1998 event was a political game, but the parents feel as if they see the “pribumi” as their enemy. The one that did the violent crime. I emphasised to the students that the 1998 was not purely a movement of “pribumi” people. It was politically driven which targeted people like you. So please do not have any hatred [School 3, 2 November 2016]*

Another physics teacher, Mrs Sofie, who served as the school counsellor also shared how she felt that this insecurity had in turn negatively affected the perspectives of the Chinese parents towards her and other non-Chinese, especially Muslim colleagues.

*There are some parents who I feel have not entirely trusted us. The logic is for example, sometimes they still appear to have suspicion, though I might be wrong. Sometimes if we are bringing the students out, the parents asked many questions before getting the parents’ approval [2 November 2016]*

This feeling of ambivalence experienced by Chinese students specifically and Chinese Indonesians at large could also be maintained by the continuous use of racially dichotomised terms of native Indonesians (*pribumi* or *orang Indonesia*) and Chinese descent (*non-pribumi* or *Cina* or *Tionghoa* or *orang keturunan*). This segregating system, which was introduced during the Dutch colonisation and rigidly maintained during the New Order era, systematically categorises citizenship and Indonesian-ness along lines of indigeneity (Hoon, 2006). Despite the dissolution of these terms through the enactment of the New Citizenship Bill No. 12/2006, teacher and student participants, from both

Chinese and non-Chinese backgrounds, continued using these reference terms (exemplified in the excerpts below), highlighting the continuous sense of differentiation between the Chinese as the foreign ‘Other’ and the native Indonesians.

*That is a very difficult question. I was put in this situation. I represent, sorry, as a Muslim and a “**pribumi**”. Meanwhile, the students position themselves as, I am sorry, as non-Muslim and “**etnis Tionghoa**” [Non-Chinese, Mr Mark, Sociology teacher School 3]*

*There are many examples. One of them is like within this school environment, there are still many teachers who cannot accept “**orang keturunan**”. They prefer their own race like “**pribumi**”, they would rather mingle with their own race and not others. This is not so open-minded, I think [Chinese, Student School 3 in Student FGD]*

In this Chinese majority school, ethnicity became an important marker of identity and was heavily referred to when discussing the topic of Unity-in-Diversity.

Meanwhile, in State School 4 and 5 Bali where the dominant culture was Hindu-Balinese, Mr Santoso, the head of the school committee in School 4 noted that within this relatively religious homogenous society, intra-religious differences did occur. He said ‘within Hinduism, there are many deities and temples. One is higher than the other, even though they all come from one deity Siwa’ (23 January 2017). Unity-in-Diversity was also defined by student participants in terms of the classification of caste which was still prevalent in Balinese society and was claimed to have created a social gap. When asked about the implementation of Unity-in-Diversity in Indonesia, a male student during the FGD session in School 4 said,

*It is not only about religious difference. In Bali, among those who share the same religion, the difference in caste often causes conflict. For instance, it is challenging for couples from different castes to get married. When socialising, there is still this assumption that if I am “anak Agung” [the child of Agung, which is in the highest caste], I am higher than others. That is still common. [20 January 2017]*

Another female student in the same session also shared her experiences of how sometimes she felt uncomfortable and inferior when she went to the house of her friend of a higher caste. She explained that ‘when we pay a visit to my friend’s house who is of a higher caste, we have to be able to adapt the language spoken with their parents [...] we will have to use a softer register of Balinese to show respect’ (Melda, FGD, School 4, 20 January 2017). This concern over social cleavage caused by caste differentiation in Bali was also voiced by Mr Arnold. When asked about the biggest challenge faced by contemporary Indonesia, he commented that ‘with our *Bhineka Tunggal Ika*, we tend to walk backward, going back to the primordial system, especially in this [Balinese] society where the societal system regards caste and skin colour’ (Head of the School committee, School 5, 9 February 2017)

As the only faith school with a homogeneous school population, where all students and teachers were Muslim, ‘Unity-in-Islam’ came up as another way of interpreting Unity-in-Diversity in Private School 6 Bali. The school was set up by a prominent Islamic organisation in Indonesia. As Muslim organisations have some differences in their teachings, the members of each group are known to have some tensions (Bush & Munawar-Rachman, 2014). A Muslim parent in Muslim School 6 Bali indicated this tension and said, ‘there are organisations that are supporting Muhammadiyah, some are with NU, and this maybe causes conflict between Muslims’ (Mrs. Sherly, Parent, 24 February 2017). There are different branches of Islam in Indonesia with different views and teachings, but some are considered more contentious than others, and some believe they have transgressed from the fundamental tenet of Islam such as Ahmadiyya and Shi’a (Nasir, 2014). In this study, Mr Ghazi, an Islam religion teacher in School 6 commented on the tensions between members of the two biggest

Muslim organisations in Indonesia as well as the controversial case of Shi'a followers, which divided the opinions of Indonesian Muslims:

*The world has said that Shi'a is already out of Islam, but we still want a dialogue with them to be as maximal as possible [...] there needs to be tolerance within the Islamic community. Sometimes in Indonesia this has not been working well, especially between NU and Muhammadiyah [Mr Ghazi, Islamic RE teacher, School 6]*

Being one of the very few schools known to accommodate Muslim students in Bali, Private School 6 Bali was popular among the Muslim parents from all Islamic denominations. Even though not every student was necessarily a follower of this Islamic organisation, they all had to learn the history, vision, and values of the organisation through the one-hour-per-week compulsory lesson. The teacher teaching the organisation's principles explained to her students that they should aim to 'maintain unity within the diverse Islamic community' (Mrs Meghan, 17 February 2017).

Echoing the concerns over tension within the Islamic community in Indonesia, Mrs Ariel, a female Arabic language teacher in Private School 6 Bali, also noted the growing divide within the Islamic community due to the different political choices which were tied to certain religious views (e.g. pro-Ahok/anti-Ahok, pro-Jokowi/pro-Prabowo as explored in Chapter 2). She mentioned that 'my friendships had broken down due to debates surrounding the participation in the peaceful rallies and over whether Ahok was guilty of blasphemy' (School 6, Arabic teacher, 14 February 2017). She argued that this divide was worsened by the fact some preachers (*ustad*) carried certain political agendas and provoked the tension:

*Conflict within the community can happen because each ustad has their own interpretation of the Qur'an. Ustad A says this, and Ustad B says that. Even though the content of the Qur'an is the same, people have different interpretations. Some who go abroad have learned new philosophies. They gain new bodies of knowledge, and this leads to various views and eventually this breaks the community (School 6, Arabic teacher, 14 February 2017).*

Drawing from accounts of the meanings of Unity-in-Diversity in this section, it can be inferred that the national philosophy was interpreted and conceptualised beyond inter-religious tolerance in order to fit the cultural typology of the school. These social constructs still appear to intersect with religion, and their perceived pertinence to the interpretations of Unity-in-Diversity is greatly shaped by the identities of the key educational stakeholders in each school. In a Chinese-majority school such as School 3, ethnicity became another meaningful identity marker in the discussion of Unity-in-Diversity; in Hindu-Balinese majority schools such as School 4 and 5, it was the caste differentiation; and in all Muslim school such as School 6, intra-religious differences within the Islamic community were identified as potentially divisive issues.

### 6.3.2. Mapping Multiculturalism Positions

In addition to the local policy and school religious and cultural demography, the contextual meanings of Unity-in-Diversity in schools and its manifestations are also heavily reliant on the interpretations of the stakeholders. Using Kincheloe and Steinberg's taxonomy of multiculturalism position (1997), this sub-section aims to map the perspective of educational stakeholders' regarding Unity-in-Diversity through the conceptual lens of multiculturalism. It argues that one's multiculturalism position is not fixed, that it changes across settings depending on the positionalities of the individuals and the social construct in question.

In general, the majority of participants espoused more pluralist and liberal multicultural positions, acknowledging diversity as part of Indonesian society and emphasising humanity as a foundation for treating 'others' equally, as exemplified below:

*Well, even though we are different, we are one. We should not differentiate [...] We were all born and died naked. Our time is borrowed by Him. That's why the difference should not really be used to differentiate, but to bring the similarity closer [Mr Keith, Head teacher, School 4, 1 February 2017]*

A minority number of teacher participants showed a more critical approach to thinking about multicultural issues, moving from solely recognising differences to also raising and challenging structural social injustices caused by unequal power relations. Some teachers employed the power of agency to make the schooling process more inclusive. Take the example of Mrs Parker, the sociology teacher who had taught in the school for more than twenty-five years and was the main person who encouraged the appointment of religious education teachers for the religious minority students in State School 1. She had proposed the idea to different head teachers to hire religious teachers for a while, but ‘it was only approved by the previous head teacher who was a Catholic-converted-Muslim’ (11 October 2017). Mrs Parker said that she was certain that her colleagues probably had the same thought, but ‘maybe they do not have the courage’. She had the courage because ‘I did know the Acts and the state regulations, and they state that this child has the right to get the [Religious Education] lesson’ (11 October 2017).

A more critical multicultural approach to implement change was also identified in Mr Arthur, a member of the school committee in Muslim-majority School 2, who despite being a Muslim, fought relentlessly for the rights of Christian students so that they could hold religious retreats. During the course of my fieldwork, I saw how he approached the head teacher to get approval and partial funding, conducted a survey with Christian students about their willingness to join a retreat, and held and attended the parent meeting with Christian parents to convince them to let their children join the retreat. When asked about his motivation to do so, he replied:

*There are so many ethnic and religious groups in this school [...] As a member of the school committee, I understand my responsibility here to represent the parents of eight hundred students. I have to think if the seven hundred students can have Islamic education properly, how about these hundred and fifty students? I have to make sure that they can receive equal quality of religious education and that their religious need is accommodated [17 November 2016]*

A female student, Natasha in School 1 also appeared to show signs of critical multiculturalism by challenging the practice of the hegemonic culture in the school, such as the arrangement of the morning service in the school for the religious minorities.

*I think it is not fair for the minorities. We [Muslims] have our service using speaker right. Then they [students of other religions] have their service in the gazebo or the school clinic. They can still hear the Qur'an recital, so their service is interrupted. We can receive the learning well, but they are not able to receive as well. So I think if the school can provide a soundproof room for them, they can concentrate more in their religious activities [Muslim student, FGD School 1, 8 November 2016]*

At the other end of the multiculturalism taxonomy, there were also a few stakeholders who presented some conservative characteristics of multiculturalism. For instance, some teachers in Bali alluded to the importance for the minorities (or some preferred to use the word “*pendatang*” (newcomers) to adapt to the local culture as a way to respect the culture and maintain harmony with the local community. Mr Sean, who is a native Hindu-Balinese said, ‘they sometimes are too frontal, maybe because they are used to live in Java [...] the challenge for the Balinese government is to manage the presence of *pendatang* who indirectly and unintentionally have changed the culture of one area [...] they maybe are not aware that they could destroy the local culture’ (Biology teacher, School 4, 24 January 2017). This perspective could be driven by the strong sense of belongingness of Balinese people have to the island of Bali and the perceived responsibility and right to preserve the local identity, which is linked to the discourse of the *ajeg Bali* (“erect Bali”/ “resilient Bali”) movement (Nordholt, 2008; Parker, 2017). This movement was criticised by many academics to be ‘xenophobic and divisive’, strengthening the juxtaposition of discourses of ‘Balinese versus non-Balinese, Hindu versus others, insiders versus outsiders, and primordialism’ (Parker, 2017:445). This more conservative way of thinking of a local-newcomer relationship in Bali also appears to originate from their concerns over the social and economic stability of Bali, which is

also pointed out by some participants. The local Balinese ‘feel threatened because the Muslims are taking away their businesses because there are many Muslims coming from Java to find jobs here’ (Rose, Muslim student, School 5, 8 February 2017).

Another sign of a more conservative way of thinking about multiculturalism is exemplified by the use of dichotomous terms, *pribumi* and *non-pribumi* by some teacher and student participants during the conversations (see quotes from p.21-22) – a practice which was pervasive during the New Order era when an assimilation policy was enacted (see Chapter 2 for details on assimilation policy). The official use of the *pribumi* and *non-pribumi* dichotomy has been repealed based on the Presidential Instruction No. 26/1998, but the usage of such terms continues to persist in society and within schools (Harjatanaya & Hoon, 2020). It is possible that the use of the terms was out of habit as they are used by both groups. However, the use of dichotomous ethnic labels during teacher-student interactions can reinforce and perpetuate group segregation, which can undermine the principles of democracy and equality in critical multicultural education and ‘Unity-in-Diversity’.

This more conservative way of thinking was not only limited to the discussion about the issue of ethnicity and religion, but it also appeared when discussing the issue of gender. During the FGD in School 4, one female student brought about the intersection of religion and gender and said, ‘religion sees the status of women lower than men so women need to remember their natural place’ (Merlin, 20 January 2017). The conventional gender role was also observed in Mr Sandy’s sociology class in State School 4 Bali. To illustrate the scenario, I present my enhanced notes on the class observation:

*Mr Sandy said to the students that although it was the era of emancipation and many women now could pursue their career, women should not forget their nature. It is quoted that “men can accept that women are equal to men, but women [status] should not be higher than men [by asking men to do the house chores]”. He did give the opportunity for students to speak their minds – and in this case two female*

*students gave very different responses to the question on gender role in family (one is more conservative and the other is more liberal). However, he shut down the girl who suggested the equal division of household chores and agreed with the other student who said that women should quit their job if she cannot do it whilst taking care of the family. Upon hearing this girl's answer, Mr Sandy said "this is the answer I have been waiting for"* [Fieldnotes, Sociology lesson with Mr Sandy on gender role, 19 January 2017].

As one of the few subjects that covers issues related to multiculturalism including issue around gender roles, sociology classes indeed have the potential to be a platform for students to critically discuss the theories, practices and realities about society and diversity. Despite his more conservative view on gender role which he impressed upon the students instead of mediating the critical discussion, this does not mean that Mr Sandy holds a fixed conservative multiculturalist position. This is because his responses towards issues related to other types of diversity during the interview generally depicted a more liberal approach, in which he said 'we should respect the individuals for who they are, not because of their religion or race' and 'the majority should make an attempt to accommodate and understand the minority, like in this school I asked the students to talk in Indonesian around the Papuans as the Papuans cannot speak Balinese'. This approach is different from his approach to gender which appeared to be more conservative.

Mr Sandy's case is a good example to illustrate the risk of mapping multiculturalism positions. His case elucidates that every individual may present features associated with a certain multicultural position, but he/she could not be finitely categorised into this position. This is because one's position can shift depending on the circumstances, as shown in Mr Sandy's situation. This unsettling and dynamic multiculturalism position is expected and is in keeping with Kincheloe and Steinberg's (1997) argument that the taxonomy of multiculturalism should not be treated as rigid categorisation. This, once again, demonstrates the complexity behind defining one's interpretation of diversity. It also suggests the usefulness of using the term of

accommodation and considering contextuality when dealing with such a complex, multi-dimensional concept of multiculturalism.

#### **6.4. Relevance and Significance of Unity-in-Diversity in Contemporary**

##### **Indonesia**

Reviews of the meanings of Unity-in-Diversity so far have deliberated the subject of how the national vision has been perceived. The notions of ‘Unity’ and ‘Diversity’ have each been closely explored at both school and individual levels. In this last section, the significance of Unity-in-Diversity for those who are categorised and categorise themselves as minorities as well as the role of schools and the educational stakeholders are elicited.

##### **6.4.1. Significance for the Minorities**

The intensity of political tension in Indonesian society, between the nationalist and Islamist discourses and how they have been politicised to create division in the society, has subsequently led to social segregation and anxiety, as already discussed in Chapter 2. The scale of the effects of this anxiety differs from one person to another, depending on their group membership and the groups’ status within a specific setting. In this study, when discussing issues at national level, those considered as the religious majority are largely Muslims. Yet, as this section aims to show, the majority-minority relation is not one-dimensional and straightforward. The position of religious majority and minority is relative and changes according to different settings. For instance, Islam is the majority religion in Indonesia and Jakarta, so Muslims are the religious majority in Muslim-majority State School 1 and State School 2 Jakarta, but they are a minority in Chinese majority Private School 3 Jakarta. In Bali, the majority religion is Hindu-Balinese, so Muslims are a minority in the Hindu-majority State School 4 and State School 5 Bali, but they are a majority in the Muslim Private School 6 Bali. As the discussion in this section

evolves, I hope to demonstrate how this change of positionality creates complex layers of interpretations of Unity-in-Diversity as well as complex power dynamics between groups and individuals.

In the analysis of the relevance and significance of Unity-in-Diversity on an individual level, it is found that overall all stakeholders from different religious backgrounds wanted peaceful coexistence in their ideal scenario and shared a similar vision to Mrs Dwijayanti: ‘my dream is that we all live peacefully, which means we accept the real meaning of *keBhinekaan*’ (Hindu-Balinese Physics teacher, School 5, 9 February 2017) and Mr Arthur ‘if tolerance in our society is encapsulated in the three words “*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*”, hopefully it will not fade away. Do not let it be a title written on a wall or paper or photo. That is what I want’ (Muslim Parent, School 2, 17 November 2016). However, when scrutinising the tone of the responses of those identified by either themselves or by the society as the majority and minority, there appeared to be discrepancies in the degree of the perceived relevance and significance of Unity-in-Diversity. These discrepancies are again heavily shaped by the individuals’ religious identities and the settings they are in.

The first discrepancy lies in whether the participants see it as an achievable goal. Teacher, student, and parent participants of the Muslim majority group tended to adopt a more positive outlook and a significant number of participants from this group thought Unity-in-Diversity has been achieved. Mr Edward, a Muslim parent who is also the head of the school committee in Muslim-majority State School 2 shared his thoughts on the implementation of Unity-in-Diversity in the school and in Jakarta, ‘so far I think there is no issue with diversity in this school because there is no privileging of a certain ethnicity or religion. *KeBhinnekaan* is already applied well here [...] In Jakarta, nearly all ethnic groups are here, and people can integrate, live, and work together. All activities can run

well without any friction. This means Jakarta is a symbol of diversity or *KeBhinnekaan* on a small scale and it has been going relatively well' (17 November 2016). Other Muslim participants at the same time also recognised that Unity-in-Diversity is not a big problem, although during the time of interviews, the Ahok blasphemy case, which was viral at the time, was argued to trigger problems. Mr Marcus, a Muslim sociology teacher in School 3 said:

*At least in Jakarta we are living in harmony [...] In the area I live, we clean the neighbourhood together; whether they are the "etnis keturunan" (Chinese descent), the "pendatang" (newcomer), the "warga asli" (native) all come out and work together, so there is not differentiation. However, ever since this recent political issue, the case [the Ahok case], there seems to be a small tension which affects the quality of "keBhinnekaan". For example, some judgments have been made for this individual Mr A like that. So now it has proliferated. The sentiment is no longer directed toward this Mr A, but it has been generalised to a certain group associated to his identity [Mr Marcus, Sociology teacher, School 3, 3 November 2016]*

In contrast to Mr Edward's and Mr Marcus' more optimistic outlook on the practice of Unity-in-Diversity at large, a significant number of non-Muslims appeared to be less confident. Reflecting on their life experiences, most Chinese participants thought that the term was merely used as rhetoric, and they expressed their ambivalence regarding their status as a double minority. To quote Mr Asen's statement, 'of course there is anxiety because we are considered a minority and deemed to follow the majority. The anxiety is there, but we can hope for the better and we can just leave it to Him' (Chinese Catholic Parent, School 2, 5 November 2016). These ambivalent feelings are also exemplified by the statements of some Chinese students, who were initially reluctant to share their thoughts during the student FGD session in School 3:

*Researcher : Do you think Unity-in-Diversity has been well-implemented in Indonesia?*

*All six students : Not yet (in unison)*

*Researcher : Why? Can you explain?*

*Student 1 : Yeah..because there is still racism. For example, the recent 4th November rally. We are one nation, one country, and our national motto is "Bhineka Tunggal Ika". Our governor [Ahok] has already apologised but why are the FPI [the Islamic Defender Front] people are still like that? They do not want to forgive and want the governor to go to jail. This contradicts the law of our country. Indonesia is a lawful country.*

*Student 2 : Us staying silent [in this discussion] can be one of the examples of what the society is like. Why people cannot express their thoughts? It could be because deep down they have fear. We do not know what kind of fear that is, but it exists. Everyone has fear. Maybe this is because for a long time the majority see us as "orang keturunan" [foreign descent, non-native]. In 1998, my parents and their friends had a tough life. They as "orang keturunan" were called the enemy of Indonesian people.*

This sense of ambivalence and resentment for injustices also resonates with other participants who are positioned as religious minorities within their specific settings, such as the Protestants in the Muslim-majority School 2. When asked if the implementation of Unity-in-Diversity has met his envisioned peaceful society, a Protestant parent said that, 'it is still very far, very far from ideal' [Mr Patrick, 5 November 2016]. Mrs Yenny, the Protestant RE teacher in the school also described how she and her students had to practise more caution during religious service in the school, which she viewed as being unfair:

*This can be just my feeling or something else. When we hold a service, as we are practising charismatic style of praying, there is guitar and our voices cannot be too soft. Meanwhile they [the Muslims] pray using loudspeaker. When we use a microphone and the sound is a little bit louder, they immediately asked us to tone down the volume. See this is so obvious [that we are treated differently]. [School 2, 22 November 2016]*

In Bali, the positioning of majority and minority groups and the dynamics are more complex. In a similar way, the Muslims in Bali expressed the same feeling of anxiety and frustration against the Hindu majority while they become the minority group. A Muslim student in the Hindu-majority State School 5 said that 'now that we are in Bali, the

dominant religion is Hindu, and I am a Muslim. I have accepted to be tolerant [...] but there are people here who really hate Muslims and whenever they meet one, they are so irritated. It should not be like that. We should live together respecting each other in the diversity' (Rose, 8 February 2017). Conversely, many Hindu participants, even with their position as the majority in Bali, still expressed a degree of resentment toward the Muslim minority. The reasoning behind this resentment resembles the *ajeg Bali* arguments presented earlier in this chapter, where the local Hindu-Balinese feel that their culture and "homes" are under attack by the Muslim newcomers from Java, as exemplified in the remark made by Mr Wira:

*Not all Indonesians can respect different cultures. What I mean is that not all Javanese can respect the differences in Bali. For example, Balinese have this long-standing culture and have lived this way for a long time. When some Javanese come to Bali, they question "why is this so?", then say "it is supposed to be done this way". They do not have good understanding about different cultures [...] It may be fair to say that there is a bit of ego at play [Physics, Hindu-Balinese teacher, School 4, 30 January 2017]*

There is a trend suggesting that in circumstances where individuals and/or their groups are positioned as a minority, they often express feelings of ambivalence, frustration over inequalities, and resentment toward the majority. Nonetheless, this does not mean that all minorities feel constant discrimination and marginalisation. Some have occasionally shared stories about the positive experiences with people from "the other groups", like Mr Luther, the head teacher in the Muslim Private School 6 who testified how Muslims and the school were welcomed in the Hindu neighbourhood:

*There are many Hindu cemeteries surrounding the school. When dealing with the school permit at the time, I met many local Hindu people who are willing to support us. Alhamdulillah (Arabic for Praise to God) I met them. Especially with cemeteries, they are not individuals', but they belong to the traditional religious community. When we told them that we wanted to build this school, they gave us the permit. This is tolerance and isn't it incredible? Then people asked, "how come?" I said, "why not?" That is why we should not assume [16 February 2017]*

Second, notwithstanding the rhetorical implementation, Unity-in-Diversity carries a significant citizenship value for groups that are considered a minority nationally, which in most cases are the non-Muslims. Whilst the Muslim participants in this study often regarded Unity-in-Diversity as a symbol of Indonesia's nationhood, for the non-Muslims it signifies more than just a national philosophy. The latter perceived it as a legal recognition of their presence as an equal member of the society and acts as an ideological basis to protect their rights as citizens of Indonesia. That is why the term has been relentlessly used during conversations with the minority groups to justify their presence and political and cultural participation, such as expressed by double minority Chinese students from School 3 in the recently mentioned FGD excerpt. As elicited in Chapter 2, the ambivalence surrounding the Chinese 'citizenship status' has indeed become a long-standing contested issue in the study of Chinese Indonesians in relation to Indonesian multiculturalism and democracy, even in the post-Suharto era (e.g. Aguilar, 2001; Freedman, 2003; Parker & Hoon, 2013; Suryadinata, 2010; Tan, 2001).

The third discrepancy is surrounding the perceived underlying reasons of why Unity-in-Diversity was still not yet well-implemented. For members of the non-Muslim groups participating in this study, the immediate response to the inequality was due to their religious and ethnic identity. As illustrated in the excerpt below, a Catholic Chinese parent, Mr Asen in School 2 Jakarta mentioned his concern regarding his son's social experience as a Catholic moving from a private Catholic school to a state school which is dominated by Muslim students and teachers.

*Of course there is an issue with socialising. He [Mr Asen's son] is a minority, right? Because we are of Chinese-descent and also have a different tradition, of course people [in state school] see this as something foreign, whereas if he was in the private Catholic school, he would share the same ethnicity and religion with his peers. When he joins this school, he automatically is in the same class with many students from different religions, and he looks different too. [5 November 2016]*

For participants who associated themselves with the Muslim majority groups, they also blamed the lack of cultural understanding and tolerance, but many saw the problem of economic inequalities as an equally, if not a more urgent, contributing factor. It can be a triggering factor of conflict especially when ‘it is packaged in relation to sensitive issues like religion and ethnicity’ because ‘people are easily provoked when using religious propositions’ (Mrs Shinta, History teacher, School 1, 14 October 2016). This finding is in line with the arguments made by academics studying Chinese Indonesians (e.g. Freedman, 2003; Heryanto, 1998; Hoon, 2008; Soebagjo, 2008) who stated that one significant factor contributing to the act of “othering” the Chinese is because of economic inequalities where the Chinese were often stereotypically depicted as the more economically dominant group.

The fourth difference relates to their responses toward the practice of Unity-in-Diversity based on their positions in relation to others’. In the case of Jakarta, there is evidence that members of the minority groups (mainly non-Muslims) in the two Muslim-majority state schools (School 1 and School 2) would like things to change for them to be more just and that the majority ‘can be more accommodating and protective toward the minority’ (Mr Asen, Chinese Catholic parent, School 2, 5 November 2016). However, despite having this expectation, they tend to avoid confrontation. Most participants in the minority groups said they mostly accept their minority status and follow the dominant values to avoid conflict. Mr Asen told his son that ‘when you are hurt by someone here, you should accept it and handle things without losing your temper’.

The minorities also tend to justify the majority group’s lack of knowledge of the minority culture and are reluctant to let the majority group know about their needs. This can be illustrated in the excerpts of interviews with Mrs Smith below who talked about her experiences as a Catholic RE teacher in a Muslim majority school:

*I am not saying it is not fair but as a minority, we of course understand. For example, during meetings at the end of year for evaluation, it is often extremely difficult for us minority to ask for a special room for learning [...] Oh well, as I said previously, it is not their [the Muslim's colleagues and head teacher] responsibility to know this [the act of fasting in Lent Term] so we just have to accept that.”* [Catholic RE teacher, School State 1, 13 October 2016]

This approach of following and adapting to the majority culture is also applied by the non-Hindu participants in Hindu majority contexts. This is alluded to in the account of a Protestant student in the Hindu-majority School 4 Bali on the implementation of Unity-in-Diversity in the school. He said, ‘the model [of promoting diversity] in this school is already good. Like me who is a Christian, but I wear the traditional clothing during the festivals. If there is a festival, I help them make “*penjor*” (bamboo poles for religious ceremonies)’ (Freddy, Student, School 4, 1 February 2017). Representing the Muslim minority in Bali, Mrs Aurel also mentioned that as ‘we have lived in the middle of a non-Muslim society for a while now, so we have to show mutual tolerance, such as during the Silence Day. As a Muslim, we have to follow the rules such as not turning on the lights, staying at home. This is to create inter-religious harmony (School 6, 16 February 2017).

In the case of Hindu participants in Bali, it is interesting how their responses change according to the contexts. When discussing topics confined to Bali in which they regard themselves as the majority group, their view on the implementation of Unity-in-Diversity generally becomes more positive, indicated by the good Hindu-Muslim relations, where ‘the minority adapts to Hindu culture because the majority here is Hindu’ (Marco, Hindu student, FGD School 4, 20 January 2017) and ‘the local government builds mosques and churches alongside Hindu temples’ (Mr Wesley, Parent, School 5, 7 February 2017). However, they refer to themselves as the minority when discussing the implementation of Unity-in-Diversity in Indonesia as a whole and shared similar accounts as the Chinese and Christian minorities in Jakarta regarding frustration and ambivalence

over unequal treatment. This frustration appears to be projected toward the Muslims in Bali, as shown in the excerpt below:

*During ‘Nyepi’ (Silence day) in Bali, nothing should open, but they [the Muslims] still sell things in the streets. Now doing business like that is intentional. Do we need to go to a mosque on purpose or maybe go to their family and offer them food during fasting period? [...] if we are talking about Bali it is clear the majority are Hindu and in Java it is the other way round. We see how the treatment toward Hindu is not great, like difficulty in getting the national ID card and so on [Mr Adrian, Hindu RE teacher, School 4, 30 January 2017]*

Meanwhile, Muslim participants in Bali talked about their status as a minority and being a subject of discrimination, although at national level, Islam is the dominant religion. Commenting on the no-hijab policy in state schools in Bali, Febrina said, ‘in Bali as the minority we always lose. So even though there is no overt racism, it is indirect and hidden like this [not allowing to wear hijab in state schools]’ (Febrina, Muslim Student, FGD School 6, 18 February 2017). This position of Muslims is also found in Jakarta: a Muslim maths teacher recalled the time she was in the position of being a minority:

*“Pribumi” has always been a majority, but in the case of the school I went to for my secondary education, I was a minority. There were only two Muslims in my class. In West Jakarta, especially in the “Jembatan Lima” area, that is common, So I have experienced being a minority even though I am a “pribumi” and a Muslim [Mrs Susi, Maths, School 3]*

The sense of insecurity and being treated as the ‘others’ as is the case for the minority groups in Indonesia, as elaborated in this sub-section, points to the continuous relevance of Unity-in-Diversity in contemporary Indonesia. The changing positionality discussed above highlights the fluidity and plurality of identities. Although generally the Muslim groups are positioned as the religious majority group, this position is not fixed and can change under different circumstances – across provinces (Jakarta and Bali) and even within the same province (such as in the case of Muslims in Chinese majority School 3 Jakarta). This dynamic nature of identity further emphasises the complexity of narratives and accounts and points to the importance of considering contexts, specifically school

contexts, as these would change the practice of Unity-in-Diversity in schools in contemporary Indonesia. It confirms how schools as complex systems accommodate the vision of Unity-in-Diversity differently relative to their own contextual characteristics.

#### 6.4.2. Relevance of Unity-in-Diversity in Education

The focus of this research has been on the role of schools in implementing Unity-in-Diversity in contemporary Indonesia. Up to this point, this chapter has presented evidence showing how this national vision of diversity has been interpreted by educational stakeholders and how the complex interpretations are accommodated and manifested in schools according to their contexts. When asked about the role of schools in realising the vision of Unity-in-Diversity, all participants agreed that schools have a significant role to play; school ‘must play a role; there is no question about it’ (Mr Teddy, Head teacher, School 2, 14 November 2016).

School is described by many teacher and parent participants as an agent of change. It is ‘a strategic place where transfer of values and knowledge can reach hundreds of children’ (Mrs Debbie, Citizenship education teacher, School 2, 14 November 2016) and students are encouraged ‘to understand that diversity can be an incredible thing by ensuring all programs bring a sense of togetherness’ (Mr Patrick, Protestant parent, School 2, 5 November 2016). Schools, particularly state schools are also viewed as a microcosm of society, where ‘students can interact with people from different backgrounds and social strata’ (Muslim Parent, School 2, 17 November 2016). Schools therefore ‘become a bridge to create a future generation that can apply the national vision and mission’ (Mr Sean, Biology teacher, School 4, 24 February 2017). If ‘schools give the wrong understanding, automatically the implementation in the society will be wrong too’ (Mr Sapta, Physics teacher, School 1, 13 October 2016).

Despite the resounding consensus among these two educational stakeholders of the schools' critical role, the analysis suggests that teachers and parents have varying views on the role of parents. Some teachers raised concerns over the incongruency between their efforts and parents' views on Unity-in-Diversity. A geography teacher in School 1 said that, 'there are students who are not accustomed to practising higher tolerance at home and they bring their ego, ethnocentrism or beliefs to school, and so school needs to change this mindset' (Mrs Destry, 14 October 2016). For more effective learning, some teachers have called for parent's involvement, contending that 'schools should not be the only one charged with this responsibility' (Mrs Sofie, Physics teacher, School 3, 2 November 2016). Mrs Sofie's perspective on the lack of parental role in promoting the vision of diversity is substantiated by the accounts of two parents who implicitly pointed out the school's assumed primary role and capacity in promoting these values. When asked about the promotion of Unity-in-Diversity at home, Mr Asen responded, 'I do not do it directly because I assume they have learned about it from school, ever since primary I am sure so I do not have to tell them again what *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* is' (Chinese Catholic parent, School 2, 5 November 2016). The other parent, Mr Patrick said that even though he wanted to, he did not think it was effective because 'communication between children and parents are limited because parents are more authoritarian' (Batakese Christian parent, School 2, 5 November 2016).

Moreover, data analysis of teachers' responses regarding the Indonesian education system as a whole and observation notes suggest that when situating the topic within the larger picture of education, the promotion of Unity-in-Diversity might be less of a priority for parents, students and teachers, except for teachers of subjects with curricular content directly related to the notions of citizenship and social relationships. On a daily basis, the school's main agenda still revolves around raising student academic achievements,

developing their skills, and promoting character values. This is reflected in the responses given by participants when asked about their definition of good quality education. As a parent, Mr Santoso states that ‘I clearly want my child to be smart in terms of knowledge. Then I want her to have good skills so that she can apply her knowledge into her life’ (Head of the school committee, School 4 Bali, 23 January 2017). This view is in line with the head teacher’s in School 1, who sees ‘quality education as one that prepares students to live in the society’ (Mrs Angeline, School 1 Jakarta, 10 October 2016). Even in cases where the subject teachers were expected to promote inter-religious understanding and tolerance, such as in citizenship education, sociology or religious education, a critical approach was not always employed, and the focus of learning was limited to the transmission of theoretical knowledge (explored in detail in Chapter 8).

## **6.5. Conclusion**

This chapter provides core findings on the perspectives of education stakeholders, such as head teachers, teachers, students, and parents about the meanings of Unity-in-Diversity across schools in contemporary Indonesia. It consolidates a range of issues regarding the implementation of Unity-in-Diversity in Indonesia and theories of diversity, particularly multiculturalism, which are previously treated disparately in much of the scholarly literature elaborated in Chapter 2 and 3. The findings are critically discussed under four themes: construction of nationhood, recognition of religious diversity, contextuality of meanings, and the relevance and significance of Unity-in-Diversity in contemporary Indonesia.

It concludes that the national vision of diversity was understood and considered by all participants as a significant pillar of nationhood, where recognising and achieving religious diversity was seen to be fundamental in achieving Unity-in-Diversity. This act of balancing between ‘Unity’ and ‘Diversity’ in Indonesia, is fostered through inculcating

a sense of nationalism and strengthening religiosity. This is promoted nationally within the popular character education discourse in contemporary Indonesian education. Due to the different ethnic, religious, and cultural make-up of the six schools and the two cities where case studies were carried out, it is argued that the contextual differences are influential in constructing the individual's interpreted meanings of multiculturalism. Apart from religious diversity, the issues of ethnicity, the caste system and intra-religious relations were raised by stakeholders as important constructs of diversity in Indonesia which subsequently influenced their vision and manifestation of Unity-in-Diversity. This in turn makes the implementation of Unity-in-Diversity different from one school to another in accommodating to the contextual needs of each.

The varied implementations were also found to be influenced by the nuanced perspectives of different stakeholders on Unity-in-Diversity. Examining the trend of these perspectives from a multiculturalism lens, most participants displayed characteristics of liberal and pluralist multicultural positions and only a few showed signs of adopting conservative and critical multiculturalism approaches. It is worth noting that these positions were not fixed and were shown to be changing according to the circumstances and types of diversity being discussed. Looking across responses between those identified as the “majority” and the “minority”, it was found that generally the national philosophy of Unity-in-Diversity appeared to hold a more sentimental meaning for ethnic and religious groups that are seen as the minority nationally in Indonesia. This is because it provides legal protection for being “different” and serves as mechanism for gaining equal citizenship. However, this does not mean that the majority-minority narratives always position Muslims as the powerful majority. This study found that in certain contexts (such as in Hindu-majority Bali or Chinese-majority school in Jakarta), Muslims perceived themselves and were perceived as the less powerful minority.

The findings in this chapter demonstrate the complexity and inter-connectedness of narratives and discourses of the national philosophy within and across school and individual levels. They suggest that despite the stakeholders' familiarity of the term Unity-in-Diversity and consensus of what it entails, its meaning is not fixed and singular; it is interpreted and changes across settings. This fluid interpretation of Unity-in-Diversity amongst the educational stakeholders is shown to be inherently intertwined with the issues of power struggles and inequalities due to group membership and the position of authorities within the school system. These interactions of unequal power, narratives, expectations, and values amongst different stakeholders make schools a complex system. Due to this complexity, this thesis argues that the manifestation of the national vision in schools is not a direct and linear process. As such, the vision of diversity needs to be accommodated and contextualised. The contextualised responses of the six case study schools in accommodating the national vision of Unity-in-Diversity at an institutional level forms the basis for the discussion in the next chapter.

## **7 Schools' Responses to Unity-in-Diversity**

Having explored the perspectives of education stakeholders in relation to the complex meanings of Unity-in-Diversity in Chapter 6, this chapter attempts to answer the second research question and probes the schools' responses in realising the envisaged meanings of Unity-in-Diversity at an institutional level, using the whole-school approach to multicultural education (Raihani, 2011, 2014b). Since recognition and accommodation of minority rights, cultures, and identities is the core tenet of multiculturalism and multicultural education, the analysis about the accommodation of the vision of diversity in each school focuses on how, and the extent to which individual schools respond to this tenet. The chapter focuses on the issue of religious diversity, although where applicable, discussion about other types of diversity (ethnicity and gender) that cut across religion is also presented to build a more nuanced understanding of the topic. In understanding that school is a complex system where people with different roles and powers interact and negotiate, the discussion of school responses will also revisit the topic covered in previous chapters on the examination of the majority-minority dynamic narratives and discourses.

The discussion of the findings is divided into three sections. As the chapter is about schools' responses, where schools are treated as complex, contextual cases, the first and second sections present an overview of School 1, School 2, School 3 (grouped as the case of Jakarta schools) and School 4, School 5, and School 6 (grouped as the case of Bali schools) respectively, to familiarise readers with each case. It reviews the school's vision and mission statements, school policies on uniforms, provision of religious education (specifically for religious minorities), as well as school culture. At the end of each section, there is a synthesis of findings to tease out similarities and differences between the responses of schools in each province of Jakarta and Bali in relation to the obligation of implementing Unity-in-Diversity in the institutions.

The last section of the chapter carefully compares the responses of the schools in Jakarta and Bali in relation to the local context. By treating Jakarta and Bali as cases within Indonesia, this research aims to demonstrate the influence of local values, cultures, and policies when accommodating the vision of diversity in schools.

To meet these objectives, the chapter draws upon data based on analysis of information obtained through school observations, photos, and interviews with various participants (mainly school leaders). As discussion regarding school demography will be frequently made throughout this chapter, a summary of student demography is re-inserted here for reference:

*Table 7.1 Summary of School Demography Based on the Students' Religious Affiliations*

Name of School	Total Students	Muslim	Protestant	Catholic	Hindu	Buddhist	Confucian
<b>State School 1 Jakarta</b>	747	<b>88.6%</b>	7.6%	2.7%	0.4%	0.7%	0.0%
<b>State School 2 Jakarta</b>	855	<b>82.0%</b>	14.4%	3.3%	0.3%	0%	0.0%
<b>Private School 3 Jakarta</b>	268	18.9%	<b>35.9%</b>	7.5%	0%	<b>37.7%</b>	0.0%
<b>State School 4 Bali</b>	1525	0.8%	0.5%	0%	<b>98.7%</b>	0%	0.0%
<b>State School 5 Bali</b>	1545	5.4%	0.8%	0.6%	<b>92.8%</b>	0.4%	0.0%
<b>Private School 6 Bali</b>	561	<b>100%</b>	0%	0%	0%	0%	0.0%

## 7.1. Schools in Jakarta

### 7.1.1. School 1 Jakarta (State School, Muslim majority)

School 1 Jakarta is a state school in East Jakarta that has a large Muslim student population (88.6% of the total). In terms of the school culture, at first glance, the spatial representation of two places of worship for Muslims in the school complex depicts an Islamic privileging. The two places of worship are an old *musalla* (a smaller version of mosque) and a newly built, grander, mosque (Image 7.1). The former remained functional for the female students and teachers for prayers and school religious extracurricular activities, whereas the latter, which was claimed to be ‘the largest school mosque in Jakarta’ (Mrs Angeline, Head teacher, 10 October 2016), was mainly used for the male students and teachers.

*Image 7.1 Mosque in School 1 Jakarta*



Notwithstanding this symbolic Islamic representation in the school, after two weeks of observations and interviews with the head teacher, teachers, and students, I found that the school has shown conscious efforts in accommodating the vision of Unity-in-Diversity. This is most evident in accommodation of religious needs for all students, including the

minority groups, which is not common in state schools (Fogg, 2018; Raihani, 2015). Religious minority students were allocated specific rooms and assigned respective religious education teachers and/or tutors to accommodate their religious needs. Protestant and Catholic students, who made up the larger groups of religious minority students, had their own religious education teachers who were employed as full-time teachers. They were qualified, fully paid, and permanently appointed by the Ministry of Religion to work in the school. Protestant and Catholic students in this school also had their lessons simultaneously as their Muslim peers, but in separately assigned rooms. Meanwhile, Buddhist and Hindu students had mentors who came on Fridays for an hour, and they were paid per meetings (on weekly basis).

The school's recognition and accommodation of religious diversity can also be found in the school's choice of term for the mandatory daily 15-minute morning service which was scheduled to take place before the start of the school. The terms *tadarus* (Islamic morning prayer) and *kebaktian pagi* (morning service), which were written on the timetable, indicate the recognition of non-Muslims in the timetable. This recognition was also affirmed by the assignment of different rooms for different religious groups, and the provision of specific religious education teachers. As the schools appointed permanent Catholic and Protestant religious education teachers, Christian students were guided by respective teachers in this morning service. Being the supra-minority groups, the Hindu and Buddhist students who only had mentors on Friday afternoons for their religious classes were told to pray on their own in their assigned rooms – the counselling room and library. Moreover, although the mosque is mostly used by the Muslims in the school, the ground floor was said to be a multi-function space which can be used by all religions. The plan for use of non-religious activities and non-Muslim adherents depicts how a religious space can be fluid and carry multiple meanings. Teachers and students also talked about

the marking of religious festivals from different religions, although most of the events held in the school were generally Muslim festivals due to the high number of Muslim teachers and students.

The school's uniform regulations also consider students' religious identities. In Image 7.2, the pictorial examples of good uniforms for each style were hung in the reception area near the entrance of the school. The pictures display distinctive uniforms for male and female students (both Muslims and non-Muslims). In the pictures, the female Muslim student wears maxi skirt and long-sleeved shirt with headcover, whereas the female non-Muslim student wears maxi skirt and short-sleeved shirt for Mondays until Thursdays. There were no differences for male students, except on Friday's uniform where the male Muslim student wears a long-sleeved shirt characterising Islamic modest attire, which is deemed appropriate for the Friday prayers. The wearing of Islamic attire on Friday's uniform is also noted for the female Muslim student. Both the male and female non-Muslim students wear national uniform on Fridays.

*Image 7.2 Collage of School Uniforms, National Emblem and President and Vice President of Indonesia*



Despite all these conscious efforts made by the head teacher and teachers in School 1 to ensure religious diversity is accommodated and promote a more inclusive school culture, teachers and students from both Muslim and non-Muslim backgrounds have pointed out some limitations and expressed their hopes for better school responses. The first limitation related to the provision of religious education for minorities, particularly on the issue of room arrangement and unequal quality of learning. All minority religion teachers commented that they had been “semi-assigned rooms” for the lessons, but when these rooms were needed for other school activities, they had to find empty rooms to deliver the lessons. As quoted in the interview with Mr Thomas, the Protestant RE teacher in School 1, ‘in the past, we did not have a specific room to conduct the lesson as there was no room available. At that time, we sometimes had the lesson in the laboratory or the library or the audio-visual room when they were not in use. This year there is this room used for teachers’ weekly forum and a laboratory for social science students, which has been assigned to us for Protestant lessons too’ (14 October 2016). Mr Thomas added that this problem with learning spaces and facility for minority religion lessons is not unique to this school and has been shared by teachers across schools: ‘when we have our weekly teachers’ forum or some seminars organised by the education authorities, some fellow religion teachers always complain about facility, that they sometimes do not know where to have the lessons’.

Apart from the issue of room availability, there is also an issue of an unequal quality of learning. The Hindu and Buddhist lessons were delivered by unqualified teachers – one was a full-time Hindu police officer and the other one was a Buddhist part-time youth committee member of a temple. There was also difficulty in finding textbooks that were compatible for the 2013 curriculum. Mr Shane, the Buddhist teacher in School

I said, 'I use the most recent books we have in the temple, so they are not compatible with the curriculum' (14 October 2016).

The second limitation is related to the arrangement of morning service. A few students from both religious majority and minority groups contended that the use of central loudspeaker for the *tadarus* (Islamic prayer) could distract the praying activity of other religious groups, especially their Protestant peers who conducted their morning prayer outdoor in the school's gazebo. The lack of guidance for the Hindu and Buddhist students also created unequal exposure of religious education for these supra-minority groups. Nonetheless, even though this arrangement was not the most ideal, this school has shown some promising attempts in accommodating and recognising religious diversity. The school's multicultural approach and multi-religious context has set a positive school culture for the students to learn about minority rights and inter-religious understanding. This is demonstrated by feedback the students gave on the morning service arrangement. During the FGD with the students, some Muslim students as the religious majority group in the school talked about things they thought could be improved in order to better the religious education for minorities – a favourable indication of critical multicultural education. One of the students, Bertha, said 'we [Muslims] have our service using speaker. Then they [students of other religions] have their service in the gazebo or the school clinic. They can still hear the Qur'an recital, so their service is interrupted. We can receive the learning well, but they are not able to receive as well. I think if the school can provide a soundproof room for them, they can concentrate more in their religious activities' (18 October 2016).

### 7.1.2. School 2 Jakarta (State School, Muslim majority)

School 2 Jakarta is a state school in North Jakarta with a high percentage of Muslim student population (82% of the total). During my fieldwork, School 2 was selected as a “pioneering school” (*sekolah rintisan*) by the educational authorities. Due to this status, the school held numerous educational events involving other schools in the district in the form of seminars, training, competitions, and cultural activities, to enhance the quality of learning for the schools. Based on the interviews with the head teacher and teachers, character-based education appeared to be the main school’s objective. The concept of character education, which includes the development of non-academic competence, appeared to be the strategy of the then newly appointed head teacher to compensate the lack of the school’s academic reputation. The head teacher, Mr Teddy mentioned,

*Character education is the characteristic of School 2. In various occasions such as during the Monday school assembly and flag raising ceremony and other events where I must speak to the students, I relentlessly emphasise on this [character education]. The conclusion is that if we cannot achieve high academic excellence like other favourite schools, we just aim for other things. We develop kinaesthetic intelligence, participating in sport and art competitions [14 November 2016]*

The head teacher’s importance in making School 2 an exemplary school that successfully implements character education can be demonstrated by the publication of a handbook that explains the application of character education in school. The handbook, which was written by the head teacher, is supposed to be read and applied by both the teachers and students. However, when teachers and students were asked about the school’s ethos, they rarely mentioned character-based education, exemplified by the remark of Mrs Dana who commented ‘this school is known to be a green school. It is very rare in Jakarta to find a school as green as this school’ (Geography teacher, School 2, 11 November 2016). Two weeks of school observation also suggests that the morning routine of teacher-student greetings, which is an iconic embodiment of character education (as suggested in the in-

house character education handbook and guidance from the (Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, 2017d), was not regularly implemented. The morning service and the daily singing of the national anthem and national songs were not as strictly enforced as in School 1. It is possible that the lack of implementation was because students and teachers were still getting used to the new leadership and his vision of character education.

In terms of school culture, School 2 generally has an embedded Islamic influence like many other state schools in Muslim-majority areas (Fogg, 2018). It has a good-sized mosque located inside the school area (Image 7.3). On Fridays, all students including non-Muslim students, had to wear modest clothing (though the female non-Muslims did not have to cover their heads) to respect the Muslim Friday prayer tradition. The compulsory wearing of modest clothing for non-Muslims on Fridays was not observed in State School 1. Notwithstanding the latent Islamic ethos in School 2, religious minority students, who were mainly Protestants and Catholics, were religiously accommodated. The Protestant students had their lessons simultaneously as their peers in separate rooms whereas the Catholic students had their lesson on Fridays in the library during the Friday prayers break. These students were also given opportunities to go on school retreats during the month of December to celebrate Christmas.

*Image 7.3 Mosque in School 2 Jakarta*



Despite the school's efforts to accommodate religious education for the minorities, some issues with the provision of religious education are identified, which include room assignment, lesson arrangement, teacher status, and teacher pay. The Protestant teacher, Mrs Yenny, mentioned that she had to teach multiple classes of different educational levels in one lesson and the assigned classroom, which was a multi-function room, was not exclusively used for the Protestant classes. She said,

*we all know that this multi-function room is effectively used for all kinds of activities. Sometimes we have to think where we will be placed. We have not had our own assigned room. That's what I mean. Is this how it works or because of other reasons, we do not know. If this multi-function room is used like for the character education seminar today, we have to find other rooms [for our lesson] [22 November 2016].*

Moreover, although she worked five days a week, no financial compensation was given by the school or the Ministry of Education & the Ministry of Religion. She was assigned by her church community to teach in the school, and so she said the school might assume that 'I was teaching in the school voluntarily', but 'this can be at times difficult (financially) since I had to pay for my own transportation fees' (Mrs Yenny, 22 November 2016). She also brought up the issue of perceived lack of status and limited capacity in the school. This sense of uncertainty and frustration is illustrated in this excerpt:

- Researcher : If I may know more, you mentioned that you were working here voluntarily. Does it mean that you are not paid?*
- Mrs Yenny : Not only do I not get paid, but I also have no identity here*
- Researcher : Ok. Have you tried applying to be a civil servant? Do you have the intention to be one?*
- Mrs Yenny : Very much. I really want to be one. I want to be a civil servant or work for the government, not for the money [...] If we are talking about money, money is a reward for me. When we work, we must get the salary, right? But it is not the money that is the priority for me personally [...] But it is so that our status is clear. It is so uncomfortable now. I am not recognised here. If we want to hold an activity, we are nothing. I feel marginalised.*

In contrast to School 1, where religious education teachers for minorities were sought by the head teacher and teachers in the school, the teachers in School 2 were deployed by local Protestant and Catholic organisations. Mrs Amel said that ‘it was the priest from our church who came here to offer our service’ (Catholic mentor, 4 November 2016). There was also a marked involvement of parent committees in the organisation of retreats for Protestant and Catholic students. Overall, in School 2, the responses in accommodating religious diversity is greatly shaped by the influences of school committees and wider community.

#### 7.1.3. School 3 Jakarta (Private School, Chinese, non-Muslim majority)

School 3 Jakarta is a private school in West Jakarta with a high percentage of ethnically Chinese students who observe Buddhism (37.7%) and Protestantism (35.9%). Due to the student demography and the founder’s Chinese and Buddhist identity, it was popularly ‘known to cater for the Chinese and Buddhist students’ in the neighbourhood, but ‘there are different ethnicities and religions here, except Hindu’ (Mrs Sally, Head teacher, 8 November 2016). The school location is close to the Chinatown, which makes the school a convenient educational choice for Chinese parents. However, in the last decade the neighbourhood has become more mixed, attracting non-Chinese students and students with mixed-ethnoreligious parents. The school is part of a foundation which also owns a primary school, a lower secondary school, and a vocational upper secondary school – all located in the same school complex as the general upper secondary school.

With regards to the school’s vision on diversity, Private School 3 Jakarta has an explicit mission statement that represents the school’s philosophical view on diversity and equality. It states that one of the aims of education is ‘to instil a sense of responsibility, discipline, and tolerance without differentiating ethnicity and religion’. The accommodation of religious needs of all students is also confirmed in the interview

with one of the board members, Mrs Paula (2 November 2016). She asserted that one of the school's implementations to foster Unity-in-Diversity is by providing religious education for students from the five official religions in Indonesia, just as mandated in *Pancasila* due to the fact that religion is an integral social aspect in the society.

*Researcher* : Can you explain a bit about the school policy that the Board members have introduced to foster Unity-in-Diversity?

*Mrs Paula* : The first thing is religious education because it is the most sensitive and crucial right [...] When people ask what is the religion of this school? Oh, our school's religion is "Pancasila" because we respect all the existing religions. So, during the Eid al-Fitr, the working committees for the event are Muslim students with the assistance from students of other religions. And the non-Muslims also come to see. Similarly, on the Vesakh day or other festivals, all students can participate, and we respect every religion and its festivals.

As the only non-faith-based private school in this study, all relevant religious education teachers were formally appointed by the school and financially compensated. The students received the same amount of contact time for their religion lessons as each student had the lessons simultaneously in separate rooms, assigned specifically for each religion according to the timetable, although the quality of classrooms and learning was different. For example, Mr Matthew, the Catholic RE teacher in School 3, said that 'there is no supporting teaching facility for me here. Not at all. I bring the technological devices on my own that I borrow from my university' (3 November 2016).

In terms of the school culture, there is no architectural design that visually suggests the school privileges Christian or Buddhist values. No church or temple or any kind of worship building was built in the school complex, which is in keeping with the school's intention to build a nationalistic school image. There was however a small *mushalla* built to enable Muslims in the school conduct *shalat* prayers. Morning service to start the school day did not emphasise a dominant religion either. Furthermore, it was not as regularly conducted as in School 1 and 2, and the occurrence was dependent on the

decision of the individual teachers teaching the first lesson. School observations also suggest that School 3 generally does not appear to put as much weight on the development of religiosity and piety as seen in other schools within this study - although there is a subtle impression of the school as an institution which places more weight on Confucian and Buddhist values. The majority of students in the overall foundation (from primary to secondary education) observe Buddhism, and Mrs Paula mentioned 'inviting Buddhist monks from Thailand to the school during the Kathina festival', the largest alms-giving ceremony of the Buddhist year so that the students can mark the day (Board member, 2 November 2016).

While fieldnotes and discussions with participants suggest that religious privileging is weak, ethnic privileging is stronger. Chinese culture appears to penetrate a multitude of dimensions within the schooling, which may be due to the school's history and student demography. During this interview with two board members of School 3, I learned that the school had to go through a restructuring process during the New Order era, after being initially set up as a Chinese school. After the 1965 anti-communism coup, the founder of the school, who was Chinese himself and the great grandfather of the current board members, was advised by the Indonesian government to change the name of the school 'from A [a Chinese name] to B [an Indonesian name]', to make it sound 'more nationalistic' (Mr Winston, Board Member, 2 November 2016; names of the school are disguised for privacy reason). As previously explained in Chapter 2, all Chinese schools in Indonesia were closed following the 1965 coup as the government was concerned that they would contain communist agenda with the rise of communism in China in the 1960s. Many of these Chinese schools were converted to national schools and adopted the assimilation school policy (Heryanto, 1998; Pelly, 2003). Due to this history, it is highly likely that the inclusion of a statement about diversity was because

the school owner intended to build an inclusive, national school image. As a Chinese-majority school, the conversation with the board members suggest they strive to debunk the “exclusive” stigma attached to the school, and that it was built by Chinese people for Chinese students. Mr Winston repeatedly asserted that, ‘this is a national school. It does not favour any religion’ (Board member, 2 November 2016). The head teacher also said, ‘people often assume that we are a Chinese, Buddhist school. That is why we always communicate to the public through charity events that we have all religions here’ (Mrs Sally, 8 November 2016). On a related note, the inclusion of an explicit notion of diversity may also aim at expressing their intention to create a safe space for the ethnically and religiously minority students, who perceive themselves, or are perceived as, “different” in the society. As discussed in Chapter 6, the concept of Unity-in-Diversity holds a significant meaning for the minorities, especially in understanding their positions in relation to the dominant group(s).

This understanding of cultural differences and accounts about the position of minority and insecurities has led the school taking extra steps to minimise the risk of group privileging and differentiation being perpetuated in schools. Whilst strongly promoting the nationalist ethos, the school aims to foster equality and diversity by celebrating different religious festivals, as confirmed in Mr Ahmad’s statement:

*There are celebrations for all sorts of religious festivals. For instance, during the fasting period, there is “express pesantren (Islamic boarding school)”, one day “pesantren” for Muslims, then break-fasting together. Then we also mark other festivals like Isra Miraj. For Buddhists, we have Kathina, then there is also Christmas celebration and on Fridays, there is prayer meetings. Those are policies accommodated by the school [Geography and Deputy Head on Curriculum, 1 November 2016]*

Mrs Cecil, a citizenship education teacher, also said that the school did not forbid teachers to express their religions, except the wearing of hijab – although this was her perception and not an official school policy (2 November 2016):

- Researcher : So teachers are not prohibited to express their religions?*  
*Mrs Cecil : No, there is “mushalla” here and on Fridays, usually there is a service. No prohibition, but maybe for wearing hijab is still not yet permitted from the above [board]*
- Researcher : Do you wear hijab?*  
*Mrs Cecil : Yes, I do when I am not in the school*  
*Researcher : So you only take off your hijab here*  
*Mrs Cecil : I do not dare. I have never asked about it, but it seems like it is not yet permitted.*
- Researcher : Have you heard about your colleagues who have tried asking and not permitted?*  
*Mrs Cecil : Some have asked. If you teach here, you just have to do it [take off your hijab], except some of my seniors who have gained the permission*

In response to the ambiguity of the regulation of hijab-wearing in the school, the Board members explained the transformation of the policy was due to the assimilation era where the display of SARA (Ethnicity, Religion, Race and Intergroup differences) was prohibited, and the reformation era where the notions of democracy and diversity are celebrated. Mr Walter said,

*The wearing of hijab is now permitted. During the assimilation period, I had to be very strict. After the reformation era, since Gus Dur administration, I change the policy. I allow the wearing of hijab, then the Buddhists want to wear some religious attributes, which I approved. There are things that are allowed at certain times, but there are things I have to ban because the society is not yet ready. Sometimes people do not understand that, but my main aim is this - "I am not saying that it is not allowed, but it is not the right time" [2 November 2016]*

This transformation has evidently caused confusion and uncertainty among teachers, depicted by the mixed responses when asked about this policy. The head teacher, Mrs Sally, practised caution when asked about this policy and tried to divert the question, instead talking about the school's emphasis of equality in diversity:

*Researcher* : Okay. So does it mean the wearing of hijab is permissible?

*Mrs Sally* : That is no problem as long as we do not accentuate our religions such that we continuously glorify Buddhism, or Islam, or Christianity. Then that is not allowed. It has to be equal. If we celebrate one, we have to celebrate all. We celebrate Islamic events, Christmas, Chinese New Year. All cultural characteristics are celebrated here. For example Chinese New Year. It is the festival of the Chinese, but all students get involved. They wear red, including the "pribumi" [native Indonesians]. That is what we emphasise.

Overall, School 3 appears to demonstrate conscious and systematic efforts to promote equality and diversity by providing equal access to religious celebrations and religious education as well as emphasising the development of nationalism over religiosity to accommodate the vision of Unity-in-Diversity. These efforts are shown to be strongly linked to the school's identity as a Chinese school that underwent assimilation project during the New Order, where enhancing a sense of nationalism to emphasise 'unity' within the diversity of Indonesia was the school's priority. The more frequent reference made to the issue of ethnicity rather than religion is by no means a suggestion that the issue of religion was of less or no importance to the participants in this school. But since the majority of the students were of Chinese descent and followers of minority religious groups, the issue of ethnicity appeared to be interwoven with religion, which on one hand dilutes the intensity of issues caused by religious diversity but on the other hand exacerbates the ambivalent, double-minority status of the Chinese Indonesian (Hoon, 2008). It was indicative that the school chose to focus on constructing the student's national identity instead of magnifying their perceived different religious identity, seeing that doing the latter might resultantly lead to further discrimination and perceived exclusivity.

#### 7.1.4. Synthesis: Jakarta case

The three school cases above are presented to give an overview of how schools in Jakarta with different religious contexts accommodate the vision of Unity-in-Diversity at institutional level. The two state schools (School 1 and School 2) represent the case of Muslim-majority schools and the private school (School 3) represents the case of a minority school in the Muslim-majority province of Jakarta. Based on the analysis of these three school cases in Jakarta, there are three main findings when characterising schools' responses to accommodating the vision of Unity-in-Diversity, specifically religious diversity (which at times intersect with ethnicity) in Jakarta.

The first finding is that there is an influence of Islamic values and traditions in the three schools, although the degree of influence varies from one school to another according to the school's demographic profile. In the two Muslim-majority state schools (State School 1 and State School 2), the influence of Islamic values and tradition was depicted in the presence of a mosque in the school complex to facilitate Muslim prayers, the broadcasting of Islamic prayers using loudspeakers during morning service, and the sight of teachers and students wearing modest clothing on Fridays as part of the school policy, to name a few. This finding is in keeping with Fogg's (2018) analysis, which argues that these characteristics are common in many state schools in the predominantly Muslim areas of Indonesia, and they signal the convergence of Islamic and state national schools. This dominance leads to the privileging of Islam and Muslim teachers and students in terms of expressing their religiosity.

In the case of Chinese-majority school (Private School 3), where the Muslims were positioned as the minority in the school, there was some accommodation of Islamic values, though this was not as prevalent as in the state schools. This was found through the existence of *mushalla* for Muslims to conduct *shalat* prayers and the marking of some

Islamic festivals in the school, which was likely to be due to the high number of Muslim teachers. Nonetheless, the dominant school culture was found to be influenced by Chinese values, and to a lesser extent Buddhist values, which is likely to be shaped by the identity of the school founder and the students. In this school, there is an intersection between ethnic and religious identity due to the double minority status of Chinese Indonesians in the society. The dominance of Chinese culture is stronger, as indicated by the use of dichotomised terms of ethnic, instead of religious, group references when discussing the issue of diversity in Indonesia with the stakeholders in School 3, and the ambivalence expressed by Chinese participants in this research, as discussed extensively in Chapter 2 and 6.

Following up from the first finding, this research then argues that religious and ethnic privileging does not lead to, and should not be immediately assumed as, the absence and abandonment of rights of religious minority groups in the school. In all schools, there is evidence of religious minorities being recognised and accommodated, but the level of accommodation does vary from one school to another, depending on the school ethos, student demography, room availability, and ability to secure funding and teachers, making the school responses dynamic and contextualised. This point is best exemplified by juxtaposing cases of School 1 and School 2. The religious demography of the students within the two state schools is comparable, in that the majority of the students in both schools are Muslim, and the larger religious minority groups are the Protestants and Catholics. Despite this similar religious context, this research found that they have different responses in the accommodation of religious education for minority students such as provision of religion lessons and morning service arrangement for religious minorities. In School 1, religious minority students, including the supra-minorities (Hindu and Buddhist students) received religion lessons at the same time as their Muslim peers.

The Protestant and Catholic students in School 1 were taught by two qualified religious education teachers who work full time in the school with a clear teacher status and are fully paid by the Ministry of Religion. The religion teachers for Buddhist and Hindu students who came on Fridays worked on a part-time basis and were paid per lesson. This arrangement is different from the arrangement in School 2, where despite a larger number of Protestant and Catholic students, the teachers worked voluntarily and were deployed from local religious organisations and churches. They did not have clear teacher status in the school, creating limitations to the teachers' role and capacity. The supra-minority Hindu students in this school were asked to find their local temple to get their religious education and marks for their religious education subject.

Another difference between the two schools is on their arrangement for morning service. In terms of the implementation, morning service in School 1 is stricter than that in School 2, which is likely to be influenced by the higher level of discipline enforcement in the former school. The analysis of the school timetable also suggests that School 1 has a greater level of recognition and accommodation of the minority groups, depicted by the use of term "*kebaktian pagi*" alongside the general term "*tadarus*", and in the school policies on school uniform. In School 1, female Muslim students could wear headscarves and modest dress, and the non-Muslims could wear national uniforms on Fridays when the Muslims wore modest clothing. This policy is slightly different in School 2, where the uniform policy requires all students, including the non-Muslims, to wear Islamic attire and modest clothing (although without the headscarf for female non-Muslims) to respect the holy day that Muslims observe on Fridays.

When the school case comparisons are extended to include Private School 3, the differences in school responses become more pronounced. In Private school 3, all relevant religious education teachers were formally appointed by the school and financially compensated, as the school was managed by a foundation. School 3 is known as a Buddhist Chinese school, mainly due to the identity of the founder and the significant number of Chinese students. Providing religion classes for all students was found to be their main response to debunk their image of 'exclusivity' and appear more nationalistic. The students received the same amount of contact time for religious education lessons as each student had the lessons simultaneously in separate rooms, assigned specifically for each religion according to the timetable – although the quality of classrooms and learning was found to be different. As a school that caters for religious and ethnic minorities in the society, the school's response is also shown to reflect the insecurity and ambivalence of the Chinese minority group. This is demonstrated by changes to their school policy in order to match the social and political situation with respect to the position of Chinese people in Indonesia, as well as the school's efforts to appear as a nationalistic school and its focus on nurturing students' nationalism.

Considering the complex interplay of different school elements in the accommodation of the vision of Unity-in-Diversity, this research intends to highlight the third point, which is the role of agency of individual stakeholders in shaping the school's responses. In School 1, the more inclusive provision of religious education was contributed by the activism of the previous head teacher of School 1, and the sociology teacher. Mrs Angeline, the Head teacher in School 1, acknowledged that the arrangement of religious education for the religious minority at this scale was not easy and was uncommon in state schools. From her experience working as a head teacher in other

schools, religious education of minority students was often less prioritised due to spatial and financial issues, and a lack of teachers' commitment:

*In the two schools I was at, I did not think the religious activities were as intense as those here. In School X when I was a head teacher, maybe because the economic status is different, organising religious activities was a bit challenging. In the other School Y, the environment was supportive, but the teachers in charge of the student activities were not that attentive. They did not give it all. Not like here with Mrs Ariel as the VP of Studentship. She came here early every day, and I really salute her and the tutors and coaches of the student activities for their dedication [10 October 2016]*

It is evident that despite the higher number of Protestant and Catholic students compared to School 1 Jakarta, the provision of religious education for the minorities in School 2 is not as systematically arranged by the school, as it is highly reliant on the individual efforts of the parents and religious communities. The role of local religious communities in supplying religion teachers for the Protestant and Catholic students, and the active involvement of parent committee in the organisation of retreats for the Protestant and Catholic students, demonstrate that the accommodation of the vision of diversity in School 2 is not only shaped by the views and efforts of teachers and head teachers, but also by those of the parents and wider community itself.

## 7.2.Schools in Bali

### 7.2.1. School 4 Bali (State School, Hindu majority)

School 4 is a state school in Abiansema area of Bali with nearly all of its students being Hindu-Balinese (98.7%). In terms of the school's culture, the significantly large proportion of Hindu-Balinese students and teachers in the school creates a strong Hindu-Balinese culture. In Image 7.4, the Hindu praying and offering table with statues decorated with white and yellow cloth, the colour combination used in sacred Hindu-Balinese festivals, is part of the Hindu temple located in the front area of the school complex. The dominant Hindu-Balinese culture is also depicted by the architectural design of the school buildings, which represent Hindu-Balinese culture (Image 7.5). The school motto is also written in Balinese (Image 7.6).

*Image 7.4 Hindu Temple School 4*



*Image 7.5 Classroom School 4 Bali*



*Image 7.6 Motto of School 4*



Two types of morning service, in lieu of only one type in schools in Jakarta, were observed in the two state schools in Bali, including in School 4. They incorporate both the local religious culture and the agenda of the national curriculum on building religious character. The first type was in the form of performing the Hindu-Balinese morning prayer ritual, taking place strictly in the school temple as the students either stopped by to place offerings (commonly female students) and/or apply rice on their forehead. The second type was religious chanting/praying, which occurred in classrooms. As the student population was nearly homogeneous in this school, the chanting was led by students in the student council who took it in turns to guide their peers in the classrooms by using the school's central speaker. This broadcast of *Trisandya* (Balinese prayers) in the mornings using a school loudspeaker that can be heard in all classrooms and school areas also suggests the dominant religious culture. The celebration of Hindu festivals (such as Sarasvati documented during the time of fieldwork) and the whole-school preparation for this celebration (Image 7.7) also points to the school's active role in fostering piety and promoting Hindu-Balinese culture. This strong culture can also be attributed to the location of the school, which is in a more rural area of Bali, making the school a significant part of the Balinese community. Indeed, participatory school management and collaboration with local, national, and international communities is one of the school's mission statements, implying the expected close nature of school-community relations.

*Image 7.7 Students in School 4 preparing for Sarasvati Festival*



Despite the strong influence of Hindu-Balinese in the school, the first mission statement of the school explicitly explains the school's respect for religious diversity and its position in the school's role surrounding the development of faith and piety. It states 'every school member reveres and behaves according to their respective religious beliefs'. This demonstrates the school's recognition and acceptance of diversity and debunks the perception that state schools in Bali only cater for the Hindu-Balinese, although the school's level of accommodation for student's religious needs is open to debate. Due to the limited funding and low number of Muslim and Christian students, the school did not provide these students with in-house RE lessons. They received religious education from outside the school, either from family or local places of worship, individually arranged by the students. As a result, these lessons would be held outside of school hours. During the scheduled Hindu religion lessons, the religious minority students sat quietly in the class with their Hindu peers and were passive participants, or in some cases they were given the option to study independently during those periods in the library. In terms of assessment, their marks for religious education were given from the authorised religious personnel in the corresponding places of worship, to be then passed onto the schools. The interview excerpt below with Febby, a female Muslim in School 4, illustrates the religious education experience of minority students (31 January 2017):

- Researcher* : *Where do you learn about your religion?*  
*Febby* : *I learnt about my religion using my own reference, I searched at Gramedia [name of a bookstore]*
- Researcher* : *Do you study yourself?*  
*Febby* : *Yes*
- Researcher* : *You do not go to a mosque?*  
*Febby* : *I often go to the mosque, every Saturday and Sunday*
- Researcher* : *To study religion further?*  
*Febby* : *Yes*
- Researcher* : *Is the mosque far from your house?*  
*Febby* : *It is close*

Despite the lack of provision in religious education for Muslim students, Febby said that she felt comfortable being surrounded by Hindu peers. Her parents asked her if she wanted to study in an Islamic school (*pesantren*), but she rejected the idea because she wanted to be closer to her parents, and also felt that she could learn about the meaning of tolerance in a general school (31 January 2017), as described in the excerpt:

*Researcher* : *What do you think is the difference of studying in a pesantren and a general school like this?*

*Febby* : *The difference is that here we can learn about tolerance with our friends. Even though we have different religions, we can still study together.*

*Researcher* : *Have you ever encountered any problems here?*

*Febby* : *I have never had any problems*

Febby's positive experience is different from the experiences of two Christian Papuan students, Rose and Giselle, who openly talked about their struggle when adapting to living and studying in Bali. They felt excluded and left behind (01 February 2017).

*Researcher* : *Do you have any friends who you can talk to in Bali? Or do you mainly spend your time just the two of you?*

*Giselle* : *Yes, just the two of us*

*Researcher* : *Have you ever gone out with your peers here?*

*Rose* : *Not really*

*Researcher* : *Why?*

*Rose* : *Because even if we are in a group, for example during group work, they often play a trick on us. Later when the teachers asked, they said we did not do our work, but they never told us about anything.*

From the conversations with all three students, it is evident that these different experiences can be influenced by the students' linguistic competence in Balinese. In the case of Febby, having been brought up in Bali, she said that she talked to her peers in Balinese and sometimes Indonesian, and so she did not feel that she had any problem socialising with her peers. Meanwhile, Rose and Giselle said that because they could not speak Balinese well, they felt that their peers could talk behind their backs using Balinese. They believed that the language barrier made it difficult for them to make friends with the locals.

The use of Balinese as a mode of communication primarily outside of the classroom in more informal settings between students and teachers alike can marginalise students who cannot speak Balinese, as verified by my observation notes. This was found to also happen inside the classroom on occasion. Thus, albeit having an explicit mission statement that welcomes diversity, and the school employing teachers with positive attitudes toward diversity, it was found that there is a strong Hindu-Balinese influence on the school culture. This penetrates various aspects of schooling in School 4 and highlights the limited accommodation of religious education for the minorities, which in turn demarcates the school's promotion of Unity-in-Diversity.

#### 7.2.2. School 5 Bali (State School, Hindu majority)

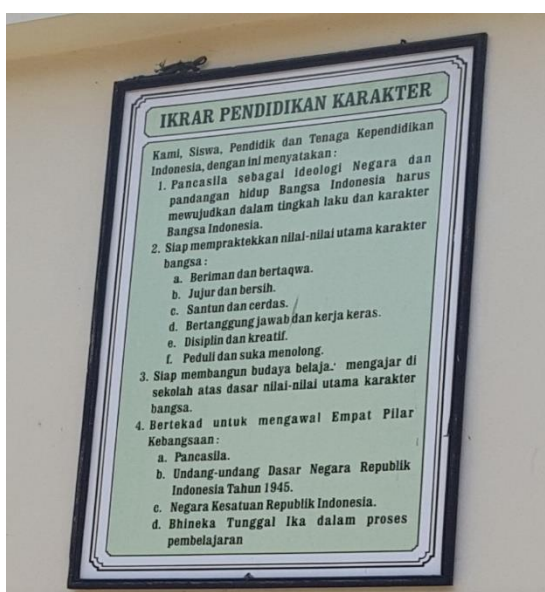
School 5 is a state school in Denpasar that has a high percentage of Hindu-Balinese students (92.8%). It is located in a neighbourhood that shares borders with areas inhabited by many non-Balinese Muslims (referred to as "*pendatang*" or "outsiders"), which may account for a slightly higher number of Muslim students in the school (5.4%) compared to School 4 (0.8%).

Out of the six schools in this research, State School 5 has the most explicit and operationalised statements concerning principles of diversity and inclusivity, with two of the nine mission statements addressing the fundamental cornerstones of multicultural education in Indonesia: recognition of religious diversity and provision of access to education for all. The first statement states that the school should be 'maintaining the sanctity of religious rites and conducting worship in accordance with (one's own) beliefs', implying the school's acknowledgement of religious diversity as well as accommodating and adhering to practices of various religions. This could be the school's way to publicly respond to the speculation from many Muslim parents and students in Bali that they would not be able to practise their religion in state schools, which predominantly adopt a strong

Hindu-Balinese culture (Bjork & Raihani, 2018; Parker, 2017). The other key statement suggests people should be ‘accepting of students/school community, regardless of ethnic, religious, racial, class and social economic status differences’, a pertinent point which shows that School 5 welcomes students from all social and cultural backgrounds.

The school’s interpretation of Unity-in-Diversity in their vision and mission statements is also highlighted by the display of posters regarding character education. One such poster is of the “Pledge of Character Education” (Image 7.8).

*Image 7.8 Pledge of Character Education*



‘The Pledge’, which is directed to the students, teachers, and all non-teaching staff in the school, comprises of statements of acknowledgement and willingness to embrace ‘the core values of the character of the nation’. It is important to highlight the phrase ‘character of the nation’ as it indicates the aim of fostering character values to shape students as Indonesian citizens, not just as mere individuals. This aim is also strengthened by the first clause of the Pledge, which denotes the acceptance and recognition of *Pancasila* as the state ideology, and the fourth clause, which asserts the intention to guard the four pillars of nationhood (*Pancasila*, the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, the Unitary

State of the Republic of Indonesia, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*). The inclusion of *Pancasila* and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in the Pledge of Character Education points towards their prominence in shaping and regulating Indonesian education.

The strengthening of national identity in School 5 was also synonymous with the inculcation of religiosity. Posters advocating for the importance of practising religion in daily life are found in the school. For instance, the poster in Image 7.9 connects religiosity with the quality of life – “with knowledge, life becomes easier; with art, life becomes beautiful; with religion, life becomes directed and meaningful”

Image 7.9 Poster in School 5



In terms of the school culture, State School 5 has a more multicultural ambience and approach to education in comparison to State School 4 Bali, which can be deduced by the dynamic interactions among students and teachers from diverse religious and ethnic backgrounds. I noted a couple of teachers (one of which is the school counsellor) wearing a hijab in the school, negating the assumption of non-hijab wearing state schools in Bali – although I received no clear confirmation if this rule was also applicable for students. The school also arranged weekly after-school RE lessons for minority students, ‘a small “*mushalla*” was provided for Muslim teachers and students to pray’, and some religious festivals were marked, although in a smaller social circle and not at institutional scale (Mr Sam, deputy head curriculum, 21 February 2017). Mr Irfan, the head teacher, who is also a Hindu RE teacher, spoke in his interview about religiosity and faith in terms of universal

values, the importance of humanity, and respecting differences. The morning service was also conducted autonomously in each classroom as opposed to using a loudspeaker such as in School 4. Image 7.10 shows students of different religions prayed together. Based on the hand gestures, the Hindu students prayed with hand gestures either fingers interlocking (e.g. the male student standing in front of the class) or thumb touching the middle finger (e.g. the female student near the door), two Muslim students (first row, third from the right and the far left) prayed with their palms open facing upwards, and a Catholic or Protestant student prayed with her fingers interlocking placed close to her chest (second row in the first right).

*Image 7.10 Morning prayer activity in State School 5 Bali*



Despite this multicultural setting, there is some evidence that the school still privileges Hindu-Balinese culture. In terms of the morning service activity, the Hindu students stood in front of the class leading the prayers (such as in Image 7.10). The non-Hindu students had to pray silently and make appropriate adjustments while the majority of the class were chanting of Hindu mantras. In Image 7.11, the classroom doors are enhanced with Hindu-Balinese sculptures which inject a more local character into the school building. This is also signified by the presence of a Hindu temple located in the middle of the school open

area (Image 7.12), and the statutory learning of Balinese language and music for all students (Image 7.13).

*Image 7.11 Physics Laboratory School 5*



*Image 7.12 Hindu Temple School 5*



*Image 7.13 Gamelan Rehearsal for Cultural Arts Lesson in School 5*



Among all six school case studies, School 5 has the most systematic approach to multicultural education. It has vision and mission statements that directly recognise and accommodate diversity. This recognition is also noted in school policies and programmes. Religious education for the minority groups was also provided as after-school activities, morning service was taken together as a class, and celebrations of other religious events were held. Yet, despite the multicultural education approach, the role of local culture is significant, which accounts for the privileging of Hindu-Balinese culture. To quote Mr Irfan, the head teacher, ‘current school vision includes the development of many characters, but this is to be done without leaving the local culture’ (21 February 2017).

### 7.2.3. School 6 Bali (Private School, Muslim school)

School 6 is a private Muslim school in Denpasar, established and run by one of the largest Muslim organisations in Indonesia. Therefore, it only admitted Muslim teachers and students. Within the school complex, there are both the general and vocational upper secondary schools managed by the organisation. Even though the school has an Islamic ethos, it is a national school adopting the national curriculum, and is administered under the Ministry of Education in lieu of the Ministry of Religion. Seeing as it is run by a religious organisation, the development of religious piety and devotion is prioritised over the academic excellence. In fact, the only mission statement that covers the academic aspect of education is intertwined with the notion of religiosity; ‘developing Islamic-based scientific knowledge’. From the vision and mission statements, it is obvious that creating an Islamic individual is the principal aim, which is compatible with the ethos and identity of the school. The strong Islamic virtue is clearly stated in the school’s vision and heavily influences the overall educational activities. The presence of a mosque and the inclusion of additional Islamic subjects such as Arabic language, Qur'an recital classes, Islamic calligraphy, and Islamic organisational lessons, suggest the overall school has a

strong Islamic culture. This Islamic ethos is further strengthened with the explicit Islamic rules in the school policies, whereby all females are obliged to wear a hijab in the school grounds. A poster (Image 7.14) which was found in the entrance hallway of the school states “By Veiling: More Graceful, Courteous, Beautiful, Neat”, alongside the portrait of a good female Muslim. On the bottom left hand corner, there is also a verse advocating veiling so that those with a veil will be easily recognised as part of the Islamic community and protected against possible harassment. The display of this poster suggests the school’s attempts to develop the conscience of female students, as well as their religious identity and piety, through veiling.

Image 7.14 Poster in Private School 6 Bali on Veiling



Despite being exclusively Islamic, interviews with the head teacher, teachers and students suggest that the school still attempts to promote religious diversity and diversity within Islam itself. The citizenship education teacher, Mr Harry, talked about asking his Muslim students to study other religions:

*I said to my students to understand every religion. Muslims do not only understand Islam. We need to keep our democracy. We need to have all knowledge. It is not wrong for Muslims to learn and understand about Buddhism. It is not wrong either for Buddhists to learn about Islam. Same goes for Christians too and so on. Mutual respect. With this, we all can live peacefully. For instance, I am a Muslim and I learn about the religious festivals of other religions. Like in Bali, there are Galungan and Sarasvati [13 February 2017]*

The school also respects the Balinese culture, demonstrated by the inclusion of Balinese language in the curriculum. As shown in Image 7.15, Islamic culture as part of the school identity is symbolised by the use of Arabic language in the school logo. This is fused with the local Balinese culture, portrayed by the image of students posing in an act commonly found in traditional Balinese *Kecak* dance.

*Image 7.15 Wall Poster of School Logo in Private School 6 Bali*



Teachers also talked about their continuous efforts to make students at the school more aware of Balinese culture and history and exposing them to inter-group friendships. Some of these efforts included participation in many inter-school cultural and academic events, and arranged school visits to Balinese historical sites. The head teacher, Mr Luther, also talked about making conscious efforts to build good relationships with the community by participating in neighbourhood street cleaning and coordinating with the local Hindu-Balinese religious leaders during funerals, Friday prayers or other religious events taking place in the school's neighbourhood. He said, 'we need to understand our environment, our neighbourhood [...] If we have a student farewell party, we invite the public figures and the community. As I said before, whenever we are, we have to follow the rules' (16

February 2017). The school appointed a Muslim who was born in Bali and could speak Balinese to work as the school's public relations officer, and a couple of Hindu-Balinese men worked as the school's security guards – these appointments can be seen as part of the school's efforts in connecting and maintaining good relations with the local community.

In the case of School 6, the recognition and accommodation of religious needs of the minority is non-existent due to the institutional ethos and identity as a national, Islamic-based school. Nonetheless, due to its position as a school for the minority in Bali, the school appears to negotiate their identity and take initiatives to prepare students with pertinent knowledge and skills in order to live in a multicultural society, specifically in Bali. The inclusion of the *Kecak* dance in the school's logo symbolises the institutional approach to respect the local culture and consolidate two different cultures. By making Balinese a statutory subject the school allows students to understand the local language. The school also facilitates inter-group interactions with students by working with other schools and participating in competitions and arranging field trips to historical sites, so students can learn about the local culture and communicate with the local Balinese.

#### 7.2.4. Synthesis: Bali case

The overview of the three schools above demonstrates how schools with different religious contexts in Bali accommodate the vision of Unity-in-Diversity at an institutional level. As one of the few provinces where Muslims are in the minority and non-Muslims are the majority, the case of Bali sheds light on the accommodation of the vision of diversity in schools where the positions of national majority and minority are reversed. Within the case of Bali, the two state schools (School 4 and School 5) represent the case of Hindu-majority schools, and the private school (School 6) represents the case of a Muslim school as the minority school in a Hindu-majority province of Bali. Based on the

analysis of these three school cases in Bali, there are three main findings characterising schools' responses in accommodating the vision of Unity-in-Diversity, specifically religious diversity (which intersects with race and ethnicity) in Bali.

The first finding is that there is an influence of Hindu-Balinese values and traditions in all three schools, although the cultural influence is found to vary according to the school's demography. In this research, it is found to be stronger in the two state schools (State School 4 and State School 5), where most the students and teachers are Hindu-Balinese. In these two schools, the Hindu-Balinese influence is symbolically depicted by the establishment of a Hindu temple in the school complex and the decorative influence of Hindu-Balinese culture in the school buildings and rooms. The teachers' encouragement for students to perform the Hindu-Balinese morning prayer ritual through the application of rice and burning incense sticks in the temple prior to entering the classrooms, and the appointment of Hindu students to lead the morning service (either by using a loudspeaker in School 4 or by speaking in the case of School 5), also suggest the privileging of Hindu-Balinese culture in the schools. In the case of Islamic School 6, strong Islamic virtue is clearly stated in the school vision. Since the school was built and managed by an Islamic organisation in Indonesia and only admitted Muslim students, and recruited predominantly Muslim teachers, Islamic ethos is entrenched within the school system. Despite the overt Islamic values, the influence of Hindu-Balinese culture, though much weaker than the two Hindu-majority state schools, was noted in various aspects of the school, such as in the curriculum (through the inclusion of Balinese as a local-content subject) and the school's symbolic logo, which fuses Islamic value with Balinese culture.

The second finding concerns the schools' commitment in promoting Unity-in-Diversity. All three schools have shown a commitment to promote Unity-in-Diversity, but each has done so differently. The various responses across schools appear to be greatly linked to the school contexts, making the responses highly contextualised. In the two state schools for example, the majority of the students and teachers are Hindu-Balinese, although the number of students and teachers from other religious groups in School 5 is slightly higher than in School 4. Notwithstanding the relatively similar demographic profile, the two schools have different institutional responses in terms of the accommodation of religious needs for the minorities. The most striking difference is noted in the provision of religious education. While religious minority students in School 4 were asked to learn about their religion on their own in their local churches or mosques, religious minority students in School 5 received religious education in the school itself on a weekly basis through after-school lessons from their respective religion teachers, who were employed by the school. The distinctive responses between the two state schools can also be seen in the morning service arrangement. The morning service in School 4 only included the chanting of Hindu, which was broadcasted to the whole school through the school's loudspeaker, whereas the morning service in School 5 was conducted to allow religious minorities to perform their prayers together with fewer distractions. In School 5 the morning service was undertaken autonomously by students in each classroom and led by Hindu students who stood at the front of the classroom with the non-Hindu students praying together simultaneously in silence. The more multicultural ambience and response of School 5 is arguably induced by the more heterogeneous school population in comparison to School 4, which enabled more dynamic interactions between students and teachers from different religious backgrounds.

The third finding is specifically directed toward the Islamic School 6 which is the only overtly homogeneous, and Islamic, school in this research. So far, this research has found some evidence to suggest that schools with a level of heterogeneity have more direct opportunities to promote Unity-in-Diversity, particularly religious diversity, in the institutions. This is because they have an environment which better supports the manifestation of diversity, seen through multicultural school policies and practices that promote equality, diversity, and inclusivity. However, this research intends to emphasise that such findings about heterogeneous schools do not directly imply the absence of opportunities and the commitment of stakeholders in homogeneous schools when promoting Unity-in-Diversity. As exemplified by School 6, the opportunities to realise the vision of diversity, specifically religious diversity, might not be readily available within the religiously homogeneous school, but they were created by school leaders in collaboration with other schools with different religious contexts. Moreover, while there are benefits in having a more multicultural setting to facilitate inter-group contact, inter-religious understanding and respect for other religions could still be effectively developed in a monocultural setting and in fact strengthened, especially when looking at a religious perspective. The accounts of stakeholders in Islamic School 6 confirm the employment of this approach as their way to promote Unity-in-Diversity, which has its own strength in a religious society like Indonesia as students would learn that ‘Islam did not condemn inter-religious friendships’ (Mr George, Islamic RE teacher, School 6, 24 February 2017). Taking into consideration the perceived minority position of Muslims within the Hindu-majority society in Bali (which is critically discussed in Chapter 6), as well as the school’s efforts in maintaining good relationships with the local community (in Section 7.2.3.), it is possible that the multicultural educational response was driven by the motivation to better fit into the wider Hindu-Balinese society.

### 7.3. Accommodating the Vision of Diversity: Contextualised Responses in Jakarta and Bali

In previous sections, I have presented each school case with its individual response when accommodating the vision of diversity at their respective institution and have provided the synthesis of findings from the Jakarta case and Bali case. Close analysis of the schools within the two provinces demonstrates that their responses when accommodating the vision of Unity-in-Diversity are distinctive, and this distinction appears to be associated with the influence of local values and policies. As previously argued, the responses of the three schools in Bali are strongly shaped by Hindu-Balinese values – a combination of both cultural and religious values. Meanwhile, the responses of the three schools in Jakarta are found to be mainly influenced by Muslim values, but not by the local Betawi culture. Jakarta is known as the land of native Betawi, but the role of Jakarta as the capital city of the country, a city that is metropolitan and multicultural, could have obscured the degree of influence to which the local Betawi culture is part of local society, including schools. To better highlight the contextual difference, this section specifically elucidates the influence of local religious and cultural values in different aspects of schooling within the schools in Jakarta and Bali. It shall focus on the issues of default greetings used in schools, interpretations of school neutrality by examining school policies on uniforms, and the role of local policy and community values.

## Greetings

One such element that is found to be comparably similar between the schools in Jakarta and Bali, specifically the Muslim-majority and Hindu-majority state schools, is the way teachers and students in these schools greet each other. They each use religious salutations associated to the respective majority religions, i.e. Islam in Jakarta and Hindu in Bali. In Muslim majority schools, such as in School 1, 2, and 6, people in the school generally greet each other by saying “Assalamualaikum” – a religious salutation among Muslims which means “Peace be Upon You”. As written in my fieldnotes in School 2:

*I started my fieldwork in School 2 today. I noticed that whenever I meet a teacher for an interview, or when I was introduced to a new teacher, people greet me with “Assalamualaikum” even though I am not a Muslim. I do not know if I have to respond with “Walaikumsalam” or a general greeting of “Good Morning/Afternoon”. Some teachers do greet me with Good Morning/Afternoon, but mostly with the religious greeting [...] “Assalamualaikum” is also used by most teachers when they enter classrooms. [4 November 2016]*

During the teacher-student interaction, students would also take the hand of the teacher and kiss their hand to show respect. This Javanese-style greeting is used widely in the two state schools in Jakarta, including in classrooms and school events.

Similar trends were also observed in Hindu majority schools, such as in School 4 and 5 in Bali. The Balinese greet each other with “Om Swastiastu” – a Balinese blessing and daily greeting which means “May God Bless You” while putting the hands together in the centre of the heart. In my fieldnotes in School 4, which encompassed a reflection of my positionality and identity, I wrote:

*Today is my first full day in School 4. I arrived in school early to observe the morning prayer activities. I get to see how teachers and students interact among themselves before the first lesson begins. I noticed that teachers and students all greet each other with “Om Swastiastu”. They greeted me with “Om Swastiastu” too. For some reason, I feel somewhat comfortable in replying with “Om Swastiastu”. Maybe this is because as a Buddhist, I am used to the “Namaste” praying position, as it is the same position for Buddhism [18 January 2017]*

In addition to the default use of this Hindu greeting in verbal interaction, posters with this greeting were also found on display in each classroom in the two Hindu majority schools, (Image 7.16).

*Image 7.16 Poster of Balinese Greeting "Om Swastiastu" in Balinese above the classroom door in School 4 Bali*



Two of the three Muslim majority schools and all the Hindu-majority schools are state schools. Illustrations of the default use of “Assalamualaikum” in Muslim-majority schools and “Om Swastiastu” in Hindu-majority schools as greetings symbolise the dominating religious values in each respective school. This finding confirms that schools, including state schools, are not neutral institutions – rather, they become active sites for maintaining and reproducing cultural dominance.

### **Uniform Policy**

The politics behind the regulations of the wearing of religious symbols in school, specifically the headscarf as a strong identity marker for female students, has become another parameter used by the participants to measure the practice of religious diversity in education. Indeed, accommodation of a specific dress code, notably the wearing of hijab for the female Muslims, has been used as an indicator for religious tolerance in many countries (Hemming & Hailwood, 2018; Parker, 2011). Even though the majority of the Indonesian population are Muslims and the wearing of the hijab is common

nationwide, this research argues that the school policies and participant's views regarding the display of religious symbols for mainly female students and teachers through clothing differ from one school to another depending on the school's context. However, the biggest difference observed is between the state schools in Jakarta and Bali.

In general, the wearing of the hijab as a religious identity marker for female students in schools with Muslim-majority students (such as State School 1 and 2 Jakarta and Private School 6 Bali) were both encouraged and at times compulsory, as discussed previously. In the two state schools in Jakarta, a separate dress code for Muslim female students wearing a hijab was specified in their school regulations, and on Fridays school uniforms were adjusted to respect the weekly Islamic Friday prayer (as seen previously in Image 7.2). The regulations regarding the wearing of a hijab in the state schools in Jakarta signify the accommodation of the religious rights of individuals, by allowing individuals to express their religious identity. This arrangement suggests an impartial approach to religious accommodation, although in light of the strong emphasis of character education agendas when developing student's religious self, there is a danger of making veiling compulsory for the sake of enforcing female students to prove their piety and morality (Parker, 2017). Some signs of such enforcement are indicated by the mandatory wearing of the hijab for all female Muslim students in School 1 and 2 on Fridays, regardless as to whether they had chosen to commit to veiling in their daily lives. In State School 2 Jakarta, the wearing of the hijab was also made compulsory during the Islamic Religious Education lessons in order to respect the teaching of Islam.

In contrast with the findings from the two Muslim majority schools in Jakarta, there was a different interpretation on the freedom of religious expression and neutrality that Hindu-majority state schools promulgated in Bali. There is evidence suggesting that the wearing of the hijab by female Muslim students in state schools in Bali was not

allowed in order to keep the school a religiously “neutral” ground, although this notion of neutrality is debatable as there are signs of these schools favouring Hindu-Balinese culture (as argued in 7.2.4). During the student FGD session, the four female student participants in Private School 6 Bali disclosed that the reason they did not apply for state schools in Bali was due to the fact that they believed state schools in Bali did not allow them to wear a hijab, due to the dominant Hindu-Balinese culture. When asked how they knew about such regulations, and if it specifically stated in writing, they first said that they knew it through word-of-mouth based on the experiences of their Muslim community and networks. One of them later added that the ban was implied from a conversation with a teacher in a state school when asking about the school’s admission. The teacher told her about the compulsory uniform, but it did not explicitly include a modest dress code for Muslim female students. The conversation with these female students is presented below (18 February 2017):

- Interviewer* : What is your impression of this school? Why did you apply here?  
*Student 1* : I want to go to this school because we are women. If we go to a state school, it is prohibited to wear hijab [...] the majority are Hindu in Bali
- Interviewer* : Is it written that you cannot wear hijab in state schools?  
*Student 1* : It is based on my experience. [...] when I was asking around and met up with the head teacher, I asked about the registration fee and just when I was about to leave, the head teacher said “if you want to study here, you have to follow the uniform rules like this.” I was not even asking if I could wear hijab or not, but the head teacher told me first.
- Student 2* : Because the majority is Hindu, so it is not permissible to wear hijab in state schools
- Student 3:* : We cannot wear head covers
- Student 4* : The majority set the rules and the majority is Hindu

Similar findings on this “unwritten regulation” about the prohibition of veiling in state schools in Bali and the history of discrimination against veiling was also shared by participants in Parker 's study (2017) in Bali, and argued by Bjork & Raihani (2018). In Parker’s study (2017) on the experiences of female Muslim students wearing the hijab,

she found that the school community in Bali appeared to adopt what she called a “non-committed policy”, whereby the wearing of a hijab is not strictly forbidden, but it is not openly allowed. The different school’s interpretations and expressions of contextually appropriate practices when it comes to religious tolerance is to a certain extent inevitable in contemporary democratic and decentralised Indonesia (Suhadi et al., 2015). With school autonomy and decentralisation policy, schools and local government have a degree of authority to decide local and school policies. As such, the notions of impartiality and neutrality in relation to the implementation of Unity-in-Diversity is open to each school’s interpretation.

### **Local Policy and Community Value**

One of the prominent differences in responses between schools in Jakarta and Bali lies within the values and motivation of local government in the preservation of local culture. The strong community value among Balinese people and high motivation to promote Hindu-Balinese culture in schools, which may be attributed to the “*ajeg Bali*” movement, leads to a more discernible and acute influence of local culture within Balinese schools. This stronger influence can be seen in various aspects of schooling.

When considering the vision and mission statements of schools in Jakarta and Bali, this research found that all schools in Jakarta use a more general term of religiosity, usually by quoting the first principle of *Pancasila*, which is to develop an individual “who believes in one God”. This is different from the schools in Bali. In the two state schools in Bali, Hindu-Balinese culture was strongly engrained in the envisioned educational process. Both head teachers in State School 4 and 5, Mr Kevin and Mr Irfan, strongly stressed the importance of incorporating local wisdom and culture in all elements of a student’s educational experience. This is evident in the phrasing of the school’s vision

and mission statements, which include Hindu-Balinese culture and Sanskrit language. For instance, one of the school mission statements in School 4 states ‘organise the environment by developing the concept of *Tri Hita Karana* (*Parahyangan, Pawongan, Palemahan*)’. *Tri Hita Karana* is a Balinese philosophy on life which is translated as the “Three Causes of Prosperity”. These consist of three major wisdoms; *Parahyangan* (the wisdom of the harmony of life between humans and God), *Pawongan* (the wisdom of the harmony of life among humans), and *Palemahan* (the wisdom of the harmony of life between humans and their natural surroundings) (Bali Around, n.d.). Meanwhile in School 5, even though the word *Tri Hita Karana* was not categorically used in the vision and mission statements, the vision still alludes to this concept and reads ‘rooted in local wisdom towards global competition that is based on an environmental concept’.

It is also noted that both state schools in Bali uphold the importance of enhancing global, national, and local competence through the development of both academic and non-academic skills. Firstly, this statement implies that Balinese schools play a fundamental role in protecting the local Hindu-Balinese identity among the midst of continuous exposure to other cultures from outside Bali and Indonesia – a crucial role claimed by some Balinese teacher participants when preserving Balinese culture, and thus fostering Indonesian’s sense of Unity-in-Diversity. Secondly, considering the tourism industry is the dominant contributor to the economy of Bali (about 68% in 2014) (Antara & Sumarniasih, 2017), an industry where Hindu-Balinese tradition and culture become one of the main tourist attractions for visitors, the combination of having good global knowledge, an ability to speak international languages, and an understanding of Balinese culture, can be useful for the future of young Balinese students. Such attributes are especially relevant if they are to pursue a career in the tourism industry, to which many students admitted aspiring to.

Meanwhile, Private school 6, despite its Islamic ethos, also incorporates local values into different elements of schooling, as seen in the school's motto (Image 7.15 in Section 7.2.3) and the school's extra-curricular activities that facilitate inter-group contact (previously discussed in Section 7.3.1). The head teacher, Mr Luther, stressed the importance of a minority respecting and adopting local culture to build inter-religious harmony and promote peaceful coexistence in Bali:

*The point is that we have a philosophy that we hold on to and if we follow, it will be fine. For example the philosophy of 'Dimana bumi dipijak,, disana langit dijunjung' [literal translation: Wherever the earth is being stepped on, in there the sky is upheld], which means wherever we are, we adhere to the rules of the place. It does not mean that we are merely following, there are still limitations, and these limitations are clear. So say, if we are in Bali, we need to know what the Balinese culture is like. But as I said before, we do not blindly follow like the religion. It is clear that my religion is mine, your religion is yours. When they practise their religion we do not disturb, and when it is our turn they do not disturb us. That's all. [16 February 2017]*

The same view about the importance of the minority respecting local culture is also shared by the majority of Hindu participants, like Reza, a student in School 5:

*In our daily lives, we are the Hindu majority, before we start the lesson, there is "trisandya", in the stand-up position. So for the Muslims, they also stand up, respecting us. I think that is sufficiently good to promote Unity-in-Diversity [21 February 2017]*

School 6 also tries to build close and positive relationships with the local Hindu community in the neighbourhood. Mr Malik, a Muslim who was born and brought up in Bali, believed he was appointed because he knew about Balinese culture, could speak Balinese, and had positive relationships with local community leaders. According to him, the ability to speak Balinese is useful when communicating with the local educational authority. He said, 'when we are dealing with the local authority, we use Balinese. The reality is that it is easier to get through to them when using Balinese rather than using Indonesian [...] I understand the Balinese etiquettes and to live in Bali, we have to know about them' (23 February 2017). As the school is located in an area with many Hindu

cemeteries, he also said that the collaborations between the school and the local religious communities were vital to ensure that Hindu funerals, Friday prayers, and other religious events from both religious groups could be conducted effectively.

An explanation for the stronger influence of local culture in Balinese schools than that found in Jakarta schools is due to the strong value of community engagement. To quote Mrs Irene, a citizenship education teacher in School 4, 'Balinese people have a strong "*gotong royong*" (helping each other) attitude' (19 January 2017). She also talked about the concept of "*Banjar*" and how locals and newcomers are socially encouraged and arguably obligated to join "*Banjar*". "*Banjar*" is the smallest formal social entity of Balinese society and they, in the words of Mrs Irene, 'bind the members together'. Those living within the vicinity of a "*Banjar*" are expected to pay a premium in order to maintain a meeting place for the many community gatherings which are expected to be attended by all members of the community, including the non-locals. Schools as part of the community therefore have to participate in the communal activities, such as street cleaning (School 6) or hosting celebrations of festivals in the school temple (like Sarasvati in School 4 and 5), so people from the community can also join in.

Apart from the already strong community engagement, an even stronger influence of local culture in Balinese schools is contributed by the enactment of local policy by the local government, in order to preserve Hindu-Balinese culture. In schools, apart from the inclusion of Balinese in the curriculum as the local content subject of Balinese schools, the local government also enforced the speaking of Balinese in school once weekly. Mrs Winda, a school counsellor in School 5 said, 'on Wednesdays, all schools are obliged to use Balinese. This is the policy from the provincial authority. It is the cultural-based approach to learning, they say' (4 February 2017). As a Muslim from Java, she said that she found this challenging, though she had lived in Bali since 1993.

However, she also reacted positively to the opportunity of learning a new language and showing respect to the local culture. The local educational authority in Bali also designed the educational calendar to accommodate the religious festivals marked by the majority Hindu-Balinese population. Based on the educational calendar of Bali (Head of Education Authority of Bali Province, 2017), the allocated days for the school holidays in Bali are spread out throughout the year to allow the celebrations of Hindu holy days, such as Sarasvati Day and Silence Day. This arrangement is different from that in a Muslim-majority province such as Jakarta, where there are longer holidays during the holy Ramadhan month, in order to respect the Islamic culture (Head of Education Authority of Jakarta Province, 2017).

## 7.4. Conclusion

This chapter has presented the findings on six individual school's responses toward the accommodation of the vision of Unity-in-Diversity, and particularly religious diversity, at the institutions. Analysis of interview transcripts, fieldnotes, and photos suggest that the responses are highly contextualised and complex. The responses, which are manifested through a school's vision and policies, as well as school activities, are shaped by the individual interpretations of Unity-in-Diversity through various stakeholders and local cultures. Furthermore, they can be seen in the dynamics between majority and minority groups and people with different authorities and roles. A summary of the contextualised school responses is presented in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2 Summary of School Responses to Unity-in-Diversity

	JAKARTA			BALI		
	<i>School 1</i>	<i>School 2</i>	<i>School 3</i>	<i>School 4</i>	<i>School 5</i>	<i>School 6</i>
<b>Demography</b>	Heterogeneous Muslim-majority	Heterogeneous Muslim-majority	Heterogeneous Chinese-Buddhist majority	Heterogeneous Hindu-majority	Heterogeneous Hindu-majority	Homogeneous All Muslims
<b>School Culture</b>	Privileging Islamic culture	Privileging Islamic culture	Privileging Chinese culture	Privileging Hindu-Balinese culture	Privileging Hindu-Balinese culture	Overt Islamic culture
<b>RESPONSES TO UNITY-IN-DIVERSITY</b>						
<b>Vision and Mission Statements</b>	No explicit statements on diversity	No explicit statements on diversity	'instil a sense of responsibility, discipline, and tolerance without differentiating ethnicity and religion'	'every school member reveres and behaves according to their respective religious beliefs'	- 'maintaining the sanctity of religious rites and conducting worship in accordance with (own) beliefs' - 'accepting students/school community regardless of ethnic, religious, racial, class and social economic status differences'	No explicit statements on diversity. They mainly focus on development of Islamic piety
<b>Provision of Religion Lessons for Minority Students</b>	- Catholic and Protestant have full-time, qualified teachers, paid by the Ministry of Religion - Buddhist and Hindu have part-time, non-qualified mentors, paid by the school	Catholic and Protestant have part-time, voluntary mentors deployed by local churches	All students have qualified teachers, paid by the school	No accommodation from the school. Students learn about their religions from family and/or local mosques and churches	Catholic, Protestant, and Muslims have part-time mentors paid by the school	Not applicable
<b>School Policy on Wearing Hijab in Schools</b>	Allowed and accommodated in policies on school uniforms	Allowed and accommodated in policies on school uniforms	No confirmation of prohibition, but it is not openly allowed (observed a few teachers with hijab)	No confirmation of prohibition, but it is not openly allowed	No confirmation of prohibition, but it is not openly allowed (observed a few teachers with hijab)	Compulsory and imposed
<b>Prominent Contextualised Response</b>	- Provision of religious education for all students - Strengthening nationalism	- Provision of religious education for all students - Strengthening nationalism	- Strengthening nationalism - Provision of religious education for all students - Providing equal opportunities to mark religious festivals	- Strengthening nationalism - Preserving local Hindu-Balinese culture	- Provision of religious education for all students - Strengthening nationalism - Preserving local Hindu-Balinese culture	- Strengthening morality and Islamic interpretation about living in diversity - Collaborations with other schools and wider community to facilitate inter-religious contact - Respecting local Hindu-Balinese culture

Central to the responses of heterogeneous schools are efforts in ensuring equal access and opportunity to all students, notably regarding minority students and religious education, as provision of religion lessons is considered a parameter of good practice in promoting religious diversity. Heterogeneous schools in this research (all schools, except School 6), have demonstrated different degrees of recognition and accommodation of religious diversity. All schools in Jakarta facilitated the provision of religious education for minorities, although in practice, there are variations on the delivery of these lessons due to various logistical issues such as funding, room availability, teacher's availability. In Bali, School 5 provided religious education for minority students within the school, but School 4 did not. The low number of minority students (less than 2%) in School 4 was argued to be the primary factor. Upon reviewing the school's responses towards the provision of religious education, this research affirms Raihani's study (2015) that the access and quality of religious education for minority students is unequal to the majority groups. There is still much uncertainty and ambivalence surrounding the logistics of teachers and classrooms in this regard, as well as the provision of learning materials for religious minorities in the school.

Another response in accommodating the vision of diversity in schools is the creation of an inclusive environment. Apart from School 6, all schools have an extent of heterogeneity, enabling students and teachers to interact in a multicultural context. To create a sense of inclusivity, schools have employed various strategies, from creating mission statements that include the notions of diversity and equality, to introducing school policies that accommodate the religious needs and identities of all students. While all heterogeneous schools do not show deliberate signs of rejecting religious diversity, and instead actively promote inter-religious harmony, this research argues that dominant cultures within the local area are maintained and reproduced in schools, and can therefore

put minority groups at disadvantage. The influence of dominant religious cultures is clearly observed in the four state schools where most of the students share the same religious and cultural values as the locals. This dominance has led to the pervasive influence and privileging of Islam (in the case of School 1 and 2 in Jakarta) and of Hinduism (in the case of School 4 and 5 in Bali). In the case of private schools (School 3 Jakarta and School 6 Bali), the influence is still visible, but to a lesser extent, as it interacts with the school culture. In Private School 3, the local Islamic culture is moderated by the school's dominant Chinese culture and the school's strong agenda to instil nationalism, whereas in Private School 6, the local Hindu-Balinese culture is weakened by the deeply embedded Islamic ethos.

Juxtaposing the school cases in Jakarta and Bali, this research finds that the influence of local culture on schools in Bali is stronger than that in Jakarta. One of the underlying reasons for this is a stronger motivation by the local government and the community to preserve local Hindu-Balinese culture. The complex identities of stakeholders in Bali, due to their reversed and intertwined majority and minority positions, are coupled with a strong community '*ajeg Bali*' movement to preserve the local identity. This is then enforced by local policy, which in turn makes the implementation of Unity-in-Diversity in Balinese schools more dynamic than those in Jakarta.

## **8 Teachers' Pedagogical Responses to Unity-in-Diversity**

Having previously examined the stakeholders' perspectives of Unity-in-Diversity in Chapter 6 and reviewed the ways schools accommodate the vision of Unity-in-Diversity at institutional level in Chapter 7, this chapter explores teachers' pedagogical responses to the obligation of promoting Unity-in-Diversity in the classroom through the lens of multicultural education (Banks, 2009c, 2009a, 2017; Banks & Banks, 2010). The analysis of the teachers' responses points to differences in the perceived role and expectations in promoting multicultural values (and which values) between one subject teacher and another and hence their pedagogical experiences in accommodating the vision of Unity-in-Diversity in the classroom.

To present a comprehensive discussion, this chapter considers the teachers' narratives of their perceived role in promoting multicultural values, the opportunities available to them to teach multicultural education, as well as challenges faced by individual subject teachers in teaching multicultural education in the context of the 2013 curriculum and character-based education. It comprises of three sections corresponding to the three categories of subjects taught by teacher participants, namely sciences and maths, social sciences, and language and cultural arts. Focusing on subject-specific explanations is useful to tease out practical and ideological issues encountered by each individual group of subject teachers. Discussion of findings in this chapter is drawn from critical analysis of fieldnotes from classroom observations and interview transcripts. To summarise the findings, a synthesis of teachers' pedagogical responses in accommodating the vision of Unity-in-Diversity in their respective subjects will be provided at the end of the chapter.

## **8.1. Relevance and Significance of Teaching Unity-in-Diversity in Science and Mathematics**

### 8.1.1. Teaching about Diversity in Science and Mathematics: Is it Possible?

Science and mathematics may not be immediately thought of as the most relevant subjects for teaching multicultural education. Almost half of the teacher participants in this subject group expressed difficulty and reluctance to teach multicultural values in physics, biology, and mathematics. This is despite the fact that within the 2013 curriculum, teachers of all subjects are expected to incorporate the eighteen specified character values, including respecting differences, tolerance, and nationalism in accordance with the character education guidelines. When asked about teachers' obligation to apply character education in science and mathematics, their responses suggest that they mainly concentrated on building other personal characters such as 'discipline and honesty' (Mr Irman, Maths teacher, School 5, 8 February 2017) and 'independence to solve scientific inquiries' (Mrs Helen, Biology teacher, School 1, 12 October 2016). The perceived character values applicable in physics are said to be 'honesty, hard work, discipline, good manner. That's all. With nationalism, that one has no relation with physics' (Mrs Florence, Physics, School 6, 14 February 2017).

With regards to promoting diversity, they were aware that diversity should be promoted by all subject teachers, but they argued that 'it is difficult' (Mrs Florence, Physics teacher, School 6, 14 February 2017) and that 'there is not much [material] in mathematics' (Mr Irman, School 5, 8 February 2017). Considering the lack of relevant content to teach diversity, some teachers have used group work and cooperative learning methods so that students who might not naturally be in the same friendship group can interact. Through group work students can learn that 'we must be able to accept anyone in the group and work together, then learn about their differences' (Mrs Susi, Maths

teacher, School 3, 2 November 2016). Cooperative learning has been recommended as an effective multicultural education technique in teaching problem solving, specifically for mathematics and science (Banks, 2017; Gay & Howard, 2000) since it provides a conducive environment for intergroup contact, which is shown to yield consistent positive effects in promoting positive peer relationships (Paluck & Green, 2009).

Meanwhile, other teachers who believed in the possibility of integrating multicultural values in science and mathematics, though recognisably limited, gave some interesting explanations on how they did it. In biology, three teachers outlined how they incorporated the spirit of unity and the positive impact of diversity through topics such as classification of organisms, biodiversity, and skin colour. In the classification of organisms, Mrs Wiwi in School 2 said that ‘I used the analogy of how different types of plants, despite their uniqueness, were still categorised as one genus. This symbolises similarity and unitedness in differences’ (17 November 2016). Within the topic of biodiversity, Mr Sean in School 4 explained that there are varying types of biodiversity located in different parts of Indonesia and ‘how they belonged to the entire Indonesian community, hence it was a collective responsibility to preserve them’ – this cultivates the sense of belongingness to the nation (24 January 2017). Mrs Avon in School 3 explained the biological basis of skin colour and that certain groups of a population were more susceptible to some skin diseases. She asserted that ‘by having the knowledge about the scientific explanation behind different skin colours, students would refrain from teasing other people with different skin tones’ (1 November 2016). This topic of skin colour is recommended by Banks (2017) as a useful concept to affirm and challenge scientific ideas on race and racism in a multicultural curriculum (see *ibid* p. 118-120).

In physics, Mrs Doreen in School 2 tried to build nationalism when studying about fluids using the cohesion-adhesion theories ‘to depict the forces of attractions and tensions between the people of the same and different groups’ (16 November 2016). Mr Aaron, a mathematics teacher in School 2 also made a compelling point by establishing a relationship between following the rules of logic and scientific inquiry as the fundamental traditions of the study of maths, and valid reasoning in creating a harmonious society. He contended that ‘maths is not solely about the end result, but it is also about the systematic and logical way of thinking on a daily basis’ and ‘if the students are used to solving problems systematically, [this skill] can [be useful] in a bigger scope and in a smaller scope for themselves’ (17 November 2016). Logical reasoning and rationality indeed have long been argued to be focal elements in the development of critical thinking and objectivity. Mr Aaron’s strategy of drawing common internal logic and universality of language in mathematics is a pervasive view shared among many maths teachers about multicultural mathematics (Nelson, Joseph, & Williams, 1993)

These teachers’ accounts on their strategies to teach Unity-in-Diversity in biology, physics and mathematics suggest that content integration is theoretically possible and has been attempted by some teachers, although the execution admittedly remained artificial and superficial. These subject teachers were aware of their limited efforts and they believed that other subject teachers, specifically civic education teachers, were more capable and had a better platform to teach those notions, as represented by these remarks:

*In mathematics, I still can’t do it [teaching diversity][...]it should have been taught in all subjects, but I personally haven’t promoted it well enough [Mrs Nelly, Maths teacher, School 6, 17 February 2017]*

*The citizenship education teacher has more relevant materials [Mrs Susi, maths teacher, School 3, 2 November 2016].*

This finding resonates with Banks' argument that science and mathematics teachers tend to think multicultural education cannot be applied in their subjects (Banks, 2010). A common reason behind the perceived irrelevance is because many think only about multicultural education in terms of transfer of multicultural knowledge and shaping of multicultural characters from conceptual and content integration approaches (Banks, 2017). Many overlook the fact that there are multitude of ways to implement multicultural education. Providing students with quality education regardless of their background or applying cooperative learning techniques are a promising start toward multicultural education – something most teachers committed to and applied, though a more critical approach should be the goal going forward.

#### 8.1.2. Science and Religion

Central to the debate within research surrounding the teaching of multicultural education in “hard-science” subjects in a multi-religious society is how to critically accommodate the notions of religiosity and religious diversity (which deals with spirituality) in the learning of sciences (which is often associated with rationality and scientific argument). In the case of Indonesian education, where a strong narrative of developing religious commitment (to one's own religion) in character education is prevalent, the teaching of religious diversity to embody the spirit of Unity-in-Diversity in all subjects, particularly in “hard-science” subjects can be challenging. In biology, one of the most contended topics to teach is the theory of evolution.

When teacher participants in this study were asked about how they would teach about evolution and its relationship with religion, there were mixed reactions. Half of the teachers said that they never thought about this matter and Mrs Melda in School 5 even exclaimed, ‘luckily I have not been asked. Really lucky [...] learning about evolution is confusing. We haven't even found out the certainty [about evolution] within the religion’

(7 February 2017). Only Mrs Tilda, the deputy head teacher in School 2 and a biology teacher, admitted that ‘there was controversy between religion and science’. To deal with this, she explained that ‘before I teach the material, I will always start by explaining from the religious perspective first’ and she asked her students to ‘distinguish between scientific knowledge and personal beliefs’, ‘to treat different perspectives as separate’, and ‘not to believe in science completely because each one of us has our own religious beliefs, which hold the absolute truth’ (14 December 2016).

Different from Mrs Tilda, Mrs Agatha, a biology teacher from School 6 said she purposely avoided teaching about the theory of evolution in depth because it was not worth the risk of giving a wrong explanation and causing confusion among students. She said,

*Firstly, there is not much material, so instead of giving a wrong explanation, I dismissed the evolution topic [...] I only spent 10 minutes talking about the topic and I excluded Lamarck’s and Darwin’s theories [...] Secondly, the topic never came up in examinations. That is my main reasoning, there has not been one question in exams. The only question that often appears is the differences between Lamarck’s and Darwin’s theories on giraffes. I emphasised the natural selection topic [...] I never really explain about the others so there won’t be many questions from students [...] If they do ask, I base my answers on the Qur’an because we are the followers of God [20 February 2017]*

Using the example of evolution, it is evident from the two accounts above that religion and science can be in tension. The tension can be more intense in a religious educational setting such as in School 6 where the promotion of religious commitment is of utmost priority. However, some teachers argued for the possibility of instilling religious values into biology and mathematics in some topics, though this may be considered contentious to many. Mrs Agatha said that religious values could be integrated when learning about reproduction by reminding the female students that ‘in Islam women had to honour themselves and keep their virginity for their husbands’ (Biology teacher, School 6, 20 February 2017). When teaching about respiration and organisms, Mrs Avon asked

students to ‘pray together to show gratitude for all the blessings given by Allah for creating the universe, living things and the overall systems’ (Biology teacher, School 3, 1 November 2016). In maths, Mr Aaron said that he could integrate both the notions of religion and diversity in the study of arithmetic:

*The Romans created a symbol to represent “1” which was different from the Arabs, the Koreans, and the Chinese. While there can be many symbols, the essence of number remains the same because number came from God, right? That means it is God who created [the number] and not humans. It is true that symbols are human-made because each nation can create their own* [School 2, 17 November 2016]

The analysis of the teaching of diversity and religion in science and mathematics suggest that there are potentials for integrating these notions into the learning. However, the implementation can be superficial and challenging as teachers felt unprepared and that it is irrelevant to teach concepts that are considered as “social-science appropriate”. Observations of the learning taking place in “hard-science” classrooms also suggest that the learning was still geared towards academic goals and passing exams. This is corroborated by the remark from Mrs Agatha in School 6 who decided to refrain from teaching about evolution in depth as it was not a popular exam question. Due to the perceived relevance of social-science subjects in promoting Unity-in-Diversity, in the next section I critically evaluate how these subject teachers accommodate the vision of Unity-in-Diversity in their subjects.

## **8.2. Relevance and Significance of Teaching Unity-in-Diversity in Social Science**

### 8.2.1. Religious Education: Content, Style, and Purpose

Religiosity is one of the five core characters in the national character education PPK framework in Indonesia (Image 6.1), which makes religious education a relevant and strategic subject in character-building. From this framework, religious piety and tolerance are derivative values of religiosity. This infers that the inculcation of religiosity needs to include two facets: cultivating piety and instilling good morals on the respective religious teachings as well as developing tolerance in order to foster the harmonious relations among heterogeneous citizens of multi-religious Indonesia. All religious education teachers in this study acknowledged these two important missions and they indicated various ways of teaching Unity-in-Diversity through religious education, which can be categorised under three important themes.

The first theme deals with the development of inter-religious harmony through recognising “the others” as well as practising tolerance and mutual respect. Looking closely at the 2013 curriculum, the topic of inter-religious tolerance is, to a certain extent, embedded in all religious education curriculums, which in itself signifies the pertinence of this subject in promoting and maintaining religious diversity. This topic of inter-religious tolerance emphasises the existence of the six state-recognised religions and the importance of fostering inter-religious harmony. Due to the confessional approach of religious education in Indonesia and increased prominence of creating a religious self, there is a risk that religious education can lead to further segregation and exclusivism. The inclusion of the “inter-religious tolerance” topic in the curriculum is therefore vital because it partly addresses the speculation that religious education, especially Islamic religious education, is to blame for the rise of religious extremism and exclusivism in

young people. This module also re-emphasises the significant role individual religious education teachers play in nurturing religious tolerance. It also acts as a reminder that the cultivation of piety must not contradict the national vision of Unity-in-Diversity. The restructuring and the renaming of each type of religious education from one that only contains religious elements to one that combines religious education and character-building (e.g. from “Islamic religious education (*Pendidikan Agama Islam*)” to “Islamic religious education and character (*Pendidikan Agama Islam dan Budi Pekerti*)”) also solidifies the expanded capacity and responsibility of religious education to build a student’s character, which includes practising religious tolerance.

To help students apply this knowledge into their daily lives, religion teachers from different religions shared some concrete examples on how their students could practise inter-religious tolerance by respecting each other’s religion:

*I told them to respect each other, if they [the Hindus] hold the ceremony, we will let them. Then the most important thing is we shouldn’t insult them [...] In the Quran it’s clear we don’t insult their Lord, because if you insult their Lord, they will also insult your God without the foundation of knowledge [Mr George, Islamic RE teacher, School 6, 24 February 2017]*

*I teach them not to offend other religions, even though there are Christians, Muslims in the class, we do not offend. I say all religion is the same [Mrs Sammy, Hindu RE teacher, School 5, 7 February 2017]*

By respecting others’ religious choices, one has implicitly acknowledged the presence of “the others” and accepted the fact that diversity is part of their societal life. This mutual respect is also demonstrated by allowing other religious members to perform their services and accommodate their religious practices. For instance ‘not to eat in front of their Muslim friends during the holy Ramadhan month’ (Mrs Smith, Catholic RE teacher, School 1, 13 October 2016) or ‘to ensure Muslims could do their Friday prayers on the Silence Day without dishonouring the sanctity of the Hindu holy day’ (Mr George, Islamic RE teacher, School 6, 24 February 2017).

The second theme is regarding the importance of building positive interactions with people who come from distinctive religious and ethnic backgrounds. Research in various disciplines, especially in the field of social psychology on contact theory have found that intergroup interactions can lead to positive relationships, reduce prejudice, and increase intercultural understanding (e.g. Allport, 1954; Burns, Corno, & La Ferrara, 2015; Crisp, Stathi, Turner, & Husnu, 2008; Loader & Hughes, 2016b, 2016a; Paluck & Green, 2009; Pettigrew, 1998; Schachner et al., 2015; Walton, Paradies, Priest, & Freeman, 2014). Through their interactions, members of different groups get to learn first-hand about each other's cultures and beliefs. Some religion teachers suggested practical examples that could nurture this friendship such as making friends with anyone, helping those in need regardless of their religious backgrounds, and visiting friends who are ill:

*I ask students to build "silahturahmi" (social interaction), to experience both the good and bad together. If someone is in sorrow, you visit him. Then if he is grieving, you send him prayer and words of comfort [Mr Thomas, Protestant RE teacher, School 1, 14 October 2016]*

*In terms of interaction, I ask students to interact with anyone, regardless their ethnicity, race, or religion. In the eye of God, according to Islam, we are all brothers and sisters, so it is not a problem [Mr Daniel, Islamic RE teacher, School 2, 16 November 2016]*

With the current wave of conservative Islam, the rise of exclusivism and the intensified inter-religious tension in recent years, Mr George as the Islamic RE teacher in School 6 noted that 'parents questioned the appropriateness of multi-religious friendships and advised their children to limit the interactions made with those from different religious or ethnic backgrounds' (24 February 2017). To address this, he gave the students the 'relevant verses from the Qur'an' which state that 'every person is the same in the eye of Allah' so they could pass this information to their parents (ibid). In light of this, religious teachers thus had a role not only to enlighten the students and the parents that the religion

holds a positive view on inter-religious friendships, but also to set a good example themselves to reassure and inspire them to foster inter-religious dialogue and friendships.

The third theme is pertaining to the varied levels of priority given to teaching about tolerance between RE teachers positioned as the majority and those identified as the minority across school, local, and national spheres. In general, all Muslim teachers and students who participated in this study gave relatively positive remarks about the implementation of Unity-in-Diversity in Indonesia and so the teaching about religious tolerance was not viewed a pressing matter. The fact that the state recognises other religions and faiths apart from Islam and that it protects the citizens' religious freedom is considered to be strong justification of good practice. Mrs Misty, Islamic RE teacher in School 1 said,

*In Indonesia, every citizen is welcome to choose any religion because there is no coercion "lakum dinukum waliyadin – untukmu agamamu dan untukku agamaku" (your religion is yours and my religion is mine). Especially in Indonesia, this freedom of choice is protected by law. Indonesia is not an Islamic country, although the majority is Muslim here, so the tolerance is really high here, isn't it?*  
[17 October 2016]

Moreover, as discussed in Chapter 6 and 7, being positioned as the majority whose religious needs were well-accommodated in the two state schools in Jakarta, Islamic RE teachers and Muslim students could express their religious identity more comfortably than the minorities. Dominant religious cultures that permeate and influence the overall school culture in the two state schools in Jakarta and the two state schools in Bali are likely to give the Islamic and Hindu religious teachers more confidence and authority to nurture the religious identity of the students.

As a consequence of this sense of comfort and belongingness, teachers teaching dominant religions, notably Islamic religion teachers in the two state schools in Jakarta, were found to have a sense of power and security to express and develop their religious identity, which could subsequently have repercussions on their introspective approach in teaching the religion. They appeared to focus more on cultivating piety and morality as well as developing student's competence in reading and writing Arabic, which is confirmed by the classroom observations. This is because all Islamic religion teachers shared the same concern over the students' lack of competence in reading the Qu'ran. To quote Mr Daniel, 'my biggest challenge here is that there are still many students who cannot read the Qu'ran fluently and that is concerning because our guidance as a Muslim is the Qu'ran' (School 2, 16 November 2016). The fostering of religious tolerance did not appear to be their primary objective in the overall context as far as teaching religious education goes, other than where specified in the curriculum.

Different from the experiences of RE teachers teaching school majority religions, RE teachers teaching minority religions often encountered problems relating to their religious identity. In this study, RE teachers teaching minority religions shared stories about themselves and their students being subjected to marginalisation, which may lead to a sense of inferiority, as illustrated in their accounts on how to respond to majority-minority relationships in Chapter 6. These teachers were inclined to shy away from expressing their religious identity excessively and project their feelings of powerlessness and ambivalence through their more submissive style of teaching Unity-in-Diversity. The RE teachers of minority religions in this study tended to ask their students to understand the mainstream culture (Islamic in Jakarta and Hindu-Balinese in Bali) and to position themselves appropriately within the segregated social structure so they can fit in.

These teachers also generally asked students to accept the limitations of being a minority and withstand the different treatment towards them, as exemplified by the excerpt below:

*My Protestant students mainly complain about the majority-minority issue. That's all and we address that straight away. I told them that that is not a problem because we are already bound by "Bhineka Tunggal Ika", diversity [...] "you have to let go and be more mature in this case", that is my advice on how to face the issue [Mr Thomas, Protestant RE, School 1]*

The Catholic teacher in the same school, Mrs Smith also received similar commentaries from her students and she rejected the idea of looking at the uneven treatment towards the minority students and teachers (including the modest learning spaces for minority students) as a form of injustice. She instead responded, 'we just have to deal with it calmly because we know that we are the minority, that's all' (School State 1, 13 October 2016). A Catholic *Frater* (young priest) who voluntarily taught religious education for Catholic students in State School 2 also encouraged his students 'to develop tolerance as a minority to avoid possible conflict' (4 November 2016) – which resonates with the attitudes of Islamic teachers in School 6 who identified themselves as '*pendatang* (newcomers) in Bali' (Mr George, 24 February 2017). Interestingly, while Hindu is the majority religion in State School 4 and 5 in Bali, Mr Adrian, the Hindu RE teacher in School 4 voiced their unsettling inter-religious relationships in Indonesia, particularly with Muslims because of the majority-minority power dynamics:

*In Bali, Unity-in-Diversity is going well. People here embrace that and there has not been much issue of "SARA" (ethnicity, religion, race, intergroup). However, sometimes when we [Hindu people] perform religious ceremonies, we often feel disturbed by them [the Muslims], but we never avenge [...] if we are talking about the majority religion in Bali is clearly Hinduism, and in Java it's the other way round. When we see their treatment toward Hindu people [in Java] where they struggle to get their ID card and so on (30 January 2017).*

It is encouraging to find that all religious education teachers play a role in building inter-religious harmony in Indonesia, in accordance with the objective of religious education in the curriculum. They have made attempts to accommodate the vision of diversity in

their teachings according to the school contexts. While they have encouraged students to respect other religions and interact with people across religions, analysis of observation notes and interview data as a whole suggested that their current primary objectives still centred around addressing moral degradation, cultivating piety and commitment to own religion, as well as ensuring students translate religious teachings into real life. These objectives concur with the target and aim of character education and the 2013 curriculum, but they have little implication on the promotion of religious diversity. A brief analysis of religious education textbooks also suggests that the content available on the development of tolerance and harmony delivery is limited, which may be due to the confessional nature of Indonesian religious education. When topics regarding tolerance do come up, the delivery of such topics is also rather superficial and rhetorical, which aligns with Parker's (2014) analysis.

This lack of critical implementation may be because teachers feeling wary about cross-religious studies. An Islamic RE teacher, Mrs Ella, who specialised in teaching Hadith and the Qu'ran in School 6, commented, 'religious tolerance is about understanding that "your religion is yours, my religion is mine". We should not enter the realm of other religions that we do not understand" (14 February 2017). This phrase is proved to be popular among the Muslim participants and was deemed to be the best approach in keeping the peaceful coexistence, since it minimises potential friction caused by commenting on each other's religious practices and beliefs. As a result of this attitude, religious teachers, especially Islamic religion teachers, tend to resort to the inculcation of piety and morality as a foundation of producing a good, moral person who respects differences and has empathy towards others. This is based on their beliefs that religions teach good things and shape people into good beings.

The reluctance of religious education teachers here in engaging in inter-religious dialogue gives an insight into how the confessional approach of teaching religious education, which is in compliance with the 2003 Education Act, may limit the ability of these teachers to teach about diversity in a more critical manner. This finding reaffirms Suhadi et al.'s study (2015), which states that the implementation of religious education, particularly Islamic religious education within the 2013 curriculum in Indonesia emphasises more an 'attitude development' and is 'inward-oriented' (Suhadi et al., 2015:57). On the one hand, this confessional approach allows the cultivation of religious piety and production of the religious self that embodies the values engrained in scriptures and texts, which is considered positive in a religious society like Indonesia. On the other hand, it gives teachers little room to talk about other topics, let alone discuss other religions. When a dogmatic way of religious education is combined with a school culture that only represents a single religion, the opportunity for students to learn about recognising "the others" becomes minimal. Despite the limitations of a confessional approach, this study argues that there is a significant role for religious education teachers in creating inter-religious harmony in Indonesia.

#### 8.2.2. Civic education: What does being Indonesian mean?

According to the 2013 curriculum, civic education is a pivotal subject in national character-building alongside religious education. This significance is also substantiated by the perspectives of all types of education stakeholders in this study. All teacher participants specifically agree that Unity-in-Diversity should be taught by all teachers, but 'citizenship education teacher and religious education teacher have more capacity because it is related to character-building' (Mrs Florence, Physics teacher, School 6, 14 February 2017). The civic education teachers themselves also acknowledge their central role in fostering Unity-in-Diversity as the cornerstone of the construction of civic identity

in multicultural Indonesia. To quote Mr Teddy, the headteacher in School 2 who also teaches citizenship education (CE): ‘teaching Unity-in-Diversity is indeed the main job of citizenship education teachers’ (14 November 2016).

Based on the analysis of classroom observations and interviews with six teachers in six schools, there are three key findings that characterise the teaching of civic education, specifically in constructing citizenship and civic identities in multicultural Indonesia. First, all civic education teachers believed that Unity-in-Diversity needs to be fostered through strengthening national identity. One of the ways to do this is by asking students to implement values of *Pancasila* and Unity-in-Diversity in their daily lives. Mrs Yasmine mentioned that ‘I invite students to pray together to apply the first principle [of *Pancasila*], then teach them about humanity by asking students to respect each other and so on’. She asserted that the application of these principles can ‘start with small acts like lending a pen or sharing food with friends in their daily lives. Then once it becomes a habit, it can gradually be extended to the state and nation level’ (Mrs Yasmine, CE teacher, School 5, 9 February 2017). Another way is by building ‘unity and unitedness so we are not disintegrated’ (Mrs Ellen, CE teacher, School 1, 13 October 2016). Through this spirit of unity, teachers asserted that students could learn ‘not to discriminate religions’ (Mr Harry, CE teacher, School 6, 13 February 2017) and instead learn about ‘mutual respect between religious groups, regardless which one is majority and minority, in which the majority respects the minority and vice versa’ (Mrs Irene, CE teacher, School 4, 19 January 2017). To nurture this mutual respect and democracy, students ‘need to learn about all religions, like the Muslims learn about Christianity and others, then Buddhists can learn about Islam and so on’ (Mr Harry, CE teacher, School 6, 13 February 2017).

Second, it is found that even though strengthening nationalism is consistently mentioned by all teachers to be their main goals, the construction of civic identities and the goals of civic education appears to differ slightly from one school to another, depending on the students' religious and ethnic backgrounds. For instance, while advocating for inter-religious studies, Mr Harry, teaching in Islamic School 6 also said that 'as a citizenship education teacher, my first priority is to strengthen my students' religiosity. I would ask them if they have performed their *shalat* (prayers) whenever they greet me, then morality and knowledge' (13 February 2017). It is likely that the strong emphasis on religiosity is at least in part due to the school's strong Islamic ethos. Developing strong piety and morality is argued by the three CE teachers in the Muslim-majority schools (School 1, 2 and 6) to be a good foundation for the implementation of Unity-in-Diversity. This is also in line with the findings in Chapter 6 where many participants equate a religious person with a good and tolerant person. This view is represented by Mrs Ellen's statement in which she said that the failure to achieve Unity-in-Diversity in Indonesia is caused by 'firstly the lack of "*IMTAQ - Iman dan Taqwa*" (faith and piety). If someone is faithful wherever, whenever he is, he would not bear to see people in need, whoever they are, they would help them' (School 1, 13 October 2016).

Meanwhile, in a school with students from minority religions, such as School 3, the objective of strengthening nationalism is found to be more intense than in other schools. This may be linked to the school's overall effort to promote a nationalistic ethos in order to counter the negative stereotype against the Chinese minority who have been depicted as un-nationalistic. A civic education teacher in School 3, Mrs Cecil confirmed this stereotype and said that 'throughout my 17-year-teaching career, I think inculcating a sense of nationalism in the students here is the hardest; it has been extremely challenging' (7 November 2016). She felt that their lack of love for the country was firmly

rooted in their feelings of insecurity which ‘were formed through their personal experiences and stories of their parents’ traumatic experiences during the 1998 event, in which many Chinese became the victims’ (and hence to some, the 1998 event was called an anti-Chinese riot) (Mrs Cecil, 7 November 2016).

Third, this study found that the teaching of Unity-in-Diversity in citizenship education across the six schools can be at times tokenistic in nature, promoted through indoctrination of a singular, confined meaning of citizenship to create ‘loyal, nationalist citizens’ (Raihani, 2014b:30). The teachers and students both demonstrated a good level of understanding of the importance of respecting differences and were aware of the existence of certain conflicts driven by religious and/or ethnic sentiments. Teachers also attempted to inspire students to enact this knowledge by practising tolerance and interacting with people from diverse religious and ethnic backgrounds to build intercultural understanding. Nonetheless, to achieve a multicultural, democratic society and to fully engage citizens in this process of democracy, the purpose of civic education needs to move beyond the acquisition of civic knowledge. Instead, it needs to stimulate students to think critically about citizenship participation and the complex processes involved in the construction and reconstruction of citizenship (Dejaeghere, 2009). The definition of citizenship also needs to be ‘plural, dispersed and dialogical’ (Modood, 2010:161).

Unfortunately, this more critical approach to teaching civic education has not been widely put into practice. In agreement with the findings from previous research on multicultural education in Indonesia (Hoon, 2013; Raihani, 2014b), this research found that class discussions were often shaped primarily by the content of textbooks and teachers’ views. Fieldnotes from classroom observations suggest that when students did critically raise issues related to the implementation of diversity in Indonesia, the majority

of teachers did not, or were still reluctant to, fully facilitate any further discussion. Only two out of six civic education teachers, Mrs Cecil in School 3 and Mr Harry in School 6 appeared to apply teaching methods that demonstrated the “double-consciousness learning” approach of critical civic education (Dejaeghere, 2009), though arguably with limitations. When her Chinese students asked about the 4<sup>th</sup> November rally in response to the Ahok case, Mrs Cecil as a Muslim asked her students ‘to consider the perspective of Muslims who felt that their holy scriptures being attacked’ (7 November 2016). Meanwhile, Mr Harry who was teaching in a Muslim school insisted on the importance of learning about the main teachings and cultures of all six religions in order to build inter-religious tolerance. He asserted that ‘by letting non-Muslims learn about the importance of five-times-a-day prayers for Muslims, or non-Hindus about the significance of Silence Day to Hindu, students can understand why certain religious followers celebrate particular events and observe specific rituals’ (13 February 2017). In the classroom observation (17 February 2017), I also noted that Mr Harry employed a debate method in which students discussed the implementation of human rights laws in Indonesia, which enhanced students’ objectivity and critical thinking.

Despite the limited implementation of critical multicultural education, this research shows that teachers are fully aware of their roles in nation-building and are committed to fostering values embedded in *Pancasila* and Unity-in-Diversity. They mentioned how they tried to ‘start implementing the values in their own lives first, then set a good example to our students’ (Mrs Yasmine, School 5, 9 February 2017). Civic education serves as a fundamental learning platform for both teachers and students from all backgrounds to discuss and problematise civic issues in the society. It can be a safe and equal space where all students can learn more about their identities and how the state and the society perceive them and define them within the complex concept of citizenship.

To create this safe, yet critical space, teachers need to first recognise and deliberate over the power struggles in the society (and schooling), which are linked to the issues of positionality and identity. Only when these issues are addressed, students can consider citizenship education relevant to their real lives, rather than simply imparting empty rhetoric, as implied by students' accounts in the interview with Mrs Debbie:

*It is a challenge, as when we just finish explaining about idealism in front of the class, the media publicise articles that contain bad examples. Our teaching often contradicts with the media, so students sometimes comment "what do you actually teach us Miss? What kind of subject is teaching about falsehood? In TV we see a reality that is different from what you just teach" [School 2, 14 November 2016]*

### 8.2.3. Geography: Learning about Cultural Diversity

There is a mixed response from geography teachers when asked if and how they can teach the notion of Unity-in-Diversity in geography. Only two out of the six geography teachers shared their teaching strategies and approaches whereas others either redirected their answers to focus on the development of other characters such as independence, discipline and caring for environment, or said that the subject had little relevance to teaching Unity-in-Diversity. Mrs Santi, a geography teacher in School 5, for instance, asserted that 'I think the principle of Unity-in-Diversity is best taught by civic education teachers' and when asked if there is any topic within her subject which is fitting to try to integrate this principle, she said 'I do not think that there is a suitable material in geography' (6 February 2017).

Reviewing the curriculum, the topics indeed mainly deal with the study of lands, features and phenomena of the Earth and the universe. There are limited topics available for teachers to integrate the notion of diversity (that is not about flora and fauna) without making the insertion too contrived. Only one module in Year XI on the topic of national culture and global interaction affords an explicit learning opportunity to foster intercultural understanding. A geography teacher in School 1, Mrs Destry said that when

covering this topic, she set the students a group assignment task to explore the cultures and traditions of five major ethnic groups in Indonesia. Each group also consisted of students from mixed ethnic groups, which were preferably dissimilar from the ethnic group to be researched. After doing the research the students then shared what they found out about each culture in a drama performance, including ‘impersonating speaking in the ethnic language’ and ‘demonstrating some of the traditions in the form of clothing, dance, and rituals’ (Mrs Destry, Geography teacher, School 1, 14 October 2016). This activity not only acquaints students with Indonesia’s rich cultural heritage, but using drama enables them to challenge group stereotypes and essentialist demarcation of ethnic groups (Hughes, 2014). This is because students have to communicate and work together to co-construct meanings to produce the performance – a setting which involves what Allport and other intergroup contact theorists (e.g. Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998) deemed as ideal conditions to facilitate intimate, quality interaction between students.

Positive impacts aside, Mrs Destry at the same time acknowledged the negative by-product of intercultural learning. She noted that ‘when students learned about their own ethnic cultures, they demonstrated a strong sense of attachment to group identity which at times could lead to contests between students on which culture was better’ (Geography teacher, School 1, 14 October 2016). She was concerned about the risk of developing ethnocentrism at the expense of national unity. Hoon (2006) has warned of the negative impact of the promotion of decorative aspects of the ideal, homogenised group cultures. The deliberate accentuation of popular ethnic characters (especially of minority groups), often in a stereotypical way can instead perpetuate the essentialist impressions of others.

In view of these dual effects, teachers need to be critical in imparting knowledge about group cultures. This can be done by first clarifying the fluid quality of culture. Students need to understand that culture is not a static, homogeneous entity, but that it continues to be re-interpreted and re-synthesised, especially in today's modern and increasingly globalised era. Second is by reducing group stigma and prejudices. Mrs Destry said that when there were arguments between students rooted in misunderstandings (or lack of understanding) about each other's ethnic customs, she facilitated a dialogue where 'students described and challenged the prejudices against certain groups'. She believed that 'it is better to straighten out the misunderstanding early, so it does not grow into latent ethnic sentiment, which could become a liability to Unity-in-Diversity' (Geography teacher, School 1, 14 October 2016). Third, Gay & Howard (2000) highlights the importance of teachers maintaining unbiased perspectives when teaching about issues related to diversity. Referring to the Ahok case, Mr Ahmad mentioned that 'teachers need to neutralise the situation. They need to be updated with the case development so that they can give advice and offer reasonings from different perspectives so that they could present students with balanced insights' (School 3, Geography teacher, 1 November 2016). In this circumstance where most of his students established opinions from a Chinese minority standpoint, he argues that 'this single-perspective is problematic' and it is essential for these students to 'learn alternative perspectives so that they were not dogmatised by a singular, subjective narrative'. This process of recognising and accepting different perspectives is indeed a crucial learning process in achieving Unity-in-Diversity in multicultural Indonesia.

#### 8.2.4. History: Learning from the Past

All history teachers gave relatively uniform answers on the main learning objective of history – that it aims to impart knowledge about past events to avoid making the same mistakes in the present and future. This objective is carried through to their teaching of Unity-in-Diversity. One of the main strategies identified by teacher participants is to recount the success of the collaborative work from various groups to gain independence, as well as reflecting on the damage caused by conflicts. The teachers outlined monumental historical events such as the 1928 Youth Pledge and mass movements in various parts of Indonesia in fighting colonial powers and gaining independence. They emphasised how all people from various backgrounds came together in the struggle for independence, and suggested that not only Muslims, but also non-Muslims contributed to the cause, as illustrated below:

*To gain independence, there needs to be unity and unitedness, right? In this unity and unitedness, all ethnic groups come together, they no longer represent their own territories. From that, we learn that to face an enemy, whether from within or outside, we first need to create unity and unitedness. You must not see the ethnicity, race, and religion [Mrs Indie, History teacher, School 2, 14 November 2016]*

When covering the histories of other countries, like the lesson I observed in School 2 (11 November 2016) on World War I, the teacher Mrs Indie also tried to find appropriate analogies and draw out relevant examples that could be applied to the contemporary context of Indonesia. In addition to learning about the more positive stories, I noted that she equally warned the students about the high-cost of conflict and wars and urged them to stay away from creating conflicts. Through this reflection, she said that she expected students to understand the importance of unity in building a better Indonesia.

In order to build this spirit of unitedness as one nation, all teachers asserted the importance of instilling a strong sense of nationalism, patriotism and love for the country. Apart from learning about the historical heritage of copious dynasties and kingdoms to understand how Indonesia as a nation came about, Mrs Cecil who teaches citizenship education and history in School 3 said that ‘learning about the sacrifice and struggle of heroes and heroines to gain independence could strengthen nationalism and patriotism’ (7 November 2016). History teachers in this study also talked about delineating the moments leading up to the establishment of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, of why the founding fathers chose to use *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* as the national ideology, and the heated debates between the Islamist and nationalist groups surrounding the wording in the statements of *Pancasila*. To make his point, Mr Sony for instance quoted the wise words of Sukarno, one of the founding fathers and the first President of Indonesia about the relationship between religious and national identity; ‘if you are a Muslim, don’t be an Arab; if you are a Hindu don’t be an Indian. Let’s be religious in an Indonesian way’ (School 4, History teacher, 1 February 2017). By reminding students of how Indonesia was founded and why a nationalist, instead of Islamic philosophy was chosen as the founding ideology, the teachers said they hoped their students would prioritise the national interest above others, accept diversity as part of Indonesian identity, and be a religious, yet nationalist citizen.

Another teaching strategy employed by teachers is prejudice reduction. When Muslim students asked their history teacher about Ahok’s blasphemy case in School 2 or Hindu students asked the history teacher about the Islamic Defender’s Front in School 5, both teachers encouraged their students not to generalise an individual’s attitude to the overall group and not to hold the religion accountable for a group’s actions that use religion as a shield for violence.

*I tried to explain so that the image of the associated religion is not damaged due to this group [...] All religions love peace, no one religion teaches about violence. That's what I said because it is a rather sensitive issue* (Mr Bernard, History teacher, School 5, 8 February 2017)

Under the 2013 curriculum, history teachers appreciated the increase of contact hours for history lessons; from one to two lessons per week, as it meant students could have more time to discuss the topics of inquiry. Discussion, as a popular learning method in this curriculum, provides a strategic platform for both teachers and students to extend their learning beyond content covered in the textbooks. To prepare students for the discussion, teachers suggested students use the internet to access blogs and online resources, which is encouraged within the 2013 curriculum to learn history from multiple viewpoints. While the teachers admitted that access to a wider range of learning resources allowed students to develop critical thinking, they were also aware of the risks that the internet brought into the learning of history. Mrs Shinta, the history teacher in School 1 said, 'because the internet gives diversity, we [as teachers] need to direct students because there are unreliable blogs out there' (14 October 2016).

In addition to the issue of reliability and objectivity, the freedom of expressing thoughts and the shift of learning paradigm in the current democratic state also means that students are exposed to multiple versions of histories. While history teachers in both School 5 and 6, Mr Bernard and Mrs Aurel, encouraged students to ask critical questions, the former raised his concerns over his safety as a history teacher for discussing historical events that are still highly contested. Thus, he said that 'I prefer not to discuss them beyond the scope of the curriculum and to refer to the content of textbooks' despite knowing that the textbooks sometimes did not provide objective and accurate information about certain aspects of history (8 February 2017). When students asked him critical questions, he tried his best to provide an answer with a more comprehensive explanation so that, as he said, 'the learning is not dogmatic'. Mr Bernard also added that history

teachers could inspire activism by engaging students in the grey-area debates of historical events that are sensitive in nature and highly controversial, such as the 1965 coup and 1998 riots. However, exposing sensitive information could at the same time cause public chaos. He said that, ‘although we [as teachers] know about the alternative facts that are different from those written by the government, sometimes we have to cover them up because our statements and explanations may negatively affect the wider society [...] As a history teacher, we have to hold onto the curriculum’ (School 5, 8 February 2017). Mrs Aurel also shared a similar view and said that, ‘we just give them what is available and what we know, so long as it does not contradict with the textbooks. That is important so that students do not have confusion when learning history [...] just follow the textbooks so it does not elicit different perspectives’ (16 February 2017).

From a pedagogical point of view, the statements about teaching history selectively from teachers may seem contradictory with the more critical, student-centred, IT-based learning in the 2013 curriculum and the goal of critical multicultural education. However, the teachers’ concerns over safety when discussing highly sensitive historical events is worth considering. Until today, explanations regarding the truth behind the 1965 and 1998 events remain politically contested and have been utilised to provoke ethnic sentiment in this contemporary era (see Chapter 2 and 3). During the New Order, the narratives in the history studies in schools were greatly controlled by the state and so teachers who have taught in both eras are likely to still be in the process of transitioning to the current paradigm. Despite the challenges and limitations, history remains one of the fundamental subjects which offers great potential in promoting the values of Unity-in-Diversity, especially through content integration, knowledge construction, and prejudice reduction approaches.

#### 8.2.5. Sociology: Between theories and practices

Owing to the teaching of Unity-in-Diversity, sociology teachers emphasised its compatibility with the subject's curriculum structure. According to Mrs Yuri, 'there is a specific chapter that teaches about multiculturalism and it allows us to talk about diversity, and heterogeneity of multicultural society' (Sociology teacher, School 2, 15 December 2016). Considering the complexity of these topics, the teachers stated that they created a democratic learning climate by using various learning activities to contextualise student's learning. For them, it is important for students 'to understand the societal problems using the sociological lens' (Mrs Parker, Sociology teacher, School 1, 11 October 2017) and 'to understand how to connect sociological theories with practice' (Mr Reza, Sociology teacher, School 6, 18 February 2017). Both these teachers mentioned that they adopted problem-based learning and case study approaches respectively, in which students use real cases to comprehend sociological theories. In these activities, 'students analysed and reviewed the cases before presenting their findings' (Mrs Parker, Sociology teacher, School 1, 11 October 2017) and the teachers connected the findings with applicable theories. Classroom observations confirmed that such approaches were popular in the study of sociology across the six schools.

Notwithstanding the popularity of problem-based learning and case study approaches, the teachers disclosed several practical challenges, which primarily involved the students' limited abilities to fully participate in class activities and the enactment of knowledge. In School 2, Mrs Yuri said that she tried to build students' critical thinking by facilitating a discussion on contemporary social issues in the classroom, but she felt that 'not all students have enough knowledge and capacity to engage in critical discussion' (Sociology teacher, 15 December 2016). This could be because students still had limited competence in leading presentations and were still not used to the new, more

democratic style of learning. From classroom observations, I observed that they were inclined to “copy and paste” texts from textbooks or other sources like online blogs to their presentation slides. Because of this, most students read their slides and had to rely on their textbooks and phones to browse for answers during the presentation Q & A session. Even when students demonstrated sufficient understanding of the topic, Mrs Mary in school 5 described that students only learn some materials ‘for the sake of knowledge’ (Sociology teacher, 6 February 2017) and do not really implement them in real life. She argued that ‘even though students learned about multicultural education, for instance, the comprehension is limited to theoretical inquiry and as such it does not necessarily lead to actions’ (Sociology teacher, School 5, 6 February 2017). Thus, she questioned the extent to which the learning of sociology affected their attitudes in the wider society, including those related to building Unity-in-Diversity.

Similar to teachers of other subjects, sociology teachers stated that teaching about tolerance, particularly inter-religious tolerance is vital in achieving Unity-in-Diversity because ‘among the *SARA* (Ethnicity, Religion, Race and Intergroup) issues, religion is the highest trigger of conflict’ (Mrs Parker, Sociology teacher, School 1, 11 October 2016). Building tolerance towards diversity was claimed to start from ‘acknowledging and respecting others’ perspectives’ (Mrs Yuri, Sociology teacher, School 2, 15 December 2016). By encouraging students to listen to their peers’ varying views on a range of issues, she aimed to teach students about democracy, that sharing distinctive views is part of societal life, and being different does not mean being enemies. Mrs Mary also said that open-mindedness, which is central to tolerance, can be nurtured by asking students to position themselves in someone else’s shoes. However, she argued that such practice can be limited in a relatively homogeneous school due to limited exposure to different cultures as she explained:

*From my observation, the heterogeneity level here is still low, still not too heterogeneous. In one class the majority of students are all from Bali, their religion is all Hindu. Thus, they still have very little grasp of [the concept of] multiculturalism. They only know that there are other groups, other religions, and they have to be tolerant [towards others]. That's all. [...] There is one Muslim in a class, which we need to be tolerant to. Only limited to that, in a simple sense. There is nothing spectacular [that we have done] [School 5, 6 February 2017]*

On a similar note, Mr Sandy in School 4 also agreed that fostering the values of Unity-in-Diversity should involve a conscious collective effort. While describing that homogeneity makes it easier to achieve Unity-in-Diversity in the predominately Hindu-Balinese school, he noted that ‘an increase in the admission of students from mainly Papua has prompted both the teachers and students to put tolerance into practice’. Mr Sandy asked the local Balinese students to ‘reach out to the newcomers, help them settle into the new culture, and be tolerant towards their culture’ (19 January 2017).

The importance of intergroup contact was also shared by Mr Marcus in the Chinese majority school (School 3). In light of the homogeneity of the school population, he indicated the advantage of sending students to inter-school competitions. He believed that through these competitions, ‘the Chinese Indonesian students were able to meet non-Chinese peers from other schools’ and ‘expand their friendship networks’ (3 November 2016). Whilst exposure to a diverse culture was considered positive in developing the students’ intercultural understanding, he viewed the discussion of conflicts to be potentially detrimental to the teaching of Unity-in-Diversity. He said that ‘actually the [diversity] issues do not need to be reintroduced because by doing so we just sharpen the differences. From my opinion, we can already all integrate well’ (Mr Marcus, School 3, 3 November 2016). He explained that he preferred to focus on emphasising the shared identity that binds all the diverse groups together as Indonesian citizens to build a stronger sense of belongingness and nurturing positive intergroup relationships. When students asked him about the Ahok case and shared their insecure feelings as a minority who

experienced discrimination, he told them ‘not to be provoked by the sentiments around the politically-driven events’ (3 November 2016). This approach of emphasising national identity, which was also expressed by the civic education teachers in the same school, is problematic because it places these minority students in a position of “needing fixing”, as if they are “the problem”. It avoids addressing the fundamental issue of structural inequality and majority-minority power relations.

Despite the expected variance in teaching approaches due to individual teacher’s styles and views about diversity, the learning objectives and curriculum of sociology addressed several prominent issues directly related to the focus of this research, including the issue of multiculturalism. A review of the curriculum and interview data suggests that sociology can be an effective learning platform to critically engage students in reviewing, analysing, and discussing issues related to diversity in a multicultural society. The nature of the subject has also allowed teachers to contextualise topics of discussion according to the schools’ cultural demography, which can make the learning more relevant to the lives of students. Unfortunately, sociology is not a compulsory subject for all students and so knowledge is not equally disseminated. It is mainly read by students in the social science stream, although the 2013 curriculum gives schools the option to make sociology available for students in the science stream as a cross-interest subject.

### **8.3. Relevance and Significance of Teaching Unity-in-Diversity in Languages and Cultural Arts**

#### 8.3.1. Indonesian as the National Identity

Indonesian was first declared as the national language of the country in the 1928 Youth Pledge when a group of young Indonesians declared the importance of having a common language which unites the hundreds of ethnic groups in Indonesia. It has since become a ‘powerful unifying factor’ in Indonesia, used in most educational and societal settings (Kuipers & Yulaelawati, 2011:455). For Indonesian teachers in this research, the learning of Indonesian itself is an effective way to promote Unity-in-Diversity because it is ‘the official language used for interaction in this multicultural society’ (Mrs Amanda, School 5, Indonesian teacher, 9 February 2017).

Through the daily use of formal Indonesian as a national language and by having an understanding of the historical development of the language and literature, teachers believed students could develop a stronger sense of nationalism and a sense of togetherness and belongingness through this national language. Mrs Lily, an Indonesian teacher in School 1 told students of the contribution of ethnic languages in developing the Indonesian vocabulary, for instance ‘the Indonesian word for “monitoring” is “*pantau*” which has come from the ethnic language of Minang, then the word “not consistent” can be replaced with the word “*ajek*” from Javanese’ (17 October 2016). By highlighting the fact that Indonesian is constructed using various ethnic groups’ languages, she tried to convey an important message that Indonesian as a core element of national identity has not been solely shaped and therefore owned by one group, but instead by many. The role of ethnic language in the development of Indonesian is also emphasised by Mr Benny, who said that ‘Indonesia has adopted many words from various ethnic groups and they are needed to enrich the vocabulary of Indonesian’ (School 4, 20 January 2017).

The significance of emphasising the collective ownership and collaborative effort from diverse ethnic groups to form the Indonesian language and literature as a strategy to teach Unity-in-Diversity was also voiced by another Indonesian teacher in School 3, Mrs Belinda. She said that she cultivated students' appreciation for the rich ethnic culture of Indonesia, and a love for the country through 'the reading and writing of various types of poems to develop the love for the country' (2 November 2016). With the literacy programme set as one of the prominent Indonesian education agendas, literacy-oriented competitions are popular. Mrs Belinda said that she used the celebration of Youth Pledge day to ask students write poems 'that fits into a theme, such as love for the country, respecting heroes, respecting diversity to reflect on Indonesian *Kebhinekaan* (diversity)' (2 November 2016).

In view of Indonesian cultural and linguistic diversity, the use of a national language as the language of instruction in school theoretically 'creates an inclusive learning environment', allowing students and teachers to communicate effectively (Mrs Leslie, Indonesian teacher, School 2, 16 November 2016). This is especially pertinent in Bali where the use of Balinese is prevalent in the society, including in the two state schools. Mrs Simona pointed out that she found people in Bali 'do not use proper Indonesian in speeches and sometimes they incorporate some Balinese because it has become a habit' (School 6, 9 February 2017). In School 4 where there are Papuan students, Mr Benny said that he encouraged his students to 'use Indonesian to communicate with their Papuan friends', but he admitted that local students tend to use Balinese to interact with each other 'because they are used to it' (20 January 2017). In my reflection notes of my fieldwork in School 4, I also wrote that 'local Balinese students and teachers tend to interact with each other in Balinese, even in the classrooms when the teacher is not explaining in front of the class' (1 February 2020).

Balancing celebrating differences through preservation of ethnic culture and maintaining unity through the use of Indonesian language is not the only concern of Indonesian teachers (and other language teachers). With foreign languages gaining popularity in Indonesia due to their strategic and practical importance in today's globalised society, some Indonesian teachers raised concerns over the declining prestige and interest in using and learning about Indonesian language and literature. Mr Benny noted that while acknowledging that proficiencies in foreign languages could lead to better work prospects, especially in a tourism-based economy such as in Bali, he passionately asserted that 'an abundant use of English in many street advertisements and signs as well as the mixing of words from different languages when conversing could undermine the practice of speaking and writing "proper Indonesian"' (School 4, 20 January 2017). He also criticised the common use of words such as "sorry", "thank you", and "happy birthday" to replace the equivalent terms in Indonesian and called for action to preserve the existence of Indonesian and resolve what he saw as a threat toward the Indonesian identity. In agreement with Mr Benny, Mrs Simona said that her main objective is 'making students love and feel proud of the Indonesian language by telling them that Indonesian has been learnt by many foreigners too' (Indonesian teacher, School 6, 14 February 2017).

The tension and coexistence between the learning of Indonesian and other local and foreign languages as well as the perceived prominence and attitudes toward these languages to a certain extent portrays the complex process behind the identity construction of students in contemporary Indonesian schools. This complexity is more clearly discerned in the next section when the locality and school contextuality are considered against national and global affairs.

### 8.3.2. Local-Content Subjects: Mandarin, Cultural Arts and Other Specific Subjects

Local-content subjects are non-statutory subjects which schools can choose to introduce to the curriculum. They aim to accommodate cultural differences between areas in Indonesia and develop students' appreciation of their local cultures. In all participating schools, students were taught at least one other non-Indonesian language. English has become a common foreign language learnt in national schools across compulsory education, but this research focuses on examining other less-common languages, such as Mandarin (in School 3), Balinese (in School 4, 5 and 6), cultural arts (School 5 and 6), and Arabic and organisational studies (in School 6), for their perceived contextual significance in building students' cultural identities. In general, the introduction of these subjects in the respective schools is strongly linked with the (majority) student's ascribed ethnic and/or religious identity. In a way, the provision of language education and cultural arts could be viewed as a manifestation of Unity-in-Diversity, which is made possible by decentralised and school autonomy policies.

#### **Mandarin**

Among the three languages discussed in this sub-section, the study of Mandarin in Indonesia perhaps has the most unsettling history due to its connection with the Indonesian social and political landscape. During the New Order era, learning Mandarin was prohibited and Chinese schools were closed down in order to suppress the socialisation of Chinese culture, which at the time was tied to communism (Hoon, 2008). The revocation of these bans on Chinese culture following the end of the New Order era has lent young Chinese Indonesians the opportunity to rediscover their Chinese roots. The freedom to learn Mandarin publicly, especially in schools is seen as a form of reviving lost Chinese identity and argued to be favourable for many Chinese Indonesian families, especially those from older generations (Hoon, 2008). Indeed, during an interview with

Mr Melvin, the Mandarin teacher in School 3, he explained that because ‘each Mandarin word encompassed philosophical values’ and carried nuanced meanings which were deeply rooted in Chinese culture, ‘the study of Mandarin in school could not be separated from learning about Chinese culture and philosophical values’ (9 November 2016).

Before being forced to become a national, assimilation school, School 3 was a Chinese school operating using Mandarin (see Chapter 7). This history could also be one of the main reasons why School 3 (as the only school in this study that offers Mandarin in the curriculum) has chosen Mandarin language education as one of the local-content subjects. Keeping in mind the majority of the students are Chinese, the Board members decided to offer Mandarin lessons at school as soon as it was allowed, in order to accommodate parents’ demands. The subject was taught by contractual teachers who were supplied by a private Mandarin language education institution. The reason behind using external teachers instead of appointing permanent teachers is because of the perceived unsettling situation regarding the status and culture of Chinese Indonesians in the country. A board member in School 3, Mr Walter remarked,

*I never want Mandarin teachers to be a [full time, permanent] teacher of this school. I always say contract. Why? If the president changes [his/her mind] and suddenly the situation is different, it can damage [the school reputation] That is my long-term view. With contractual teachers, they can start and stop anytime. We are not offending anyone. When the government says Mandarin education is allowed, we continue the contract, if they say it is not, we stop. This is so that the school mission can remain the same whatever the political situation is [2 November 2016]*

Cultural reasons aside, the increasing prominence of China in the Indonesian and global economy has undoubtedly influenced many schools in Indonesia to offer Mandarin lesson, including School 3 in this study. Mr Melvin, the Mandarin teacher in School 3 believed that the growing interest of Indonesians as a whole, not only those of Chinese descent, in learning Mandarin was because the mastery of Mandarin could give a

competitive edge for young people entering the labour market. It was later found that School 6 also offered Mandarin and Japanese clubs as extracurricular activities for this same reason, though they were not part of the formal curriculum.

### **Balinese**

The decision to explore the perspectives specifically of Balinese teachers in teaching Unity-in-Diversity was sparked by my field experiences which identified the significance of this ethnic language in the construction of cultural identity in Balinese schools. This significance is evident in the regulation issued by the local educational government, which demands all schools in Bali make the Balinese language a mandatory subject and apply a "speaking-Balinese-Wednesday" policy in schools. Indonesian teachers in the two Balinese schools also indicated the challenge in convincing Balinese students to speak Indonesian in classrooms as Balinese is the vernacular amongst most teachers and students.

For the two Balinese teachers in the Hindu-majority schools, teaching Balinese is personal. To them, it is 'our mother-tongue that needs to be preserved' from extinction (Mrs Wati, School 5, 6 February 2017) due to the 'younger generation feeling ashamed of speaking Balinese' (Mrs Sri, School 4, 24 January 2017) and 'the prospect of removing Balinese from the curriculum' (Mrs Wati, School 5, 6 February 2017). Since the purpose of learning Balinese is so that 'students can speak "soft, high-register Balinese" which is different from the "informal, low-register Balinese" used by most Balinese on daily basis, Balinese education also allows for practice of the rules and conditions needed to interact with members of varying caste and age groups – the learning of which 'prepares students to be a well-cultured member of the Balinese society' (Mrs Sri, School 4, 24 January 2017).

For Mr Malik, the Balinese teacher in Muslim School 6, the purpose is more practical, and that is why he only taught ‘Balinese for correspondence, but not the “*aksara*” (Balinese alphabets)’ (23 February 2017). Apart from adhering to the law, he believed that learning Balinese could ‘help the Javanese Muslim students fit into society better’. This is because Balinese manners and customs on how to address members of different castes and age groups are embedded in the study of Balinese language. Mr Malik also said that basic proficiency in Balinese and understanding the intricacy behind the use of different registers in the Balinese language could be seen as ‘a good gesture of the newcomers to respect the local culture’, which is an essential ingredient in ‘fostering *Kebhinekaan*’ (23 February 2017). For non-Balinese students, the learning of the local language can, to some degree, be a positive intercultural experience, for instance for the Papuans who were on cultural-exchange programme. In a society where local culture is so deeply entrenched in every aspect of the society, the local policy on mandatory language education can also be regarded as a practical attempt of the local government to help the non-Balinese feel more included in the society.

While the mandatory learning of Balinese in Balinese schools can be a positive response toward Unity-in-Diversity, it can have negative implications when it is imposed. In School 6, for instance, I observed how the students, who are mostly Javanese and therefore do not speak Balinese on daily basis, looked disengaged and demotivated during the lesson because they saw little relevance for them in learning the language. This was confirmed by Mr Malik who said, ‘students asked why they have to study the Balinese language as a Javanese person’ (23 February 2017). Meanwhile the Papuan students in School 4 felt uncomfortable and excluded in both their school and societal lives because they did not understand the language. This lack of understanding became problematic during the Balinese language lesson since ‘there was a wide gap of abilities between the

locals and the newcomers' (Mrs Sri, School 4, 24 January 2017). To address this issue, Mrs Sri provided additional support for the Papuan students so that they could catch up, as well as sometimes mixing Balinese with Indonesian when teaching the lesson.

The policy regarding Balinese language can be a paradoxical phenomenon. On the one hand it embodies a good practice of Unity-in-Diversity because it celebrates and preserves the local heritage. On the other hand, this very element of language learning where students learn how to apply the differentiating types of register which correspond to a specific caste, illustrates how education can perpetuate existing injustices associated with caste classification in Balinese society. Moreover, the obligation to learn a local language can undermine the principles of democracy, equality, and inclusivity when it forces the socialisation of the hegemonic culture and alienates those who do not understand them. It is thus important to ensure that the efforts to preserve local languages and celebrate ethnic identities do not threaten the process of democracy and the rights of other cultural groups to develop their own cultures, as well as jeopardise unity in society.

#### **Arabic and Islamic organisational study**

These two subjects are effectively selected by School 6 to meet its Islamic educational goal. Since it follows the national curriculum, this Islamic vision could be academically channelled through the curriculum into subjects categorised under local-content subjects.

The Qur'an is written in Arabic and therefore the mastery of Arabic is paramount to understanding the Qur'an. The Arabic language teacher, Mrs Ariel noted that the level of student language proficiency varied, depending on their Islamic education – whether they had previously attended a school in the same foundation or had gone to Islamic boarding schools. She commented that the majority of the students had limited exposure to Islamic education and so generally they found Arabic lessons challenging. Mrs Ariel

said that she had to give a one-to-one tutorials during the lesson and often asked the more competent students to assist their peers. In terms of teaching Unity-in-Diversity, she tried to ‘neutralise the students’ negative assumptions about Hindu-Balinese practices and their habits’ (such as the use of statues in the praying rituals which is forbidden in Islam, or road closures during religious festivals) and asked them to be respectful towards other religious teachings and practices (14 February 2017). While she supported students socialising with their fellow Muslim peers to enhance religious knowledge and strengthen piety, Mrs Ariel also ‘urged students to befriend people from other religious groups’, so that they could adapt to the diversity of the wider society (14 February 2017).

Mrs Meghan, the Islamic organisational study teacher in School 6 also echoed this strategy and added that sending greetings to each other during religious holidays was also a form of tolerance. When asked about the controversy of sending greetings to non-Muslims, she said that ‘my parents are democratic [...] since I was young, I have been taught to practise religious tolerance. They [Hindu] send us greetings and we do too. That is not a problem because I do not join them in celebration. That’s what I told my students too’ (16 February 2017). With regards to promoting Unity-in-Diversity in the school, since the school is homogeneous, she argued that the spirit of unity could be interpreted as unity within the Islamic community. Mrs Meghan said that even though her main role here is ‘to instil the organisational identity in the students’, she recognised that ‘there are some students who are not from this Islamic organisation’ (16 February 2017). In response to this, she told the students that they could still learn about this organisation in order to give them an alternative perspective on Islam and reminded them that ‘despite the different organisational values, we are one in Islam’. The pedagogical responses of these two teachers in School 6 shed light on how teachers in a homogeneous school, particularly Islamic school, interpret and promote Unity-in-Diversity.

### *Cultural Arts*

Two schools in Bali have cultural arts lesson, but they have different focus. In School 5, the focus is on Balinese gamelan whereas in School 6, it is on Islamic arts and calligraphy. It is evident from the interviews with the teachers and classroom observations that these subjects are introduced in response to the dominant culture of the school.

In the Hindu-majority School 5, the learning of gamelan is argued by the teacher to 'preserve Balinese culture so that it can be inherited' by the future generation (Mr Philip, 8 February 2017). As it is 'used often for rituals and ceremonies', teaching about gamelan includes teaching the ethics behind its use, such as 'one cannot jump over it because it is sanctified' (Mr Philip, 8 February 2017). Mr Philip's statements on the interconnection between the choice of musical instrument and Balinese culture elicits the school's and teacher's contextualised responses toward promoting Unity-in-Diversity.

This contextualised response is also found in School 6, where the content of the cultural arts curriculum had to be adapted to meet the school's Islamic ethos. Mr Calvin, the cultural art teacher in School 6 deliberated upon the boundaries on what can be artistically created in Islam. He explained that 'Islam does not allow painting and making sculptures of living objects, especially human' (23 February 2017). Only paintings and statues of national leaders such as presidents and heroes as well as Islamic leaders (from the organisation the school is affiliated to) were religiously permitted. Thus, Mr Calvin had to negotiate and amend the curriculum accordingly by only directing the students to create arts that were related to nature, calligraphy, and important public and religious figures.

#### **8.4. Conclusion**

Findings from the analysis indicate that all teachers agreed that they had important role in promoting Unity-in-Diversity and were obliged to do so. However, the pedagogical responses toward multicultural education vary from one teacher to another, dependent on their personal convictions regarding the issues of diversity and their relative identities within the school, local and national contexts. The extent to which teachers foster multicultural principles in classrooms to achieve Unity-in-Diversity such as respect for differences, openness, and tolerance is also connected to their expected and perceived role as teachers of their corresponding subjects. A synthesis of the cross-subject comparison is presented in Table 8.1.

Most teachers across subjects employed a method of content integration to inject multicultural values into their teachings, such as respecting others' perspectives, recognising differences, and developing open-minded and critical thinking. While there is evidence showing that all teachers were committed to promoting Unity-in-Diversity and made efforts to incorporate multicultural values in their subjects, some subject teachers struggled to do it effectively and critically. The struggle becomes more pronounced for teachers in hard-science subjects such as biology, chemistry, physics, and mathematics. This is partly because these teachers felt that their subjects had less opportunity to integrate social concepts such as respecting diversity and tolerance in comparison to social science subjects, particularly civic education, religious education, and sociology. As a result, when content integration was applied in these “hard-science” subjects, the implementation can be superficial and contrived.

Table 8.1 Synthesis of Cross-Subject Comparison of Pedagogical Responses

Subject	Pedagogical Responses to Unity-in-Diversity	Multicultural education approach	Potential	Challenges	
Science	Maths	-Perceived lack of relevance for content integration -Cooperative learning -Building logical thinking and rationality	-Content integration (superficial) -Prejudice reduction -Equity pedagogy	Developing scientific, logical, and critical thinking	-Teacher's perceived relevance of promoting UID in the subject -Content integration can be limited and superficial
	Biology	-Content integration (in selected relevant topics to promote diversity) -Providing scientific and spiritual perspectives	-Content integration (superficial) -Knowledge construction -Prejudice reduction	Learning about topics from scientific and spiritual perspectives, which can develop objectivity and critical thinking	-Teacher's perceived relevance of promoting UID in the subject -Content integration can be limited and superficial - Teachers' readiness and ability to facilitate objective and critical discussion about controversial topics (e.g. evolution)
	Physics	-Perceived lack of relevance for content integration -Cooperative learning	-Content integration (superficial) -Prejudice reduction -Equity pedagogy	Developing scientific, logical, and critical thinking	-Teacher's perceived relevance of promoting UID in the subject -Content integration can be limited and superficial
Social Science	Religious Education	-Strengthening religious piety and commitment -Promoting religious tolerance and mutual respect and encouraging inter-religious friendship - Developing competence in Arabic and reading the Qu'ran (Islam); Preserving Hindu-Balinese culture (Hindu)	-Content integration -Prejudice reduction	-Promoting religious tolerance -Encouraging inter-religious friendship -Dialogical learning	-Confessional style of religious education contributes to the reluctance of inter-religious studies -Parental reluctance over inter-religious friendship, especially Muslim parents
	Civic Education	-Promoting the significance of <i>Pancasila</i> and UID in uniting the multicultural nation -Cultivating nationalism in all schools, but more intensely in Chinese-majority School 3 -Discussion related to the issues of citizenship, structural inequalities, and mismatch between theory-practice	-Content integration -Prejudice reduction -Knowledge construction -Equity pedagogy	-Creating a safe space to discuss the implementation of UID -Constructing an inclusive concept of citizenship -Facilitating critical discussion about structural inequalities and mismatch between theory and practice	-Seen as a boring, rhetorical subject by students -Teachers' readiness and ability to facilitate open, objective, critical discussion
	Geography	-Learning about Indonesian cultural diversity and biodiversity -Collaborative learning through drama	-Content integration -Prejudice reduction -Knowledge construction -Equity pedagogy	-Critically discussing the contribution of diverse group cultures toward national culture	-Teachers' readiness and ability to facilitate open, objective, critical discussion
	History	-Building patriotism and nationalism by reflecting on past events -Learning lessons from histories of other countries	-Content integration -Prejudice reduction -Knowledge construction	- Critically discussing controversial historical events from various perspectives - Facilitating open, objective, critical discussion about sensitive, controversial historical events	-Grey areas of history remain controversial and sensitive to be openly discussed -Teachers' readiness and ability to facilitate open, objective, critical discussion
	Sociology	-Learning about strengths and limitations of Indonesian diversity -Challenging group stereotypes	-Content integration -Prejudice reduction -Knowledge construction -Equity pedagogy	-Critically reflecting on the strengths and limitations of diversity -Research-based activity -Facilitating critical discussion about structural inequalities and mismatch between theory and practice	-Teachers' readiness and ability to facilitate open, objective, critical discussion -Mainly learnt by students in social science and language classes
Language and Cultural Arts	Indonesian	-Strengthening national identity and unity through national language -Reflecting on contribution of ethnic languages toward the development of Indonesian as national language	-Content integration -Prejudice reduction -Knowledge construction	-Critically reflecting on the role of various group languages in the development of Indonesian as national language -Critically reflecting on the role of Indonesian in building unity among different groups	-Teachers' readiness and ability to promote diversity and inclusivity through the subject that focuses on literature -Maintaining relevance of studying Indonesian for young Indonesians in today's globalised world
	Mandarin	The inclusion of the subject itself symbolises the school's contextualised response to accommodation of diversity (only in Chinese-majority School 3)	-Content integration -Prejudice reduction	-Providing unfamiliar cultural perspective to non-Chinese students about Chinese culture through language -Introducing Chinese values to Chinese Indonesians who wish to learn about their ancestral culture	Teacher's perceived relevance of promoting UID in the subject
	Balinese and Gamelan music	The study of the subject itself depicts the local contextualised response to accommodation of diversity in school (all Balinese schools)	-Content integration -Prejudice reduction	-Preserving local culture -Introducing local culture to non-Balinese can enhance intercultural understanding	-Teacher's perceived relevance of promoting UID in the subject -Balancing between constructing ethnic and national identities -Making the learning mandatory contributes to the issues of exclusivity and cultural dominance
	Arabic, Islamic organisational study, Islamic cultural art	The study of the subject itself depicts the contextualised response to accommodation of diversity in school (only in Islamic School 6)	-Content integration -Prejudice reduction	-Creating a safe space to discuss the implementation of UID within the Muslim communities -Fostering tolerance and encouraging inter- and intra-religious friendships -Allowing the Muslims learn about the language of the Qu'ran, which can help them discover their identity (particularly for the Muslim minority in Bali)	Subject is learnt exclusively by Muslim students so there is little space for dialogue and intercultural exchange

This research also identified that there is a possible incompatibility between scientific inquiry and religious belief when the “hard-science” subject teachers tried to incorporate multicultural values into their teaching. In a religious society such as Indonesia where the common norm is to believe and accept that ‘every being is God’s creation’, teaching controversial topics such as evolution, where transcendental and scientific perspectives are in conflict with this belief, becomes extremely tricky. In such cases, the use of a knowledge construction strategy as part of implementing multicultural education becomes important in developing a student’s critical thinking in understanding that there are multiple ways to think about evolution. Yet, the fear and unreadiness of teachers to explain something so complex in a subject where the absolute truth is expected, such as in sciences, may hinder the implementation of critical multicultural education.

Within social science subjects, including citizenship education, history, sociology, and geography, issues such as content justification, development of critical thinking, the application of objective teaching, and balanced cultural representation are raised. Strengthening a student’s nationalism through learning about civic rights and responsibilities, historical events, and cultural diversity in Indonesia is considered crucial among these subject teachers as it is argued to develop a student’s sense of belongingness and unitedness while also celebrating group differences. Notwithstanding the curricular demand on religious education teachers to promote inter-religious understanding alongside cultivating the faith of the students according to the respective religious missions and teachings, conversations with religious education teachers revealed that not all of these teachers emphasised or noted this role – a finding that is also shared by Suhadi et al. (2015). When it comes to promoting religious diversity, the tendency to linger on a more superficial approach may be compounded by the absence of guiding frameworks, the anxiety of not wanting to “rock the boat”, and the individuals’ position on religious

diversity. The high level of controversy and sensitivity around the topic, perceived fear of creating religious misunderstanding, combined with the heated issue of religious blasphemy in contemporary Indonesia may also lead to teachers reporting the use of less confrontational strategies in promoting religious diversity.

Meanwhile, the analysis of the implementation of multicultural education in language and arts subjects suggests the important role of the subject teachers in constructing and balancing national and ethnic identities as well as in promoting cultural diversity. The inclusion of local-content subjects, such as Mandarin, Arabic, Balinese, cultural arts, and Islamic organisational studies, which are strongly linked with the majority student's ethnic and/or religious identity, could itself be viewed as the school's contextualised response to the accommodation of diversity.

Despite the distinctive perceived role and challenges faced by the different subject teachers, this research finds that the implementation of multicultural education in the classroom is mainly geared towards the transmission of theoretical knowledge, the quantitative approach of building intergroup contacts (which does not necessarily lead to meaningful interactions and friendships), and the celebration of diversity. Data analysis of teachers' comments on the Indonesian education system as a whole and notes from classroom observations also suggest that when situating this topic into the wider picture of the education system, the promotion of multicultural education might be less of a priority for teachers. The exception to this may be for teachers of subjects with curricular content directly related to notions of citizenship and social relationships. Even in cases where the subject teachers were expected to promote inter-religious understanding and tolerance, critical approaches were not always employed. To promote Unity-in-Diversity in the classroom, it is important that the implementation of critical multicultural education is consciously planned to create a systemic and strategic change on a larger scale.

## 9 Discussion

This chapter reflects upon the key findings of this research from Chapter 6, 7, and 8 and examines them with reference to the existing literature about education and diversity as well as the theory of multicultural education, which was reviewed in Chapter 2 and 3. The reflection comprises of two parts. The first part is concerning the role of schools in creating a multicultural society in Indonesia and is guided by the overarching research question: **“How do schools with different cultural and religious settings accommodate the national vision of Unity-in-Diversity?”**. The reflections upon this, which are summarised in Table 9.1, concerns four themes of discussion and three levels of analysis (national, school, and individual level, which intertwines with classroom level for teachers). The second part considers the suitability of using multicultural education as a framework to discuss the accommodation of the vision of diversity in education, and notably religious diversity in the case of Indonesia.

## 9.1. Accommodating the vision of Unity-in-Diversity in Different School Contexts

The discussion in this section, which centres on four themes of discussion will consolidate various points from the Table 9.1. as well as probing them further in relation to the review of literature. Overall, it aims to highlight the complex and dynamic interactions between different levels and themes.

Table 9.1 Summary of Findings: Meanings of and Responses on Unity-in-Diversity in Contemporary Indonesia

Themes of Discussion	Meanings and Responses at National Level (Chapter 2 and 3)	Meanings and Responses at School Level (Chapter 6 and 7)	Meanings and Responses at Individual and Classroom Level (for teachers) (Chapter 6 and 8)
<b>Complex, Contextualised Meanings and Responses at Different Schools</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Politically loaded term, UID is used differently during different eras (e.g. assimilation during the New Order, multiculturalism during reformation)</li> <li>- Decentralisation policy leads to regional laws that are sensitive to local culture, e.g. school calendar, policy on the use of local language in Bali</li> <li>- School autonomy</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Local-content subject</li> <li>- School policy, practice, and culture are shaped by the school leaders' interpretations on UID as well as national and local policy and culture</li> <li>- Types of diversity that schools respond to are context-laden, depending on student demography (homogeneous, heterogeneous)</li> <li>- Schools are complex systems and their responses are the result of interactions between different stakeholders who have different views, expectations, roles, and power</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- UID is not just about religion. It interacts with other social constructs (e.g. ethnicity, caste), context-laden</li> <li>- Initiative is dependent on the individual's views of multiculturalism</li> <li>- Power of agency (teacher, student, parent) to introduce change in schools</li> <li>- Complex meanings due to fluid identities, positionality changes according to context.</li> <li>- UID has sentimental meanings for minorities; it is a symbol of recognition for their 'differences'</li> <li>- Teachers' pedagogical responses are linked to their specific subjects (each of which has potential benefits and challenges)</li> </ul>
<b>Constructing National Identity</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- UID is a national identity and philosophy for multicultural Indonesia, alongside <i>Pancasila</i>, 1945 Constitution and the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (known as four pillars of nationhood)</li> <li>- UID and <i>Pancasila</i> are used to counter the Islamist discourse, but also used by the Islamists to justify their 'different' view of supporting Sharia law</li> <li>- The concept of nationalism is contested as it is often described in terms of indigeneity</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Flag raising ceremony on Mondays</li> <li>- Singing of national anthem</li> <li>- Celebration of national days</li> <li>- Displaying framed picture of <i>Garuda bird</i> with <i>Bhinneka Tunggal Ika</i> and <i>Pancasila</i> in classrooms</li> <li>- Use of Indonesian language</li> <li>- Nationalism is more strongly promoted in minority schools (particularly Chinese schools)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Understanding the concept legally and practically through citizenship education, history, sociology, and other relevant subjects</li> <li>- Developing a sense of belongingness for the Chinese minority</li> <li>- Contested use of discriminating terms <i>non-pribumi</i> (non-native) for Chinese Indonesians, <i>pendatang</i> (newcomers) for Muslims in Bali, which undermines the concept of inclusive citizenship and nationalism</li> </ul>
<b>Recognising Unity-in-Religious Diversity</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Religion is in the 1<sup>st</sup> principle of <i>Pancasila</i></li> <li>- Religiosity and religious diversity in character education framework</li> <li>- Legal protection for citizens to choose and practise a religion (the 1945 Constitution in Article 28E, 28I, and 29), but limited to six official religions</li> <li>- Competing policies on religious education in schools (2003 Education Act, the Government Regulation No.55 Year 2007)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Provision of religious education for all students, including religious minorities (religion lessons, morning service)</li> <li>- Policy on school uniforms that accommodates expression of religiosity (especially for female students)</li> <li>- Religious spaces in schools</li> <li>- Architectural influence in school buildings</li> <li>- Marking of religious festivals</li> <li>- Collaboration with other schools (homogeneous schools)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Tolerance, mutual respect, and building inter-religious friendships</li> <li>- '<i>your religion is yours, my religion is mine</i>' – setting boundary to minimise the risk of conflict from inter-religious studies</li> <li>- Majority-minority discourse remains prevalent</li> </ul>
<b>Relevance and Significance in Education</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 2003 Education Act, Article 4 contains notions of diversity, democracy, and inclusivity</li> <li>- UID guides the National Character Education agenda and 2013 Curriculum</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Schools implemented character-based education, in which religiosity and nationalism are two core characters</li> <li>- Academic-oriented goal is still a priority in the larger picture</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- All subject teachers are expected to teach about UID, but citizenship education teachers were perceived to be the most relevant</li> </ul>

### 9.1.1. Unity-in-Diversity in Schools: Complex and Contextualised Meanings and Responses

I started this thesis by inquiring about the meaning of the national philosophy of Unity-in-Diversity and how it is being implemented at state and national level (in Chapter 2 and 3) both in society generally and education specifically through the review of literature and the analysis of some relevant policy documents. Understanding the national context is important as schools are a microcosm of society, and hence political rhetoric and

policies regarding diversity could shape the teachers' understanding of diversity and influence their approach to multicultural education (Alviar-Martin & Ho, 2011). With this basis of knowledge, this thesis employs case studies to explore what Unity-in-Diversity means for the educational stakeholders of schools and how this national vision of diversity is accommodated in different school settings. The results from both inquiries show a similar trend; that the meaning and accommodation of Unity-in-Diversity is not fixed and singular. Rather, the discourses of diversity as well as the responses to accommodate diversity in schools are nuanced and complex as they are subject to interpretation, as well as changing across spatial and temporal contexts.

Revisiting Chapter 2, the review of the literature has shown that the rhetoric and enactment of Unity-in-Diversity, as well as the state management of diversity, especially of the rights of minority groups, change across time to correspond to Indonesian social-political circumstances. While in the authoritarian New Order era (1966-1998) Unity-in-Diversity and *Pancasila* were politically interpreted and responded to in terms of the assimilation principle, in the reform era (from 1998 until the present time) the discourses of diversity have shifted toward more democratic and multiculturalist ones. One of the direct manifestations of this more democratic system is the enactment of the decentralisation policy in 1999 which led to devolution of power (Aspinall & Fealy, 2003; Bjork, 2006; Kristiansen & Pratikno, 2006). Under this decentralised system, regional leaders have the authority to introduce regional laws that are sensitive to the local culture. This system enables the accommodation of local cultures, which in turn promotes regional diversity in Indonesia. In education, the use of different school calendars between Jakarta and Bali (Head of Education Authority of Bali Province, 2017; Head of Education Authority of Jakarta Province, 2017) and the introduction of the policy which encourages the use of the local language (such as in Balinese schools on Wednesdays)

exemplifies the role of schools in recognising and celebrating regional diversity. Under these rules which encourage school autonomy, school leaders have the authority to construct a school system that accommodates the student's needs and local culture.

A clear indication of this accommodation of diversity in schools is the inclusion of local content subjects in the school curriculum, which this thesis has shown to differ from one school to another according to the school ethos and student demography (Chapter 8). The construction of the school ethos, policies, and culture, which are found to differ in all six school cases (Chapter 7) is further evidence of the more democratic education system which now exists. The contextualised responses are also a result of the interaction of multifarious factors, including policies (national and local), cultures (national, local, school), and the educational expectations of the stakeholders within it as well as the interpretations of Unity-in-Diversity adopted by the stakeholders which are also context laden. In Chapter 6, it was found that despite the general consensus that religious diversity is the primary type of diversity that individuals and schools mainly respond to, the type(s) of diversity within "Unity-in-Diversity" can be expanded by the dominant stakeholders depending on the school's context. For instance, stakeholders in School 3, which are dominated by Chinese Indonesians, often discussed the issue of Unity-in-Diversity in relation to both ethnicity and religion. Similarly, stakeholders in the two predominantly Hindu-Balinese schools also spoke about the caste system as another social construct to consider in the notion of 'diversity'.

School responses toward the implementation of Unity-in-Diversity are also further shaped by the stakeholders' identities, which are fluid and subject to change according to contexts. As critically discussed in this thesis, while Muslims are in the position of religious majority nationally, there are cases in which Muslims feel marginalised and powerless for their perceived status as a minority group. For instance,

in Hindu-majority Bali where the positions of majority and minority are reversed. Even within a geographical area that is Muslim-dominated, like Jakarta, schools with a high number of non-Muslims such as in Chinese-dominated School 3, may put Muslim students and teachers in the relative minority.

The complex interpretations of the meanings and responses in schools are not only limited to the school policy or culture, but they are also shaped by the discourses of diversity which are constructed during formal learning in classrooms. In Chapter 8, teachers' pedagogical responses to the obligation of incorporating principles of Unity-in-Diversity into their teaching in classrooms are found to vary from one subject to another. This variation is heavily influenced by the subjects they are teaching and the perceived role and pedagogical expectations as the respective subject teachers. Social science teachers have a stronger sense of responsibility and motivation to incorporate multicultural values in their teachings than those teaching the science and arts. In keeping with Banks' statement on the weak implementation of multicultural education among science teachers (2010), this thesis also notes that science, maths, language and arts teachers generally saw less relevance and found it more challenging to foster the notion of diversity in their subjects.

#### 9.1.2. Unity-in-Diversity: Constructing National Identity

Within the complexity of defining the interpreted meanings of, and educational responses towards, Unity-in-Diversity, there is clarity that Unity-in-Diversity is recognised and accepted as something positive and an integral part of the fabric of Indonesian society. There was no evidence of a deliberate rejection of *Pancasila* and Unity-in-Diversity as the Indonesian symbols of nationhood and national philosophy that guides the policies and practices of the multicultural society at either a personal or school level. As indicated in Table 9.1., these two symbols of nationhood are promoted in schools and classrooms,

notably through the strengthening of nationalism. Constructing a sense of nationalism is consistently found as the favoured approach in promoting Unity-in-Diversity in all schools for its role in cementing a common identity as an Indonesian citizen living in a highly diverse society. In schools, these efforts are manifested through weekly flag-raising ceremonies, the singing of the national anthem, the celebration of national days, and the display of a framed picture of the *Garuda Bird* with *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* and *Pancasila* in all classrooms. In classrooms, a sense of nationalism is also shaped through subject learning, mainly found in citizenship education, history, sociology, and Indonesian language lessons. By understanding the concepts of citizenship and nationhood both legally and politically, it is expected that students should embrace and implement the principles of Unity-in-Diversity in their daily lives as Indonesian citizens.

Nonetheless, as reviewed in Chapter 2 and later consolidated in Chapter 6, the related concepts of citizenship and Indonesian identity remain ambiguous and contested since they have excluded the cultures of the minorities. To illustrate this point, it is best to look at the case of School 3 which is dominated by Chinese minority students, and the narratives which are used in the construction of nationalism. Among all six school cases, School 3, which was established by a Chinese man, puts nationalism most prominently at the centre of its educational agenda. Board members talked about how they ensured the school appeared nationalistic to minimise issues caused by their perceived ‘minority school’ status. This emphasis on strengthening nationalism in Chinese schools has been identified by other academics (Harjatanaya & Hoon, 2020; Hoon, 2011, 2013) as potentially having paradoxical effects.

On one hand, the teacher's focus on strengthening nationalism is well-intended. They want to make these minority students feel more Indonesian, which can in turn help them integrate in the society and minimise intergroup cleavage. On the other hand, the fact that teachers in Chinese school, who were themselves mainly non-Chinese, also felt that the main strategy of teaching Unity-in-Diversity to Chinese minority students (as elaborated in Chapter 8, notably through citizenship education lessons) was to "fix" their perceived low level of nationalism is problematic for two reasons. First, as previously discussed, the term nationalism itself has a complex meaning, particularly for the Chinese minority because 'modern Indonesian nationalism has never managed to accommodate successfully the presence of a Chinese minority in its construction of a national imagined community' (Ang, 2001:28). The idea of 'nation-ness' in Indonesia is somewhat problematic as the distinction between those regarded as Indonesian and non-Indonesian is often seen to be 'a step away from the ethnic dichotomy of *pribumi* (native) and *non-pribumi* (non-Native)' (Heryanto, 1998:100; translation added) – this risks defining Indonesian national identity in terms of 'indigeneity rather than citizenship' (Hoon, 2008:4).

In this thesis, in addition to the evident use of *pribumi* and *non-pribumi*, often to refer to non-Chinese and Chinese Indonesians respectively, the use of the term *pendatang* (newcomers) for non-Hindu residents in Bali also depicts this problem of indigeneity. Second, the school's and teachers' approach which puts students in the position of "needing fixing" resembles the New Order's assimilation policy that aimed to turn the "problematic Chinese" into being more "Indonesian" (Allen, 2003; Harjatanaya & Hoon, 2020). This assimilationist approach to building national identity reproduces group inequality and maintains the construction of citizenship that is based on the perspectives of the majority.

This narrow way of defining Indonesian nationalism and shared common values based on indigeneity, cultures, and values of the majority groups can in turn undermine the envisioned meaning of Unity-in-Diversity which is based on the notions of equality and social justice. As the inequalities which subtly and systematically play out in the wider society have mirrored aspects of schooling, the school efforts to build nationalism through ceremonial and symbolic methods explained above remain insufficient and constrained. These challenges combined with the increasingly dominant discourse of religious education which is deeply engrained in the character education agenda can risk increasing the likelihood of creating religious exclusivity, and thus jeopardise the unity of the diverse peoples in Indonesia, especially in a homogeneous school culture. The potential benefits and challenges of the centrality of religion towards Unity-in-Diversity and constant accommodation and negotiation between nationalism and religiosity within the education system form the discussion next.

### 9.1.3. Promoting Religious Diversity in Schools: Religious Education for all?

In current times, with issues of religion remaining prevalent and being used strongly in politics as a tool to provoke social division (Hadiz, 2014; Jung, 2014; Lahiri, 2019; Mustafied et al., 2015; Pedersen, 2016), education that promotes inclusive values and facilitates meaningful encounters between members of different religious groups is indispensable. According to the stakeholders' accounts provided in Chapters 6, 7 and 8, inter-religious harmony was deemed to hold the key to achieving Unity-in-Diversity in contemporary Indonesia. All schools and the stakeholders principally agreed that promoting religious diversity in schools is necessary, and the head teachers and teachers demonstrate a degree of commitment to promoting religious diversity in schools and the classroom.

In the cases of the five heterogeneous schools, this commitment was manifested, at a varying degree, through the provision of religious education for all students including religious minorities, the marking of religious festivals, the availability of religious spaces, and the introduction of a uniform policy that accommodates the expression of religiosity. In the case of the Muslim school as the only homogeneous school, the promotion of religious diversity centres around fostering intergroup contact and building links with other non-Muslim schools to hold joint activities and visits, aimed at facilitating inter-religious encounters. In all schools, teachers of all subjects attempted to incorporate values that develop religious tolerance and respect for religious differences into their teaching. There is evidence that some teachers employed more critical approaches to promoting religious diversity. Yet these were employed and executed by only a handful of teachers, which were mainly those who taught relevant subjects such as citizenship education, history, and sociology, based on their own incentives and convictions. Thus, the promotion of Unity-of-Diversity was shown to be taking place in schools and classrooms, but it remains limited, unplanned, and unsystematic. This lack of consciousness in implementing critical multicultural education in schools echoes the findings of prior research in the practice of multicultural education in Indonesia (Harjatanaya & Hoon, 2020; Hoon, 2013; Raihani, 2014).

Notwithstanding the commitment of teachers, students, and parents in nurturing religious diversity in school, I argue that the implementation is far from ideal and hence needs further improvement. One of the underlying problems is the inconsistent and contradictory nature of educational and non-educational policies in relation to religion and belief. One strand of policy (e.g. the 2003 Education Act, Article 12) requires both the state as well as schools to deliver education equally and without discrimination. This includes giving each student equal opportunity to be taught by religious education

teachers who share their respective faiths and beliefs, even when the school is dominated by students from different religions. However, another strand of policy (the Government Law No. 55 of 2007, article 4) states that schools are not legally obliged to provide a worship facility for religious minority students, indicating the privileging of the religious majority group and hence the unequal experiences for different religious groups. As discussed in Chapter 7, there were found to be differences between the religious majorities and minorities within each respective school in terms of access to and quality of religious education, with the majority group being at an advantage. The arrangement of religious education for minority students was found to be erratic and impermanent, leaving the minority groups feeling vulnerable and powerless in school – a finding which also resembles that in Raihani's study (2015). This maintenance of unequal majority-minority power relations further reiterates the notion of the school as a dynamic complex system. There is clear tension evident in the policies between, on one side, respecting Indonesia's mainstream Muslim culture, which has become intertwined with the national culture through the privileging of Islam, and on the other side, ensuring fair treatment for religious minority groups as part of an inclusive national vision.

This policy mismatch is further complicated when schools and the stakeholders, notably head teachers and teachers are expected to interpret these competing policies and the rhetoric of religious diversity, and to then accommodate them into practices. Such a process of interpretation and accommodation is not a one-way, direct, top-down affair. Rather, it is a complex process that is continuously interpreted and reinterpreted by members of the majority and minority groups in different positions of authority in schools through constant negotiation and compromise. The complex narratives regarding the meanings of diversity, and the contextualised responses from schools, both of which have been consistently put forward throughout this thesis, exemplify such dynamics, where

positionalities constantly change. At a school level, the dynamics are illustrated by the shifting of religious privilege from Islam to Hindu in the case of Bali, or to the Chinese culture in the predominantly Chinese school in the otherwise Muslim-dominant city of Jakarta. Negotiations and compromises on the wearing of religious symbols in schools, the choice of which festivals to mark and how to mark them, the decision of which worship building to build, or to conduct collective prayers during school events, were also observed in all schools between head teachers, teachers, students, and parents as well as between members of majority and minority groups.

In addition to state policy, school policy and local culture, the process of accommodating and promoting the vision of diversity in schools is also influenced by the active involvement of teachers, head teachers, students, and parents. This is particularly the case for those from minority groups who keep pushing boundaries and challenging existing inequities. They were seen to have negotiated the school's arrangements regarding the provision for students' cultural and spiritual needs in order to gain some level of recognition and to challenge misrecognition. Having said this, it appears that real changes are made possible by the collective support of teachers (in School 1) and parents (in School 2) from majority groups who have an inclusive vision of diversity in education. This points to the importance of collaboration by all stakeholders to create a greater and more systematic impact in achieving a more just society.

Considering the notable socio-historic position of religion vis-à-vis the state, society and education in Indonesia, and the ongoing societal divide around religion, religious education continues to hold the key to creating inter-religious harmony in Indonesia (Baidhawy, 2007; Parker, 2014). The confessional approach to teaching religious education, which is in compliance with the 2003 Education Act, may also limit the ability of these teachers to teach in, about, and for diversity in a more critical manner

(Parker & Hoon, 2013). On the one hand, the confessional approach allows the cultivation of religious piety and the production of religious self that embodies the values engrained in scriptures and texts – which is considered positive in a religious society like Indonesia (Leirvik, 2004). On the other hand, it does not allow teachers the space to talk about other topics, let alone discuss other religions. This finding raises two big questions: how current religious education can possibly meet the learning objectives of developing religious tolerance when it barely engages students in critical discussion about truth claims in religion and/or different religious practices and beliefs; and how students can learn to respect and accept the existence of other religions and their adherents when the focus of religious education has always been about piety and commitment to one's own religion.

Reflecting on the discussion thus far, any progress toward critical religious education in Indonesia needs to be accompanied by the enhancement of the curriculum and the shifting of the current mindset regarding how religious education can promote Unity-in-Diversity. To consolidate the role of religious education in achieving a multi-religious, democratic Indonesia, some Indonesian academics such as Raihani (2015) have discussed the benefit of introducing into the existing religious education curricula some elements of comparative religious studies, in which students can learn about several religions. First, the mindset of 'your religion is yours, my religion is mine', which is popularly expressed by many participants in this research to create a boundary in order to minimise the risk of inter-religious conflict, needs to be readjusted. Schools could then facilitate a safe space and hold regular discussion forums, at which students would have the opportunity to address religious teachers, leaders, or students representing the various religions, and be able to ask them questions about their respective religions (Davies, 2016; Fancourt, 2009; Jackson & Everington, 2017; OECD, 2018). By having such knowledge about other religions and engaging in inter-religious dialogue at school, students could

develop open-mindedness and critical understanding about different religious views and traditions (Fancourt, 2009). Parker & Hoon (2013) have suggested adopting a “non-theological” and “non-confessional” paradigm for teaching religious education, thus allowing students to engage in active, participatory interfaith education. To ensure that inter-religious tolerance becomes deeply entrenched in society, teachers need to be given professional assistance to develop the skills required for religious teaching that is critical and contextualised. They also need to be given guidance in order to build the confidence to teach religious studies dialogically and critically in the classroom, something that studies on religious education in various countries have shown to be lacking (e.g. Moore, 2009; Raihani, 2014b; Wang, 2013).

#### 9.1.4. Thinking about Educational Priorities in Schools

The focus of this research has been on the role of schools in promoting Unity-in-Diversity through multicultural education in the case of Indonesia. Up to this point, this thesis has presented evidence showing some commitment from educational stakeholders in promoting Unity-in-Diversity and accommodating the vision of diversity in schools and classrooms. However, data analysis of teachers’ responses on the Indonesian education system as a whole and notes on classroom observations suggest that when situating the topic within the larger picture of education, the promotion of multicultural education is less of a priority for parents and teachers, except for teachers of subjects with curricular content directly related to the notions of citizenship and social relationships. Even in these cases where the subject teachers were expected to promote inter-religious understanding and tolerance, such as in civic education, sociology or religious education, a critical approach was not always employed, and the focus of learning was limited to the transmission of theoretical knowledge.

Apart from the lack of knowledge and skills needed to implement critical multicultural education, accounts provided by teachers and head teachers suggest that the issues of diversity are considered peripheral to the core academic curriculum. They are generally more concerned with raising student's academic achievements, preparing them for exams, meeting the demand of the national curriculum (such as promoting character values), and completing the substantial administrative tasks that came about with the implementation of the 2013 curriculum and character education. The stakeholders' priority on meeting the academic demands over promoting diversity is also previously argued by academics studying education and diversity in Indonesia (Hoon, 2013; Raihani, 2014b) and other countries (e.g. Halai & Durrani, 2017)

Moreover, the research noted that in a vast country like Indonesia, which suffers inequalities between one region and another, schools are often subject to inequalities too. The quality of learning facilities and infrastructure of the participating schools varied extensively, and some do not have the appropriate facilities to meet the expectations of the 2013 curriculum. During their interviews, some teachers and head teachers revealed a long list of issues that the education sector is facing in Indonesia. These involve, but are not limited to: students' low learning motivation, frozen teacher salaries due to the changing administrative structure in the local educational authorities, the demand from the government for teachers to sit professional competence exams, the requirement to submit very detailed teaching plans to inspectors, the infamous erratic educational policies, and the lack of funding to cover operational costs. Given that the schools in this research are located in the two most developed cities in Indonesia, this is a concerning observation. In view of these findings, it is thus unsurprising to find that, despite having a great awareness about Unity-in-Diversity and the importance of promoting it, teachers did not always consciously think about implementing multicultural values systematically.

## **9.2. Usefulness of Multicultural Education as a Framework to Promote Diversity in Multicultural Societies**

### 9.2.1. Religion in Multicultural Education and Multiculturalism in Religious Education

*Just as there are different multicultural societies, so there are very different “multiculturalisms”.* (Hall, 2000:210)

The discourse and policy of multiculturalism began to develop in the West in the 1960s as a direct response to the wave of immigration which increased the presence of cultural differences in society (Ashcroft & Bevir, 2018). Until the present day, despite the backlash against multiculturalism policies for the reasons addressed in Chapter 3, multiculturalism policies represent the state’s response to managing and accommodating cultural differences, with an initial focus on ethnic and racial differences. Nonetheless, with the growing number of adherents to the major religions, and with Islam being the fastest growing religion in the world (Pew Research Centre, 2011, 2017), it is important to rethink the Western-focused theory of multiculturalism. Given that this thesis is based in the largest Muslim country in the world, it attempts to contribute to the current knowledge of multiculturalism and multicultural education by supporting the proposal put forward by other scholars that the place of religion within multiculturalism, and specifically multicultural education, needs to be considered (Hoon, 2017; Parker & Hoon, 2013; Salili & Hoosain, 2006). In doing so, it also considers the applicability of the theories of multiculturalism in religious education that promote peaceful coexistence.

In Chapters 2 and 3, I explained how religiosity and diversity play out in the context of religious and democratic Indonesia and how the dynamics between the nationalist and Islamist groups as well as the majority and minority groups have affected the discourse and practices of multiculturalism in the country. Even though Indonesia does not apply an explicit multiculturalism policy, the spirit of multiculturalism is embedded in the nation’s philosophy, *Pancasila* and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity-in-

Diversity). Despite the contestation of the meanings, these two national pillars represent an inclusive vision of diversity that the society need to uphold and share. However, just like any multicultural society that is prone to divisiveness and conflict, this vision does not always represent the reality. Among many things, the ongoing intolerance towards, prosecution of, and violent attacks against, religious minority groups and atheistic individuals (Burhani, 2014; Bush & Munawar-Rachman, 2014; Colbran, 2010; Hefner, 2013; Indonesian Ministry of Religion, 2015), serves as a real reminder of the continuous struggle that Indonesia is facing in accommodating and protecting the religious rights of its citizens. This struggle is evidence of why the notion of multiculturalism, especially one that puts religious diversity at the heart of the problem, is relevant to Indonesia and other similar jurisdictions, because it demands that the state protect the rights of minority groups. Both multiculturalism and multicultural education are important in building an Indonesia where the “Unity” can be balanced with the “Diversity”. On a related note, the case of Indonesia also shows how religion is relevant to the global discourse of multiculturalism since the tension between religiosity and diversity and between religious majorities and minorities is not a situation unique to Indonesia. Many Western countries with a long history of immigration, including the UK, have experienced religious-driven issues, particularly regarding the Muslim community in recent years (Field, 2007; Gardner et al., 2008).

By focusing upon the enactment of the Indonesian curriculum and the agenda of national character building, it was found that the development of character education, which essentially encompasses many values including diversity and democracy, has largely emphasised the cultivation of religious identity. The emphasis on piety, the commitment to performing prayers, and the ability to recite the Qur’an (in the case of Muslims) can have some repercussions. The notion of developing strong religious identity

is not paired with the provision of equal religious education for all students. In Chapters 6 and 7, I have provided accounts from both religious teachers of minority religions and students from religious minority groups regarding their negotiations with the schools to be given space and time to learn, permission to wear the *hijab* for Muslims women (in the case of non-Muslim schools), or to get permission to conduct certain religious activities on the school site. Most teachers of minority religions also had to accept the fact that they had to modify their teaching due to the reduced number of lesson hours and instead had to teach voluntarily or with much lower fees than their counterparts who taught the religion of the majority in the school. Students also had to go to local churches or temples to get their religious education. This demonstrates an inequality of access and quality regarding religious education in schools, which can further perpetuate the inequalities that religious minority groups experience in the wider society. By not accommodating the religious needs of the minority groups or actively promoting inter-religious understanding, which are key elements to multicultural education, schools are in danger of reproducing the hegemonic culture that privileges the needs of the religious majority group and reinforces the exclusive nature of religion.

Given the important status of religion in Indonesian society, this study reiterates the findings of prior research (Baidhaw, 2007; Parker, 2014) about the central role of religious education in promoting religious harmony specifically and achieving peaceful multicultural society generally. Findings in Chapters 6 and 7 have shown that among all types of diversity, inter-religious communication and understanding is key to achieving Unity-in-Diversity. With consideration to the limits of the curriculum, this research argues that attempts to build inter-religious understanding in cases of confessional religious education are still possible, although they are heavily reliant on the initiatives of the local government, schools, individual teachers, parents, and communities.

### 9.2.2. Re-thinking Pedagogical Approaches in Critical Multicultural Education

One of the most important elements of the holistic implementation of multicultural education is classroom teaching and learning (Banks, 2009c; Banks & Banks, 2010; Raihani, 2011). In Chapter 8, I have provided the nuanced accounts of how teachers of widely varying subjects (sciences, social sciences, and art and humanities) promote the vision of Unity-in-Diversity pedagogically in the classroom. In the analysis, I have used Banks' five dimensions of multicultural education to help define the approach these subject teachers take in teaching their respective subjects. While I have found Banks' theory useful as a conceptual tool, and one that is still relevant to the study of multicultural education, I have learned that the theory's focus on addressing ethnic and racial differences may not be directly applicable to the case of religious diversity generally and Indonesia specifically. I will illustrate the problems by using an example from this study about the use of content integration and prejudice reduction in promoting religious diversity, which are two of the five dimensions that Banks proposes.

Teachers' accounts in Chapter 8 have shown that it is possible to integrate some aspects of religious diversity into all subjects (though it is limited and remains challenging for some), such as the importance of religious tolerance (and including the risk of intolerance). However, the absence of a more critical approach to content integration, such as integrating information about various religions in order to build inter-religious understanding, indicates the possible limitations of promoting religious diversity critically through the racial-focused theories of multicultural education. Issues such as the lack of knowledge about other religions, unsubstantiated truth claims, and above all the risk of being accused for proselytising or blasphemy were hinted at when teachers said that not interfering with other religions was the best way to promote inter-religious harmony. For these teachers, the best policy is to keep their own religion to themselves

and let others do the same, as depicted by the commonly used phrase, “my religion is mine, your religion is yours”. The development of a critical understanding about other religions through inter-religious learning becomes more complicated when teaching religious education, due to the social-political dynamics in Indonesia and the nature of religious education, as previously elaborated.

Moreover, in a context such as in Indonesia where religion underpins the overall delivery of education and is the basis for the development of morals and good character, there are boundaries that determine how equality is defined and what kind of diversity is accepted. For instance, in the cases of LGBT or Ahmadiyya groups, teachers who choose to apply a strategy of prejudice reduction may in practice experience alienation by their peers or society as they do not conform to the mainstream norm or discourse. In such cases, teachers may have to downplay their level of activism in multiculturalism and start their teaching by emphasising the notions of humanity and shared values between members of these groups as an entry point. This appeared to be a popular multiculturalism position among the teacher participants. Even when considering the less controversial issue of gender, the definition of gender equality and the extent to which equality between men and women is accepted can vary from one teacher to another. This can also be independent from the teachers’ views on other elements of diversity. This can be demonstrated by revisiting the example from a sociology teacher in Bali (detailed in Chapter 6). His account of religious and ethnic diversity in the interview suggests a critical view of multiculturalism, and yet when observing his teaching in class he demonstrated his conservative standpoint with regard to gender. This issue of blurred boundaries of positions on multiculturalism also points to the importance of using Kincheloe and Steinberg’s (1997) categorisation of multiculturalism critically.

## 10 Conclusion

This thesis represents an attempt to contribute to the current scholarship on the role of education in building a peaceful and inclusive society in today's rapidly changing and increasingly diverse world. Focusing on the case of multi-religious Indonesia, it has critically examined how schools with their own unique characteristics and contextual differences accommodate the vision of diversity. Employing a qualitative two-tier case study approach, involving six purposively selected schools located in two culturally distinctive provinces in Indonesia – Jakarta and Bali – this thesis has presented nuanced accounts of the perspectives of various educational stakeholders regarding the meanings of Unity-in-Diversity. It then examines the educational responses of head teachers and teachers in realising their versions of Unity-in-Diversity at school and classroom levels, framed through the lens of multicultural education. So, what has been learnt from asking head teachers, teachers, students, and parents about the accommodation of the vision of diversity in different school contexts in contemporary Indonesia?

First, the accommodation of diversity in public spaces such as schools is a key feature of the theory of multiculturalism and multicultural education, as outlined in Chapter 3. In this thesis, the accommodation discussed thus far has not only addressed the accommodation of the rights and interests of different groups within a school (especially that of religious minorities), but it has also examined the accommodation of the wider overarching national vision of diversity, “Unity-in-Diversity”, in various aspects of schooling to fit the different school contexts. In doing so, this thesis has unravelled the complex relationships between identity and positionality, religiosity and national-multiculturalism, as well as policy and practice of multicultural education at both smaller and larger scales. The patterns of accommodation within the nuanced and complex topic of diversity have also been closely scrutinised in light of other complex

concepts such as identity, negotiation, and agency, further accentuating the volatile and complex nature of researching issues of diversity in education.

Second, the complex reality of accommodating the vision of diversity in schools has also been further elucidated, as each individual school is treated as a separate case study with its own unique character and contexts. Recognising that the accommodation of the vision of diversity in schools is context-laden and schools are embedded within society, this thesis highlights the importance of considering contextuality when conducting research in the field of education and diversity. This has previously been explicated by other academics in the field of religious education (e.g. Fancourt & Ipgrave, 2019; Skeie, 2013). By purposively choosing this contextual framing, this thesis has benefited from allowing each school to “tell their story” on how they attempt to realise their own vision of diversity according to their contexts and resources. As a result, it has minimised the risk of being limited by pre-conceived assumptions that certain schools (i.e. heterogeneous schools) are better than the others (i.e. homogeneous counterparts). While this thesis does, to a certain extent, support prior studies showing that schools with a heterogeneous student population have greater potential in promoting multicultural education than their homogeneous counterparts, purely because the former had a ready-made environment to facilitate intergroup contact (Hayes et al., 2007; Pettigrew, 1998), this research also seeks to support scholars such as Raihani (2012, 2014a, 2014b) in debunking the stigma of homogeneous schools – and particularly faith schools – as always being exclusive. I am aware that homogeneous schools are more likely to be exclusive and many do adopt a religiously exclusive ethos. However, this thesis has found that the only homogeneous school in this research, which is administered by a Muslim organisation, did create some opportunities for their Muslim students to interact with non-Muslim students through various school activities in order to mitigate

the school cultural exclusivism (Chapters 7 and 8). Acknowledging that this school may be in a minority within its group, this finding does, however, shed light upon the possibility of implementing multicultural education in homogeneous schools.

The pertinence of understanding a school in terms of its context also has implications for practice. Although, theoretically, heterogeneous schools contain more favourable features for promoting peaceful coexistence, both heterogeneous and homogeneous schools do co-exist in real-life settings. Thus, instead of looking for an idealistic, homogenised, one-size-fits-all model for implementing multicultural education, I argue that it is more useful to think of multicultural education contextually. By thinking of the concept of multicultural education contextually, there is a better chance that core principles of multicultural education can be applied in any setting. In light of this research, it is evident that contextual understanding about multiculturalism and contextualised implementation are key to both researching multicultural education as well as applying effective multicultural education.

Among the various types of diversity existing in multi-religious Indonesia, this thesis has found that fostering inter-religious harmony is key to achieving Unity-in-Diversity. Indonesia is a religious country with the largest Muslim population in the world, but it also legally recognises other religions and protects the rights of their followers to practice their religion. However, the unclear and sometimes mismatched regulations (both educational and non-educational) relating to religious freedom and religious education provides loopholes for certain groups to create and accentuate the majority-minority divide, thus threatening religious harmony. Data from observations, interviews, photos, and documents have pointed to the perpetual culture of privileging the religious majority group in schools, both in a hidden fashion and explicitly. Minority groups have admitted to feeling insecure and ambivalent, but they have at the same time

shown some resilience and come up with initiatives to reconcile the situation by negotiating their positions and reaching compromises. With the support of some members of the majority group who practised a more critical approach to multicultural education, positive changes toward a more inclusive learning environment were noted. One example is the account of the sociology teacher in School 1 Jakarta, who initiated a drive to support the rights of the religious minority students to have religious education in the school, and of the former head teacher in the same school who was responsible for approving the funding of the religious education classes for the minority students. This example points to the importance of a teacher's agency in implementing multicultural education in schools. This contrasting finding also infers that schools can serve as active sites for either cultural reproduction which maintain the status quo or for reformation which challenges the power inequalities.

In light of these findings, this thesis suggests the need to rethink the approach to continuous professional development (CPD) programmes to raise teachers' awareness of the forms of injustice that might take place in schools, and to sharpen the teachers' skills and knowledge of critical multicultural education, so that they are more responsive in accommodating diversity and are an active part of the reforms. During my interaction with teachers in this research, I learned that a typical session on a teacher training day in Indonesia were often filled with presentations of theories of character education (the technical terminology about teaching strategies) or relaying information about the arduous administrative tasks designed to evaluate a teacher's performance and monitor their competence in meeting objectives of the curriculum and character education. The proposed improved CPD programme needs to be directed towards building a multicultural educator's mindset that is resilient, critical, empowered, and creative, in order to shape young people into intellectual, yet empathetic, democratic, and inclusive

beings. The CPD programme should also target head teachers since they hold the authority to make any significant structural changes in school. This CPD programme for head teachers should aim to create a visionary school leader who puts multicultural education and its principles at the heart of education goals.

This thesis also notes that the development of the religious self was identified as being a popular approach in promoting inter-religious diversity that is not found within the multicultural education concept developed by renowned international authors like Banks, who conventionally focused on race, culture and ethnicity. In a religious society like Indonesia, piety and commitment to one's own religion are regarded as key indicators of good citizens (Sakai & Fauzia, 2014). There is an assumption that religious citizens will treat each other, including those from different religions, with respect. Reflection drawn from the theoretical discussion in Chapter 4 and research findings on pedagogical responses in Chapter 8 point to the potential tension between the current theories of multicultural education, with its promotion of religious diversity, and religious education in a confessional system like in Indonesia. This poses questions about the practice of truth claiming and critical thinking, as well as the limits of open-mindedness towards other's perspectives and inter-religious learning.

Looking at the current Indonesian curriculum, the underpinning concept of national character education places the values of respecting diversity, religious tolerance, and nationalism at the centre of the framework. To minimise the negative repercussions from the strong emphasis of religiosity and piety, such as religious exclusivism and fanaticism in Indonesia, this research suggests the importance of pairing the rhetoric of religious piety with strengthening a national identity that is based on the principles of multiculturalism. This means that the national identity is co-constructed by all groups on

the basis of inclusivity and equality, whereby all ethnic-religious groups are treated equally and no one group is perceived as or claims to be superior.

In addition to the strong narrative of developing religiosity and piety, this thesis also recognises that academic excellence still takes precedence over other things, especially for schools in relatively stable communities. The anxiety surrounding inter-school ranking, the country's performance in international assessments in areas such as literacy, numeracy and science (for example, PISA and TIMSS), as well as digital learning to face the Revolution 4.0 era (such as Artificial Intelligence), to name a few examples, can add to the blurring of discourse on the importance of education in teaching values and skills that place emphasis on non-academic and social skills. Looking closely at the aims and missions of education in most, if not all, countries, shows that the core narrative behind the allocation of a high proportion of the national budget to the funding of education is that it supports economic development. Education acts as an investment tool to increase human capital. This narrative is even stronger in developing countries, such as Indonesia, where education is viewed as a golden ticket to social mobility. Yet, issues such as poor school infrastructure and unequal access to quality education, which were observed in this research, remain prevalent. It is thus important to take into account the practical implications and complexities that come with managing multiple expectations from different stakeholders, as well as to consider the contextual and logistical challenges when examining the issue of education and diversity. The definition and implementation of multicultural education should, therefore, address the misconception that research and practice on the topic of education and diversity deal exclusively with the discourses and issues of diversity. They should, therefore, consider all these educational dimensions in order to be most relevant.

## **Contribution to Knowledge**

The contribution of this thesis can be divided into three aspects. The first concerns the definition of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity-in-Diversity) in contemporary Indonesia. This thesis argues that despite having a direct gloss of “*walaupun berbeda-beda tetapi tetap satu juga*” (“although we are different, we are one”), which is heavily socialised throughout compulsory formal education, the meaning of this national vision of diversity is not fixed; it is nuanced and variously interpreted by people. Its interpretation evolves across time and changes according to contexts and circumstances, and it is strongly influenced by the identity and values of the individual and school. Since schools are complex systems, which involve interactions between different stakeholders with different views, expectations, roles, and power, the accommodation of the vision of diversity in schools is not straightforward and linear. Rather, it is highly complex and hence needs to be contextualised.

The second contribution is related to the suitability of multiculturalism and multicultural education as a theoretical lens to research about the topic of education and diversity in Indonesia. This thesis has demonstrated how multiculturalism can be used as an appropriate theoretical lens to conceptualise Indonesian diversity. Considering the significance of religion in Indonesian society, this thesis argues for the pertinence of considering religion in the conceptualisation of multicultural education in Indonesia – something that has also been discussed during the development of the emergent model of multicultural education by other Indonesian scholars. As such, this thesis contributes to the applicability of multiculturalism and multicultural education theories as an analytical tool to research the topic of education and diversity (specifically religious diversity) in Indonesia and other contexts where religious diversity is an important social construct.

Third is related to the use of multicultural education as a praxis and pedagogical guide in schools. While the emergent model of Indonesian multicultural education generally indicates that multicultural education is a suitable pedagogy to promote Indonesian diversity in schools, this thesis has found some challenges linked to the promotion of religious diversity in Indonesian education. One of these is the confessional approach to religious education, which has been found to limit inter-religious dialogue in schools. Because of this contextual challenge, this thesis argues that Indonesian multicultural education needs to be developed more contextually by considering multicultural pedagogies in tandem with nationalism and national identity, and including the vision of diversity enshrined in the national motto, *Bhinneka-Tunggal-Ika*. An Indonesian model of multicultural education should not be a direct transfer from existing models of multicultural education developed in Western contexts, which have a long-standing focus on the issues of ethnicity and race. The emergent model of Indonesian multicultural education, that has been implicitly facilitated through character education agenda, can be refined to include a more critical approach to multicultural education. This critical approach should address the issues of structural inequalities and unequal power struggles that this research has found to take place systematically both in schools and in the wider society.

## **Future Research**

This thesis draws on findings from case-study research in the two most developed provinces in Indonesia, namely Jakarta and Bali. Future research conducted in other less-developed parts of Indonesia, with a different cultural and religious demography, as well as further research in religious schools, could be useful in offering an insight into the different problems schools and teachers may encounter in a vast and diverse country like Indonesia. Given the growing number of religious adherents and the prevalence of religious-driven issues worldwide, similar studies conducted in both Eastern and Western countries can help to deepen the understanding of the place religion holds in multicultural education. Notwithstanding the benefit of parents' participation, this thesis does not look at how issues of diversity are talked about and taught at home. In view of the importance of family and community in shaping a child's identity and perspective, future studies might also wish to consider investigating the relations between informal education and formal education to explore the possibility of implementing a holistic and integrated approach to multicultural education.

It might also be enlightening to conduct a longitudinal study combined with an experimental study of multicultural education. In this proposed research, the chosen schools (a mix of state, private, and religious schools) may be studied prior to and after being given training about a whole-school approach to multicultural education. This kind of research would be valuable in understanding what aspects of multicultural education could lead to an inclusive society and how that might happen. Finally, it may be compelling to apply a different theoretical framing (e.g. religious education) and to further develop the concept of contextuality in researching religious diversity.

## REFERENCES

- Abdi, S. (2014). Islam, Religious Minorities, and the Challenge of the Blasphemy Laws: A Close Look at the Current Liberal Muslim Discourse. In B. Plattdasch & J. Saravanamuttu (Eds.), *Religious Diversity in Muslim-majority States in Southeast Asia: Areas of Toleration and Conflict* (pp. 51–74). Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Abu-Lughod, L. (2000). *Veiled sentiments : honor and poetry in a Bedouin society*. California: University of California Press.
- Affan, H. (2017, June 1). Pancasila: Mengapa siswa jadi wajib nyanyikan Indonesia Raya? [Pancasila: Why students are obliged to sing Indonesian national anthem?]. *BBC News Indonesia*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/indonesia-40081759>
- Afrianty, D. (2012). Islamic education and youth extremism in Indonesia. *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 7(2), 134–146. <https://doi.org/10.1080/18335330.2012.719095>
- Agee, J. (2009). Developing Qualitative Research Questions: A Reflective Process. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 22(4), 431–447.
- Aguilar, F. V. (2001). Citizenship, Inheritance, and the Indigenizing of “Orang Chinese” in Indonesia. *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique*, 9(3), 501–533. <https://doi.org/10.1215/10679847-9-3-501>
- Ahmad, H. A. (2013). *Survei Nasional Kerukunan Umat Beragama di Indonesia [National Survey on Religious Harmony in Indonesia]*. Jakarta: Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia.
- Ahnaf, M. I., Maarif, S., Asyhari-Afwan, B., & Afdillah, M. (2015). *Politik Lokal Dan Konflik Keagamaan: Pilkada dan Struktur Kesempatan Politik dalam Konflik Keagamaan di Sampang, Bekasi dan Kupang*.
- Aji, M. R. (2018, May 5). Timeline of Rizieq Shihab’s Pancasila Defamation Case. *Tempo.Co*. Retrieved from <https://en.tempo.co/read/918184/timeline-of-rizieq-shihabs-pancasila-defamation-case>
- Al Arifin, A. H. (2012). Implementasi Pendidikan Multikultural Dalam Praksis Pendidikan di Indonesia [Implementation of Multicultural Education in Education Praxis in Indonesia]. *Jurnal Pembangunan Pendidikan: Fondasi Dan Aplikasi*, 1(1), 72–82.
- Allard, T., & Jefriando, M. (2018, August 10). Indonesian president highlights nationalism, religiosity amid VP pick concerns. *Reuters*. Retrieved from <https://af.reuters.com/article/worldNews/idAFKBN1KV0EX>
- Allen, P. (2003). Literature and the Media Contemporary Literature from the Chinese ‘Diaspora’ in Indonesia. *Asian Ethnicity*, 4(3), 383–400.
- Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge, Mass: Addison-Wesley.
- Almanar, A., & Prasetyo, E. (2016, November 4). Anti-Ahok Rally Turns Violent as Protesters Start to Disperse. *Jakarta Globe*. Retrieved from <http://jakartaglobe.id/news/jakarta/anti-ahok-rally-turns-violent-protesters-start-disperse/>
- Alviar-Martin, T., & Ho, L. C. (2011). “So, where do they fit in?” Teachers’ perspectives of multi-cultural education and diversity in Singapore. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 27(1), 127–135. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2010.07.009>
- Anderson, B. (1999). Indonesian nationalism today and in the future. *Indonesia*, 67, 1–11.

- Ang, I. (2001a). *On not speaking Chinese: living between Asia and the west*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Ang, I. (2001b). Trapped in ambivalence: Chinese Indonesians, victimhood, and the debris of History. In M. Morris & B. Bary (Eds.), *“Race” Panic and the Memory of Migration*. (pp. 21–47). Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Antara, M., & Sumarniasih, M. S. (2017). Role of Tourism in Economy of Bali and Indonesia, 5(2), 34–44. <https://doi.org/10.15640/jthm.v5n2a4>
- Anthias, F. (2001). New Hybridities, Old Concepts: The Limits of ‘Culture’.’ *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24(4), 619–641.
- Antonsich, M. (2016). Interculturalism versus multiculturalism – The Cattle-Modood debate. *Ethnicities*, 16(3), 470–493. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796815604558>
- Antonsich, M., & Matejskova, T. (2015). Immigration societies and the question of ‘the national.’ *Ethnicities*, 15(4), 495–508.
- Appiah, K. A. (2006). *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. New York: Norton.
- Apple, M. (1996). *Cultural Politics and Education*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Arifianto, A. R. (2017, April 20). Jakarta governor election results in a victory for prejudice over pluralism. *The Conversation*. Retrieved from <http://theconversation.com/jakarta-governor-election-results-in-a-victory-for-prejudice-over-pluralism-76388>
- Arifianto, A. R. (2018). Islamic Campus Preaching Organizations in Indonesia : Promoters of Moderation or Radicalism ? *Asian Security*, 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14799855.2018.1461086>
- Ashcroft, R. T., & Bevir, M. (2018). Multiculturalism in contemporary Britain: policy, law and theory. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 21(1), 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13698230.2017.1398443>
- Aspinall, E. (2017, February 16). Interpreting the Jakarta election. Retrieved March 23, 2019, from <https://www.newmandala.org/interpreting-jakarta-election/>
- Aspinall, E., & Fealy, G. (2003). *Local Power and Politics in Indonesia: Decentralisation & Democratisation*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Bachrun, R., & Hartanto, B. (2000). Krisis Identitas Diri Pada Kelompok Minoritas Cina. In I. Wibowo (Ed.), *Harga Yang Harus Dibayar: Sketsa Pergulatan Etnis Cina di Indonesia*. (pp. 35–59). Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Bagir, Z. A., Ahnaf, M. I., Tahun, M., & Asyhari, B. (2013). *Laporan Tahunan Kehidupan Beragama di Indonesia 2012 [Annual Report of Religious Living in Indonesia 2012]*. Yogyakarta: Center for Religious & Cross-cultural Studies (CRCS).
- Bagir, Z. A., Cholil, S., Saputro, E., Asyhari, B., Rahayu, M., & Dwipayana, A. A. G. (2010). *Laporan Tahunan Kehidupan Beragama di Indonesia 2010 [Annual Report of Religious Living in Indonesia 2010]*. Yogyakarta: Center for Religious & Cross-cultural Studies (CRCS).
- Bagir, Z. A., Hefner, R. W., & Ali-fauzi, I. (2014). *Mengelola Keragaman dan Kebebasan Beragama di Indonesia: Sejarah, Teori dan Advokasi [Managing Diversity and Religious Freedom in Indonesia: History, Theory and Advocacy]*. Yogyakarta: Center for Religious & Cross-cultural Studies (CRCS).

- Bagir, Z. A., Rahayu, M., Tahun, M., Martiam, N., Asyhari, B., Cholil, S., ... Saputro, E. (2011). *Laporan Tahunan Kehidupan Beragama di Indonesia 2011 [Annual Report of Religious Living in Indonesia 2011]*. Yogyakarta.
- Baidhaw, Z. (2007). Building harmony and peace through multiculturalist theology-based religious education: an alternative for contemporary Indonesia. *British Journal of Religious Education*, 29(1), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01416200601037478>
- Bali Around. (n.d.). Tri Hita Karana - Balinese life Wisdom. Retrieved November 7, 2018, from <https://www.baliaround.com/tri-hita-karana-three-balinese-wisdom-concept/>
- Ball, S. J. (2015). What is policy? 21 years later: reflections on the possibilities of policy research. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 6306(July), 1–8. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01596306.2015.1015279>
- Banks, J.A. (2009a). Diversity and Citizenship Education in Multicultural Nations. *Multicultural Education Review*, 1(1), 1–28. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23770031.2009.11102861>
- Banks, J. A. (2009b). Multicultural education: dimensions and paradigms. In Banks, J.A. (Ed.), *The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education*. London: Routledge.
- Banks, J. A. (2009c). *The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Banks, J. A. (2010). Multicultural Education: Characteristics and Goals. In Banks, J.A. & Banks, C.A.M. (Eds.), *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives*. (7th ed., pp. 3–26). US: Wiley.
- Banks, J. A. (2017). *An Introduction to Multicultural Education* (Sixth). Boston: Pearson.
- Banks, J. A., & Banks, C. A. M. (2010). *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives*. USA: John Wiley & Sons.
- Barnes, P., Davis, A., & Halstead, J. M. (2015). *Religious education : educating for diversity*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Barry, B. (2001). *Culture and equality: An egalitarian critique of multiculturalism*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Baxter, P., & Jack, S. (2008). Qualitative Case Study Methodology : Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers. *The Qualitative Report*, 13(4), 544–559.
- Bayuni, E. (2017, April 15). Jokowi turns to Islam-nationalism to preserve Indonesia's diversity. *Straits Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/se-asia/jokowi-turns-to-islam-nationalism-to-preserve-indonesias-diversity>
- Bazeley, P., & Jackson, K. (2013). *Qualitative Data Analysis with NVIVO*. London: Sage.
- BBC News Indonesia. (2016a, January 22). GP Ansor: Buku TK 'Anak Islam Suka Membaca' ajarkan radikalisme [GP Ansor: Pre-School Book "Muslim Child Likes to Read" Teaches Radicalism]. *BBC News Indonesia*. Retrieved from [http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita\\_indonesia/2016/01/160122\\_indonesia\\_ansor\\_buku\\_tk](http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita_indonesia/2016/01/160122_indonesia_ansor_buku_tk)
- BBC News Indonesia. (2016b, June 1). Jokowi: Pancasila benteng melawan radikalisme dan ekstremisme [Jokowi: Pancasila Shields Against Radicalism and Extremism]. *BBC News Indonesia*. Retrieved from [http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita\\_indonesia/2016/06/160601\\_indonesia\\_jokowi\\_hari\\_pancasila](http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita_indonesia/2016/06/160601_indonesia_jokowi_hari_pancasila)

- BBC News Indonesia. (2016c, October 13). Kaum radikal lebih ‘lincah’ menggunakan teknologi [Radicalist people are more “agile” in using technology]. *BBC News Indonesia*. Retrieved from [http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita\\_indonesia/2016/10/161012\\_indonesia\\_radikal\\_teknologi](http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita_indonesia/2016/10/161012_indonesia_radikal_teknologi)
- BBC News UK. (2010, October 17). Merkel says German multicultural society has failed. Retrieved March 10, 2018, from <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-11559451>
- BBC News UK. (2016a, January 14). Jakarta attacks: Bombs and gunfire rock Indonesian capital. Retrieved June 19, 2018, from <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-35309195>
- BBC News UK. (2016b, July 20). The Islamic State group’s influence in Indonesia. *BBC News UK*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-35312624>
- BBC News UK. (2018, May 13). Surabaya attacks: 11 killed in Indonesia church bombings. *BBC News UK*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-44097771>
- BBC News UK. (2019a, February 14). Shamima Begum: Ex-Bethnal Green schoolgirl who joined IS “wants to come home.” Retrieved February 15, 2019, from <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-47229181>
- BBC News UK. (2019b, March 15). Christchurch shootings: 49 dead in New Zealand mosque attacks. Retrieved April 1, 2019, from <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-47578798>
- BBC News UK. (2019c, May 1). Hate crime in London soars since Christchurch attacks. Retrieved May 2, 2019, from [https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-48120278?intlink\\_from\\_url=https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/topics/c966094wvmqt/christchurch-mosque-shootings&link\\_location=live-reporting-story](https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-48120278?intlink_from_url=https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/topics/c966094wvmqt/christchurch-mosque-shootings&link_location=live-reporting-story)
- Beech, H., & Suhartono, M. (2019, April 15). Faith Politics on the Rise as Indonesian Islam Takes a Hard-Line Path. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/15/world/asia/indonesia-election-islam.html>
- Bennett, D. (1998). *Multicultural States: Rethinking Difference and Identity*. London: Routledge.
- Bialostocka, O. (2016). Dialogic education as an approach to multiculturalism for social cohesion in Namibia. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 0(0), 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2016.1169515>
- Bjork, C. (2006). Decentralisation in education, institutional culture and teacher autonomy in Indonesia. *Decentralisation and Privatisation in Education: The Role of the State*, (July 2004), 133–150. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-3358-2\\_7](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-3358-2_7)
- Bjork, C., & Raihani. (2018). Moving toward stability: development of the Indonesian education system. In R. W. Hefner (Ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Indonesia*. London: Routledge. Retrieved from [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/322420103\\_Moving\\_towards\\_the\\_stability\\_development\\_of\\_the\\_Indonesian\\_education\\_system?enrichId=rgreq-ff880f8fe2705fa55e19eca76ea76991-XXX&enrichSource=Y292ZXJQYWdlOzMyMjQyMDEwMztBUzo2MjQzNzczODUyMTgwNDhAMTUyNTg3NDU](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/322420103_Moving_towards_the_stability_development_of_the_Indonesian_education_system?enrichId=rgreq-ff880f8fe2705fa55e19eca76ea76991-XXX&enrichSource=Y292ZXJQYWdlOzMyMjQyMDEwMztBUzo2MjQzNzczODUyMTgwNDhAMTUyNTg3NDU)
- Block, J. (1982). Assimilation, accommodation, and the dynamics of personality development. *Child Development*, 53(2), 281–295.
- Bottomley, D. C. (2014). The KTP Quandary: Islam, the Ahmadiyya, and the reproduction of Indonesian Nationalism. *Contemporary Islam*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-014-0302-2>

- Brislin, R. W. (1986). The wording and translation of research instruments. In W. J. Lonner & J. W. Berry (Eds.), *Cross-cultural research and methodology series, Vol. 8. Field methods in cross-cultural research* (pp. 137–164). Sage Publications.
- Brock, C., & Symaco, L. P. (2011). Introduction. In C. Brock & L. P. Symaco (Eds.), *Education in South-East Asia* (pp. 7–11). Oxford: Symposium Books.
- Brown, W. (2009). *Regulating Aversion: Tolerance in the Age of Identity and Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Bruinessen, M. van. (2013). *Contemporary Developments in Indonesian Islam: Explaining the “Conservative Turn”*. (M. van Bruinessen, Ed.). Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Bryan, A. (2009). The intersectionality of nationalism and multiculturalism in the Irish curriculum : teaching against racism? *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 12(3), 297–317. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613320903178261>
- Bryman, A. (2008). *Social Research Methods* (3rd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Budhiman, A. (2017). *Penguatan Pendidikan Karakter: Arahan Khusus Presiden Gerakan Nasional Revolusi Mental [Strengthening Character Education: Special Presidential Directive National Mental Revolution Movement]*. Jakarta: Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture. Retrieved from [cerdasberkarakter.kemdikbud.go.id/content/download/44](https://cerdasberkarakter.kemdikbud.go.id/content/download/44)
- Burhani, A. N. (2014). Hating the Ahmadiyya: The place of “heretics” in contemporary Indonesian Muslim society. *Contemporary Islam*, 8, 133–152. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-014-0295-x>
- Burhani, A. N. (2017). The Banning of Hizbut Tahrir and the Consolidation of Democracy in Indonesia. *ISEAS Perspective*, (71), 1–10. Retrieved from [https://www.iseas.edu.sg/images/pdf/ISEAS\\_Perspective\\_2017\\_71.pdf](https://www.iseas.edu.sg/images/pdf/ISEAS_Perspective_2017_71.pdf)
- Burns, J., Corno, L., & La Ferrara, E. (2015). Interaction, Prejudice, and Performance: Evidence from South Africa, (February).
- Bush, K. D., & Saltarelli, D. (2000). *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict: Towards a Peacebuilding Education for Children of Education*. Florence: UNICEF. Retrieved from <http://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/pdf/insight4.pdf>
- Bush, R., & Munawar-Rachman, B. (2014). NU and Muhammadiyah: Majority Views on Religious Minorities in Indonesia. In B. Platzdasch & J. Saravanamuttu (Eds.), *Religious Diversity in Muslim-majority States in Southeast Asia: Areas of Toleration and Conflict* (pp. 16–50). Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Butcher, B., & Luxen, M. (2019, March 19). How prevalent is far-right extremism? Retrieved July 8, 2019, from [https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-47626859?intlink\\_from\\_url=https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/topics/c966094wvmqt/christchurch-mosque-shootings&link\\_location=live-reporting-story](https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-47626859?intlink_from_url=https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/topics/c966094wvmqt/christchurch-mosque-shootings&link_location=live-reporting-story)
- Calarco, J. M. (2017). Coached for the Classroom: Parents’ Cultural Transmission and Children’s Reproduction of Educational Inequalities. *American Sociological Review*, 79(5), 1015–1037. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122414546931>
- Cameron, D. (2011, February 5). Speech at the Munich Security Conference. Retrieved November 15, 2018, from <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pms-speech-at-munich-security-conference>

- Cantle, T. (2012). *Interculturalism: The new era of cohesion and diversity*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Choi, D. (2019, March 23). Hate crimes increased 226% in places Trump held a campaign rally in 2016, study claims. Retrieved April 9, 2019, from <https://www.businessinsider.com/trump-campaign-rally-hate-crimes-study-maga-2019-3?r=US&IR=T>
- Cochrane, J. (2017, April 19). Jakarta Governor Concedes Defeat in Religiously Tinged Election. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/19/world/asia/jakarta-election-ahok-anies-baswedan-indonesia.html>
- Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2011). *Research Methods in Education* (7th ed.). Oxon: Routledge.
- Colbran, N. (2010). Realities and challenges in realising freedom of religion or belief in Indonesia. *International Journal of Human Rights*, 14(5), 678–704. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13642980903155166>
- Coppel, C. A. (1983). *Indonesian Chinese in Crisis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Counter Extremism Project. (2018). *Indonesia : Extremism & Counter-Extremism Indonesia : Extremism & Counter-Extremism*. Retrieved from <https://www.counterextremism.com/countries/indonesia>
- Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Method Approaches*. London: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry & research design : choosing among five approaches*. US: Sage Publications.
- Crisp, R. J., Stathi, S., Turner, R. N., & Husnu, S. (2008). Imagined Intergroup Contact : Theory , Paradigm and Practice, 2, 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9004.2008.00155.x>
- Davies, L. (2004). *Education and Conflict: Complexity and Chaos*. London: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Davies, L. (2016). Security, Extremism and Education: Safeguarding or Surveillance? *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 64(1), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00071005.2015.1107022>
- Davis, D. W. (1997). Nonrandom Measurement Error and Race of Interviewer Effects Among African Americans. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 61(1), 183–207.
- Dejaeghere, J. G. (2009). Critical citizenship education for multicultural societies. *Revista Interamericana de Educacion Para La Democracia*, 2(2), 223–246.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, L. S. (2000). *Handbook of qualitative research*. London: Sage.
- Department for Education. (2016). *Educational Excellence Everywhere*. Retrieved from <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/educational-excellence-everywhere>
- Diela, T. (2018, May 25). Indonesia toughens up anti-terror laws days after worst attack in years. Retrieved May 6, 2019, from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-indonesia-security-bill/indonesia-toughens-up-anti-terror-laws-days-after-worst-attack-in-years-idUSKCN1IQ0DQ>
- Dilworth, P. P. (2004). Multicultural Citizenship Education: Case Studies from Social Studies Classrooms. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, 32(2), 153–186. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00933104.2004.10473251>

- Dja'far, A. M., Ferdhi, G., Nisa, N., & Hilaludin. (2016). *Ringkasan Eksekutif Laporan Tahunan: Kemerdekaan Beragama Berkeyakinan di Indonesia Tahun 2016 Wahid Foundation [Executive Summary Annual Report: Freedom to Religion and Faith in Indonesia 2016 Wahid Foundation]*. Wahid Foundation. Retrieved from <https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B91i4HE8Ta2mLUx2NXdUX2FDaGM/view>
- Donmoyer, R. (2000). Generalizability and the Single-Case Study. In R. Gomm, M. Hammersley, & P. Foster (Eds.), *Case Study Method* (pp. 45–68). London: SAGE Publications.
- Donnelly, C. (2008). The integrated school in a conflict society: a comparative analysis of two integrated primary schools in Northern Ireland. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 38(2), pp 187-198.
- Elliott, V. (2018). Thinking about the Coding Process in Qualitative Data Analysis. *The Qualitative Report*, 23(11), 2850–2861. Retrieved from <https://nsuworks.nova.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3560&context=tqr>
- Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I., & Shaw, L. L. (1995). *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Erdianto, K. (2017, May 8). Ini Alasan Pemerintah Bubarkan Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia [This is the Reason the Government Disbands Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia]. Retrieved March 21, 2019, from <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2017/05/08/14382891/ini.alasan.pemerintah.bubarkan.hizbut.tahrir.indonesia>
- Faas, D., Foster, N., & Smith, A. (2018). Accommodating religious diversity in denominational and multi-belief settings: a cross-sectoral study of the role of ethos and leadership in Irish primary schools. *Educational Review*, 00(00), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131911.2018.1520689>
- Fancourt, N. (2007). The Dialogical Teacher: Pupils' Perceptions of Good Teaching in Religious Education. In C. Bakker & H.-G. Heimbrock (Eds.), *Researching RE teachers : RE teachers as researchers*. Münster: Münster : Waxmann.
- Fancourt, N. (2009). The 'safe forum': Difference, Dialogue and Conflict. In J. Ipgrave, R. Jackson, & K. T. O'Grady (Eds.), *Religious education research through a community of practice : action research and the interpretive approach*. Münster: Münster : Waxmann.
- Fancourt, N., & Ipgrave, J. (2019). Schools and their local religious contexts: building a framework of negotiations through qualitative meta-synthesis. *Research Papers in Education*, 00(00), 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02671522.2019.1568530>
- Fancourt, N. P. M. (2015). Re-defining 'learning about religion' and 'learning from religion': a study of policy change. *British Journal of Religious Education*, 37(2), 122–137. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01416200.2014.923377>
- Fancourt, N. P. M. (2017). Crucifixes in classrooms: the pedagogical assumptions of the European Courts. In M. Rothgangel, K. von Bromssen, & H.-G. Heimbrock (Eds.), *Location, space and place in religious education. Religious diversity and education in Europe*. (pp. 87–100).
- Fealy, G. (2016, December 7). Bigger than Ahok: explaining the 2 December mass rally. Retrieved March 22, 2019, from <https://indonesiaatmelbourne.unimelb.edu.au/bigger-than-ahok-explaining-jakartas-2-december-mass-rally/>

- Field, C. . (2007). Islamophobia in contemporary Britain: the evidence of the opinion polls, 1988-2006. *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 18(4), 447–477.
- Finlay, L. (2002). Negotiating the Swamp: The Opportunity and Challenge of Reflexivity in Research Practice. *Qualitative Research*, 2(2), 209–230.
- Fleras, A. (2009). Multiculturalism as governance: Principles and paradoxes, policies and perspectives. In A. Fleras (Ed.), *The politics of multiculturalism: Multicultural governance in comparative perspective* (pp. 1–22). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(2), 219–245. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800405284363>
- Fogg, K. W. (2012). *The Fate of Muslim Nationalism in Independent Indonesia*. Yale. Retrieved from [https://www.academia.edu/17250911/The\\_Fate\\_of\\_Muslim\\_Nationalism\\_in\\_Independent\\_Indonesia](https://www.academia.edu/17250911/The_Fate_of_Muslim_Nationalism_in_Independent_Indonesia)
- Fogg, K. W. (2016). Decolonization and Religion: Islamic Arguments for Indonesian Independence. *Leidschrift*, 31(3), 109–124.
- Fogg, K. W. (2018). State and Islamic education growing into each other in Indonesia. In P. M. Jolliffe & T. R. Bruce (Eds.), *Southeast Asian Education in Modern History: Schools, Manipulation, and Contest* (1st ed., pp. 178–193). London: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315161211>
- Fontana, G. (2016). Religious education after conflicts: promoting social cohesion or entrenching existing cleavages? *Compare*, 46(5), 811–831. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2015.1099422>
- Forrest, J., Lean, G., & Dunn, K. (2016). Challenging racism through schools: teacher attitudes to cultural diversity and multicultural education in Sydney, Australia. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 19(3), 618–638. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2015.1095170>
- Fox, C. (2018). Candidate-centric systems and the politicization of ethnicity : evidence from Indonesia. *Democratization*, 25(7), 1190–1209. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13510347.2018.1461207>
- Freedman, A. (2003). Political institutions and ethnic Chinese identity in Indonesia. *Asian Ethnicity*, 4(3), 439–452. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1343900032000117259>
- Gallagher, T. (2004). *Education in Divided Societies*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan UK. Retrieved from <http://www.palgrave.com/gb/book/9780333677087>
- Gallagher, T. (2017). Oxford Review of Education Shared education in Northern Ireland : school collaboration in divided societies Shared education in Northern Ireland : school collaboration in. *Oxford Review of Education*, 42(3), 362–375. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03054985.2016.1184868>
- Gardner, R., Karakaşoğlu, Y., & Luchtenberg, S. (2008). Islamophobia in the media: a response from multicultural education 1. *Intercultural Education*, 19(2), 119–136. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675980801889658>
- Gaudin, P. (2017). Neutrality and impartiality in public education : the French investment in philosophy , teaching about religions , and moral and civic education. *British Journal of Religious Education*, 6200(January), 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01416200.2016.1218221>
- Gay, G. (2011). The Importance of Multicultural Education. In A. . Ornstein, E. F. Pajak, & S. B. Ornstein (Eds.), *Contemporary Issues in Curriculum* (pp. 235–241). MA: Pearson.

- Gay, Geneva, & Howard, T. C. (2000). Multicultural teacher education for the 21st century. *Teacher Educator*, 36(1), 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08878730009555246>
- Ghosh, R., Chan, W. Y. A., Manuel, A., & Dilimulati, M. (2017). Can education counter violent religious extremism? *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, 23(2), 117–133. <https://doi.org/10.1080/11926422.2016.1165713>
- Giblin, S. (2003). Civil Society Groups Overcoming Stereotypes? Chinese Indonesian Civil Society Groups in Post-Suharto Indonesia. *Asian Ethnicity*, 4(3), 353–368. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1343900032000117196>
- Gillborn, D. (1992). Citizenship, ‘Race’ and the Hidden Curriculum. *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 2(1), 57–73. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0962021920020104>
- Gillborn, D. (2006). Critical Race Theory and Education: Racism and anti-racism in educational theory and praxis. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 27(1), 11–32. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01596300500510229>
- Gillespie, P. (2007). Current Issues in Indonesian Islam: Analysing the 2005 Council of Indonesian Ulama Fatwa No. 7 Opposing Pluralism, Liberalism, and Secularism. *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 18(2), 202–240.
- Giroux, H. A. (1983). *Theory and Resistance in Education: a pedagogy for the opposition*. London: Heinemann.
- Goh, D. P. S. (2017). Diversity and Nation-Building in Singapore, (April).
- Gollnick, D. M., & Chinn, P. (2006). *Multicultural education in a pluralistic society*. Columbus, Ohio: Merrill/Prentice/Hall.
- Gomm, R., Hammersley, M., & Foster, P. (2000). *Case Study Method*. London: Sage Publications.
- Green, A., Preston, J., & Janmaat, J. G. (2006). *Education, equality and social cohesion : a comparative analysis*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1982). Epistemological and methodological bases of naturalistic inquiry. *Educational Communication and Technology Journal*, 30, 233–252.
- Hadiz, V. R. (2014). A New Islamic Populism and the Contradictions of Development. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 44(1). <https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2013.832790>
- Hadiz, V. R. (2017). Indonesia ’ s Year of Democratic Setbacks : Towards a New Phase of Deepening Illiberalism? *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, 53(3), 261–278. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00074918.2017.1410311>
- Hage, G. (2000). *White Nation: Fantasies of White Supremacy in a Multicultural Society*. London: Routledge.
- Halai, A., & Durrani, N. (2017). Teachers as agents of peace ? Exploring teacher agency in social cohesion in Pakistan. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2017.1322491>
- Hall, S. (2000). Conclusion: The Multi-cultural Question. In B. Hesse (Ed.), *Unsettled multiculturalisms: diasporas, entanglements, transruptions* (pp. 209–241). London: Zed Books.
- Halstead, J. M., & McLaughlin, T. (2005). Are Faith Schools Divisive. In Roy Gardner, J. Cairns, & D. Lawton (Eds.), *Faith Schools: Consensus or Conflict?* (pp. 61–71). London and New York: Routledge and RoutledgeFalmer.

- Hambleton, R. K. (2005). Issues, designs and technical guidelines for adapting tests into multiple languages and cultures. In R. K. Hambleton, P. F. Merenda, & C. D. Spielberger (Eds.), *Adapting educational and psychological tests for cross-cultural assessment* (pp. 3–38). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Hamdani. (2012). Radical Muslim Groups and Confrontation to Church (Unresolved Conflict of Taman Yasmin Indonesian Christian Church [GKI] Bogor, West Java). In *The Strategic Role of Religious Education in the Development of Culture of Peace* (pp. 232–343). Bogor: Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia.
- Harber, C. (2004). *Schooling as Violence: How Schools Harm Pupils and Societies*. London: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Harjatanaya, T. Y. (2011). *Chinese Indonesians Post-1998 : An exploratory study of educational policies and practices in promoting positive relations in Medan , Indonesia Tracey Yani Harjatanaya St Cross College Dissertation submitted in part-fulfilment of the requirements for the*. University of Oxford.
- Harjatanaya, T. Y. (2015). *Merawat Keberagaman: Praksis Pendidikan Multikultural Perguruan Sultan Iskandar Muda [Fostering Diversity: Praxis of Multicultural Education in Sultan Iskandar Muda Foundation]*. (T. Y. Harjatanaya, Ed.) (2nd ed.). Medan: YPSIM.
- Harjatanaya, T. Y., & Hoon, C. Y. (2020). Politics of multicultural education in post-Suharto Indonesia: a study of the Chinese minority. *Compare*, 50(1), 18–35. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2018.1493573>
- Hasyim, S. (2015). Majelis Ulama Indonesia and pluralism in Indonesia. *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, 41(4–5). <https://doi.org/10.1177/0191453714566547>
- Hatoss, A. (2012). Where are you from? identity construction and experiences of “othering” in the narratives of Sudanese refugee-background Australians. *Discourse and Society*, 23(1), 47–68. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926511419925>
- Hayes, B. C., McAllister, I., & Dowds, L. (2007). Integrated Education, Intergroup Relations, and Political Identities in Northern Ireland. *Social Problems*, 54(4), 454–482. <https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.2007.54.4.454>
- Hayes, B. C., McAllister, I., & Dowds, L. (2013). Integrated Schooling and Religious Tolerance in Northern Ireland. *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, 28(1), 67–78. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13537903.2013.750837>
- Head of Education Authority of Bali Province. Education Calendar Bali Province Academic Year 2017/2018 (2017). Bali. Retrieved from [http://www.kalenderpendidikan.com/data/bali\\_20172018.pdf](http://www.kalenderpendidikan.com/data/bali_20172018.pdf)
- Head of Education Authority of Jakarta Province. Education Calendar Jakarta Province Academic Year 2017/2018 (2017). Jakarta. Retrieved from [http://www.kalenderpendidikan.com/data/jakarta\\_20172018.pdf](http://www.kalenderpendidikan.com/data/jakarta_20172018.pdf)
- Heath, A., & Demireva, N. (2014). Has multiculturalism failed in Britain? *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 37(1), 161–180. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2013.808754>
- Hefner, R. W. (2001). *The Politics of Multiculturalism: Pluralism and Citizenship in Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia*. (R. W. Hefner, Ed.). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Hefner, R. W. (2012). Shari'a politics and Indonesian democracy. *Review of Faith and International Affairs*, 10(4), 61–69. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15570274.2012.739889>
- Hefner, R. W. (2013). The Study of Religious Freedom in Indonesia. *The Review of Faith & International Affairs*, 11(2), 18–27. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15570274.2013.808038>

- Hemming, P. J., & Hailwood, E. (2018). Religious Citizenship in Schools in England and Wales: Responses to Growing Diversity. *The Palgrave Handbook of Citizenship and Education*, 1–15. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-67905-1\\_44-1](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-67905-1_44-1)
- Heryanto, A. (1998). Ethnic Identities and Erasure: Chinese Indonesians in Public Culture. In J. S. Kahn (Ed.), *Southeast Asian Identities: Culture and the Politics of Representation in Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand* (pp. 95–114). Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Hilker, H. M. (2011). The role of education in driving conflict and building peace: the case of Rwanda. *Prospects*, 41(2), 267–282.
- Hincks, J. (2018, May 14). Indonesia Suffers Its Worst Terrorist Attack in a Decade. Here's What to Know About the Latest Wave of Violence. Retrieved February 6, 2019, from <http://time.com/5275738/indonesia-suicide-bombings-isis-surabaya/>
- HM Government. (2015). *Revised Prevent Duty Guidance: for England and Wales*. <https://doi.org/ISBN:978-1-78246-7933-9>
- Hoon, C. Y. (2006). Assimilation, Multiculturalism, Hybridity: The Dilemmas of the Ethnic Chinese in Post-Suharto Indonesia. *Asian Ethnicity*, 7(2), 149–166. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14631360600734400>
- Hoon, C. Y. (2008). *Chinese Identity in Post-Suharto Indonesia: Culture, Politics and Media*. Portland: Sussex Academic Press.
- Hoon, C. Y. (2011). Mapping “Chinese” Christian Schools in Indonesia: Ethnicity, Class and Religion. *Asia Pacific Education Review*, 12(3), 403–411. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12564-010-9144-7>
- Hoon, C. Y. (2013). Multicultural citizenship education in Indonesia: The case of a Chinese Christian school. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 44(3), 490–510. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022463413000349>
- Hoon, C. Y. (2014). God and discipline: religious education and character building in a Christian school in Jakarta. *South East Asia Research*, 22(4), 505–524. <https://doi.org/10.5367/sear.2014.0232>
- Hoon, C. Y. (2017). Putting Religion into Multiculturalism: Conceptualising Religious Multiculturalism in Indonesia. *Asian Studies Review*, 41(3), 476–493. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2017.1334761>
- Hoosain, R., & Salili, F. (2006). Introduction: Dimensions of Religion in Multicultural Education. In F. Salili & R. Husain (Eds.), *Religion in Multicultural Education* (pp. 1–8). USA: Information Age Publishing.
- Huda, M. N. (2017). *Intoleransi Kaum Muda Di Tengah Kebangkitan Kelas Menengah Muslim di Perkotaan [Youth Intolerance Amidst the Awakening of Middle-Class Muslim in Urban Areas]*. Jakarta. Retrieved from <https://drive.google.com/file/d/1VFWN8blwQzjCqDIHUwyFrCddOTouT8QU/view>
- Hue, M., & Kennedy, K. J. (2015). Promoting cultural responsiveness: teachers' constructs of an assessment classroom environment for ethnic minority students in Hong Kong secondary schools. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice*, 21(3), 289–304. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13540602.2014.953823>
- Hughes, J. (2014). Contact and context: sharing education and building relationships in a divided society. *Research Papers in Education*, 29(2), 193–210. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02671522.2012.754928>

- Hughes, J., & Loader, R. (2015). "Plugging the gap": Shared education and the promotion of community relations through schools in Northern Ireland. *British Educational Research Journal*, 41(6). <https://doi.org/10.1002/berj.3206>
- Hyett, N., Kenny, A., & Dickson-Swift, V. (2014). Methodology or method a critical review of qualitative case study reports. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies on Health and Well-Being*. <https://doi.org/10.3402/qhw.v9.23606>
- Ibrahim, R. (2007). Multiculturalism and Education in Malaysia. *Culture and Religion*, 8(2), 155–167. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14755610701424024>
- Indonesian Ministry of Education. Peraturan Menteri Pendidikan Nasional Republik Indonesia Nomor 22 Tentang Standar Kompetensi Lulusan Untuk Satuan Pendidikan Dasar dan Menengah [Ministerial Regulation of Ministry of Education of Republic Indonesia Number 22 on Graduate Competence Standar (2006). Indonesia: Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture.
- Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture. (2015). Minister of Education and Culture, Anies: Curriculum 2013 will be gradually applied. Retrieved May 31, 2016, from <http://www.kemdikbud.go.id/main/blog/2015/12/mendikbud-anies-kurikulum-2013-tetap-dilaksanakan-bertahap-4929-4929-4929>
- Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture. (2016a). *Indonesia Educational Statistics in Brief 2015/2016*. Jakarta.
- Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture. (2016b). *Pedoman Upacara Hari Guru 2016 [Guidelines on Flag Raising Ceremony for National Teacher's Day 2016]*. Jakarta: Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture. Retrieved from [http://kemenpora.go.id/img\\_upload/files/Pedoman Upacara HGN.pdf](http://kemenpora.go.id/img_upload/files/Pedoman%20Upacara%20HGN.pdf)
- Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture. (2017a). *Infografis Gerakan Penguatan Pendidikan Karakter (PPK) [Infographics of the Strengthening Character Education Movement]*. Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture. Retrieved from [cerdasberkarakter.kemdikbud.go.id](http://cerdasberkarakter.kemdikbud.go.id)
- Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture. (2017b). *Konsep dan Pedoman Penguatan Pendidikan Karakter: Tingkat Sekolah Dasar dan Sekolah Menengah Pertama [Concept and Guidelines in Strengthening Character Education: Primary and Lower Secondary Education]*. Jakarta: Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture. Retrieved from [cerdasberkarakter.kemdikbud.go.id/content/download/6](http://cerdasberkarakter.kemdikbud.go.id/content/download/6)
- Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture. (2017c). *Pedoman Pelaksanaan Upacara Hardiknas 2017 [Guidelines on Flag Raising Ceremony for National Indonesian Day 2017]*. Jakarta: Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture. Retrieved from [https://setjen.kemdikbud.go.id/setjen/files/Pedoman Pelaksanaan Upacara Hardiknas 2017.pdf](https://setjen.kemdikbud.go.id/setjen/files/Pedoman%20Pelaksanaan%20Upacara%20Hardiknas%202017.pdf)
- Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture. (2017d). Penguatan Pendidikan Karakter Jadi Pintu Masuk Pembinaan Pendidikan Nasional [Strengthening Character Education Serves as an Entrance to Improving National Education]. Retrieved from <https://www.kemdikbud.go.id/main/blog/2017/07/penguatan-pendidikan-karakter-jadi-pintu-masuk-pembinaan-pendidikan-nasional>
- Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture. (2018). *Indonesia Education Statistics In Brief 2017/ 2018*. Retrieved from [http://publikasi.data.kemdikbud.go.id/uploadDir/isi\\_FBB7E3E1-3F01-49E6-B1BC-E1DA8E608D33\\_.pdf](http://publikasi.data.kemdikbud.go.id/uploadDir/isi_FBB7E3E1-3F01-49E6-B1BC-E1DA8E608D33_.pdf)

- Indonesian Ministry of Law and Human Rights. (2017). Pedoman Pelaksanaan Upacara Hari Pahlawan Tahun 2017 di lingkungan Kementerian Hukum dan HAM [Guidelines in Conducting Flag Raising Ceremony on National Heroes Day 2017 in the Ministry of Law and Legal Rights]. Retrieved May 17, 2018, from <https://www.kemenumham.go.id/publikasi/info-internal/pedoman-pelaksanaan-upacara-hari-pahlawan-tahun-2017-di-lingkungan-kementerian-hukum-dan-ham>
- Indonesian Ministry of Religion. (2015). *Survei Nasional Kehidupan Umat Beragama di Indonesia [National Survey on Religious Livings in Indonesia]*. Jakarta. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13398-014-0173-7.2>
- Indonesian Ministry of Religion. (2016). *Laporan Tahunan Kehidupan Keagamaan di Indonesia 2015: Meneguhkan Komitmen Pemeliharaan Kerukunan Umat Beragama [Annual Report on Religious Life in Indonesia 2015: Reinforcing Commitment to Maintain Religious Harmony]*. Jakarta: Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs.
- Indonesian Statistical Bureau. (2011a). *Citizenship, Ethnicity, Religion and Languages of Indonesian Citizens: Result of Population Census 2010*. Jakarta. <https://doi.org/2102001>
- Indonesian Statistical Bureau. (2011b). Population by Region and Religion: Bali Province (Census 2010). Retrieved October 7, 2017, from <https://sp2010.bps.go.id/index.php/site/tabel?tid=321&wid=5100000000>
- Indonesian Statistical Bureau. (2011c). Population by Region and Religion: DKI Jakarta Province (Census 2010). Retrieved October 7, 2017, from <https://sp2010.bps.go.id/index.php/site/tabel?tid=321&wid=3100000000>
- Indonesian Statistical Bureau. (2018). *Statistical Yearbook of Indonesia 2018*. Jakarta. Retrieved from <https://www.bps.go.id/publication/download.html?nrbvfeve=NWE5NjNjMWVhOWIwZmVkNjQ5N2QwODQ1&xzmn=aHR0cHM6Ly93d3cuYnBzLmdvLmklL3B1YmxpY2F0aW9uLzIwMTgvMDcvMDMvNWE5NjNjMWVhOWIwZmVkNjQ5N2QwODQ1L3N0YXRpc3Rpay1pbmRvbmVzaWVtMjAxOC5odG1s&twoadfnarfeauf=MjAxOS0wNS0>
- International Crisis Group. (2008, July 7). Indonesia: Implications of the Ahmadiyah Decree. Retrieved March 18, 2019, from <https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-east-asia/indonesia/indonesia-implications-ahmadiyah-decree>
- Iprgrave, J. (2012). Relationships between local patterns of religious practice and young people's attitudes to the religiosity of their peers. *Journal of Beliefs and Values*, 33(3), 261–274. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13617672.2012.732805>
- Iprgrave, J. (2016). Identity and inter religious understanding in Jewish schools in England. *British Journal of Religious Education*, 38(1), 47–63. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01416200.2014.984584>
- Iskandar, P. (2016). The Pancasila Delusion. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2016.1195430>
- Jackson, R., & Everington, J. (2017). Teaching inclusive religious education impartially: an English perspective. *British Journal of Religious Education*, 39(1), 7–24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01416200.2016.1165184>
- Joshee, R. (2004). A Framework for Understanding Diversity in Indian Education 1. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 6(3), 283–297. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1361332032000109646>
- Jung, E. (2014). Islamic organizations and electoral politics in Indonesia: The case of Muhammadiyah. In *South East Asia Research* (Vol. 22). <https://doi.org/10.5367/sear.2014.0192>

- Kementerian Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional. Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional (RPJMN) 2015-2019 [National Medium-Term Development Plan 2015-2019] (2015). Jakarta, Indonesia.
- Kincheloe, J. L., & Steinberg, S. R. (1997). *Changing Multiculturalism*. Open University Press.
- Kiwan, D. (2008). Citizenship education in England at the cross-roads? four models of citizenship and their implications for ethnic and religious diversity, *34*(March 2014), 37–41. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03054980701584551>
- Kostoulas, A. (2018). *A Language School as a Complex System*. Berlin: Peter Lang.
- Kovacs, A. (2013). Indonesia's Religious Conflicts: Recent Developments, Causes and Policy Implications for Peace. *ASIEN: The German Journal on Contemporary Asia*, *127*, 48–69. Retrieved from [https://www.academia.edu/7973556/Indonesia\\_s\\_Religious\\_Conflicts\\_Recent\\_Developments\\_Causes\\_and\\_Policy\\_Implications\\_for\\_Peace](https://www.academia.edu/7973556/Indonesia_s_Religious_Conflicts_Recent_Developments_Causes_and_Policy_Implications_for_Peace)
- Kristiansen, S., & Pratikno. (2006). Decentralising education in Indonesia. *International Journal of Educational Development*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2005.12.003>
- Krysan, M., & Couper, M. P. (2003). Race in the Live and the Virtual Interview : Racial Deference, Social Desirability, and Activation Effects in Attitude Surveys. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *66*(4), 364–383.
- Kuipers, J. C., & Yulaelawati, E. (2011). Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity in Indonesian Education. In J.A. Banks (Ed.), *The Routledge International Companion to Multicultural Education*. London: Routledge.
- Kundnani, A. (2012). Radicalisation: the journey of a concept. *Race & Class*, *54*(2), 3–25. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0306396812454984>
- Kurniasih, B. (2018, June 30). Tahun Ajaran Baru, Sekolah Wajib Terapkan Kurikulum 2013 [New Academic Year, Schools Must Implement 2013 Curriculum]. Retrieved February 27, 2019, from <https://edukasi.kompas.com/read/2018/06/30/23475471/tahun-ajaran-baru-sekolah-wajib-terapkan-kurikulum-2013?page=all>
- Kwok, Y. (2017, January 6). Where Memes Could Kill: Indonesia's Worsening Problem of Fake News. Retrieved August 12, 2019, from <https://time.com/4620419/indonesia-fake-news-ahok-chinese-christian-islam/>
- Kymlicka, W. (1995). *Multicultural citizenship: a liberal theory of minority rights*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Kymlicka, W. (2001). *Politics in the vernacular [electronic resource] : nationalism, multiculturalism and citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kymlicka, W. (2011). Multicultural citizenship within multination states. *Ethnicities*, *11*(3), 281–302. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796811407813>
- Kymlicka, W. (2018). Liberal Multiculturalism as a Political Theory of State – Minority Relations. *Political Theory*, *46*(1), 81–91. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0090591717696021>
- Lahiri, T. (2019, April 16). Another big democracy is voting amid a deepening divide around religion. Retrieved April 23, 2019, from <https://qz.com/1596853/indonesia-election-another-large-diverse-democracy-sees-religious-divides-deepen/>
- Lamb, K. (2017, February 22). Why LGBT hatred suddenly spiked in Indonesia. Retrieved February 22, 2019, from <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2017/feb/22/why-lgbt-hatred-suddenly-spiked-in-indonesia>

- Lamb, K. (2019, April 13). “Don’t teach me democracy!”: an uneasy audience with Indonesia’s Prabowo. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/apr/13/dont-teach-me-democracy-an-uneasy-audience-with-indonesias-prabowo>
- Langer, A., & Brown, G. K. (2008). Cultural status inequalities: an important dimension of group mobilisation. In F. Stewart (Ed.), *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: Understanding Group Violence in Multiethnic Societies*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Leirvik, O. (2004). Religious education, communal identity and national politics in the Muslim world. *British Journal of Religious Education*, 26(3), 223–236. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0141620042000232283>
- Lessow-Hurley, J. (2009). Religious diversity in the public schools: Multicultural perspectives. *Multicultural Perspectives*, 1(1), 8–12. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15210969909539879>
- Lestari, S. (2016). Anak-anak muda Indonesia makin radikal? (Indonesian Youth Becoming More Radical?). *BBC News Indonesia*. Retrieved from [http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita\\_indonesia/2016/02/160218\\_indonesia\\_radikalisme\\_anak\\_muda](http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/berita_indonesia/2016/02/160218_indonesia_radikalisme_anak_muda)
- Loader, R., & Hughes, J. (2016a). Balancing Cultural Diversity and Social Cohesion in Education: The Potential of Shared Education in Divided Contexts. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 65(1), 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00071005.2016.1254156>
- Loader, R., & Hughes, J. (2016b). Joining together or pushing apart? Building relationships and exploring difference through shared education in Northern Ireland. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 3577(February), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0305764X.2015.1125448>
- Mackie, J. (2008). Is there a future for Chinese Indonesians? In L. Suryadinata (Ed.), *Ethnic Chinese in Contemporary Indonesia*. Singapore: ISEAS Publications.
- Mahfud, C. (2009). *Pendidikan Multikultural [Multicultural Education]*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (2011). *Designing qualitative research*. California: Sage.
- Mason, A. (2017). The critique of multiculturalism in Britain: integration, separation and shared identification. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 8230, 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13698230.2017.1398444>
- Mason, A. (2018). The critique of multiculturalism in Britain: integration, separation and shared identification. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 21(1), 22–45. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13698230.2017.1398444>
- Mathieu, F. (2018). The failure of state multiculturalism in the UK? An analysis of the UK’s multicultural policy for 2000–2015. *Ethnicities*, 18(1), 43–69. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468796817713040>
- Matsumoto, M. (2011). Expectations and realities of education in post-conflict Sierra Leone: A reflection of society or a driver for peacebuilding. In J. Paulson (Ed.), *Education, Conflict and Development* (pp. 119–144). Oxford: Symposium Books.
- Matsumoto, M. (2015). Schooling’s “contribution” to contemporary violent conflict: Review of theoretical ideas and case studies in the field of education and conflict. *Research in Comparative & International Education*, 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1745499915571708>

- Maxwell, J. A. (2010). Using Numbers in Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 16(6), 475–482. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800410364740>
- May, S. (1999). *Critical Multiculturalism: Rethinking Multicultural and Antiracist Education*. London: Falmer Press.
- May, S. (2011). Critical multiculturalism and Cultural Difference: Avoiding Essentialism. In S. May (Ed.), *Critical Multiculturalism: Rethinking Multicultural and Antiracist Education* (pp. 13–44). NJ: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Mayo, C. (2010). Queer Lessons: Sexual and Gender Minorities in Multicultural Education. In James A. Banks & C. A. M. Banks (Eds.), *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives* (pp. 209–228). US: John Wiley & Sons.
- McCowan, T. (2015). Theories of Development. In T. McCowan & E. Unterhalter (Eds.), *Education and International Development: An Introduction* (pp. 31–48). London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Meer, N. (2010). *Citizenship, identity and the politics of multiculturalism: The rise of muslim consciousness*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Meer, Nasar, & Modood, T. (2011). How does Interculturalism Contrast with Multiculturalism. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07256868.2011.618266>
- Menchik, J. (2014). Productive intolerance: Godly nationalism in Indonesia. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 56(3), 591–621. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417514000267>
- Merriam, S. B. (1998). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education*. (S. B. Merriam, Ed.) (2nd ed.). San Francisco: San Francisco : Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Merry, M. S. (2006). Islamic Philosophy of Education and Western Islamic Schools: Points of Tension. In F. Salili & R. Hoosain (Eds.), *Religion in Multicultural Education* (pp. 41–70). US: Information Age Publishing.
- Meyer, C., & Meyer, C. B. (2001). A Case in Case Study Methodology. *Case Studies*, 13(4), III7–III17. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781473915480.n22>
- Mietzner, M., & Muhtadi, B. (2018). Explaining the 2016 Islamist Mobilisation in Indonesia: Religious Intolerance, Militant Groups and the Politics of Accommodation. *Asian Studies Review*, 42(3), 479–497. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2018.1473335>
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Mirza, M., Senthilkumaran, A., & Ja'far, Z. (2007). *Living apart together British Muslims and the paradox of multiculturalism*. Retrieved from [www.policyexchange.org.uk](http://www.policyexchange.org.uk)
- Modood, T. (2007). Multiculturalism, Citizenship and National Identity. Retrieved February 28, 2019, from [https://www.opendemocracy.net/faith-terrorism/multiculturalism\\_4627.jsp](https://www.opendemocracy.net/faith-terrorism/multiculturalism_4627.jsp)
- Modood, T. (2010). Multicultural citizenship and Muslim identity politics. *Interventions*, 12, 157–170.
- Moore, J. R. (2009). Why Religious Education Matters: The Role of Islam in Multicultural Education. *Multicultural Perspectives*, 11(3), 139–145. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15210960903116563>
- Morse, J. M. (1997). Editorial: “Perfectly Healthy, But Dead”: The Myth of Inter-Rater Reliability. *Qualitative Health Research*, 7(4), 445–447.

- Mujiburrahman. (2006). *Feeling Threatened: Muslim-Christian Relations in Indonesia's New Order*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Mullard, C. (1983). The Racial Code: Its Features, Rules and Change. In L. Barton & S. Walker (Eds.), *Race, Class and Education* (pp. 139–165). Beckenham: Croom Helm.
- Munawar-Rachman, B. (2010). *Sekularisme, Liberalisme, dan Pluralisme: Islam Progresif dan Perkembangan Diskursusnya [Secularism, Liberalism and Pluralism: Progressive Islam and the Development of its Discourse]*. Jakarta: Grasindo.
- Mustafied, Maarif, S., Suhadi, Ahnaf, M. I., Asyhari-Afwan, B., Tahun, M., & Martiyam, N. (2015). *Praktik Pengelolaan Keragaman di Indonesia: Kontestasi dan Koeksistensi [Practice of Managing Diversity in Indonesia: Contestation and Coexistence]*. Yogyakarta: Center for Religious & Cross-cultural Studies.
- Na'im, A. . (2008). *Islam and the secular state: negotiating the future of Sharia*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Nagata, J. (2003). Local and Transnational Initiatives Towards Improving Chinese-Indigenous Relations in Post-Suharto Indonesia: The Role of the Voluntary Sector. *Asian Ethnicity*, 4(November 2014), 369–381. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1343900032000117204>
- Naim, N., & Sauqi, A. (2010). *Pendidikan Multikultural: Konsep dan Aplikasi [Multicultural Education: Concept and Application]*. Yogyakarta: Ar-Ruzz Media.
- Napitupulu, E. L. and Soebijoto, H. (2011, June 14). Guru Minim Pemahaman Multikultur. Retrieved June 14, 2011, from <http://edukasi.kompas.com/read/2011/06/14/10323519/Guru.Minim.Pemahaman.Multikulturalisme>
- Nasir, M. A. (2014). The 'Ulamā', Fatāwā and Challenges to Democracy in Contemporary Indonesia. *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 25(4), 489–505. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09596410.2014.926598>
- Nelson, D., Joseph, G. G., & Willams, J. (1993). *Multicultural Mathematics: Teaching Mathematics from a Global Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nes, F. van, Abma, T., Jonsson, H., & Deeg, D. (2010). Language differences in qualitative research : is meaning lost in translation ? *Eur J Ageing*, 7, 313–316. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10433-010-0168-y>
- Nieto, S. (2000). *Affirming Diversity: The Sociopolitical Context of Multicultural Education*. New York: Olive Branch Press.
- Nordholt, H. S. (2008). Identity politics, citizenship and the soft state in Indonesia: an essay. *Journal of Indonesian Social Sciences and Humanities*, 1(April), 1–21.
- Nurdin, E. S. (2015). The Policies on Civic Education in Developing National Character in Indonesia. *International Education Studies*, 8(8), 199–209. <https://doi.org/10.5539/ies.v8n8p199>
- Nurita, D. (2019, March 28). Election Debate; Jokowi to Bring Up Pancasila as Political Weapon. Retrieved April 21, 2019, from <https://en.tempo.co/read/1190012/election-debate-jokowi-to-bring-up-pancasila-as-political-weapon>
- Nussbaum, M. (2002). Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism. In J. Cohen (Ed.), *For Love of Country* (pp. 2–17). Boston: Beacon.
- Nye, M. (2007). The challenges of multiculturalism. *Culture and Religion*, 8(2), 109–123. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14755610701458915>

- O'Brien, P. (2016). *The Muslim Question in Europe: Political Controversies and Public Philosophies*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- OECD. (2018). *Preparing Our Youth For An Inclusive And Sustainable World: The OECD PISA Global Competence Framework*.
- Oliver, D. G., Serovich, J. M., & Mason, T. L. (2005). Constraints and Opportunities with Interview Transcription: Towards Reflection in Qualitative Research. *Social Forces*, 84(2), 1273–1289. <https://doi.org/10.1353/sof.2006.0023>
- Osler, A., & Starkey, H. (2001). Citizenship Education and National Identities in France and England: Inclusive or exclusive? *Oxford Review of Education*, 27(November), 287–305. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03054980124800>
- Paluck, E. L., & Green, D. P. (2009). Prejudice Reduction: What Works? A Review and Assessment of Research and Practice. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 60(1), 339–367. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.60.110707.163607>
- Parekh, B. (1995). The concept of national identity. *New Community*, 21(2), 244–268.
- Parekh, B. (1998). Equality in a multicultural society. *Citizenship Studies*, 2(3), 397–411. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13621029808420691>
- Parekh, B. (2006a). Europe, liberalism and the 'Muslim question. In T. Modood, A. Triandafyllidou, & R. Z. Barrero (Eds.), *Multiculturalism, Muslims and citizenship: a European approach*. London: Routledge.
- Parekh, B. (2006b). *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Parker, L. (2003). *From Subjects to Citizens: Balinese Villagers in the Indonesian Nation-State*. Copenhagen: Nordic Institute of Asian Studies Press.
- Parker, L. (2011). Where Are the Women in Multiculturalism? *Australian Feminist Studies*, 26(70), 433–452. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08164649.2011.621176>
- Parker, L. (2014). Religious education for peaceful coexistence in Indonesia? *South East Asia Research*, 22(4), 487–504. <https://doi.org/10.5367/sear.2014.0231>
- Parker, L. (2017). Intersections of Gender/Sex, Multiculturalism and Religion: Young Muslim Minority Women in Contemporary Bali. *Asian Studies Review*, 41(3), 441–458. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2017.1332004>
- Parker, L., & Hoon, C. Y. (2013). Secularity, Religion and the Possibilities for Religious Citizenship. *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 41, 150–174. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15685314-12341296>
- Parker, L., & Raihani, R. (2011). Democratizing Indonesia through Education? Community Participation in Islamic Schooling. *Educational Management Administration & Leadership*, 39(6), 712–732. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1741143211416389>
- Parveen, N. (2019, March 4). Birmingham school stops LGBT lessons after parents protest. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2019/mar/04/birmingham-school-stops-lgbt-lessons-after-parent-protests>
- Pedersen, L. (2016). Religious Pluralism in Indonesia. *Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, 17(5), 387–398. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14442213.2016.1218534>
- Pelly, U. (2003). Murid pri dan nonpri pada sekolah pembauran: kebijakan asimilasi Orde Baru di bidang pendidikan dan dampaknya terhadap masyarakat multikultural [Native And

Non-Native Students in Assimilation School: New Order's Assimilation Policy in Education and Its Im. *Antropologi Indonesia*, 71, 34–45.

- Persell, C. H. (2010). Social Class and Educational Equality. In James A. Banks & C. A. M. Banks (Eds.), *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives* (pp. 85–101). US: John Wiley & Sons.
- Pettigrew, T. F. (1998). Intergroup contact theory. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 49(July), 65–85. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.49.1.65>
- Pew Research Centre. (2011, January 27). The Future of the Global Muslim Population.
- Pew Research Centre. (2017, April 5). The Changing Global Religious Landscape. Retrieved from <https://www.pewforum.org/2017/04/05/the-changing-global-religious-landscape/>
- Piaget, J. (1972). *The Psychology of Intelligence*. Totowa, NJ: Littlefield.
- Pisani, E., & Buehler, M. (2017). Why do Indonesian politicians promote shari'a laws? An analytic framework for Muslim-majority democracies. *Third World Quarterly*, 38(3), 734–752. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2016.1206453>
- Power, C. N. (2015). *The Power of Education: Education for All, Development, Globalisation and UNESCO*. Singapore: Springer.
- Prasetyo, Y. A. (2005). Etnis Tionghoa dalam negara Orde Baru. In *Pusat Sejarah dan Etika Politik (PUSdEP) discussion*. Yogyakarta: Universitas Sanata Dharma.
- Punch, K. (2005). *Introduction to Social Research: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. London: Sage.
- Purdey, J. (2003). Political Change Reopening the Asimilasi vs Integrasi Debate: Ethnic Chinese Identity in Post-Suharto Indonesia. *Asian Ethnicity*, 4(3), 421–437. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1343900032000117231>
- Purdey, J. (2006). *Anti-Chinese Violence in Indonesia, 1996-1999*. Singapore: Singapore University Press.
- Race, R. (2011). *Multiculturalism and Education*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Rahmawati, Y., Yi-Fong, P., & Chen, H. (2014). The Necessity of Multicultural Education in Indonesia. *International Journal of Education and Research*, 2(10), 317–328.
- Raihani. (2011). A whole-school approach: A proposal for education for tolerance in Indonesia. *Theory and Research in Education*, 9(1), 23–39. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1477878510394806>
- Raihani. (2012a). Education for Multicultural Citizens in Indonesia: Policies and Practices, 2009–2011.
- Raihani. (2012b). Report on multicultural education in pesantren. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative & International Education*, 42(4), 585–605. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2012.672255>
- Raihani. (2014a). Creating a culture of religious tolerance in an Indonesian school. *South East Asia Research*, 22(4), 541–560. <https://doi.org/10.5367/sear.2014.0234>
- Raihani. (2014b). *Creating Multicultural Citizens: A Portrayal of Contemporary Indonesian Education*. Oxon: Routledge.

- Raihani. (2014c). Islamic Education and the Multicultural Society: Description of education for cultural diversity in two Islamic schools in Indonesia. *International Conference on Islam and Muslim Societies: Towards a Better Future*, (November), 1–18.
- Raihani. (2015). Minority Right to Attend Religious Education in Indonesia. *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, 53(1), 1–26. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2015.531.1-26>
- Raihani, R. (2017). Education for multicultural citizens in Indonesia : policies and practices. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 7925, 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2017.1399250>
- Ramadhanny, F. (2017, August 4). Kenapa Sih “Kaum Bumi Datar” Jadi Olok-olok Politik? [Why does “the Flat Earth Society” become political mockery?]. *Detik News*. Retrieved from <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-3586436/kenapa-sih-kaum-bumi-datar-jadi-olok-olok-politik>
- Rapoport, A. (2011). Nation-building, identity and citizenship education: cross cultural perspectives. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 31(2), 225–227. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02188791.2011.581865>
- Reay, D. (2017). *Miseducation : inequality, education and the working classes*. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Reay, D., Hollingworth, S., Williams, K., Crozier, G., Jamieson, F., James, D., & Beedell, P. (2007). “A darker shade of pale?” Whiteness, the middle classes and multi-ethnic inner city schooling. *Sociology*, 41(6), 1041–1060. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038507082314>
- Robinson, K. (2014). Citizenship, identity and difference in Indonesia. *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs*, 48(1), 5–34.
- Robson, C. (2002). *Real world research : a resource for social scientists and practitioner-researchers* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Oxford : Blackwell.
- Roy, E. A. (2019, August 14). “It brings everything back”: Christchurch despairs over white supremacist attacks.
- Sakai, M., & Fauzia, A. (2014). Islamic orientations in contemporary Indonesia: Islamism on the rise? *Asian Ethnicity*, 15(1), 41–61. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14631369.2013.784513>
- Salili, F., & Hoosain, R. (2006). *Religion in multicultural education*. US: Information Age Publishing.
- Santoro, N. (2009). Teaching in culturally diverse contexts: What knowledge about “self” and “others” do teachers need? *Journal of Education for Teaching*, 35(1), 33–45. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02607470802587111>
- Savin-Baden, M., & Major, C. H. (2013). *Qualitative research : the essential guide to theory and practice*. Abingdon, Oxon : Routledge.
- Schachner, M. K., Brenick, A., Noack, P., van de Vijver, F. J. R., Heizmann, B., Walton, J., ... Freeman, E. (2015). Fostering intercultural understanding through secondary school experiences of cultural immersion. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 47(2), 216–237. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2014.891772>
- Seo, M. (2012). Defining ‘religious’ in Indonesia: toward neither an Islamic nor a secular state. *Citizenship Studies*, 16(February 2015), 1045–1058. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2012.735028>
- Setijadi, C. (2017, April 24). Ahok Defeat Signals Shifting Islamic Grounds. Retrieved March 21, 2019, from <https://www.iseas.edu.sg/medias/commentaries/item/5244-ahok-defeat-signals-shifting-islamic-grounds-by-charlotte-setijadi>

- Sin, C. H. (2007). Ethnic-matching in qualitative research: Reversing the gaze on “white others” and “white” as “other.” *Qualitative Research*, 7(4), 477–499.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794107082304>
- Siregar, K. (2018, November 18). “Moral panic” targets Indonesia’s LGBT community. Retrieved April 12, 2019, from <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2018/11/18/moral-panic-targets-indonesias-lgbt-community.html>
- Sirozi, M. (2004). Secular–religious debates on the Indonesian National Education System: colonial legacy and a search for national identity in education. *Intercultural Education*, 15(2), 123–137. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1467598042000224998>
- Skeie, G. (2013). A Contextual Turn in Research on Religion and Education?”. In G. Skeie, J. Everington, I. Ter Avest, & S. Miedema (Eds.), *Exploring Context in Religious Education Research* (pp. 249–272). Münster: Waxmann.
- Skeie, G. (2017). Impartial teachers in religious education – a perspective from a Norwegian context. *British Journal of Religious Education*, 39(1), 25–39.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01416200.2016.1149047>
- Smith, A., McCandless, E., Paulson, J., & Wheaton, W. (2011). *The Role of Education in Peacebuilding: Literature Review*. New York: United Nations Children’s Fund.
- Soebagio, N. (2008). Ethnic Chinese and Ethnic Indonesians: A Love-Hate Relationship. In L. Suryadinata (Ed.), *Ethnic Chinese in Contemporary Indonesia*. Singapore: ISEAS Publications.
- Srivastava, P., & Hopwood, N. (2009). A Practical Iterative Framework for Qualitative Data Analysis. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 8(1), 76–84.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/160940690900800107>
- Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Steadman, S. (2005). *Practically Perfect? Excellence in practice-based educational research* (ESRC TLRP Seminar Series Quality in Education Research). Oxford.
- Steenbrink, K. A. (1994). *Pesantren, Madrasah, Sekolah*. Jakarta: Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan dan Pengembangan Ekonomi dan Sosial (LP3ES).
- Stewart, F. (2008). Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: Understanding Group Violence in Multiethnic Societies. In *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: Understanding Group Violence in Multiethnic Societies*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Stritikus, T. T., & Varghese, M. M. (2010). Language Diversity and Schooling. In James A. Banks & C. A. M. Banks (Eds.), *Multicultural Education: Issues and Perspectives* (pp. 285–304). US: John Wiley & Sons.
- Subedi, B., Merryfield, M. M., Bashir-Ali, K., & Gunel, E. (2006). Teachers’ and Students’ Experiences Working with Religious Issues in U.S. Schools. In F. Salili & R. Husain (Eds.), *Religion in Multicultural Education* (pp. 215–238). USA: Information Age Publishing.
- Suhadi, Yusuf, M., Tahun, M., Asyhari, B., & Sudarto. (2015). *The Politics of Religious Education: The 2013 Curriculum, And the Public Space of the School*. Yogyakarta: Center for Religious and Cross-cultural Studies (CRCS).
- Suryadarma, D., & Jones, G. W. (2013). *Education in Indonesia*. (D. Suryadarma & G. W. Jones, Eds.). ISEAS Publishing.
- Suryadinata, L. (2010). *Etnis Tionghoa dan Nasionalisme Indonesia: Sebuah Bunga Rampai 1965-2008*. Jakarta: Kompas.

- Suryadinata, L., Arifin, E. N., & Ananta, A. (2003). *Indonesia's Population: Ethnicity and Religion in a Changing Political Landscape*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Susanti, R. (2016, October 5). Unpad Tawarkan Beasiswa, Salah Satu Syaratnya Tuai Kontroversi [Unpad Offers Scholarship, One of the Requirements Triggers Controversy]. Retrieved May 1, 2018, from <https://regional.kompas.com/read/2016/10/05/14451171/unpad.tawarkan.beasiswa.salah.satu.syaratnya.tuai.kontroversi?page=all>
- Sutijono. (2010). Multicultural Education in Indonesia : An Alternative for National Education in Global Era. *Sosiohumanika*, 3(1), 53–66.
- Swanborn, P. G. (2010). *Case Study Research: What, Why and How?* London: Sage Publications.
- Tan, C. (2011). *Islamic Education and Indoctrination: The Case in Indonesia*. New York: Routledge.
- Tan, E. K. B. (2001). From sojourners to citizens: managing the ethnic Chinese minority in Indonesia and Malaysia. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24(6), 949–978. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870120077922>
- Taylor, C. (1994). The Politics of Recognition. In A. Gutmann (Ed.), *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition* (pp. 25–73). New York: Princeton University Press.
- Tehusjarana, K. M., & Gunawan, A. (2018, August 23). The Meiliana Case: How a noise complaint resulted in an 18-month jail sentence. *The Jakarta Post*. Retrieved from <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2018/08/23/the-meiliana-case-how-a-noise-complaint-resulted-in-an-18-month-jail-sentence.html>
- Temple, B., & Young, A. (2004). Qualitative Research and Translation Dilemmas. *Qualitative Research*, 4(2), 161–178. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794104044430>
- The Curriculum Centre of Research and Development Agency. (2007). *The application of the multicultural education model for the secondary level*. Jakarta: Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture.
- The Jakarta Post. (2017a, May 31). Editorial: A Pancasila holiday. Retrieved March 21, 2019, from <https://www.thejakartapost.com/academia/2017/05/31/editorial-a-pancasila-holiday.html>
- The Jakarta Post. (2017b, December 3). FPI leader Rizieq calls for sharia-based Indonesia at 212 reunion. *The Jakarta Post*. Retrieved from <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2017/12/03/fpi-leader-rizieq-calls-for-sharia-based-indonesia-at-212-reunion.html>
- The Jakarta Post. (2019, August 11). Stop Hoax Indonesia program to educate internet users in 17 cities. Retrieved August 12, 2019, from <https://www.thejakartapost.com/life/2019/08/10/stop-hoax-indonesia-program-to-educate-internet-users-in-17-cities.html>
- The Telegraph. (2011, February 11). Nicolas Sarkozy declares multiculturalism had failed.
- The Wahid Institute. (2014). *Laporan Tahunan: Kebebasan Beragama/Berkeyakinan dan Intoleransi 2014: "Utang" Warisan Pemerintah Baru [Annual Report: Freedom to Religion and Faith and Intolerance 2014: "Debt" Legacy of New Governance]*. The Wahid Institute. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004>

- Thio, L.-A. (2005). Control, Co-Optation and Co-Operation: Managing Religious Harmony in Singapore's Multi-Ethnic, Quasi-Secular State. *Hastings Constitutional Law Quarterly*, 33(2), 197–447.
- Tilaar, H. A. . (2004a). *Multikulturalisme: Tantangan-Tantangan Global Masa Depan Dalam Transformasi Pendidikan Nasional [Multiculturalism: Future Global Challenges in National Education Transformation]*. Jakarta: Grasindo.
- Tilaar, H. A. . (2004b). *Paradigma Baru Pendidikan Nasional [New Paradigm of National Education]*. Jakarta: Rineka Cipta.
- Törngren, S. O., & Ngeh, J. (2018). Reversing the gaze: methodological reflections from the perspective of racial- and ethnic-minority researchers. *Qualitative Research*, 18(1), 3–18. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794116683991>
- Troyna, B. (1993). *Racism and Education*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Turner, S. (2003). Setting the Scene. Speaking Out: Chinese Indonesians After Suharto. *Asian Ethnicity*, 4(3), 337–352. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1343900032000117187>
- Tzanakis, M. (2011). Bourdieu's social reproduction thesis and the role of cultural capital in educational attainment: A critical review of key empirical studies. *Educate*, 11(1), 76–90. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0142569900110405>
- Uberoi, V. (2018). National Identity—A Multiculturalist's Approach. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 21(1), 46–64. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13698230.2017.1398475>
- Uberoi, V., & Modood, T. (2013). Inclusive Britishness: A multiculturalist advance. *Political Studies*, 61, 23–41.
- Uberoi, V., & Modood, T. (2015). *Multiculturalism Rethought: Interpretations, Dilemmas, and New Directions*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- UNDP Indonesia. (2015). *Converging Development Agendas: 'Nawa Cita', 'RPJMN', and SDGs*.
- UNDP, & USAID. (2014). *Being LGBT in Asia: Indonesia Country Report*. Bangkok.
- UNESCO. (2011). *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011: The Hidden Crisis, Armed Conflict and Education*. Paris.
- UNESCO Global Education Monitoring Report. (2012). Global Education Monitoring Report WIDE: Indonesia. Retrieved May 29, 2016, from <http://www.education-inequalities.org/countries/indonesia#?dimension=all&group=all&year=latest>
- Vervaet, R., Van Houtte, M., & Stevens, P. A. J. (2018). Multicultural Teaching in Flemish Secondary Schools: The Role of Ethnic School Composition, Track, and Teachers' Ethnic Prejudice. *Education and Urban Society*, 50(3), 274–299. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0013124517704290>
- Walford, G. (2001). *Doing Qualitative Educational Research: A Personal Guide to the Research Process*. London: Continuum.
- Walton, J., Paradies, Y., Priest, N., & Freeman, E. H. W. E. (2014). Fostering intercultural understanding through secondary school experiences of cultural immersion. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 28(2), 216–237. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2014.891772>

- Wang, C. H. (2013). Fostering critical religious thinking in multicultural education for teacher education. *Journal of Beliefs and Values*, 34(2), 152–164.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13617672.2013.802127>
- Weaver, M. (2018, October 16). Hate crime surge linked to Brexit and 2017 terrorist attacks. Retrieved March 9, 2019, from <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2018/oct/16/hate-crime-brexit-terrorist-attacks-england-wales>
- Weng, H. W. (2016, December 15). Defending Islam and reclaiming diversity. Retrieved March 17, 2019, from <https://www.newmandala.org/defending-islam-reclaiming-diversity/>
- Whiteman, H. (2012, October 12). Anger over Bali bomb site, 10 years on. Retrieved June 19, 2018, from <https://edition.cnn.com/2012/10/11/world/asia/bali-bombings-ten-years-on/>
- Widhiarto, H. (2016, November 4). Jakarta heats up as anti-Ahok rally begins. *The Jakarta Post*. Retrieved from <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2016/11/04/jakarta-heats-up-as-anti-ahok-rally-begins.html>
- Wijaya, C. A. (2016a, October 31). Tanjung Balai administration breeding religious intolerance, say activists. Retrieved March 30, 2018, from <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2016/10/31/tanjung-balai-administration-breeding-religious-intolerance-say-activists.html>
- Wijaya, C. A. (2016b, November 4). Police fire tear gas at protesters, two police trucks burned. *The Jakarta Post*. Retrieved from <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2016/11/04/police-fire-tear-gas-at-protesters-two-police-trucks-burned.html>
- Wijaya, C. A. (2017, December 25). GKI Yasmin, HKBP Filadelfia hold another churchless Christmas celebration. Retrieved February 25, 2019, from <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2017/12/25/gki-yasmin-hkbp-filadelfia-hold-another-churchless-christmas-celebration.html>
- Willis, P. (1977). *Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs*. Routledge.
- World Bank. (2005). *Reshaping the Future: Education and Postconflict Reconstruction*. Washington: The World Bank.
- Yin, R. K. (2013). *Case study research : design and methods*. Los Angeles, California : SAGE.
- Young, A., & Ackerman, J. (2001). Reflections on Validity and Epistemology in a Study of Working Relations Between Deaf and Hearing Professionals. *Qualitative Health Research*, 11(2), 179–189.
- Yuval-Davis, N. (1997). Ethnicity, gender relations and multiculturalism. In P. Werbner & T. Modood (Eds.), *Debating cultural hybridity: multicultural identities and the politics of anti-racism* (pp. 193–207). London: Zed Books.
- Zembylas, M., & Iasonos, S. (2010). Leadership styles and multicultural education approaches: an exploration of their relationship. *International Journal of Leadership in Education*, 13(2), 163–183.
- Zenz, A. (2019). ‘Thoroughly reforming them towards a healthy heart attitude’: China’s political re-education campaign in Xinjiang. *Central Asian Survey*, 38(1), 102–128.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02634937.2018.1507997>

# **APPENDICES**

# Appendix 1 CUREC Approval

21/05/2016

Tracey Harjatanaya - Outlook Web App

## CUREC application: What is the role of schools in educating for Unity-in-Diversity in Indonesia?

Nikki Luke [nikki.luke@education.ox.ac.uk]

Actions

To: tracey.harjatanaya@education.ox.ac.uk; Nigel Fancourt;...

Attachments: (10) Download all attachments

Adult participant consent ~1.doc (60 KB) [Open as Web Page]; CUREC\_1A Tracey Yani Harj~1.docx (132 KB) [Open as Web Page]; Letter to Head

29 March 2016 16:13

Dear Tracey,

### Application Approval

Title: *What is the role of schools in educating for Unity-in-Diversity in Indonesia?*

The above application has been considered on behalf of the Departmental Research Ethics Committee (DREC) in accordance with the procedures laid down by the University for ethical approval of all research involving human participants. Thank you for submitting such a clear application! I am pleased to inform you that, on the basis of the information provided to DREC, the proposed research has been judged as meeting appropriate ethical standards, and accordingly, approval has been granted to you.

If your research involves participants whose ability to give free and informed consent is in question (this includes those under 18 and vulnerable adults), then it is advisable to read the following NSPCC professional reporting requirements for cases of suspected abuse: [http://www.nspcc.org.uk/Inform/research/briefings/reporting\\_child\\_abuse\\_wda74908.html](http://www.nspcc.org.uk/Inform/research/briefings/reporting_child_abuse_wda74908.html)

Please note that CUREC approval does not guarantee access to participants, and it is your responsibility to check whether countries or contexts in which you plan to conduct your research might impose additional requirements (such as DBS checks).

Should there be any subsequent changes to the project which raise ethical issues not covered in the original application you should submit details to [research.office@education.ox.ac.uk](mailto:research.office@education.ox.ac.uk) for consideration.

Good luck with the project!  
Nikki

Nikki Luke  
Research Fellow  
Rees Centre for Research in Fostering and Education  
University of Oxford Department of Education  
15 Norham Gardens  
Oxford OX2 6PY

[nikki.luke@education.ox.ac.uk](mailto:nikki.luke@education.ox.ac.uk)  
+44 (0)1865 274050  
<http://reescentre.education.ox.ac.uk>  
[www.facebook.com/reescentreoxford](http://www.facebook.com/reescentreoxford)

<https://owa.nexus.ox.ac.uk/owa#>

1/1

## **Appendix 2 Interview Schedule for Head Teachers and Teachers**

*Good morning/afternoon. My name is Tracey and I am a doctoral student from the University of Oxford in the UK. First of all, I would like to thank you for taking some of your time out from your busy schedule to talk to me and for agreeing to participate in this research. As you might have known, I am here for the purpose of conducting my doctoral research. Previously I have given you the participant information sheet to read and a consent form for your parents to sign. I just want to remind you that your participation on this research is voluntary, your identity will be kept anonymous, and you have the right to withdraw from this study anytime you wish. You can contact me anytime through the email you can find in the participant information sheet. The interview will also be audio-recorded. Before we begin, do you have any questions regarding the research? Let's start.*

### **Introductory Questions:**

1. Why do you want to be a teacher/educator?
2. A. How long have you been acting as the head teacher in this school? (for head teachers)  
B. How long have you been teaching in this school? (for teachers)
3. Why do you choose to work in this school?
4. What are the main characteristics of this school? What do you think it is most known for?

### **Main Questions on Unity-in-Diversity**

5. What does the term 'Bhinneka-Tunggal-Ika' mean to you?
6. How do you learn about these meanings?
7. Do you think 'Bhinneka-Tunggal-Ika' has been well-implemented in the society? If yes, why? If not, why?
8. Do you think 'Bhinneka-Tunggal-Ika' has been well-implemented in this school? If yes, why? If not, why?
9. Can you think of examples of how 'Bhinneka Tunggal Ika' (Unity-in-Diversity) is implemented in this school?
10. How would you teach about 'Bhinneka Tunggal Ika' (Unity-in-Diversity) to the students?
11. What is your ideal Indonesian society like?

### **Main Questions on Education System:**

12. What do you think of the 2013 curriculum?
13. What is (are) the difference(s) between the 2013 curriculum with the previous ones?
14. What do you think are the challenges of implementing the 2013 curriculum?

### **Closing Questions:**

15. What do you think are the problems faced by Indonesian education today?
16. What is your hope for Indonesian education?

*Thank you very much for your time and participating in this research. I hope you find this conversation somewhat interesting and useful.*

## **Appendix 3 Interview Schedule for Parents**

*Good morning/afternoon. My name is Tracey and I am a doctoral student from the University of Oxford in the UK. First of all, I would like to thank you for taking some your time out from your busy schedule to talk to me and for agreeing to participate in this research. As you might have known, I am here for the purpose of conducting my doctoral research. Previously I have given you the participant information sheet to read and a consent form for your parents to sign. I just want to remind you that your participation on this research is voluntary, your identity will be kept anonymous, and you have the right to withdraw from this study anytime you wish. You can contact me anytime through the email you can find in the participant information sheet. The interview will also be audio-recorded. Before we begin, do you have any questions regarding the research? Let's start.*

### **Introductory Questions:**

1. How are you doing? What do you do?
2. Why do you choose to send your child to this school?
3. What are the main characteristics of this school? What do you think it is most known for?

### **Main Questions on Unity-in-Diversity**

4. What does the term 'Bhinneka-Tunggal-Ika' mean to you?
5. How do you learn about these meanings?
6. Do you think 'Bhinneka-Tunggal-Ika' has been well-implemented in the society? If yes, why? If not, why?
7. Do you think school have a role in teaching "Bhinneka-Tunggal-Ika"?
8. Do you think 'Bhinneka-Tunggal-Ika' has been well-implemented in this school? If yes, why? If not, why?
9. Can you think of examples of how 'Bhinneka Tunggal Ika' (Unity-in-Diversity) is implemented in this school?
10. How would you teach about 'Bhinneka Tunggal Ika' (Unity-in-Diversity) to your children?
11. What is your ideal Indonesian society like?

### **Main Questions on Education System:**

12. Have you heard about the 2013 curriculum?
13. What do you know about and think of the 2013 curriculum?

### **Closing Questions:**

14. What do you think are the problems faced by Indonesian education today?
15. What is your hope for Indonesian education?
16. What do you think is a good quality education?

*Thank you very much for your time and for participating in this research. I hope you find this conversation somewhat interesting and useful.*

## **Appendix 4 Student Focus Group Discussion Schedule**

*Good morning/afternoon. My name is Tracey and I am a doctoral student from the University of Oxford in the UK. First of all, I would like to thank you all for taking your time to talk to me and agreeing to participate in this research. As you might have known, I am here for the purpose of conducting my doctoral research. Previously I have given you the participant information sheet to read and a consent form for your parents to sign. I just want to remind you that your participation on this research is voluntary, your identity will be kept anonymous, and you have the right to withdraw from this study anytime you wish. You can contact me anytime through the email you can find in the participant information sheet. The discussion will also be audio-recorded. Before we begin, do you have any questions regarding the research? Let's start.*

### **First Phase: Introduction**

1. Could you please in turn introduce yourself? Please state your name and class
2. What is your ambition? What do you want to do after you graduate?
3. Why do you choose to study in this school?
4. What are the main characteristics of this school? What do you think it is most known for?

### **Second Phase**

#### **A. Main Questions on Unity-in-Diversity**

5. What do you think Indonesia is well-known for?
6. What does the term 'Bhinneka-Tunggal-Ika' mean to you?
7. How do you learn about these meanings?
8. Do you think 'Bhinneka-Tunggal-Ika' has been well-implemented in the society?  
If yes, why? If not, why?
9. Do you think 'Bhinneka-Tunggal-Ika' has been well-implemented in this school?  
If yes, why? If not, why?
10. Can you think of examples of how 'Bhinneka Tunggal Ika' (Unity-in-Diversity) is implemented in this school?
11. What is your ideal Indonesian society like?

#### **B. Main Questions on Education System:**

12. What do you think of the 2013 curriculum?
13. What is (are) the difference(s) between the 2013 curriculum with the previous ones?
14. Which curriculum do you prefer?

### **Third Phase: Role Playing Activity**

1. In a piece of paper which I have given to you, could you write down what you think is the biggest problem Indonesia is facing today? Once you are finished, you can give the paper to me.
2. Now I would like you to work as a group. Consider all of you are higher officials in Indonesian government. One of you can be the President, some can act as the Ministries or Members of Parliament. Your first task after the appointment of your role is to hold a meeting to decide working agenda for your administration. There are eight issues here that public claim to be the main problems: inter-religious harmony, economic inequality, lack of nationalism, corruption, global warming, gender disparity, dishonesty, and student brawls. You are given 15 minutes to discuss among yourselves and decide which issue is the most urgent and hence needs addressing first. You need to order them based on priorities from 1-8 and you need to appoint someone to explain why you choose to order them the way you do.
3. Next, can you in turn tell me what your individual top three priorities are.
4. It does not seem that all of you are 100% happy with the order. Please spend another 15 minutes to re-discuss to reach consensus on what 'this government' want to tackle first.
5. Please let me know your final answer on the order of the priorities.

*Thank you very much for your time and participating in this research. I hope you find this activity somewhat interesting and useful.*

## Appendix 5 Coding framework

1	Perspectives on Unity-in-Diversity	Meanings of Unity-in-Diversity	Standard meaning per taught
			Non-standard meaning
			Emphasising similarity and humanity
			Recognising differences
			Recognising the presence of minority
			Minority adapting to majority
		Elements of Unity-in-Diversity	Ethnicity
			Religious
			Gender
			Caste
			Socio-economic status
			Other
		Implementation of Unity-in-Diversity	Perfect implementation
			Well-implemented but needs work
			Far from perfect
		Challenges in Achieving Unity-in-Diversity	Lack of tolerance
			Ethnocentrism
			Majority suppressing the minority
			Minority does not want to adapt
			State does not protect the minority
			Minority rights are not being accommodated
			Unfair policies for certain groups
		Creation of Indonesian Identity	Religious
			Ethnic
			Racial
			Nationalistic
			Social status
			Monocultural
			Multicultural
		Position of religious minorities	Equal
			Inferior
			Protected
Equality of women	Full equality/subservience at home		
	Full equality/subservience at work		
	Full equality/subservience in society		
2	Indonesian 2013 National Curriculum (K-13)	Benefits of K-13	Students have more opportunities to learn by themselves
			Learning more applicable to real world
			IT-integrated
			Strong character values

		Challenges/caveat of implementing K-13	Teacher's lack of ability to use ICT in teaching		
			Teacher's lack of ability to apply student-centred approach		
			Teacher's resistant to change/hold on to old habit		
			Burdensome administrative work (e.g. comprehensive lesson plan)		
			Complicated assessment (related to assessing characters)		
			Student's burden to complete homework		
			Teacher not doing anything		
		Checking the reliable learning sources	Cross-reference with text		
			Tell students a list of reliable sources		
			No special mechanism to check		
		Differences between K-13 and other curricula	Slightly different		
			The same as previous curricula		
			Very different		
		Preference of curriculum type	Prefer K-13		
			Prefer non K-13		
		Character values developed in school/teaching	Religiosity		
			Nationalism		
			Love the nation		
			Honesty		
			Hard work		
			Discipline		
			Tolerance		
		Other character values			
		3	Religious Diversity and Religious Education in Schools	Venue for worship	Available for all students, including the minority
					Only available for the religious majority
				Morning prayers	Regular, part of school routine, school-programmed, teacher led
					Performed by student's own will, not controlled by teachers
					Not school-programmed, depending on the individual teachers
Compulsory for the religious majority only					
Performed together, individual praying in silence, per class					
Performed together, per group, different location respective to religious group					
Prayer during school event (including Monday flag-raising ceremony)	Performed in the religion of the majority only - the minority follow suit praying in silence				
	Each religious group has its representative and time to say prayer				
Religious education (RE) class	All religious minority have RE lessons in schools				

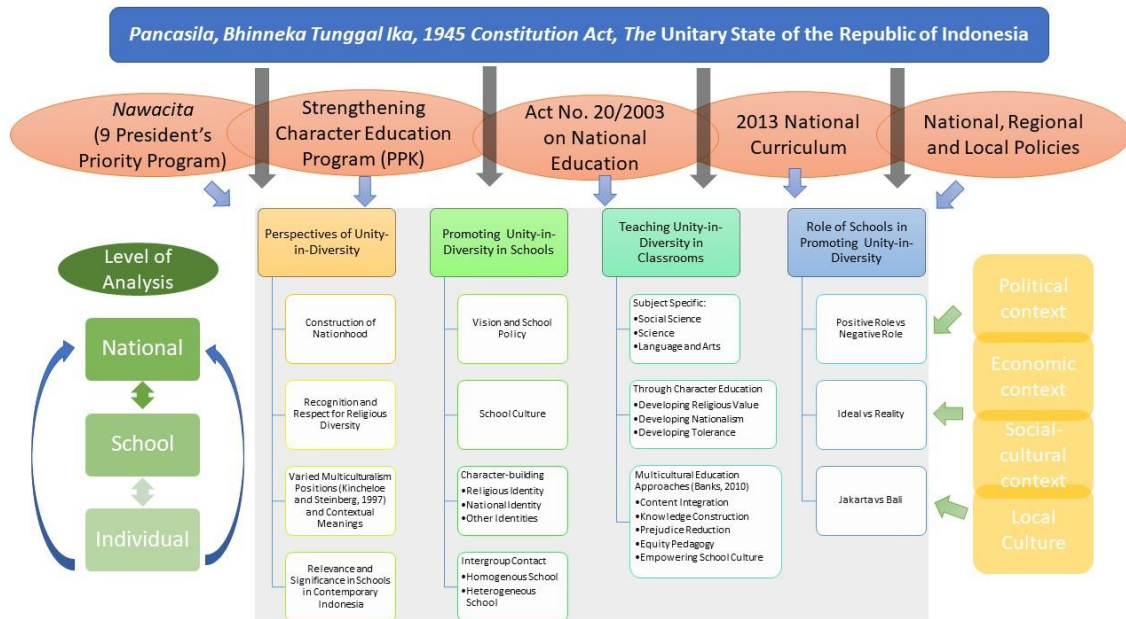
		arrangement for the religious minority groups	RE for the minority takes place outside school ground (e.g. in respective worship buildings in the community)
			Simultaneous lesson - the majority in class, the rest goes to other respective worship buildings in the community
			Lesson scheduled outside mainstream RE lessons - the minority stay in class during the lesson and join the majority, then have RE lesson according to their faith or after school or during Friday Muslim mass prayer
			Designated room for RE of the minority with equal quality
			Designated room for RE of the minority with poor quality
			No fixed, designated room for RE of the minority (mobile, depending on availability)
		Provision of RE teachers	Appointment of permanent RE teachers for all students
			Appointment of permanent RE teachers for the religious majority and part-time/voluntary RE teachers/tutor for the religious minority
			No appointment of RE teachers for religious minority - students learn and get marks from the neighbouring local Ireligious institutions then report to school
		Reasons for not providing RE teachers and holding religious activities for the minority	Funding
			School policy
			Too small in number to accommodate
			Resistance from the school authority
			Resistance from the neighbourhood/local community
		Wearing religious attributes in school ground	Allowed for all
			Allowed for the religious majority only
			Not allowed for all
			Compulsory for the religious majority
		Celebration of religious event/activity in school (e.g. Christmas/Retreat, Qurban/Ied Mubarak, etc)	Present for the majority religion only
			Present for all religions of the school population
			Morally supported by school
			Financially supported by school
			Held at school ground
			Held outside school ground
			Participated by all community
			Participated by corresponding religious group
		4	Multicultural Citizenship Education in Schools
Public welfare, no poverty, no socio-economic gap			
Educated citizens			
Advanced from other countries			

			Corruption-free		
			Stable politics		
		State of realising ideal Indonesian society	Far from ideal state		
			Close to ideal state		
		Perceived role of education in realising ideal Indonesian society	Creating educated young people		
			Fostering religious value		
			Fostering tolerance and respecting other values		
			Fostering other character values		
		School's focus/special characteristics	Academic		
			Soft skills (e.g. sports, music, etc)		
			Individual character (e.g. hardworking, honest)		
			Social-oriented character (e.g. respecting others, tolerant)		
			Religious		
			Nationalist		
		Activities fostering sense of nationalism	Flag raising ceremony on Mondays		
			Celebrating national days		
			Singing of national anthem every day		
			Singing of national songs every day		
			Joining scouting club		
			Hanging photos of national leaders and Pancasila text		
			Hanging photos of national heroes		
		5	Teaching Multicultural Citizenship Education in Class	Strategies	Telling the students about the importance of Unity-in-Diversity for the betterment of Indonesia as a nation (e.g. economic, to keep the nation together)
					Telling the students about the beauty of Unity-in-Diversity (e.g. rich culture, variety of food)
Telling the students to respect others' cultures					
Being a living example of practising Unity-in-Diversity (role model)					
Integrating content about other cultures into subject learning in classrooms					
Integrating content about other cultures into non-classroom learning activity					
Addressing/reducing prejudices and debunking stereotypes					
Perpetuating prejudices, stereotypes and unequal power relations					
Fostering stronger religious value					
Strengthening nationalism					
Preserving ethnic culture (e.g. language, food)					

			Empowering minority groups to voice their thoughts
			Empowering majority groups to protect, recognise and provide the equal educational rights of the minority groups
			Intervention on maximising intergroup contact (e.g. in group discussion, seating arrangement)
			Fostering critical thinking
			Discussing about social injustices
		Types of content integrated	Ethnic
			Religious
			Cultural
			Gender
			Socio-economic
			Academic achievement
			Nationality
			Others
		Nature of integrating examples from a variety of cultures	Contrived/artificial/superficial
			Logical/natural
		Purpose of integrating examples	Part of learning modules/structure
			Initiated by teachers
		Teaching style	Didactic
			Student-centred
			Board and note-taking
			IT-based, creative teaching presentation
		Learning activities	Independent learning
			Class discussion
			Student group presentation
			Listen and note taking
			Quiz/Q&A
			Debate
		Sources of learning	One textbook
			Multiple sources
		Justification for content	Legalistic
			Religious
			Academic
			Rational
Presentation of view/bias	Presentation of multiple sides		
	Single view representation		
6	Parent-School and Community-School Relationships	Types of parent involvement	Active in school meetings
			Active in student's progress at home
			Financial
		Parent-school frequency of communication	Once a year (during end-of term report giving)
			A few times throughout the year
		Significant	

		Parent's perspectives on the school's role in teaching about and for Unity-in-Diversity	Not significant
			School has fully accommodated and taught about diversity
			School has not fully accommodated and taught about diversity
		School on parent's role in teaching about and for Unity-in-Diversity	Significant
			Not significant
			Parents have fully taught about diversity
			Parents have not fully taught about diversity
		Strategies to bridge school-community communication	The importance of local language
			Join community work (e.g. communal street clean up)
			Allow the use of school facilities for community use (e.g. mosque)

# Appendix 6 Analytical Framework



## Appendix 7 Coder's instruction

**Title of Project:** Accommodating a vision of diversity in different school contexts:

“Unity-in-Diversity” in Indonesia

**Name of Researcher:** Tracey Yani Harjatanaya

**Affiliation of Researcher:** Department of Education, University of Oxford

### About the Research

The research aims to explore how schools in Indonesia with different student cultural and religious demographic profiles teach about “Unity-in-Diversity as multicultural education. To meet this research objective, this research focuses on answering this overarching question: **“How do different schools in Indonesia teach multicultural education?”**

### Specific Research Questions:

1. What does ‘Unity-in-Diversity’ mean in schools in contemporary Indonesia?
2. What strategies do schools use in promoting/implementing ‘Unity-in-Diversity’?
3. What strategies do teachers use in teaching ‘Unity-in-Diversity’?
4. How do the implementations and teachings differ in response to the different cultural and religious demographic profiles?

### The guidance for coding is as follows:

1. You do not need to code everything
2. It is permissible to multi-code any segment
3. It is permissible to introduce and use new themes you think appropriate that are not in the coding frames. *Please write the new themes and relevant codes in the appropriate section in the last page of the coding frames.*
4. You need to focus on identifying segments corresponding to the research questions:
  - Look for obvious and implicit statements of what ‘Unity-in-Diversity’ mean for the participants – e.g. if ‘Unity-in-Diversity’ is considered an important issue for them, which element of diversity that they emphasise (religion, ethnicity, gender, etc)
  - Look for indications of strategies schools use in promoting ‘Unity-in-Diversity’ at school

- Look for indications of strategies teachers use in teaching ‘Unity-in-Diversity’ in classrooms
  - Find passages that illuminate these examples and code them appropriately. This will bring in the relevant contextual factors.
5. **If you choose to use pen-and-paper method of coding**, you can send the coded transcripts via post (the postal charge will be reimbursed). Please write down the appropriate theme number(s) (1,2,3,4,5) and the code number(s) (1.1, 1.2, etc). If you decide to use colour highlighter to highlight the statement associated with the theme, please give an information regarding the colour and theme pairing. *NOTE: You can multi-code any segment so it is possible that one statement can fit into more than one theme or code.*
  6. **If you choose to code using MS-word digitally**, you can use the comment box to write down the appropriate theme number(s) (1,2,3,4,5) and the code number(s) (1.1, 1.2, etc). If you decide to use colour highlighter to highlight the statement associated with the theme, please give an information regarding the colour and theme pairing. *NOTE: You can multi-code any segment so it is possible that one statement can fit into more than one theme or code.* Please upload the coded files into Google Drive with the names [CODED] [Name of original files]
  7. The research involves sensitive information and it could cause some discomfort. If you find any statement upsetting, you can choose not to read and code them.