Unity in Diversity
The Indonesian Curriculum

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Executive Summary

The Republic of Indonesia is the world’s largest Muslim-majority country, and this majority is overwhelmingly large: around 88 percent of Indonesia’s 270 million people are Muslim. Our current research examines the country’s school textbooks, focusing on the 2013 Curriculum, used by the majority of schools and Indonesian students. Changes were introduced in 2016, 2017, and 2018. The curriculum reflects Indonesia’s official state philosophy of Pancasila (the “five principles”) which combines a commitment to unity, diversity, democracy, and social justice with “belief in the one and only God.”

Main Findings

The Indonesian curriculum is committed to peace and tolerance at home and abroad. Diversity within unity is a central motif.

The textbooks teach the Pancasila philosophy, which unites all Indonesians through a belief in the one and only God. Agnosticism is avoided, and so are indigenous religions. Conservative family values are encouraged. The wisdom of local cultures is praised, as is the economic value of cultural diversity. The curriculum encourages the learning of local languages, and combats bias against minorities — particularly Indonesians of Chinese descent.

Islamic education textbooks teach peace, and that killing and fighting are strictly prohibited. In contradiction, armed jihad against infidels remains part of the faith.

The curriculum condemns jihadi terrorists and teaches about domestic acts of terrorism, without blaming or associating it with certain groups. Tolerance is specifically taught in Buddhist textbooks as a means to prevent terrorism, war, and violence.

The curriculum is free of religious hatred, and there is no anti-Christian polemic or Islamophobia. Most mentions of Jews in Islamic Education textbooks are neutral or positive, although limited stereotypical biases exist.

When addressing international relations and historical wounds, the textbooks display restraint, show reluctance to raise controversial issues, and offer positive perspectives.

The teaching of History is at times overly narrow in scope. Different perspectives are offered on the controversial 1965 coup attempt, but there is no discussion of the massacre of those accused of being Communists. The textbooks avoid the war in East Timor in the 1990s. Chapters covering World War II ignore Nazi Germany and the Holocaust.

The plight of Muslims in China and Myanmar is not discussed. Textbooks describe the US as one of Indonesia’s largest trading partners, and explain that bilateral relations have improved since the 1999-2005 military embargo. The Australian education system is praised as an
example from which Indonesia should learn, and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is shown as being united in its commitment to peace and stability.

The curriculum largely embraces equality for women. It is expected that Indonesian youth remain abstinent until marriage, but the curriculum refers only to women in this context.

**Families featured in textbooks are traditional, with no single-parent families.** Islamic education opposes diverse sexual identities, such as homosexuality. In Hindu studies and elsewhere, effeminate males are accepted.

**Pancasila and Religion**

The Pancasila, or “five principles,” is an Indonesian state philosophy which is taught and integrated into all subjects, especially in primary education. The teaching of Pancasila is based on a shared belief in the one and only God, within the framework of six major world faiths, and promotes the acceptance of unity within diversity. The messaging of the textbooks reflects the core beliefs of Islam, Christianity (Protestantism and Catholicism), Buddhism, Hinduism, and Confucianism. Since all six faiths are assigned official textbooks within the curriculum, the Indonesian state serves as an interpreter of these world religions. This also means that part of the curriculum is taught in parallel; different groups of students learn about their religions separately. Religious education books teach the tenets of these religions, and their expected attitudes toward irreligious people. Peace, tolerance, and respect for the “Other” are shared by all.

Given that the pillar of the curriculum is the first principle of Pancasila, which requires every Indonesian citizen to believe in one God, there is no room for agnosticism or atheism. Indigenous religions are not taught.

The curriculum is free of religious hatred. There is no anti-Christian polemic or Islamophobia. While most mentions of Jews in Islamic education textbooks are neutral or positive, limited stereotypical biases exist. Christians and Jews are mentioned positively in the context of the Hebrew Bible, the Psalms and the New Testament, and for their activities during the golden eras of Islamic civilization. There is a clear message that violence toward other religions should be avoided, in response to wronging or offending Muslims, and examples show many acts of generosity toward Jews.

Islamic education textbooks teach that killing and fighting, including fighting against non-Muslims, are strictly prohibited. Simultaneously and in contradiction, these books also teach that armed *jihad* forms part of the faith. There is no explanation of how or in which conditions armed *jihad* is permissible, but *jihad* does not always means going to war. Some materials highlight that looking after one’s parents and embarking on a pilgrimage are better forms of *jihad*. The word infidel (*kafir*) is used to refer to those who deny Allah (it is not defined as those who are non-Muslim, as is common among Indonesians). One textbook teaches students to engage in *jihad*
against infidels. In other instances, the textbooks recommend listening to infidels when they are telling the truth, and respecting a Muslim’s infidel parents.

Textbooks for Islamic, Catholic, and Character Education discuss calling people to embrace the Islamic faith (Dawa), and missionary work. Lessons on Dawa emphasize that it should be practiced in a moderate and respectful way. Meanwhile, Catholic education textbooks highlight that missionary work should focus on love and respect, interacting with others, and contributing to society at large.

In contrast, Confucianist and Character Education textbooks are strongly opposed to proselytizing, which is viewed as a waste of energy that could be channeled into self-development. It is seen as futile to turn people from other religions toward the faith. Confucianist textbooks encourage students to be different, and to belong to the minority (for years, Confucianism was prohibited in Indonesia).

The spirit of tolerance, Tat Tvam Asi (meaning ‘it is you’), is at the core of Hindu teaching. The expression suggests that respecting other people means respecting oneself.

Buddhist education textbooks refer to concepts such as Hiri (conscience) and Ottappa (respect for others) to encourage tolerance. These textbooks teach about terrorism, but avoid blaming any group in particular.

Christian education textbooks teach that Christians should not only live with others in harmony, but also bless them. Lessons appear to be more action-oriented, featuring examples of youth camps – one for Israeli and Palestinian teenagers, and the other for youth from Indonesia’s Poso and Ambon (Moluccas) areas, where inter-religious conflicts previously occurred. Catholic textbooks place great emphasis on love for the Other, and on symbolism. One Catholic and Character Education textbook provides the example of the Ambon Bishop hosting a Qur’an recital competition.

**Minorities and Local Wisdom**

Tolerance and acceptance of Indonesians of Chinese descent are promoted through the inclusion of many Chinese Indonesians in textbooks, alongside their contribution to Indonesia. One example is Didik, a famous male dancer who prefers traditionally feminine interests and behaviors. This example encourages tolerance toward not only Indonesians of Chinese descent, but also toward the subversion of gender roles.

Textbooks teach local wisdom which highlights unity in diversity, such as gotong royong (mutual cooperation) and kerja bakti (voluntary work). This is depicted as Indonesian cultural richness that benefits society. The textbooks urge Indonesian youth to learn about and cherish their local
languages and cultures. In some cases, responsibility for safeguarding local languages is attributed to parents, while the role of the state is minimized.

The textbooks encourage students to preserve cultural diversity, and the environment. One example is preserving traditional arts such as dance, music, and performing arts. The preservation of cultural diversity, and the idea of achieving prosperity through values of harmony, acceptance of diversity, and cooperation are represented in an egalitarian manner. To preserve local culture, churches conduct cultural studies to translate the Bible into local languages in East Nusa Tenggara. Environmental issues are also discussed, for example the killing of Orangutans in Kalimantan.

The curriculum promotes self-criticism that leads to improvement. This is presented in a humble manner, especially in relation to Indonesia’s education system, which is described as being of low quality, and it is said that Indonesia needs to learn from “developed countries.”

**International Relations and Historical Wounds**

Indonesia has suffered from centuries of colonial rule and occupation, with painful memories remaining from the long history of Dutch rule (Dutch East Indies, 1800–1945), and the Japanese occupation during World War II. History textbooks describe colonials in bitter terms, while also endeavoring to offer a more balanced view by teaching what Indonesians learned and adopted from the colonials. Historical discussions reveal positive aspects of the Japanese occupation, such as respect for Islam, and influencing the rise of Indonesian nationalism. History teaching is, at times, too narrow in scope. Chapters on World War II ignore Nazi Germany and the Holocaust, although Christian education textbooks are an exception.

The history of East Timor is presented, but there is no additional explanation of the relations between Indonesia and East Timor (Timor Leste) after the separation, and textbooks avoid explaining the details of war and massacres during the 1990s. A controversial element of the 1965 coup attempt, known as the Thirtieth of September Movement, is presented in a more open, unbiased way by offering various possibilities of what may have happened. However, there is no discussion on the massacre of those accused of being Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) members.

Indonesia’s international relations are presented as the pursuance of a “non-block” policy, and a commitment to maintain global peace. The textbooks try to offer a balanced view of most countries which have sensitive relationships with Indonesia. Here, too, the presentation of such countries is at times surprisingly narrow, with the plight of Muslims in China and Myanmar not being discussed.
Family Values and Women’s Rights

Despite some examples showing women undertaking domestic work, both general and religious education textbooks largely promote gender equality by emphasizing that men and women have equal capabilities and rights. It is expected that Indonesian youth remain abstinent until marriage, but the curriculum refers only to women in this context. A topic on the reproductive system for Grade 9 places sole responsibility on women to prevent their hymen from breaking, which ignores a host of other reasons for this phenomenon, and of course, the participation of men in sexual relations.

The curriculum adopts a conservative approach to gender and sexuality. Hindu and Character Education textbooks teach that, aside from men and women, Hinduism accepts a third type of gender – effeminate individuals. An effeminate individual is a man with feminine characteristics.

Islamic education textbooks are explicitly against diverse sexual identities, such as homosexuality. That said, a Grade 12 textbook asks students to give their opinion on being transgender, in light of Islamic teachings.

International Standards for Peace and Tolerance

The Indonesian curriculum promotes tolerance, understanding and RESPECT toward the “Other,” his or her culture, achievements, values, and way of life. There is no room for atheism and agnosticism, and indigenous religions are largely not discussed. The curriculum encourages diversity, and calls on students to preserve local cultures and languages. There is no incitement against indigenous religions and agnostics. There is, however, a ban on Communism, resulting from the 1965 Thirtieth of September failed coup event.

In many cases, INDIVIDUAL OTHERS are presented, particularly when the curriculum is trying to foster harmony and good relations among Indonesia’s many ethnic groups. There are fewer examples of this in relation to foreign countries, but the curriculum nevertheless tries to avoid demonization, and always presents a positive aspect of the “Other.” For example, a textbook depicts a Japanese colonialist leader, Admiral Maeda, offering his house to Indonesian leaders as a meeting place to formulate the Proclamation of Independence, in a show of respect and support for the independence movement.

The curriculum is generally free from HATE, and praises PEACEMAKING. There is mostly NO INCITEMENT. Indeed, one critique of this curriculum is that, at times, efforts to avoid conflicts and promote harmony come at the expense of honest debate. One exception to this general trend is that jihad war is taught in Islamic education, which simultaneously teaches that killing and fighting, including fighting against non-Muslims, is prohibited.
The curriculum generally depicts Indonesia’s relations with various countries. That said, sensitive issues are avoided in order to maintain harmony, which is not entirely aligned with the UNBIASED INFORMATION standard. Cases include the glaring omissions of the fate of Muslims in China and Myanmar, and the war in East Timor. Yet the textbooks always show a positive perspective even in difficult cases such as the Japanese occupation of Indonesia, which is described as triggering the nationalist movement.

In terms of GENDER IDENTITY AND REPRESENTATION and SEXUAL ORIENTATION, the Indonesian curriculum is unashamedly conservative. It educates for abstinence before marriage and, especially in Islamic education textbooks, rejects everything that deviates from the traditional family unit. The curriculum avoids mentioning single-parent families and LGBT individuals, except for Islamic studies, which stresses that such relationships are prohibited. The curriculum is free of language, content, and imagery that promulgates violence or discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. Attitudes toward women are generally egalitarian and traditional roles are minimized, although in some cases textbooks show unfair treatment of women, and conventional gender roles. However, the general tone of the curriculum is that of equality, cultural openness, and celebration of differing lifestyles. Indeed, the Indonesian curriculum is unique in its acceptance of feminine roles for men. Welcoming the great variety of cultures and lifestyles that exist in the archipelago bode well for tolerance in Indonesia.

SOUND PROSPERITY is addressed in the curriculum, with tolerance and diversity linked to creativity. Learning and humility are encouraged. COOPERATION is praised.

The Indonesian curriculum is, as a whole, committed to education for tolerance, peace, and democratic values. This is a conservative curriculum that unites an extremely diversified nation around an uncompromising pledge to the one God, to diversity, to the environment, and to a creativity-based economy aimed at sound prosperity, cooperation, peace, and harmony.
Foreword

Indonesia Is Ready for the Challenges that Lie Ahead

Jay Ruderman

A recent evaluation of the educational curriculum by IMPACT-se exemplifies the extent to which Indonesia is capable of playing a central role on the international stage.

Indonesia has long been an up-and-coming country on the world stage, leading the way among its developing peers. As the world’s third-largest democracy, it continues to play an important role in balancing and harmonizing South-East Asia, and its G20 leadership this year has brought long-deserved international recognition.¹ The country’s constant efforts to participate in and support international initiatives, work with the United Nations, and move forward the quest for global peace, has earned them praise.² With this recognition, however, comes an added responsibility to ensure sure they represent themselves well internationally, and that they act in a way befitting of this new status.

Apart from their role as a regional peacekeeper, Indonesia has historically tended to focus its policy efforts domestically.³ While President Widodo is embracing the trust and responsibility the international community has given the country, from tackling global issues with the Global Crisis Response Group to their G20 leadership, the government more often than not has preferred to work only to improve the domestic state of Indonesia.⁴ As a nation of hundreds of islands, however, harmony is part of the culture. Uniting across different languages and ethnicities to share a common identity as Indonesians is something people in a country as diverse as Indonesia do every day.⁵ This harmonizing nature is something the world needs, and the spotlight of G20 leadership has given Indonesia an opportunity to show off this soft power.⁶ This soft power can further be seen in a soon-to-be-released analysis of the Indonesian school curriculum, conducted by IMPACT-se.

The study in question refers to the country’s education system, and exemplifies how this system reflects national values, promoting self-confidence, humility, and unity in harmony. Radicalism, racism, and colonial history are all addressed, and tolerance is the overall message. The country teaches the values its people believe in and hold at the core of their identity, and this is not lost on the major players of the international system. Indonesia’s harmonizing nature is an essential part of its political power, and it is what has helped the country step forward as an important geopolitical player.

The G20 summit in Bali this year, as well as the ASEAN chairmanship in 2023, are opportunities to wield this power in a way that benefits global peace and stability. With growing recognition for his country’s international contributions, President Widodo hopes to also attract international investment and support for his own domestic agenda, especially the intensive green transition, and the infrastructure and economic transition needed to accompany it. The United States, Japan, and other partners have already promised $20 billion of financing toward shutting down coal plants and reducing energy emissions by 2030, a tangible result of the country’s growing status.

The current need for a global peacemaker such as Indonesia is especially evident with the ongoing Russia-Ukraine War. From harmonizing relations to addressing the resulting food crisis, Indonesia has already begun to show how suited it is to play the role of mediator. With President Widodo’s visits to Kyiv and Moscow in June of this year, he set out to urge a ceasefire, ensure the creation of a grain corridor from Ukraine and resume Russia’s fertilizer exports. He also chose to invite Russia to the G20 while extending an invite to Ukraine, in a bid to bring Putin and Zelensky together with other world leaders.

Indonesia’s approach to democracy and harmony has made it a natural leader of the world’s emerging powers, and has given it this opportunity for global leadership. These same approaches are essential to addressing the Russia-Ukraine War, and are an important aspect of why now is Indonesia’s time to act. Playing a role in brokering an agreement between Ukraine and Russia would, for example, prove to both the global community as well as to Indonesians that they are ready for this mantle of responsibility. This new role would also allow them to move forward on

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other geopolitical issues of importance as well, such as normalizing relations with the State of Israel.\textsuperscript{12} Not only would this be an incredible show of leadership on the part of Indonesia, but, as is clear from history, doing so would bring a formidable boost to their economy.\textsuperscript{13} When the United Arab Emirates signed the Abraham Accords only 2 years ago to normalize relations with Israel, their trade increased by 500\%, bringing $1.2 billion in one year.\textsuperscript{14} Such a level of trade influx would be incredible for the Indonesian economy, bringing in opportunities for investment, innovation, and entrepreneurship. Hi-tech and digital industries are something the country lacks, and a partnership with Israel would allow them to expand into these sectors.\textsuperscript{15} The economic benefits and expansion of their industries would be welcome, especially as their transition toward a green economy and normalized relations with Israel would set them apart from their neighboring countries.\textsuperscript{16} The IMPACT-se study in question indeed shows why, at least through an investigation of its educational curriculum, Indonesia is ready to play an even greater leading role on the international stage.

As Indonesia moves into this position of international leadership, there are many aspects of the position they must keep in mind. The country’s harmonizing nature and ideals of peace and stability continue to be praised, and its education system will impart these on to the next generation. The focus on sustainable growth is to be emulated, and the preservation of democracy to be admired. With this position, however, also comes the responsibility of applying these values beyond their own country. By playing a role in important international events, such as hosting the G20 and mediating the Russia-Ukraine War, they are slowly and surely proving that they are ready for this new challenge.

\textit{Jay Ruderman is the President of the Ruderman Family Foundation.}

\textsuperscript{13} ibid
\textsuperscript{14} ibid
\textsuperscript{15} ibid
\textsuperscript{16} ibid
I found this report interesting. It highlights some fundamental issues in the Indonesian school curriculum, and presents them from an insightful perspective. The report identifies that, for a large country with a very diverse population, the Indonesian curriculum is relatively successful in promoting tolerance and social harmony. However, it comes at the expense of open debate on critical issues, a very central aspect of modern education. In the long run, the systematic avoidance of exploring difficult questions through frank debate is not a healthy basis for the creation of strong Indonesian multiculturalism and democracy, if not undermining this altogether.

It is worth noting that the absence of open debate in Indonesian society, as reflected in the 2013 school curriculum, is not without context. I will briefly discuss it here so the reader can have a more detailed picture of how and why we have arrived at this point.

Before 1965, open debate was in fact a common practice in Parliament, in mass media, in schools, and in society at large. This is also why lengthy and heated debates in the Indonesian Parliament between 1955 and 1959 over the writing of a proper constitution eventually reached a political impasse. The 1945 Constitution was intended to be provisional until a legitimate parliament—established through general election, held for the first time in 1955—could accomplish its mandate. This never happened, and the provisional 1945 Constitution remains permanent to this day. Furthermore, the deadlock resulting from political polarization, particularly between the religious group and the Communists, eventually reached its climax in the 1965 massacre that killed between two and three million.

Indonesians have suffered from collective trauma ever since. Suharto and his New Order military regime emerged from this crisis, and held power for over three decades (1966-1998) by exploiting this trauma. There are four policies created by the New Order which are worth mentioning here.

First, compulsory religious education in schools. Since 1965, to ostensibly protect the next generation from the influence of “evil godless communists” the government has required every student from elementary school to university level to take religion classes, a policy which has continued to this day. Before 1965, religion classes were optional. Religion classes are not only required at all levels, but are also taught with reference to the mono-religious model. A Muslim only learns Islam from a Muslim teacher, a Hindu only learns Hinduism from a Hindu teacher, and so on. Thus far, debate over changing the compulsory status of religious education in school only provokes fear of a return to Communism, and therefore only ignites anger among religious groups (Achmad Munjid et al, Religious Studies in Indonesia, CRCS UGM, 2015).

Secondly, specifying one’s religion is required on a national identity card. This is part of the New Order’s total war against Communism, continuing to this day. To avoid possible political prosecution, many people involuntarily converted to any of the existing recognized religions, or at a minimum felt pressured to show their religious affiliation. Followers of religion, especially among Muslims and Christians as the two largest groups, increased dramatically. When Muslims saw that the number of Christians had increased, and vice versa, mutual suspicion and tension
grew. In 1967 Muslim-Christian riots broke out in Aceh and Makassar (Mujiburrahman, *Feeling Threatened, Muslim-Christian Relations in Indonesia's New Order*, Amsterdam University Press, 2006). The government gathered together inter-religious leaders to prevent further violence. When the meeting failed to reach an agreement, Suharto resorted to a military solution. On the surface things appear stable and harmonious, but the real problem underneath is never resolved. This was the general characterization of Muslim-Christian relations, and social interactions among different groups, during the New Order.

Thirdly, the indoctrination of Pancasila. To guarantee national unity, Pancasila was also taught as a compulsory subject in school, and beyond. This state ideology was interpreted solely according to the regime. Suharto even established an indoctrination body named BP7, to make sure that the interpretation and implementation of Pancasila at all levels meets the guidelines provided by the regime. Until the end of the New Order, every citizen was required to follow a systematic indoctrination. In the past, Sukarno and other Indonesian founding fathers presented Pancasila as an inclusive ideology to unite people of diverse backgrounds. During the New Order, Suharto used Pancasila as an instrument of control, to exclude whoever was perceived to be the enemy.

In contrast with the Suharto era, democracy was much more vibrant during the early years of Sukarno. People enjoyed more freedom of speech during the 1950s, without fear of being stigmatized as being a radical left or right winger, anti-Indonesian nationalism, or anti-Pancasila. Maya T. Liem (2012) describes this very well in her *Heirs to World Culture, Being Indonesian 1950-1965*.

Despite the fact that the first pillar of Pancasila is “Belief in one and only God,” Sukarno, the writer of its first draft, did in fact recognize the rights of Indonesian citizens who don't believe in God. Agus Salim, another founding father, also argued that people of no religion, or those who don't believe in God, should enjoy equal rights under Pancasila. “Belief in one and only God” is a principle that unites Indonesians, the majority of whom are religious; however everyone’s right to believe, including not to believe in God, should be guaranteed. Nevertheless, since the 1965 massacre, any possible association with Communism, including atheism, is perceived as being the ultimate threat, the enemy of the people, to the point that atheism does not have a place in the public domain.

Fourth, the politics of SARA. In the name of safeguarding national unity and stability, Suharto’s regime also prohibited open discussion on sensitive issues related to SARA (Suku: ethnicity, Agama: religion, Ras: race and Antargolongan: intergroup relations between different social classes). During the formative years of Indonesia’s 1945 declaration of independence, diversity was perceived as a resource for national strength, but under Suharto these differences were perceived as a threat to national unity. In fact, the politics of SARA and its emphasis on unity and social harmony is a modification of the old Dutch colonial strategy of *devide et impera* – divide and conquer.

Suharto held on to power by manipulating the SARA, but he was eventually removed from power for the same reason. The Suharto era was brought to an end by a series of inter-ethnic, inter-religious and inter-racial conflicts across Java and some areas of Kalimantan in the mid-1990s, coupled with various factors, such as corruption, cronyism, nepotism, and triggered by the 1997
financial crisis that hit South East Asia. Soon after the regime collapsed, tensions between Muslims and Christians, suppressed by Suharto’s military intervention, eventually broke out into wars during the 2000s in Ambon and Poso. Religious vigilantism also sprang up in several places during this time of crisis.

Even now that Suharto and the New Order have officially disappeared, the trap of collective trauma remains. Obviously “Reformasi 1998” has brought about fundamental changes toward real democracy, but the ghost of 1965 haunts much debate on sensitive issues. There are too many taboos that people refuse to talk about in public, including the status of agnosticism and atheism, sexuality, human rights violations in East Timor under Suharto, etc. Open debate and non-mainstream views are avoided, while conservative views are promoted, as indicated by this report.

This is the context for the absence of open debate, including in the school curriculum, and why social harmony is jealously guarded. This explanation seeks neither to justify the status quo, nor to excuse it. On the contrary, it might shed some light on how to possibly break away from this by addressing the real issue: collective trauma. As long as this trauma is not recognized and overcome properly, Indonesians will keep escaping from their painful reality, only to return to the same place. It’s a form of self-denial. Avoidance of open debate on critical issues can be seen, to use the term offered by Dominick LaCapra (2014), as “acting out” of the trauma.

In that regard, the report by IMPACT-se offers important findings. The Ministry of Education and all stakeholders in the Indonesian education system should take it seriously. We need to “work through” difficult realities and find ways to change the habit of avoiding open debate on fundamental issues, including in the school curriculum. Unity in diversity doesn’t mean that everyone should hold back their views when faced with differences and disagreement. Children need to learn how to live and to manage conflicting views, beliefs, and lifestyles as part of their everyday lives. Otherwise, they will never know how to respond when faced with significant differences. Too much emphasis on social harmony will only let powerful actors control the game.

Democracy necessitates citizens who are free to speak their mind, and are comfortable with differences when interacting respectfully and peacefully. Without frank and fair debate on critical issues, with which each citizen can engage wholeheartedly, there can be only false harmony and pseudo-tolerance.

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Preface

Indonesia is the world’s fourth most populous country, the largest Muslim-majority country, and the third-biggest democracy. By 2030, Indonesia is expected to be the world’s fifth-largest economy: it is already the largest economy in South-East Asia, and controls or is projected to control a host of important domains critical to global prosperity and the preservation of the planet.

And yet, there is a discrepancy between this growing economic power, and Indonesia’s involvement in the international arena. In the words of The Economist, “Indonesia punches below its weight in global affairs.” Aside from protecting the country’s sovereignty, national interests are defined in narrow economic terms, with a focus on infrastructure. Indonesians “are used to near-anonymity on the world stage,” according to businessman and journalist John Riady. Indonesian analyst Kornelius Purba explains that, for President Joko Widodo, or Jokowi, diplomacy should serve the economy. Jokowi has repeatedly told Indonesian ambassadors to generate more foreign investment in the country – his approach to diplomacy is realistic.

This attitude is clearly reflected in the curriculum we examined. Teachings combine self-confidence with humility, and a commitment to peace. The road to prosperity traverses values of cooperation and harmony. Unity in diversity remains at the core of this curriculum, which strives for harmony among all Indonesians, who live across thousands of islands, and share a great many languages and ethnicities. Indonesian textbooks instill tolerance, diversity, peace, and democracy, within an overarching adherence to conservative religious values. Indonesia’s lingering problem with racism is addressed directly, and textbooks explore the theme of radicalism by incorporating religious education and character education, with great emphasis on teaching moderation.

That said, the curriculum appears to shy away from open debate on a host of issues. There is no room for agnosticism or atheism in Indonesia, and indigenous religions are largely ignored, even if adherence to local cultures and languages is encouraged. Islamic textbooks are committed to peace, but Indonesian educators still teach armed jihad – holy war to defend and expand Islam. The question of gender equality remains somewhat ambiguous. While the textbooks strive to maintain a balanced perspective, even of countries which have a sensitive relationship with Indonesia (due to colonialism, land disputes, Communism, etc.) the teaching of such relations is inconsistent, ostensibly dictated by political agendas and the desire to preserve a façade of

harmony. The curriculum aims to minimize criticism, avoiding deeper analysis of foreign affairs that would entail asking difficult questions and presenting contrasting opinions.

With great power comes great responsibility. While Indonesia observers reflect on the price of neutrality and protectionism in a country that is committed to democracy, it is our role to question whether the curriculum allows for an open society. A curriculum in a democratic and developed country should make more effort to teach open debate, and encourage a thorough understanding of complicated domestic and international issues. Sweeping platitudes may be helpful for preserving harmony and unity, but they cannot replace a well-rounded education. This curriculum is undoubtedly highly successful in promoting peace and tolerance, especially in Indonesia itself. But this is not enough; this success should allow for more honesty, and acceptance of conflicting views.

Moving forward, Indonesian educators may discover that harmony and unity will not be compromised by adopting such a thoroughly investigative attitude to issues which arise. In fact, much benefit can be derived from openness, freedom, and understanding of the multi-faceted nature of problems. Unpleasant truths should be taught, horizons should be widened, and dissenting worldviews and lifestyles tolerated and respected.

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Introduction

Home to 1,340 ethnicities, 23,500 local languages, six recognized faiths, 24 and many local beliefs, the Republic of Indonesia is united by the national motto, “Unity in Diversity.” 25 Gaining its independence on August 17, 1945, the country is an archipelago with over 17,000 islands. 26 This rare combination of geographical, linguistic, ethnic, and historical conditions makes Indonesian diversity the core of its being.

Being home to the largest Muslim population in the world does not make Indonesia a Muslim country. Indonesia’s state principles are not based on a particular religion, including Islam, but on the state ideology of Pancasila, believed to unite Indonesia’s pluralistic groups in Indonesian society. Pancasila is a reconciliation between secular-nationalists and Islamic-nationalists. 27

Aside from the national motto and Pancasila, the government tries to embrace diversity by integrating tolerance into its curriculum. By incorporating education on societal attitudes, the 2013 curriculum helps students to nurture tolerance.

Indonesia faces many challenges to unite its diverse groups, from both internal and external factors, with internal factors including the history of Indonesia.

Indonesian History

Indonesia was colonized by people arriving from Portugal (1509-1595), Spain (1521-1529), the Netherlands (1602-1942), France (1806-1811), Britain (1811-1816), and Japan (1942-1945). Dutch colonization, having lasted the longest amount of time, has left a stronger influence on Indonesia’s socio-political landscape.

One legacy of long Dutch rule was the application of the Neighborhood and Pass System (Wijkenstelsel & Passenstelsel) policy, a centralization and passport system initially implemented against the Chinese community in Indonesia. 28 The policy strongly prohibited people of Chinese

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25 Bhinneka Tunggal Ika.
26 https://www.indonesia.travel/yachts/en/about-indonesia
descent from residing outside Chinese neighborhoods, known as *kampung*, and required them to obtain a permit for travel.\(^{29}\)

Another policy of segregation imposed during Dutch colonization was the racial stratification categorizing residents of the Dutch East Indies into three groups: European, Foreign East (Arabic, Chinese, etc.), and indigenous (*pribumi*).\(^{30}\) Raben\(^{31}\) stated that all individuals had to reside in the *kampung* of their specific ethnicity, were given a 'lead' (a passport-like document) indicating their neighborhood, and inter-ethnic marriages were prohibited.

This policy of segregation served as a means of controlling power, security, trading interests, maintaining an economic monopoly, and encouragement recruitment of soldiers. Ethnic-based settlements had existed before the Dutch came to Indonesia, but without the rigid rules imposed by the Dutch. The settlements were previously more open, with people of other ethnicities residing in a particular ethnic settlement. During Dutch colonization, the ethnic-based settlements were used to impede mobilization, and prevent people from different ethnicities from cooperating against the Dutch colonialists.

During the early years of independence, Indonesia also struggled with separatism. Some examples are the 1948 Indonesian Communist Party (PKI)\(^{32}\) rebellion in Madiun, the 1965 Thirtieth of September Movement, the 1950s Islamist Darul Islam/Islamic Armed Forces of Indonesia (DI/TII)\(^{33}\) rebellion, the 1958 Sumatra Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia (PRII)\(^{34}\) the late 1950s People’s Struggle of the Universe (Permesta)\(^{35}\) the 1950–1963 secessionist South Maluku Republic (RMS)\(^{36}\), Free Aceh Movement (GAM)\(^{37}\) and Free Papua Organization (OPM)\(^{38}\). Indonesia also tried to annex the now independent East Timor, following Portugal’s decision to relinquish the colony, and a long war ensued (1975–1999).\(^{39}\)

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\(^{32}\) PKI: Partai Komunis Indonesia

\(^{33}\) DI/TII: Darul Islam/Tentara Islam Indonesia

\(^{34}\) PRII: Pemerintahan Revolusioner Republik Indonesia

\(^{35}\) Permesta: Perjuangan Rakyat Semesta

\(^{36}\) RMS: Republik Maluku Selatan

\(^{37}\) GAM: Gerakan Aceh Merdeka

\(^{38}\) OPM: Organisasi Papua Merdeka.

Some of the separatist movements tried to replace Pancasila with other ideologies; others were an expression of disappointment toward the government. These movements were generally dissolved, except for Aceh’s GAM and the Papua’s OPM, which are now referred to as the Armed Criminal Group (KKB), and continue to exist. Leaders and followers of the separatist movements were punished. Thus, after the execution of the South Maluku’s RMS leader, President Sukarno asked Dutch supporters to leave Indonesia. Most RMS members were enlisted into the Royal Netherlands Indies Army (KNIL) and decided to move to the Netherlands with the help of the Dutch government. They suffered during their early settlement in the Netherlands, but gradually secured a better life for themselves. Meanwhile, the harassment of Muslims during the PKI Madiun rebellion led to conflict with the Muslim community. The largest rebellion, the Thirtieth of September Movement, resulted in the banning of Communism and the Communist party in Indonesia, and the massacre of those accused of being PKI members.

Even before Indonesia gained its independence, racism – especially toward those of Chinese descent – existed. The Dutch government’s policy restricted the movements and activities of Chinese Indonesians. This form of racism persisted in the Old and New Order eras. In the Old Order era (1959–1966), Sukarno issued Regulation No. 10 of 1959 which banned trading for anyone of foreign descent, including Chinese descent. During the New Order era (1966–1998), racism toward Chinese Indonesians became even more pronounced, as a consequence of China’s possible involvement in the Thirtieth of September Movement. Some forms of racism manifested as the prohibition of Chinese culture in Indonesia; of the use of Chinese names and languages; and of openly expressing religious belief, including a ban on celebrating the Chinese New Year.

**Indonesian Education System**

Indonesian education starts with Early Childhood Education Programs (PAUD), and continues to Grade 12 of senior high school. Students spend around one to two years in preschool, two years in kindergarten, six years in elementary school, and three years each in both junior and senior high school.

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40 KKB: Kelompok Kriminal Bersenjata.
46 PAUD: /Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini
In terms of content, there are two kinds of schools: general and vocational. General schools teach all subjects, as required by the Ministry of National Education, while vocational schools teach subjects related to a particular field depending on the school, such as mechanical engineering and culinary arts.

In Indonesia, some schools are under the Ministry of National Education, and some fall under the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The latter are Islamic government schools known as Raudatul Athfal/RA (similar to kindergarten), Madrasah Ibtidaiyah/MI (equal to primary school), Madrasah Tsanawiyah/MTs and Madrasah Aliyah (equal to senior high school). Meanwhile, other private Islamic and religious schools are under the Ministry of National Education.

According to Katadata, in the academic year 2021/2022 there were 394,708 schools in Indonesia. Primary schools dominate this figure at 148,863 schools, followed by kindergarten, junior high, vocational high school, and high school with respectively 91,367, 41,343, 14,198, and 13,995 schools. The majority of junior high and primary schools are government schools, while the majority of kindergarten, vocational high schools, and regular high schools are private.

There are three recognized curricula in Indonesia:

- **The 2013 Curriculum** (Kurikulum 2013)
  As its name suggests, the curriculum was first implemented in 2013. This curriculum adopts a scientific approach, and has undergone several revisions. As of October 2022, many schools still use this curriculum.

- **Darurat** (emergency) curriculum
  It is called **Darurat** (emergency) because it is implemented only during an emergency or under special conditions, in this case the COVID-19 Pandemic. The Darurat curriculum is a simplified version of the national curriculum (2013 curriculum). The textbooks as those used in the 2013 curriculum, but schools have the freedom to choose the objectives, skills, and content they want to set for grading levels or graduation requirements.

- **Merdeka Curriculum**
  Literally translating as ‘independent curriculum,’ this curriculum aims to restore learning after the Pandemic by offering a flexible curriculum framework, and focusing on essential materials, and the development of students’ character and skills. It was first implemented in 2022. Not all schools can use the Merdeka curriculum; only appointed schools, or schools applying independently that meet the requirements.

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48 Ibid.
50 Ibid., p. 5.
Schools have the freedom to decide which curriculum they adopt, based on their learning needs and context. As of October 2022, 143,265 schools have adopted the Merdeka curriculum.  

**Indonesian Curriculum**

The term ‘curriculum’ was first used in Indonesia to refer to a set of course and subject plans in 1968. However, it does not mean that Indonesia did not have a curriculum before 1968. Before 1968, reference to a curriculum in this sense was a direct translation from the Dutch words *leerplan dan leervak*.  

Hidayat and Siswanto group the curriculum into three eras: Old Order, New Order, and Reform periods. Three different curricula were developed during the Old Order era, namely curricula in 1947, 1952, and 1964. The New Order era released four curricula – the 1968, 1975, Cara Belajar Siswa Aktif/CBSA (Active Student Learning Methods), and 1994 curricula. The Reform Period has thus far implemented five curricula, namely Kurikulum Berbasis Kompetensi/KBK (Competency Based Curriculum), Kurikulum Tingkat Satuan Pendidikan/KTSP (Education Unit Level Curriculum), the 2013 Curriculum, Kurikulum Darurat (Emergency Curriculum), and the Merdeka Curriculum.

In 1965, a fundamental change in Indonesian politics took place. On 30 September 1965, an armed group kidnapped and murdered six army generals. The movement was regarded as treason against the Indonesian government, and the PKI/Partai Komunis Indonesia (Indonesian Communist Party) was blamed.

After that, the New Order took over the government, and banned Communism. Sukarno’s Political Manifesto (Manipol Usdek/Manifesto Politik) promoting Indonesian Socialism, Guided Democracy, Guided Economy, and Indonesian Personality was thus nullified, because it was accused of having socialist and Communist values. Similarly, the Nationalism, Religion, and Communism (Nasakom) ideology promoted during the Old Order era was abolished.

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54 Manipol Usdek/Manifesto Politik: UUD 1945, Sosialisme Indonesia, Demokrasi Terpimpin, E-konomi Terpimpin, dan Kepribadian Indonesia
55 Nasakom: Nasionalisme, Agama, dan Komunisme
57 Ibid., p. 6.
This political change impacted the curriculum. Subsequently, schools are prohibited from teaching Communism, and Manipol Usdek. As a result, those aspects, formerly included in the curriculum of the Old Order era, have been removed from the national curriculum.

**Religious Education**

Religious education has long been a part of Indonesian schooling. The present curriculum offers programs in six major world faiths: Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Confucianism. Students learn about their own religion using official textbooks. Recently, however, a debate has resurfaced over whether or not to continue religious education in schools, given the increasing threat of terrorism and radicalism in Indonesia.

Some believe that religious education is crucial to students, as it helps impose a divine standard of what is right and wrong that will guide them on the right path. Others believe that the inclusion of religion in education may be used as a tool for identity politics by certain parties.\(^{58}\) Darmono, an educational practitioner, suggests that instead of including religious education in the curriculum, it is better to strengthen character education.\(^{59}\) He further states that religious education at school separates students during lessons on religion, and it will lead them to think that they are different.\(^{60}\)

In addition, there have been concerns over the contents of religious education classes in schools, and their teachers.\(^{61}\) If not well regulated, religious education may teach negative sentiments toward other religions, including radicalism, that will be harmful for Indonesia’s diversity. In addition, teachers also play important roles. No matter how positive the content of religious education classes is, if teachers are narrow minded and not open to diversity, their fanaticism may also be transferred to students. This can be very dangerous for Indonesia and its pluralistic society.

**The 2013 Curriculum**

The 2013 curriculum underwent several revisions in 2016, 2017, and 2018. The revisions involved the teaching of spiritual and social attitudes, core and basic skills, document synchronization, Higher Order Thinking Skills (HOTS) in primary school, and left space for teachers to creatively implement the curriculum.\(^{62}\)

The 2013 curriculum adopts a scientific approach by integrating levels of human cognition. There are three dimensions to the 2013 curriculum: attitude, knowledge, and skill. These are broken down

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\(^{59}\) Ibid.

\(^{60}\) Ibid.


into four core competencies, namely: spiritual attitude; social attitude; knowledge; and skill. All subjects must include these four core competencies. Every core competency has several basic skills, which include expected behavior toward others, and tolerance. These two skills are explicit in every topic in the primary curriculum.

The commitment of the 2013 curriculum to offering a holistic education involving attitudes, knowledge, and skills is encompassed by the incorporation of modern-day skills such as critical thinking, problem-solving, and collaboration. At the end of every chapter, students are expected to reflect on what they have learnt by answering comprehension questions, doing group or individual projects, and practicing what they have learnt. Some of the projects require students to refer to multiple resources for a particular topic, and to present them or propose a solution to a problem. The materials also give students room to voice their opinions through discussions within the materials which present open-ended questions such as, students’ opinions on transgender individuals, etc.

In its effort to promote diversity, the curriculum offers additional subjects such as arts and culture, entrepreneurship, and local content. The local content is managed by the regional government, and it usually includes learning of local languages. However, not all regional governments include local languages in the local content. The primary school curriculum is different from that of junior and high schools, adopting an integrated thematic approach. This means that competencies from various subjects are integrated into multiple topics.

This report consists of five sections, each representing one dimension of the Indonesian educational worldview, as expressed in its curriculum. The status of women and the question of how the textbooks handle discrimination and equality is discussed in various contexts within these sections. “Pancasila: Unity-in-Diversity and Faith” presents the religious-democratic philosophical underpinnings of Indonesia. It introduces democratic values, celebrates diversity and curiosity, and explores the country’s cultural roots, while establishing boundaries for thought and conduct. “Religious Communities in Indonesia” outlines the various perspectives provided by textbooks on each of the country’s recognized religions. Non-recognized religions are largely absent. In section three, “Minorities and the ‘Other’” embraces how the Indonesian curriculum systematically encourages appreciation toward the ‘Other’ in daily life, and among various groups in society. The fourth section, “International Relations,” examines how various countries are presented in the curriculum. While Indonesia ascribes to a “non-block” policy, the curriculum shows some inconsistencies in its choice to include or exclude various countries. The fifth section, “Local and Ethnic Wisdom,” looks at how textbooks help preserve local cultures.
Pancasila: One God, Unity-in-Diversity

Pancasila is Indonesia’s official state philosophy, consisting of five principles. Pancasila (pronounced pantjasila) is a Sanskrit expression meaning “five pillars.” These five foundational principles are as follows:

1. Belief in the one and only God.
2. A just and civilized humanity.
3. The unity of Indonesia.
4. Democracy, led by the wisdom of the representatives of the people.
5. Social justice for all Indonesian people.

Pancasila was first presented to the public in Sukarno’s speech to the Preparatory Committee for Indonesia’s Independence (PPKI), formed by Japanese colonialists, on June 1, 1945. It was then ratified as Indonesian state philosophy on August 18, 1945, a day after Indonesia declared independence, and forms part of the 1945 Constitution.

Pancasila is important for Indonesia, as it unites all religions, races, ethnicities, and culture through its overarching principles. The effort to embrace diversity is apparent in the history of the creation of Pancasila, when the founding fathers agreed to remove any statement referring to a particular religion, and replace it with a more universal value. Initially, the first principle was “Belief in God with the obligation to carry out Islamic law for its adherents,” but this version was changed to its current form in August 1945.

The passage below narrates the changes made to the first principle of Pancasila, quoting Mohammad Hatta’s statement during PPKI meeting on August 18, 1945 that “a fundamental statement regarding the whole nation would not be appropriate if it only concerns the identity of a particular part of the Indonesians, even though they are part of the majority.”

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In the first agenda, the meeting overview, Vice President Hatta also conveyed the results of his lobbying or meeting to several Islamic figures, which resulted in the replacement of the words “Belief in the one God with carrying out Islamic law for its adherents” in the Preamble to the Constitution draft, with “Belief in the one and only God.” The formulation was consulted and discussed between Hatta and Islamic leaders. Hatta emphasized that the agreement was decided because a fundamental statement on the whole nation would not be appropriate if it only concerned the identity of a particular section of Indonesians, even though they are part of the majority. The agreement to change the words relieved all parties, even though some of the Islamic parties felt disappointed, but there was no issue. The overview meeting could take place smoothly.

*Indonesian History, Grade 11, Semester 2, 2017, pp. 105-106.*

Another passage also explains the changes made to the first principle of Pancasila, but highlights mutual respect and understanding among the PPKI/Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia (Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence).

Starting from an attitude of mutual understanding and mutual respect can also foster a sense of unity, and avoid disunity. There is a sense of togetherness. For example, Islamic figures who were once members of the Nine Committee and PPKI (Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence) understand and respect other groups, so they did not mind omitting the words in the Jakarta Charter, “Belief in the one God with carrying out Islamic law for its adherents” and replacing them with “Belief in the One and Only God.”

There have been different interpretations of the word “esa” in the first principle. Some people interpret “esa” as ‘one,’ while others state that “esa” is different from “eka.” Both derived from Sanskrit, they have different meanings: “eka” means ‘one,’ while “esa” means ‘suchness.’  

Different views of the meaning of the word “esa” led Eggi Sudjana, an Indonesian lawyer and politician, to state that in Indonesia only Islam fulfils the first principle of Pancasila, as only Islam has one God. Meanwhile, other recognized religions argue that they also have only one God.

In elementary school textbooks, Pancasila is integrated into topics. As the books are thematic, the implementation of Pancasila is highlighted in daily life, including attitudes toward others, God, and the environment. The following are some examples of Pancasila lessons in elementary thematic books.

First grade students learn about the second principle of Pancasila from Siti and Dayu, who always help each other.

Siti and Dayu had been friends since they were little.
They always helped each other.
If Siti had a problem, Dayu was ready to help.
If Dayu needed help, Siti immediately helped her.
Helping each other is good behavior.
This behavior is aligned with Pancasila.
Do you still remember what the second principle says?
Its symbol is a chain.
*My Experience, Grade 1*, 2017, p. 35

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The following material for Grade 4 teaches students about the first principle of Pancasila, suggesting that every Indonesian citizen must believe in God.

In today’s lesson, we will discuss the interpretation of the first principle in our daily life. Discuss the interpretation of the first principle and its examples in your daily life with your group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interpretations</th>
<th>Examples in daily life</th>
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The first principle of Pancasila is “Belief in God Almighty.” It means:
1. Believe that God exists, so each citizen is willing to follow the rules.
2. Everyone is free to choose their own religion, and so everyone is responsible for obeying the rules of their religion.
3. We have to protect everything God has given us.
4. Religious tolerance toward people of other faiths, and toward people of the same faith.

**Let’s Think**
- What values have you learned today?
- Have you applied Pancasila’s first principle in everyday life?

**Learn with Parents**
Tell your parents the meaning of Pancasila’s first principle! Ask them for other examples of behaviors that reflect the meaning!

The Role of Pancasila in Safeguarding National Diversity

Pancasila is the basic foundation of the state philosophy, and way of life of the Indonesian people. Indeed, the noble values of Pancasila must be understood and practiced by every Indonesian. Especially nowadays, science and technology are developing rapidly and bringing much change. This change will impact people’s attitudes and behavior.

By understanding and practicing the noble values of Pancasila, we have a strong foundation, enabling us to determine attitudes and behavior to face changes in society. Hence, we will not lose our personality as Indonesians.

Indonesian society consists of multi-ethnic groups who live within the scope of their respective cultures. This diverse culture shows the cultural richness of the Indonesian nation.

The world is increasingly advanced and developed, marked by advances in science and technology (iptek71). Accordingly, we need a wise and inclusive attitude toward global developments. This means that we accept the spread of globalization and the development of science and technology, without losing our personality as the Indonesian nation.

For the Indonesian people, Pancasila is a parameter and guidance of values and norms, to respond to the influence and development of science and technology. Pancasila is a way of life that has been integrated into the culture of the Indonesian nation.

*Events in Life, Grade 5, 2017, p. 178.*

71 Iptek: Ilmu pengetahuan dan teknologi.
The following excerpt helps students to understand some examples of the third principle of Pancasila in everyday life.

Read this conversation! Pay attention to Beni’s conversation with his cousin!

- Beni, I got a task from my teacher. I want to discuss it with you. Let’s discuss it during our holiday here, okay. Live in harmony with family. It’s a good example. This example is suitable for the third verse of Pancasila, right? Are there any other examples?
- What a coincidence! I have just learnt about it. Besides that, there are other examples. Like (1) Prioritize family matters. (2) Don’t force your will. (3) Love each other, help each other, respect each other, and appreciate each other. (4) Take care of and maintain the family heritage.

My Experience, Grade 2, 2017, p. 56

In junior and senior high schools, Pancasila is discussed in depth in the Pancasila and citizenship textbooks. Pancasila and civics education in junior and senior high schools promote the acceptance of diversity, and the idea that other ideologies besides Pancasila should not be accepted.

The following lesson for Grade 7, for example, demonstrates the consensus reached on the omission of a specific reference to Islam, including Islamic law, in the Indonesian constitution. It shows that the constitution accommodates the existence of other religions, and that Indonesia is not a religion-based country, nor a Muslim country.
During the PPKI (Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence) meeting on 18 August 1945, decisions were made as follows:


b. To appoint Ir. Sukarno as President, and Drs. Mohammad Hatta as Vice President of the Republic of Indonesia.

c. To form the Central Indonesian National Committee.

The PPKI meeting resulted in changes to the creation of the Preamble of Jakarta Charter, and the draft body text of the Constitution, resulting from the second court of BPUPKI (Committee for Preparatory Work for Indonesian Independence). Four amendments were enacted as follows:

a. The term “Mukaddimah” was changed to “Preamble.”

b. The first principle (sila) was changed from “Divinity, with the obligation of carrying out Islamic Sharia for its adherents” into “Belief in One and Only God.”

c. Changes were made to Article 6 from “The President is a native Indonesian and Muslim,” to “The President is a native Indonesian.”

d. Article 28 of the 1945 Republic of Indonesia Constitution, “The State is based on Divinity, with the obligation of carrying out Islamic Sharia for its adherents” was amended to Article 29, “The State is based on the One and Only God.”

*Pancasila and Civics Education, Grade 7*, 2017, pp. 70-71.
In the following lesson, the statement that “If someone wants to alter Pancasila with other ideologies, he/she threatens the existence of the Republic of Indonesia. If the State ideology is altered, our national foundation will break into pieces,” emphasizes the importance of Pancasila in uniting the diverse population of Indonesia, and the idea that no one should dare to change it.

From the proclamation of independence on 17 August 1945 up until now, these principles have been adjusted to the current dynamic of Indonesia. As the state ideology, Pancasila is a final consensus that unites all differences and views. Finally, Pancasila is accepted formally as the state ideology by the people of Indonesia.

As citizens, we should appreciate the values of Pancasila in all aspects of life, by preserving and practicing the values of Pancasila in our daily life. Therefore, we cannot alter or change our state ideology with any form of ideology from other nations.

Preserving the values of Pancasila also means protecting the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. If someone wants to alter Pancasila with other ideologies, he/she threatens the existence of the Republic of Indonesia. If the state ideology is altered, our national foundation will break into pieces. Therefore, preserving the values of Pancasila is our responsibility – the Indonesian government and the Indonesian people.


As Pancasila is seen as an ideology with a vital unifying role, any movements which are against Pancasila must be eradicated. The following Grade 12 History lesson describes one of the rebellions under the Islamic banner, the DI/TII (Darul Islam/Islamic Armed Forces of Indonesia) rebellion, with several rebellions occurring since 1949 in some regions of Indonesia. The rebellion
was initiated by S. M. Kartosuwiryo, who wanted to establish an Islamic State. Because DI/TII supported Islamic ideology and sought to establish an Islamic state, they were regarded as opponents of the Pancasila, and so a military operation was carried out to disband the group.
The forerunner of the DI/TII rebellion that spread across several areas of Indonesia began with a movement in West Java, led by S.M. Kartosuwiryo. He was one of the leaders of the Indonesian Islamic Union Party/ Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia (PSII). The Renville Agreement opened up opportunities for Kartosuwiryo to get closer to his old goal of establishing an Islamic State.

One point of the Renville Agreement stated that the Indonesian army operating in areas within the van Mook line had to move to areas controlled by the Republic of Indonesia. The Siliwangi Division was moved to Central Java, because West Java was turned into the Pasundan state by the Dutch. However, the armed forces of Hizbullah and Sabilillah, which had been under Kartosuwiryo’s influence, were not willing to move, and instead formed the Indonesian Islamic Army/Tentara Islam Indonesia (TII). The vacuum of the Republic of Indonesia’s power in West Java was immediately exploited by Kartosuwiryo. Although initially he led the struggle against the Dutch to support the Republic of Indonesia, in the end, the struggle turned into a fight to realize his goals. He then declared the formation of Darul Islam (Islamic State/DI) with the support of TII in West Java in August 1948.

Problems arose when the Siliwangi division returned to West Java. Kartosuwiryo did not want to admit the Indonesian army unless they wanted to join the DI/TII. This means that Kartosuwiryo and his DI/TII did not want to recognize the Indonesian government in West Java. So, the government took a firm stand. Although efforts to tackle DI/TII in West Java at first seemed to have not been carried out properly, in 1959, the government began to carry out military operations.

The “Pagar Beti” integrated operation was implemented, where the government’s army also involved the community in surrounding areas where the DI/TII troops were located. The purpose of this tactic was to narrow the space and cut off the supply flow of the opposing troops. In addition, combat operations were also held, with the direct targets being the DI/TII troop bases. It was also due to this operation that Kartosuwiryo was arrested in 1962. He was then sentenced to death, marking the end of Kartosuwiryo’s DI/TII rebellion.

*Indonesian History, Grade 12, 2018, p. 11-12.*
Religious Communities in Indonesia

All religious textbooks of the six major world faiths taught in Indonesia (Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Confucianism, and Buddhism) instill tolerance and cooperation with other religions, and describe how one should behave toward people of other religions. The second core competency of the 2013 Curriculum requires all subjects and every lesson to incorporate social attitudes, including how to treat others who are different.

In the context of Indonesia, the discussion on tolerance is crucial because, according to a survey conducted by the Wahid Institute, The Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM), and the Setara Institute, intolerance and radicalism has infiltrated Indonesian educational institutions (Mutohar, 2018). The recent cases in 2022 even suggest that radicalism is at work in schools (Affan, 2022). Radicalism and counterterrorism will likely remain an important issue in Indonesia, and foreign money is also involved.

Interestingly, even though all religious education books emphasize tolerance toward those who are different and acceptance of diversity, two – Hinduism and Catholicism – as well as Character Education books, are against interfaith marriage.

Material in an Islamic education textbook claims that non-Indonesian historians present subjective and dishonest facts on the history of Islam in Indonesia and that consequently, when it comes to historical facts on Islam in Indonesia, it is better to rely on Indonesian historians. Grade 8 Islamic Character Education teaches students that homosexuality is prohibited, as in the story of the Prophet Lot. However, in Grade 12, rather than teaching what is permitted and what is not, students are encouraged to give their opinions on transgender individuals.

Islamic Education

The excerpt indicates that all humans on earth are descendants of Adam, and encourages students to appreciate others, including those who are different from them. Differences in skin color, ethnicity, religion, culture, social status, etc. should not prevent students from respecting others. Indonesia is given as an example of a society with many differences. The excerpt also offers a practical example of how one student can respect the decision of another student not to play together, due to the latter’s obligation to attend a religious service.

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72 Pusat Pengkajian Islam Masyarakat (PPIM).
C. The Beauty of Mutual Respect

Every human in this world comes from Adam (A.S.) Then humans evolved, and we are among them. Allah created humans in many different shapes and colors. They are white, black, tall, short, curly haired and straight haired, nothing is the same. And so in the lives of humans, there are rich and poor people. For example, Indonesia consists of many ethnicities, religions and cultures. So, how should we live among those differences? Surely, we should appreciate each other.

Those appreciative acts are:

1. Appreciate Others’ Stance

In Islam, there are little differences in how to worship. For example, during early morning prayers, there are people who do the *qunut* prayer, and there are people who don’t. It all depends on people’s stance. This stance is the thing we should appreciate, because the guidelines for praying are available to all. The important thing is that the early morning prayer is done in accordance with the Islamic guidance one follows. The prayers of those who do the *qunut* prayer and those who don’t are still accepted under religious law.

2. Appreciate Others’ Religion

Ahmad lives in a neighborhood along with Stevanus. They go to the same school. Ahmad is Muslim, while Stevanus is Christian. They always live in harmony and respect each other, even though they belong to different religions.

On Sunday mornings, they always play ball together with other friends. But one morning, Stevanus came to Ahmad and apologized for not being able to play with him. Stevanus’ father asked him to go to Church. Ahmad had no problem with it, and respected Stevanus’ decision to go to Church with his father.


In an effort to promote and embrace the acceptance of those who are different, using a religious text, a Grade 8 Islamic education book teaches students, with use of a religious text, that you should not fight against Muslims, nor should you kill Muslims or non-Muslims.
Fighting and killing are strictly prohibited. This prohibition is universal. Muslims are prohibited to fight against fellow Muslims. Muslims are also prohibited to fight against non-Muslims. God wants this life to run in peace, and for all problems to be resolved in good ways, such as through discussion or dialogue.

Hadith Muhammad:
Meaning: From Al Bara bin Azib, the Messenger of Allah once said, “If this world were to be destroyed, that would be less significant before Allah than the unlawful killing of a believer.” (Sunan Ibn Majah)

Islam and Character Education, Grade 8, 2017, Page 27.

The following text teaches eighth-grade students how to treat those who have different beliefs, by explaining that Islam encourages its adherents to respect justice, even if it comes from kafir (non-Muslims). Interestingly, even though the cited verse does not use the word kafir, the discussion in the textbooks use the term to refer to other groups.
O believers! Stand firm for Allah and bear true testimony. Do not let the hatred of a people lead you to injustice. Be just! That is closer to righteousness. And be mindful of Allah. Surely Allah is All-Aware of what you do (Al-Ma’idah/5 - Verse 8).

The verse above emphasizes that upholding justice must be for Allah alone, not for personal or earthly interests. Personal or earthly interests must be put aside to bring justice. Even if we testify on behalf of our close relatives, then we must also testify by telling the truth, even though the testimony is detrimental to him. Similarly, if we testify on behalf of the enemy, then we must also testify by telling the truth, even though it is in his favor.

What if the truth came from kafir (non-Muslims)? We must remain fair and accept the truth, even though it comes from kafir (non-Muslims). Even if we reject the truth of the kafir (non-Muslims), it is categorized as injustice. So justice applies to all, friends and foes alike. If we can accept the truth from infidels (kafir), then we must accept the truth coming from fellow Muslims. Therefore, it is very ironic if fellow Muslims fight each other just because each feels his opinion is better.

Acting fairly in the Qur’anic verse above means trying to be fair, and to uphold justice. So every effort to uphold justice and to behave fairly will bring us closer to piety. The more perfect justice is, the more perfect is piety. 

In the following text, seventh graders are provided an example of living in harmony with societal differences, with reference to the Prophet Muhammad, who established the Medina Agreement allowing people of different religious beliefs to live together in peace.

Then Prophet Muhammad established an agreement which applied to all people, Muslim and non-Muslim, in Medina, that was later called the “Constitution of Medina.” The Constitution of Medina includes thus:

1. Jews, along with Muslims, are obliged to join the war.
2. Jews and the Banu Awf tribe will be treated the same as Muslims.
3. Jews remain part of their Jewish religion, as well as Muslims part of theirs.
4. All Jews of all ethnicities and tribes in Medina are treated the same as the Banu Awf tribe.
5. Jews and Muslims must help one another to fight, or face up against the enemy.
6. Jews and Muslims must always act kindly to one another, and alert each other when mistreatment and tyranny occur.
7. The city of Medina is defended by all from external attacks.
8. All citizens of Medina are guaranteed safety, except those who commit wrongdoings.

Note that Medina was occupied not only by Muslims, but also by non-Muslims. In order to establish harmony, respect, tolerance, and to take care of the environment of Medina, there should be a mutual agreement. This constitution is referred to by Ibn Hisham as “the first Islamic country and government constitution.”

Another passage teaches students how to respect their parents who are infidels, encouraging the acceptance of differences within a family.

1. Respect and Obey Parents

Islam governs the relationship between parents and children, including the rules of etiquette for socialization. For parents and children, each has rights and obligations that are governed under Islamic law. Among the obligations of parents to children is to look after them and educate them as well as possible, according to Islamic law. The educational process in the family environment is very influential on the mental and spiritual development of children. Therefore, parents must provide the best education for their children.

Both parents have a high status in Islam. Every child is obliged to show kindness to parents (birrul walidain). Birrul walidain is also interpreted as being devoted to both parents. The act of respecting and obeying parents’ advice includes kindness to parents (birrul walidain). A child is obliged to respect and obey all of his parents’ advice as long as they do not command disobedience or polytheism. Even a child still has to respect his parents even if his parents are kafir (non-Muslims).

The obligation to respect and obey both parents is enshrined in the Qur’an. There are many verses that talk about this, including Surah An-Nisa/4 verse 36: “Worship Allah alone and associate none with Him. And be kind to parents, relatives, orphans, the poor, near and distant neighbors, close friends, needy travelers, and those in your employment. Surely Allah does not like whoever is arrogant, boastful.” (An Nisa/4 - Verse 36)

_Islam and Character Education, Grade 8_, 2017, Page 163-164.
Islam, however, does not accept diverse sexual identities. The following Grade 8 Islam education lesson clearly states that Islam is against homosexuality, demonstrated through the story of the Prophet Lot.

7) The Prophet Lot
The Prophet Lot was sent by Allah to his people, namely the people of Sodom. Those people had committed unforgivable sinfulness. They had a bad habit of same-sex sexual activity. Men with men, and women with women. They committed crimes, robberies, and murders.

Allah sent the Prophet Lot to preach the people of Sodom back onto the straight path. The Prophet Lot was commanded to preach obedience to Allah, and that the people return to human nature to engage in opposite-sex marriage, not same-sex marriage.

The people of Sodom ignored Lot’s messages, and continued their bad habits. Then, Allah destroyed the city in a punishment of “a shower of stones of clay,” as stated in the Qur’an.

Meaning:
“When Our command came, We turned the cities upside down and rained down on them clustered stones of baked clay.” (Hud/11 - Verse 82)

Similarly, twelfth graders are taught that Islam has rejected LGBT relationships because they are against Sharia rules of marriage.

3. Marriage is natural. That’s why Islam forbids prostitution and LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender) relationships because they are against human nature (Qur’an, Al-Rum 30:21).


Interestingly, in a Grade 12 Islamic education book, under a chapter about *Qadā* (God’s divine will), there is an open-ended discussion on transgender individuals. Students are to express their opinion on being transgender, based on Islamic teachings.

**Learning Activity**

You surely have heard about someone who was born as a man and yet he acted like a woman. Then he underwent a medical procedure to change his gender. What do you think about this issue according to the religious point of view on God-given destinies? Share your opinion based on logical arguments in front of other groups of students!


Even though Islamic education books promote tolerance of differences, a Grade 12 textbook harbors prejudice against non-Indonesian historians, claiming that they present subjective and dishonest facts on the history of Islam. Furthermore, the text suggests that Indonesian historians are more objective in presenting facts on the history of Islam.
We have noticed that foreign historians give dishonest and subjective opinions when talking about Islam, which is caused by the following factors:

1. Attempting to obscure or look down on Islamic history.
2. Highly subjective methodology on historical writing.
3. Their lack and partial understanding of Islam.

To avoid any dishonest historical fact, we need Indonesian historians to begin writing the country’s history, including the history of Islam, by relying on objective methodology and research.


In the Islamic and character education, *jihad* is taught contextually. It is not only defined as a war or killing others to defend Islam. Various types of *jihad* are presented in a clear context of the Prophet Muhammad’s teaching.

The word *jihad* appears for the first time in a Grade 6 Islam and Character Education book. The word is mentioned in a text narrating the Prophet Mohammad’s answers to Ibnu Mas‘ud’s questions about the good deeds (*‘amal*) most favored by Allah. The Prophet states that the good deeds most favored by Allah are prayer, devotion to one’s parents, and *jihad*. In Islam, *Jihad* in the way of Allah typically refers to holy war; however, there is no further information in the book about what *jihad* means. A similar narrative is repeated in the Grade 11 textbook.74

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74 *Islam and Character Education,* Grade 11 (2017), p. 126

Islam and Character Education, Grade 6, 2018, p. 46.

Repeating the idea that devotion to one’s parents is one of the good deeds highly favored by Allah, a Grade 11 Islam and Character Education book narrates a story of a man who wanted to engage in jihad war with the Prophet Muhammad. In the story, the Prophet asks the man to devote his time to his parents, rather than engaging in jihad with the Prophet. Jihad war then is assumed to be a quintessentially noble deed which, by way of comparison, can serve as a rhetorical tool for imbuing other religious obligations with value.

Once there was a man who came to the Prophet Muhammad. He wanted to convert to the Prophet’s belief, and engage in jihad to seek a reward from Allah. His parents were still alive. The Prophet then asked the man to return to his parents, and ordered him to do good, accompanying and taking care of his parents. (Muttafaq ‘alaih)


In a Grade 10 Islam and Character Education book, the word jihad is mentioned positively several times, but with a caveat. Jihad does not only mean fighting against enemies of Islam; other religious duties, such as going on a pilgrimage, may be more important.
2) Haji is Jihad
Imam Bukhari and Imam Muslim narrated a dialogue in a Hadith as follows:
“O, Messenger of Allah, may we engage in war and jihad with all of you?” The Messenger replied, “For you, there is a better and more beautiful jihad, haji, haji marbur [an accepted pilgrimage to Mecca].” Aisha [Muhammad’s wife] replied, “After listening to the answer of the Messenger of Allah, I will never forget haji.” (Hadith narrated by Bukhari and Muslim)

*Islam and Character Education, Grade 10, 2016, pp. 129.*

In a section about *The Virtue of the Knowledge Seekers*, the Prophet emphasizes that the reward for seeking religious knowledge is equal to that of jihad war.

f. Given a reward equal to a person who engages in jihad in the cause of Allah. From Ibn Abbas, the Messenger of Allah said, “To travel in the morning and evening to seek knowledge is more important than jihad in the cause of Allah.” (Hadith narrated by al-Dailami)

*Islam and Character Education, Grade 10, 2016, p. 163.*

Jihad war is depicted as a good religious deed, as is learning. The following example explains various forms of jihad: it states that jihad should be divided into armed jihad, and jihad to deepen knowledge and understanding of the faith. And the two types of jihad — fighting and learning — are important and complement one another.
Q.S. at-Tawbah/9:122 contains the command that *jihad* is not only understood as taking up arms, but deepening knowledge and disseminating it is also included in *jihad*.

1. The function of science is to educate the people.
2. It is not justified to seek knowledge just to pursue rank and position or personal gain, let alone to use knowledge as pride and arrogance.
3. The importance of deepening knowledge, practicing it well, and disseminating it.
4. The above verse becomes our reference in relation to the obligation to learn and teach. There are several sources which of course we have to examine more deeply; because of the many books of interpretation that already exist, it turns out that they differ in their interpretation. But in essence are the following:
   a. Man’s obligation to learn and teach religion.
   b. This verse gives firm advice to Muslims so that there are some Muslims who learn more about their religion.
   c. The importance of seeking knowledge is also the practice of knowledge.
   d. The importance of deepening knowledge and disseminating correct information. It is no less important than defending territory.
   e. *Jihad* should be divided into armed *jihad*, *jihad* to deepen knowledge, and understanding of religion.
   f. Between *jihad* fighting and *jihad* deepening religious knowledge, both are important, and both complement each other.

The definition of *jihad* in the glossary of a Grade 10 Islamic education textbook emphasizes that *jihad* is a holy war against infidels to “defend Islam.”

*Jihad*: any efforts to manifest goodness; an earnest effort to defend Islam by sacrificing wealth, soul, and life; holy war against infidels (*kafir*) to defend Islam. 


A different form of *jihad* is mentioned in a Grade 12 Islam and Character Education textbook. The Prophet Muhammad states that working to meet the needs of one’s children, elderly parents, and for one’s sake so as not to be in the position of begging are known as *jihad fi sabilillah*.

Try to think about the companion’s response to Rasulullah, who kissed the hand of a follower of his teachings, with a question; “O, Rasulullah, if we worked like the follower, would we be considered to be engaging in *jihad* in the cause of Allah (*fi sabilillah*)? It would be good if so.” Hearing this, the Apostle replied: “If one works to meet the needs of one’s small children, it is *fi sabilillah*; if one works to meet the needs of one’s elderly parents, it is *fi sabilillah*; if one works for one’s sake so as not to beg, it is *fi sabilillah*.”

(Narrated by Thabran) 

Interestingly, in the glossary of a Grade 7 Islamic education book, the word *kafir* (infidel) is defined as “to deny Allah.” It is not defined as those who are non-Muslim, as is common among Indonesians. The same definition is also used in the glossary of the Grade 11 Islam and character education book.\(^7^5\)

\[\text{kafir} \quad \text{ingkar kepada Allah Swt.}\]

*kafir* – to deny Allah.


The definition is similar to the one in the Grade 9 Islam and Character Education book, when discussing the rule for the slaughter of animals.

\[\text{Penyembelihan yang dilakukan oleh orang yang kafir (ingkar kepada Allah Swt.,} \]

Slaughter by *kafir* (denying Allah),

*Islam and Character Education, Grade 9*, 2018, pp. 204.

During a discussion about the history of Islamic *dawa* (missionary work) in Indonesia, two lessons teach that every Muslim has the responsibility of undertaking *dawa* in their own way.

\[\text{Setiap orang Islam memiliki kewajiban untuk berdakwah menyampaikan ajaran Islam kepada orang lain.}\]

Every Muslim has the obligation to do *dawa* to share Islamic teachings to others.


\[\text{Oleh karena itu, kita harus berdakwah dengan cara kita masing-masing. Sebagai pelajar, cara kamu berdakwah tentunya dengan belajar tekun dan berakhlaq mulia kepada siapa pun. Tunjukkanlah bahwa kamu adalah generasi muda Islam yang tangguh, cerdas, dan berkepribadian.}\]

Therefore, we must do *dawa* in our own way. As a student, you do *dawa* by learning diligently and adopting a noble character in daily interactions. Show that you are a tough, smart young generation Muslim with noble character.


\(^7^5\) *Islam and Character Education*, Grade 11 (2017), p. 199
The summary of a chapter on the history of *dawa* in Indonesia highlights that students can undertake *dawa* through daily activities, in a moderate and courteous way.

4. Make all activities in life (marriage, trade, arts, etc.) a means of *da‘wah*.
8. Be moderate and courteous in preaching and disseminating Islamic teachings. 

**Jews and Judaism in Islamic Education**

Most mentions of Jews in Islamic Education textbooks are neutral or positive, but some are negative. Useful information is offered about the Jewish religion, particularly the Torah as holy scripture, and Jewish teachings are presented as a legitimate path with which to worship the divine, of equal standing with Christianity and perhaps even with Islam itself. While textbooks mention the presumed intransigence and disobedience of Israelites, or Jews, they also teach that they were granted great prophets, holy books, commands, and miracles.76 There are many acts of kindness toward Jews.77

On the other hand, a number of textbooks choose to incorporate short stories which share the theme of a Jewish character (always identified as “the Jew”) wronging or offending a Muslim in some way, only to be treated with kindness, leading the Jew to promptly convert to Islam. This potentially presents Jewish existence as an immoral one, and adds to isolated instances of content elsewhere in the curriculum which present Jews as greedy, dishonest, or disobedient to God. At the same time, the fact that Muslim characters in these stories always respond with grace sends the clear message that violence should be avoided even in the face of offense. In one case, hearsay blaming “the Jews” for posing a threat to the Prophet is cited. There also stories about Jews sowing strife and inciting war between Arab tribes.78 While the textbooks describe the principles of

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77 For example, Omar helping a Jew from Egypt whose land was unjustly confiscated. *Islam and Character Education*, Grade 8, 2017, pp. 45–46.
78 *Islam and Character Education*, Grade 10, 2016, pp. 78–79.
equality and friendship as defined in the constitution of Medina, they also recount wars of the Prophet Muhammad, where the Jewish tribes are placed on equal footing with the enemies as those who betrayed the believers.

1. The Tawrat

The word Tawrat comes from Hebrew (thora: instruction). The Tawrat is one of the holy books revealed by Allah to the Prophet Musa (Moses). The Tawrat is a guide for the Children of Israel.

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79 Islam and Character Education, Grade 10, pp. 145–148,
80 Islam and Character Education, Grade 10, pp. 149–150.
Tawrat is one of the three components (Thora, Nevi’im, and Ketuvim) in the holy book of Judaism called the Bible (al-Kitab). By Christians, it is called the Old Testament.

The main contents of the Tawrat are known as the Ten Commandments or the Ten Words. The Ten Commandments were received by the Prophet Musa [Moses] on top of Tursina Hill (Mount Sinai). The Ten Commandments list the principles of belief (’aqidah) and the principles of worship (shariah) as follows:

1. There is no God but Allah.
2. Do not worship idols
3. Do not associate partners with Allah.
4. Keep the Sabbath (Saturday) holy.
5. Respect your parents.
6. Do not kill.
7. Do not commit adultery.
8. Do not steal.
9. Do not swear falsely (bear false witness).
10. Do not covet other people’s property (wanting other people’s rights)


Islamic Education textbooks feature a few anecdotal stories, in which Jewish individuals are presented negatively as greedy or dishonest. Jews are depicted as considering money first when marrying their daughters off. The stories do not encourage violence, and typically the Jew in question repents or becomes a Muslim.

81 Islam and Character Education, Grade 8, 2017, p. 223.
Be Honest!
Then, You Will be Fortunate in the World and Get Rewards in the Hereafter

There was once a pious man who always asked his workers to always ask his customers to notify him if any of his merchandise was defective. Every time buyers came, he asked them to check the goods.

One day, a Jew came to his shop and bought a defective cloth. At that time, the shop owner was not there, and the Jew did not check the shirt and left in a hurry. Not long after that, the shop owner returned and asked about the defective cloth. The worker answered, “The shirt was bought by a Jew.”

Then, the shop owner asked about the Jew, “Did he notice the defect on the clothes?” The worker answered, “No.” The shop owner asked again, “Now where is he?” He answered, “He went with the caravan traders.” Immediately, the shop owner brought the money the Jew paid for the defective cloth. Then he looked for the trade group and found them after traveling for three days. He said, “Hi Fulan, the other day you bought a cloth with a defect. Take your money back and give me that shirt.” The Jew replied, “What caused you to go this far?”

The man replied, “Islam and the words of the Prophet Muhammad, ‘A person who cheats is not my people’.”

The Jew replied, “The money I paid you is fake too. So, take this three thousand in exchange and I will add more. I bear witness that there is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.”

(Source: 100 Role Models of Great Figures; Muhammad Said Mursi & Qasim Abdullah Ibrahim)

The curriculum offers a few anecdotes on Jews who harmed the Prophet – at times because they were hired to do so – but the Prophet always showed them kindness. The following story about a Jew paid to spit on Prophet is particularly moving, but nonetheless draws on stereotypes that reveal a bias against Jews.

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82 Abu Jahl hired a Jew to mock and abuse the Prophet, but that Jew converted because of the nobility of the Prophet. Islam and Character Education, Grade 7, 2017, p. 68. A similar anecdote about a Jewish beggar converting to Islam after the death of the Prophet, see Islam and Character Education, Grade 7, 2017, pp. 180–181.
Prophet Muhammad with the Jews

Once upon a time Abu Jahl, the uncle of the Prophet Muhammad, hired a Jew to harm the Prophet. Then the Jew went to the alley through which the Prophet used to go to the Ka'aba. When the Prophet passed, he called. The Prophet also looked because he never disappointed anyone who called him. It was at that time that the Jew spat in the face of The Messenger of Allah.

The Prophet was not the least bit angry or rebuked the Jew.

The next day, the Prophet again walked in the same place. Not in the least did he feel vengeful or try to stay away from that path. Arriving at the same place, the Prophet was called again and was spat on as before.

The incident continued to repeat itself for several days until one day the Prophet did not find anyone spitting on him during that time. The Prophet also asked in his heart, “Where the hell is the person who always spit on me?”
After asking people around the place, the Prophet was told that the person had fallen ill. The Prophet went home to pick up the food and didn't forget to stop by the market to buy fruit to visit the sick Jew. Arriving at the Jew's house, the Prophet knocked on the door. From inside the house, a weak Jewish voice who was sick approached the door asking,

“Who's coming?”
“I, Muhammad,” replied the Prophet.
“Muhammad who?” the Jewish voice asked again.
“Muhammad the Prophet of Allah,” replied the Prophet again.
After the door was opened, how surprised the Jew was to witness the figure that came, the person he had been hurting and spitting in his face.
“What have you come here for?” asked the Jew again.
“I came to visit you, O my brother, because I heard that you were sick,” replied the Prophet in a soft voice.

“Oh Muhammad, know that since I fell ill, no one has come to visit me, not even Abu Jahl who has hired me to hurt you. In fact, I have several times sent people to him so that he immediately comes to give something to me. However, you, whom I have hurt and spit on many times all this time, were the first to come to see me,” said the Jew in a touched tone.

The majesty of the Prophet's morals had melted his heart. He also embraced the Prophet and declared himself converted to Islam.

_A Islam and Character Education, Grade 7, 2017, pp. 200–201._

A biographical lesson on the Prophet Muhammad describes a warning by a Basra priest who recommended protecting the Prophet, at the time still a child, from “the Jews.” It is not clear why Indonesian students should learn a biased hearsay from more than 14 centuries ago.
When their trade caravan reached the city of Basra in Greater Syria, a famous priest at that time, Buhairah, approached Abu Talib and said, “I recognize this young man as a figure who will be crowned as a blessing to the world. This is clearly written in our books.” Buhairah further suggested to Abu Talib, “Protect this young man from the Jews, it is better to take him back to Mecca.” Abu Talib followed the priest's advice.


Jews and the Hebrew language are mentioned positively in the context of the golden eras of Islamic civilization in Abbasid Baghdad, and Spain. The establishment of the famous Abbasid Dar Al-Hikma learning center in Baghdad involved “Christian, Jewish, and Arab scholars.” The development of Hebrew grammar took place in Spain: “Spanish Muslims are also credited with developing a Jewish (Hebrew) grammar which is essentially based on Arabic grammar.” The works of Ibn Rushd were translated to “Latin and Hebrew (Jewish).”

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83 *Islam and Character Education, Grade 12, 2018, p. 218.*
84 *Islam and Character Education, Grade 12, 2018, p. 245.*
85 *Islam and Character Education, Grade 12, 2018, p. 248.*
Christian Education

Christian education books, similar to other religious education textbooks, include topics which integrate tolerance and acceptance of diversity.

The following Christian education lesson discusses the attitude of the Prophet Jeremiah toward Jews living in exile in Babylon, appealing to the Jews to nourish their community, and the city of Babylon. This lesson instils in Christians the importance of relating to and living in harmony with others, even in the case of those in exile.

In his book, the prophet Jeremiah gives advice to the Jews who lived in exile in Babylon to seek welfare for their communities. This is what the Lord Almighty, the God of Israel, says to all those I carried into exile from Jerusalem to Babylon: “Build houses and settle down; plant gardens and eat what they produce. Marry and have sons and daughters; find wives for your sons and give your daughters in marriage, so that they too may have sons and daughters. Increase in number there; do not decrease. Also, seek the peace and prosperity of the city to which I have carried you into exile. Pray to the Lord for it, because if it prospers, you too will prosper.” (Jeremiah 29: 4–7)

This message was sent by the prophet Jeremiah to the Jews, who at that time formed exclusive groups, and did not want to socialize with the Babylonians. The reason is of course clear. They were angry with the Babylonians who had made them suffer and brought them to a foreign land, a land of exile, in Babylon.

However, from what the prophet Jeremiah said, we can conclude that they should not live exclusively and not care about the people around them. In today’s context, the Church must also be aware that the Church is present in the world not only for itself. The Church exists to be a blessing to the city and the whole world. That is why many churches are involved in movements to help others. Several churches in Indonesia are active in the movement to preserve the environment and thereby make this world more suitable for us to live in. It will also help us to preserve our earth.

Christianity and Character Education, Grade 9, 2017 Page 21.
The Grade 12 Christian education textbook guides students on how to live in Indonesia’s multicultural reality. The textbook exemplifies how churches and Christians should respond to multiculturalism. One example is that “*Indonesian churches develop dialogues and cooperation with other religious beliefs, especially in humanity and justice.*”

Here are some facts that show Indonesia’s churches support multiculturalism, even though there are still many challenges ahead:

1. Indonesia’s churches are open to everyone of all ethnicities, cultures, languages, origins, or nationalities.
2. Indonesia’s churches adopt some elements of the local cultures which are included in the prayer liturgy. Songs, music, and other local habits and customs are embraced to allow locals to further understand Christianity. For instance, a strong sense of brotherhood and sisterhood in the local community can be used to build a sense of togetherness among congregations, as written in the Acts of the Apostles.
3. Churches’ various services are meant for the general public regardless of their origins, cultures, customs, social status, and religions. The churches’ awareness to participate for public causes is quite significant.
4. Many churches are now conducting cultural studies to relearn local cultural elements that might be at the brink of extinction. For example, in the province of East Nusa Tenggara, there is an organization that works together with the churches to translate the Bible into the province’s traditional languages.
5. Indonesia’s churches develop dialogue and cooperation with other religious beliefs, especially in humanity and justice. There are teams specialized in legal advocacy and healthcare that cater to everyone regardless of any differences, from cultural backgrounds, religious faiths, nationalities, or social status.  

As individuals living in a pluralist society, Christian students in Grade 7 are encouraged to show solidarity in their daily lives.

Types of solidarity that you can demonstrate as a teenager in a pluralist society include:

- Respecting friends and other people even though they are different from you.
- Respecting believers of other religions and all the rules of their faith, including their worship.
- Being friends with someone regardless of the differences that exist.
- Being able to work together and help friends and others regardless of religion, ethnicity, and social status (rich or poor).

You can add other types of solidarity that you know or have practiced in your daily actions. 

*Christianity and Character Education, Grade 7*, 2017, p. 87.

Christianity itself views diversity as a blessing from God, as it can be beneficial to our understanding of humanity.

*Christianity and Character Education, Grade 10*, 2016-17, p. 97.

Furthermore, the Grade 10 Christianity and Character Education textbook presents two examples of peace camps involving parties at war or in conflict. The first example is a camp for Israeli and Palestinian teenagers, and the second example is one for youth from Poso and Ambon. The difference between the first and the second camp is that the first involves parties at war, while the second involves communities that once were in conflict. Israel and Palestine are mentioned in a neutral manner; the camp aims to help Israeli and Palestinian youth build a better understanding of one another.
E. Love That Extinguishes the Fire of Enmity

In Romans 12:9-21, the Apostle Paul taught what the Lord Jesus said, which is to overcome anger with love. Paul says: but if your enemy is hungry, feed him; if he is thirsty, give him a drink! By doing so you will heap coals of fire on his head. Do not be overcome by evil but overcome evil with good (Romans 12:20-21).

What do you think the above verses mean?

An organization in Canada, Peace it Together, was formed in January 2004 with the intention of holding a three-week camp for Palestinian, Israeli, and Canadian youth. The camp includes joint arts activities, team building and dialogue exercises, outdoor activities, and various creative endeavors to enable participants to become friends with one another, build communication skills and new ways of listening to others, challenging old views that are expected, and considered to have already been established, and building compassion for their “enemy.” The program involves a film and television company, a company that educates on media development and use in Canada, and can teach people to make films in a week.

In the summer of 2006, ten Israeli, ten Palestinian, and nine Canadian teenagers were invited to participate in an intensive dialogue. Then they were divided into small groups to make short films about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.
A Palestinian teenager recounted their impressions as follows: “As a Palestinian at Peace it Together, I was helped to determine my role. I continue to share about our films, while continuing to tell our stories. As I look back and reminisce about all the memories we had, I am amazed when I discover how much we trusted each other, despite our many challenges. All the support we have received after returning, has helped our vision of peace to be more open. This summer camp is just the beginning. We are all here together.”

Meanwhile, a participant from Israel gave their own view, “Peace it Together was my starting point as an activist. Since then, I have been increasingly involved in activities related to my nation’s conflict. Looking back, my choice to participate in Peace it Together turned out to be a very important one. Peace it Together is my first step, and it’s a very important step.”

The films made by these participants have been screened in more than 100 workshops watched by thousands of people in Israel, Palestine and Canada. More than 60% of Israeli and Palestinian viewers said they wanted to know more about “the other side,” after watching the Peace it Together films. Meanwhile, 75% of Israeli viewers said the films helped them to better understand aspects of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict.

*Christianity and Character Education, Grade 10*, 2016, pp. 49–50.
In contrast, the second camp involves communities that once were in conflict, namely youth from Poso and Ambon.

A similar experience was shared by a number of youths from Poso and Ambon, two areas that have suffered from intense conflict recently. In 2009, at SAV Puskat, Sinduharjo, Sleman, each region (Maluku and Poso) sent 20 high school students and 5 assistants to attend the camps. They hold camps with an active-participatory learning pattern, a shared learning process among fellow participants and outbound (cross-country) activities. The theme of this activity is “Learning Together among Youth to Build a Peaceful Future in Maluku and Poso.”

This camp is intended to overcome the trauma caused by the conflict in the two areas, especially among the youth who experienced and witnessed what happened, and were even involved in the conflict. In addition, participants also learn about the development and changes in the socio-cultural context of society that have a negative impact on the lives of teenagers. They also learn about the dangers of promiscuity, narcotics, HIV/AIDS, and fighting. In this camp they are required to respect and appreciate each other, and to interact with each other. Participants also learn to build self-confidence and trust each other in order to build and develop a better future together, with honesty and responsibility.

The interfaith youth camp organized by Interfidei is in collaboration with the New Zealand Embassy in Indonesia, and PTD/UNDP Maluku and Poso. This experience is interesting, isn’t it? Love, mutual understanding, dialogue, and a willingness to listen help conflicting parties to understand each other and then extinguish the fires of enmity and hatred.”

*Christianity and Character Education, Grade 10*, 2016, pp. 50–51.
In a chapter on forgiveness, the act of terrorism is discussed. The lesson presents the true story of a terrorism victim presented in a neutral manner. No specific parties are accused or blamed; rather, students are encouraged to forgive and pray for those who have wronged them.

An Irish man, Gordon Wilson, went to see a parade in the Northern Irish town of Enniskillen with his 28-year-old daughter, Marie. As they stood next to a stone wall, waiting for a unit of British soldiers and police to march past them, a terrorist bomb exploded behind them. Six people died instantly due to the explosion. Gordon and his daughter were buried several feet under a pile of rocks. Gordon felt that his shoulder and arm were hurt, but he couldn’t move. Then, he felt someone touch his fingers. “This is Dad, right?” whispered Marie. “That’s right, Marie,” said her father. Gordon heard the faint sound of people screaming in pain, then a much clearer voice, Marie’s. He squeezed his daughter’s hand tightly while repeatedly asking if she was okay. Between screams of pain, Marie repeatedly reassured her father that she was fine. “Dad, I love you so much” were his daughter’s last words Gordon heard.

Four hours later, after they were finally rescued, Marie died in hospital from severe damage to her brain and spine. Later that afternoon, a BBC reporter wanted to interview Gordon. After he described what was going on, the reporter asked Gordon, “How do you feel about the man who set up the bomb?” The answer was surprising. “I don’t hate them,” Gordon said. “I don’t hold a grudge against them. Bitter words will not bring Marie Wilson back to life. I will pray tonight and every night that God will forgive them.”

*Christianity and Character Education, Grade 7, 2017, p. 10.*
Hindu Education

Textbooks on Hinduism also incorporate the theme of tolerance into certain chapters, including the portrayal of the harmonious lives of individuals belonging to different faiths. The excerpt below narrates how children of different religions can live together peacefully.

Introduction
Source: Ministry of Education and Culture’s document

Image 3.1. Bening and her friends

My name is Bening.
I live in Suka Darma village.
I go to SD [primary school] Suka Darma 1.
My school is clean and beautiful.
There are many flowers and trees around.

Every morning, my friends and I sweep the schoolyard.
We do so on our own initiative, not because the teachers tell us to.
Hence, my school is always clean and beautiful.
It makes my friends and I feel happy to study.

I have many friends.
One from Sumatra is called Butet.
Butet is friendly, studious, and smart.
None of my friends are lazy.

Source: www.travelingbali.com

Image 3.2. Ulun Danu Batur Temple in Bali, one of Hindu places of worship.

Suebu is my friend from Papua.
He has curly hair,
Dark skin, but very handsome.
Suebu is a Christian.
He attends church services every Sunday.
Doni Donbosko is from Flores.
He has curly hair and a small physique.
Doni Donbosko is very friendly.
Source: www.l.bp.blogspot.com
Image 3.3. Church, a house of worship for Christians

Budi Susilo is a friend from Solo.
He is handsome and friendly.
He likes helping others.
Budi Susilo is a Javanese Muslim and he prays at a mosque.

Source: www.upload.wikimedia.org
Image 3.4. Mosque, a house of worship for Muslims

Lim Khi Ing is of Chinese descent.
She is a Confucian.
She prays at a temple.
My Buddhist friend
is called Sidarta.
She prays at a vihara.
At a vihara, Sidarta meets with monks.
To Buddhists, monks are saints.
None of my friends are naughty.
Nobody likes naughty kids.
We always play together.
We live peacefully together and support tolerance.

We educate, love, and nurture each other.
We help others when they are in trouble.
We live peacefully with different ethnicities.
Fighting is useless.
Image: www.c2.staticflickr.com
Image 3.5. Kelenteng, a place of worship for Confucians

At the core of Hindu teachings is the spirit of tolerance, *Tat Tvam Asi*, meaning “it is you.” The phrase suggests that respecting other people means respecting ourselves.

3. Tat Tvam Asi

*Tat Tvam Asi* comes from Sanskrit, which consists of the word *Tat*, meaning ‘it’, *Tvam* meaning, ‘you’, and *Asi*, meaning ‘is’. Therefore, *Tat Tvam Asi* means *it is you*. *Tat Tvam Asi* reminds us that we’re not alone. We live with other people. We live as a social being, meaning we’re dependent on each other. Therefore, we should learn to respect other people. By the meaning of Tat Tvam Asi, which is ‘you’. Respecting other people means respecting ourselves. Being kind to other people means being kind to ourselves.

*Hinduism and Character Education, Grade 5*, 2017, p. 53.

One section in a Hinduism and Character Education textbook emphasizes cooperation among God’s creations as one of Veda’s teachings; the book states that implementing Pancasila means implementing Veda’s teachings.
In order to be a better person, mankind should begin to collaborate with other fellow creatures of God. They should also apply Tat Twam Asi teachings in life and for hereafter. Ida Sang Widhi Wasa (God) is the Holy Creator, the Almighty, the Eternal, without beginning and end, or called “Wiyapi-wiyapaka-nirwikara.”

Wiyapi-wiyapaka means ‘to absorb,’ ‘to resolve,’ ‘omnipresent’ (all creatures), including humans. The main power of God is to create, preserve, and fusion the entire universe, including mankind. Man is God’s creation. The spark of God embedded in man is called atman or jiwatman. In the Holy Book of Upanishad, this is called “Brahman atman aikyam,” meaning that Brahman (God) is One with atman.

The Holy Book of Candogya Upanishad states “Tat Twam Asi”: the word “Tat” means ‘it’ or ‘He’, whereas “Twam” means ‘You’ and “Asi” means ‘is’ or ‘too’. So, Tat Twam Asi means ‘It’ or ‘He’ is you too. In Hindu philosophy, Tat Twam Asi is unlimited morality teachings, similar to “perikemanusiaan” (humanity) in the Pancasila. The concept of Tat Twam Asi refers to Tat Twam Asi teaching according to Veda.

Thus, we can conclude that when we practice the values of Pancasila, we also practice the teachings of Veda. The main meaning of “Tat Twam Asi” is ‘He is you, I am you, and all creatures are the same,’ which also means that when we help others in need, we also help ourselves. This is the true meaning of sincerity and love according to Hindu teachings.

_Hinduism and Character Education, Curriculum 2013, Grade 10_, 2016, p. 147.

Even though Hinduism encourages tolerance in its teachings, it does not support interreligious marriage. On topic of marriage, the Grade 11 Hinduism and Character Education Book Grade states the requirements for a legitimate marriage according to Hindu teachings. One of the requirements of a legitimate Hindu marriage is that “both the bride and groom have adhered to Hinduism.”
A marriage is said to be valid if both the bride and groom have adhered to Hinduism (the same religion).


**Confucianist Education**

Confucianism and Character Education integrate tolerance into their materials, and even claim that tolerance is the core teaching of Confucianism: “[…] tolerance! What is not wanted by yourself, do not give it to others,” from the Book of Lunyu. XV:25, which is said to be an ultimate guide for Confucians.

2. Practical behavior of tolerance.

Zigong asked: “Is there a guide word for the rest of our life?” Prophet said: “That is tolerance! What is not wanted by yourself, do not give it to others.” (Lunyu. XV:25)

*Confucianism and Character Education, Grade 12*, 2018, p. 50.

Exemplifying how Confucians should behave toward those of different religions, the excerpt quotes the Prophet Konzi’s statement in the Book of Lunyu, XV:40, that “[…] there is no verse in the holy book of Sishu that instructs his followers to compete to increase followers, especially by seizing people from other religions.” Thus, “if there are different holy paths (religions), do not argue.”

The Prophet Kongzi never taught his followers to outperform any party, and there is no verse in the holy book of Sishu that instructs his followers to compete to increase followers, especially by seizing people from other religions. If every
religion always wants to outperform the other party, argue with each other, and feel appointed by Tian as the ‘sole agent of truth,’ then as a result, the energy that should be used for self-development is instead used to defeat each other, to pounce, to become violent and then to lose noble values of the religion itself. The Prophet Kongzi said, “If there are different holy paths (religions), do not argue.” (Lunyu. XV: 40)

Confucianism and Character Education, Grade 10, 2016, p. 148.

The following lesson explains that diversity and difference are an inseparable aspect of human existence, encouraging students to change their view on differences. Students are taught that “Differences should not be eliminated/suppressed, but they should be preserved” because they make life more beautiful. Students are also encouraged not to be afraid to be different, and be part of the minority. The example also explains how minorities in Indonesia are oppressed and threatened.

This negative statement on the treatment of minorities was likely included because for years, especially during the Suharto era (1966–1988), Confucianism was prohibited in Indonesia due to its association with Indonesians of Chinese descent – who, as a result of segregation policies during Dutch colonization, were viewed negatively by other Indonesian ethnicities. Confucianism is perceived as being closer to Chinese culture than to Indonesian culture, and it was seen as a Chinese philosophy, rather than a religion. Suharto assimilated Confucianism into Indonesian culture by promoting Tri-Dharma Buddhism, which was seen as offering a strong contribution to Indonesia’s civilization (Maula, 2021). The history of Confucianism is not discussed.

It is time for us to change the way we view differences. Human life cannot be separated from differences, because each individual is unique. Differences should not be eliminated/suppressed, but they should be preserved. Without something different, our lives would be monotonous and boring. Differences cannot be used as an excuse to create a dispute. Currently, humans are terrified of being individuals who are different from the environmental group in which they live. The fear arose because they felt that being something different meant belonging to the ‘minority’ group, and what has happened so far is that minority groups are always pressured and threatened. Make the difference a blessing, and indeed the difference makes everything beautiful and varied.

Confucianism and Character Education, Grade 10, 2016, p. 145.
Catholic Education

The teaching of tolerance and diversity is also evident in Catholicism and Character Education textbooks. Here, students are shown an image with the caption “Indonesian MTQ [Quran recital competition] contingent stayed at bishop’s house in Ambon,” which demonstrates acceptance of those who are different, in this case between people of differing religious beliefs.


*Catholicism and Character Education, Grade 9, 2018, p. 105.*

Quoting a verse from the Bible, a Grade 7 Catholic education textbook explains the manner in which Catholics should behave toward infidels. The lesson quotes a verse from the Bible: Jesus, in the Book of Luke, explains to a young Jew who seeks eternal life that he needs to love his neighbors as himself. Interestingly, Jesus identifies a Good Samaritan, who was deemed to be a sinner in his own culture, in His story, as a neighbor whom the young man should love. In this way, students are encouraged to love all people despite pre-conceived judgments, and differences in religion.
2. Jesus Teaches Love Without Discrimination

During his life Jesus faced a socially worrisome human situation. In Jewish society at that time, there were various views that divided people from one another. There are people who consider themselves holy, while some are considered a group of sinners. The group of saints should not associate with or approach a sinner if he does not want to be infected with sin. There are groups of people who consider themselves the best and most righteous in the sight of Allah, there are those who are considered disbelievers and do not deserve to be called children of Allah, and so on. Jesus struggled to break those barriers, as seen in the story of the Good Samaritan.

Read and reflect the following Bible: Luke 10:25-37 quotation:

Luke 10:25-37

On one occasion, an expert in the law stood up to test Jesus. “Teacher,” he asked, “what must I do to inherit eternal life?” “What must I do to inherit eternal life?” he asked. “What is written in the Law?” he replied. “How do you read it?” He answered, “‘Love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your strength and with all your mind’[a]; and, ‘Love your neighbor as yourself.’[b]”

“You have answered correctly,” Jesus replied. “Do this and you will live.” But he wanted to justify himself, so he asked Jesus, “And who is my neighbor?” In reply Jesus said: “A man was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho, when he was attacked by robbers. They stripped him of his clothes, beat him and went away, leaving him half dead. A priest happened to be going down the same road, and when he saw the man, he passed by on the other side. So too, a Levite, when he came to the place and saw him, passed by on the other side. But a Samaritan, as he traveled, came to where the man was; and when he saw him, he took pity on him. He went to him and bandaged his wounds, pouring on oil and wine. Then he put the man on his own donkey, brought him to an inn and took care of him. The next day he took out two denarii[c] and gave them to the innkeeper. ‘Look after him,’ he said, ‘and when I return, I will reimburse you for any extra expense you may have.’ “Which of these three do you think was a neighbor to the man who fell into the hands of robbers?” The expert in the law replied, “The one who had mercy on him.” Jesus told him, “Go and do likewise.”

Catholicism and Character Education, Grade 7, 2016, pp. 141–142.
To emphasize the importance of Indonesia’s unity-in-diversity principle, students are encouraged to learn more about “Bhinneka Tunggal Ika,” and its meaning for Indonesia. *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* is Indonesia’s national motto. It is written on the scroll on Indonesia’s national emblem, *Garuda Pancasila* (a Garuda bird with a shield containing the symbols of the five principles of Pancasila on its chest). Originally from Sanskrit, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* means Unity in Diversity. This is a crucial motto for Indonesia, as it promotes unity within Indonesia’s pluralist society. Introducing this motto to students means educating them how important it is to be united, even though there are many differences in Indonesia.

**Second Steps**

**Explore the motto “Bhinneka Tunggal Ika”**

Indonesia’s history shows that the spirit of unity and integrity was the main power to develop peaceful harmony in Indonesia, even though it is a diverse country. That spirit of unity and integrity was revealed in the Youth Pledge formula, which we have learned in grade V or through any other lessons. The same spirit is also reflected in the third verse of the Pancasila formula and the motto “Bhinneka Tunggal Ika” as the national motto of our country. You can explore the meaning of “Bhinneka Tunggal Ika” by reading books, or any written sources. Affirm the meaning of “Bhinneka Tunggal Ika”!

1. **Exploration and discussion**

Find some texts that discuss *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in the library, and discuss the following questions in a group.

a. From which language is “Bhinneka Tunggal Ika,” and what is its meaning?
b. Explain the background of the emergence of “Bhinneka Tunggal Ika.”
c. What does it mean for Indonesia?

*Catholicism and Character Education, Grade 6*, 2018, p. 4.
Although Catholicism teaches its adherents to embrace diversity, a lesson on dating and marriage prohibits interfaith marriage. A verse from the Bible is used to justify this view.

2. Some Advice from the Bible Regarding Dating
The Bible does not speak directly about courtship. The Bible is more about relationships with others. Due to courtship being part of a relationship with others, the following quotes can serve as a kind of fence so that relationships that are supposed to develop themselves do not become destructive.

“Above all else, guard your heart, for everything you do flows from it.”
(Proverbs 4:23)

“Do not be misled: Bad company corrupts good character.”
(1 Corinthians 15:33)

“Flee from sexual immorality. All other sins a person commits are outside the body, but whoever sins sexually, sins against their own body.”
(1 Corinthians 6:18)

“Do not be yoked together with unbelievers. For what do righteousness and wickedness have in common? Or what fellowship can light have with darkness?”
(2 Corinthians 6:14)

_Catholicism and Character Education, Grade 7, 2016_, p. 97–98.
According to the Grade 7 textbook, the Church’s mission revolves around love and respect for others, being present, and contributing to society. There is no statement on converting people to Catholicism.

Decree On the Mission Activity of the Church (Ad Gentes)⁸⁶

Article 11
The Church must be present in these groups through her children, who dwell among them or who are sent to them. For all Christians, wherever they live, are bound to show forth, by the example of their lives and by the witness of the word, the new self reborn at baptism, and the power of the Holy Spirit by which they have been strengthened at Conformation. Thus other men, observing their good works, can glorify the Father (cf. Matt. ES:16) and can perceive more fully the real meaning of human life, and the universal bond of the community of mankind.

In order for them to be able to bear more fruitful witness to Christ, let them be joined to those men by esteem and love; let them acknowledge themselves as members of the group of men among whom they live; let them share in cultural and social life by the various activities.

*Catholicism and Character Education, Grade 7*, 2016, p. 80.

Buddhist Education

Tolerance is also one of the topics in Buddhism and Character Education textbooks. Grade 9 students are encouraged to practice Hiri-Ottappa, as it will prevent them from committing acts which disrupt peace such as terrorism, war, and violence. Terrorism is mentioned but in a neutral manner, without any prejudice against a particular group.\(^{87}\)

Hiri-Ottappa and World Peace

*Hiri* and *Ottappa* are being ashamed of doing evil, and fearing the consequences of such evil deeds. People who have *hiri* do not commit evil or wrong actions, while those who do not have *hiri* will commit evil deeds. A person who has *ottappa* is like a person who is afraid to touch fire because touching it will hurt. However, a person who does not have *ottappa* will experience the consequences of committing evil deeds, so they will suffer. Punishment can embarrass and frighten someone who has violated the rules.

*Hiri* and *ottappa* are the protecting Dharma of the world (*lokapala dhamma*). Why so? If everyone applies *hiri* and *ottappa* within themselves, then no one in this world will commit the slightest crime. Crimes such as terrorism, wars, riots, mass clashes, power struggles, corruption, and others will never happen. Thus, the people of the world will be in harmony, tolerant, and live in prosperity to achieve world peace.

*Buddhism and Character Education, Grade 9*, 2018, p. 105

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\(^{87}\) In Indonesia, terrorism is identified with Islam.
Fostering tolerance among students is also discussed in Grade 12 Buddhism and Character Education. Here, students learn to be tolerant to others to prevent a physical altercation, and its consequences. At the end of the chapter on physical altercations, students are encouraged to make a commitment to be tolerant toward others.

Aspiration
After you learn the materials above, write down your aspirations in the assignment book. Then submit it to parents and teachers for signature and assessment. Look at this example of an aspirational sentence!

Realizing the truth, I am determined to live this life with tolerance and respect for the existence of others.

Based on this example, create aspirational sentences in your assignment book, according to the material in this chapter/sub-chapter!

Buddhism and Character Education, Grade 12, 2018, p. 173.

The history of bombings and terrorism in Indonesia is presented as an introductory reading section, before students learn about “Peace in Buddhism.” Although the section mentions terrorism motivated by jihad, typically associated with Muslims, it does not blame the action on or associate it with certain groups. The text focuses on how students should always be vigilant wherever they are, and pray to be protected from such actions.
Indonesia was once alarmed by the presence of terrorists who were still on the loose, with their actions victimizing many people. Here are some acts of terrorism that have occurred in Indonesia which have victimized the lives of hundreds of people.

1. On March 28, 1981, the Garuda Indonesia plane was attacked by terrorists on its way to Medan after transiting in Palembang from Jakarta.
2. On January 21, 1985, an act of terrorism with the motive of jihad happened again and hit one of the world’s wonders, Borobudur Temple.
3. In 2000, there were four terrorist bombings.
7. In 2004, there were three bombings.
9. Four years later, in 2009, two bombs were placed simultaneously at the JW Marriott and Ritz-Carlton in Jakarta.
10. Two years later, in 2011, three bombs were detonated in Cirebon, Tangerang, and Solo.
11. On August 19, 2011, another suicide bombing was detonated at GBIS Solo.

There are so many incidents of terrorism acts that have occurred in Indonesia. However, from this incident, we learned to always be vigilant wherever we are, and pray to be protected from this deadly disaster.

*Buddhism and Character Education, Grade 9*, 2018, p. 100.
Minorities and the “Other”

Since 1998 and the post-Suharto reformation era, efforts have been made to accommodate the rights of minorities in Indonesia. People are more open to diversity and tolerant of minorities. Members of minority groups are given more space to participate in politics, and to practice their beliefs or customs. They have more freedom to express themselves; however, this does not mean that there are no longer issues.

Incidents of discrimination against members of minority groups still occur, regardless of the constitution's clear prohibition of such conduct. Examples include the rejection of a non-Muslim family’s request to reside in Bantul; discrimination against Papuan students in Surabaya; church bombings; and violence against Shia Islam, the Ahmadiyya movement, and other belief systems. Indonesians of Chinese descent still face many hurdles. During the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial elections, Jakarta's first non-Muslim governor, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (“Ahok”), was repeatedly targeted by Muslim radicals for being Christian and of Chinese descent. This included allegations of him mocking the Qur'an. With regards the criminalization of gender and minority sexual identities, a case in Tulungagung, East Java, highlighted that law enforcement deliberately targeted gender and sexual minorities. In addition, media coverage on gender and sexual minorities appears vulgar, tendentious, and biased.

The 2013 Curriculum examined in this report shows serious efforts to address the inclusion of minorities in Indonesia. The textbooks’ anti-discrimination discourse is mainly limited to ethnicity (Chinese, ethnicities of eastern Indonesia) and religion, with scant discussion of local religions and unrecognized religions such as Shiism and Ahmadiyya, both of which are Islamic sects.

In primary and junior high English textbooks, those most prominently featured include: students of Chinese descent; students from eastern Indonesia; a girl wearing a hijab; and students belonging to the six major religions covered in schools. Every primary school textbook contains a page which introduces students from these diverse backgrounds.

91 Ibid.
Diversity and Inclusion

A Grade 2 textbook shows children with a variety of physical traits, like differing skin colors and clothing (such as a hijab), to illustrate diversity. Students learn that the children featured are from different regions of Indonesia, and hold differing beliefs. For example, Dayu is a Hindu from Bali; Edo is from eastern Indonesia; Meli and Lani are of Chinese descent; and Siti is a Muslim. These children are shown to happily work, play, and learn together; this highlights that diversity is, and demonstrates that students can live in harmony with those who are different. are always featured to happily work, play, and learn together. It points out that diversity is ubiquitous and sets an example of living in harmony with those who are different.

Caring for Animals and Plants, Grade 2, 2017, pp. v, 150.

One of the materials in the Grade 1 textbook, which presents pictures of students of multiple ethnicities wearing their traditional clothing, teaches that diversity is God’s grace to be grateful for.
Being Grateful for Difference

Look at Udin and his friends.
They are all different.
They have physical differences.
They have personality differences.
They also have cultural differences.
There are many other differences,
But they remain friends.
Everyone is special.
Difference is God's grace.
We must be grateful for it.

Myself, Grade 1, 2018, p. 116

The national motto, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, is used to teach students that diversity is beautiful, and that they should not be afraid to be different. They also learn that unity and acceptance are important in a diverse society; and that if they are not united nor do they accept others who are different, they will have a difficult life because, as human beings, they need others, and cannot live on their own. Students thus learn that if they are united and accept one other, they will be able to work together to pursue common goals. Local wisdoms offered as an example of unity are mutual cooperation (*gotong royong*), and community night patrols (*ronda*).
1. The Beauty of Life in a Diverse Society

Please look at the symbol of our country, the Garuda. Look at the ribbon he's gripping. On the ribbon, the words “Bhinneka Tunggal Ika” are written. The sentence was taken from the Sutasoma Book, written by Mpu Tantular, which means “Unity-in-Diversity.” These words were interpreted in a broader meaning, and became the motto of Indonesia. The motto that binds diversity into a solid unity.

Is it enough for you just to understand the meaning? Definitely not. After you understand the meaning of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, you have to implement it in your daily life. When you hang out with your friends, you will encounter diversity. You will differ from your friends. Maybe you and your friends have differences in intelligence, skills, hobbies, body size, skin color, habits, even ethnicity, class, culture, and religion. Then, how should you behave?

Application of the values of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika doesn't mean you imitate your friends or other people, to look similar. You don't have to be like everyone else. Let yourself be different from others and let others be different from yourself. You have to realize that difference is a gift from God Almighty that we should be grateful for. Thus you don't have to disagree just because of differences. You have to be grateful for differences by respecting and appreciating your friends. In that way, differences actually make life more beautiful.
2. The Beauty of Living United in Diversity
You can't live alone and need support from others. Likewise, you can also support each other. By helping each other in the community, life will feel safe, comfortable, and peaceful.
For instance, in public security fields. Maintaining public security requires carrying out patrols on schedule. Everyone has the same obligations, regardless of whether they are rich or poor, regardless of ethnicity or religion. Therefore, security and order will be created in society. That is one of the important meanings of unity in diversity. To maintain public security, every member of the community is required to carry out patrols according to the schedule.

What will happen if there is no unity in society? Without unity, harmony in society is difficult to achieve. Everyone will live selfishly. Between people, mutual suspicion will arise. Life will not be comfortable. One of the tangible manifestations of harmony and unity in society is the tradition of gotong royong.
For instance, working together to build a house. Gotong royong involves all elements of society.

*Events in Life, Grade 5*, 2017, pp. 104-106.

Grade 5 students learning the same motto, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, as an introduction to Indonesia’s diverse society. They are then asked to reflect on their attitude toward diversity.
THEME 7

The Beauty of Diversity in My Country

Bhinneka Tunggal Ika. Have you heard that sentence? Yes, that sentence is found in Garuda Pancasila. Garuda Pancasila is the symbol of our country. Bhinneka Tunggal Ika means different, yet one.

The phrase “Bhinneka Tunggal Ika” is found in a book titled Sutasoma, written by Mpu Tantular. Mpu Tantular lived during the Majapahit Kingdom around the 14th century. In Sutasoma, the notion of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika is used more to emphasize the diversity of religions and beliefs among the people of Majapahit.

What differences are there in Indonesia?

What is your attitude toward differences in Indonesia?


A lesson from a Grade 11 Indonesian History textbook teaches students that unity-in-diversity is crucial in the struggle to gain independence.

Unity and oneness are very important values in every form of struggle. All existing organizations or forces, even with different understandings/ideologies, remained united in facing colonialists to achieve independence. During the disarmament against Japan, the war against the Allies and the Dutch, all members of the Indonesian army, various troop members, and the people, were united.

*Indonesian History, Grade 11, 2017, p. 208.*
Students are introduced to another form of diversity they experience in class, by presenting the example of students of differing intelligence. The text also encourages students to value and respect different abilities in every person.

Read it out loud!

The Secret of Smart Children
Every child in your class is smart and kind. Some children are good at sports or dancing. Some are good at mathematics or languages. Some are good at singing or good at befriending everyone.
Can you be smart without trying?
All children want to be smart, but they do not know how. If you want to be smart, here's the secret. Listen as the teacher explains. Do the tasks on time. Read a lot and practice. Do not give up easily. Ask your teacher. Manage your study time well. In addition, make friends with lots of people.

The following excerpts from Grade 7 Art and Culture explain that cultural diversity can serve as one of the creative economic pillars to achieve prosperity for the community. The creative economy is an economic concept that emphasizes creativity to increase the economic value of an idea, such as in the fashion industry, film, advertising, video animation, photography, crafts, etc.\(^{92}\)

The performing art of traditional music can also be used as a pillar of the creative economy, so that it can improve the welfare of the respective community.

*Art and Culture, Grade 7*, 2017, p. 159.

The development and preservation of dance can serve as a creative economy. The development of the art of dance preserves the function of dance, so that it does not harm the dance, but gives added value to the supporting community.

*Art and Culture, Grade 7*, 2017, p. 189.

Cultural heritage in the form of stories or legends can serve as one of the pillars of a creative economy so as to bring prosperity to the respective community. The image following the text suggests the inclusion of the disabled in developing cultural heritage as a creative economy pillar.


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**Interactions with Diversity**

The textbooks not only introduce diversity and its richness to students, but also teach them how to relate to diversity. The following excerpts provide examples of how students can interact with those of different religions and cultures, from the *Konferensi Berteman dalam Keragaman* (Conference of Friendship and Diversity).

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**Conference of Friendship in Diversity**

*Jakarta 14-18 October 2003*

**I. About Religious Diversity**

**We understand:**

- Religious diversity should not be used as a reason for fighting and divisions.
- Greet, smile at, and be fair to everyone even though they belong to different religions.
- Religion teaches goodness.
- Religious diversity is a gift from God because that is where we can complete, share, and help each other.

**Accordingly:**

- At home we can:
  - Share stories about religious diversity with brothers, sisters, fathers, and mothers.
  - Strengthen faith by practicing our worship in the best possible way.
  - Believe continually in the religion we believe in, and stay tolerant of other religions to maintain interfaith unity.

- At school we can:
  - It doesn't matter what religion your friends follow.
  - Don't fight just because of religion.
  - Provide opportunities for friends to pray.
  - Say hello and smile at all friends, even though they are of different religions.
  - Reconcile friends who are in conflict because of religious differences.
  - Make friends with anyone, even if they have different religious background.
II. About Cultural Diversity

We Understand:

- Indonesia has multiple diverse ethnicities and cultures.
- Every culture has its own characteristics.
- Every region has traditional weapons, traditional houses, dances, clothes, games, and food that we must appreciate and respect.
- Our knowledge of other people’s cultures is still very limited.
- We do not have a lot of knowledge on the local culture itself.

We acknowledge an existing problem

- People prefer to be proud of their own area.
- People often feel their culture is the best.
- People often feel that their local regions have advantages over others. In fact, variety is beautiful, because if all areas were the same, it would not be interesting.

Accordingly:

- **At home we can:**
  - Learn and play with friends and pen pals of all backgrounds.
  - Practice various dances, such as the Kecak, Gending Sriwijaya, Baris dance, Serimpi.
  - Learn with your father, mother, sister, or brother through radio, TV, and books.
  - Invite neighbors to play congklak (mancala), hide and seek, hopscotch, on stilts, gobak sodor, and other games.
  - Invite friends who have just moved from other areas to tell stories and play together.
  - Invite friends with disabilities to play and learn.

- **At school we can:**
  - Ask friends not to have a negative reaction to other cultures.
  - Borrow books from the library about various cultures.
  - Read regional stories and play with friends.
  - Invite friends to say hello and play with new friends.

*Events in Life, Grade 5, 2017, pp. 145 – 146*
As part of teachings on living in harmony with friends, the exercise below asks students to identify the benefits of being united with friends and the consequences of not being united with friends.

Let’s Discuss
Do you know the benefits of uniting with friends?
What are the consequences of not being united with friends?
Complete the following exercise!

I have many friends
I cannot share experiences with friends
Getting work done quickly
I can share experiences with friends
Work cannot be done quickly
I am hated by friends

Benefits of living in unity with friends
Consequences of not living in unity with friends

Explain your work to your friends.
What are the benefits of living in unity with friends?
What are the consequences of not living in unity with friends?

*Clean and Healthy Living, Grade 2*, 2017, pp. 201-202.
As citizens of a diverse Indonesia, students are encouraged to respond to the diversity around them accordingly. The excerpt below teaches students how to respect people of different religions and cultures.

Subtheme 3:
The Beauty of Unity and Integration of My Country

You already know the diversity of ethnic groups and cultures in Indonesia. How do you respond to this diversity?

Let's Read

Read the following text silently!

In Order to Remain in Harmony, Let's Adopt this Attitude

The Republic of Indonesia has a diversity of customs, cultures, and religions. The customs and culture of each region are unique, and different from other regions. There are various religions followed by the population. With these differences, how can we maintain the unity of the nation? Now, to maintain the unity of the nation and to keep it in harmony, let's adopt these attitudes.

One of the attitudes that must be adopted is tolerance and mutual respect in worship. How is it embodied? One of its manifestations is that we should not insult friends of different religions.

Figure 3.1 Religious diversity in Indonesia.
Also, when our friends are worshiping, we must not disturb them.

Another attitude that must be adopted is to respect the cultures of the various regions in Indonesia. Our country is rich in various regional cultures. We can be proud of our own local culture. However, we must also respect and participate in preserving the culture of other regions.

So, in order to maintain the unity and integration of the Republic of Indonesia, what is our attitude? We must value, respect, and love other people even if they have different religions, ethnicities, and cultures. These are the attitudes we should always instill in ourselves.


A key example of respecting different religions was demonstrated by the nation’s founding fathers. They decided to pause a meeting held during Ramadan, in order to allow the Muslims to pray, and for those who did not fast to eat lunch.

The meeting was continued by discussing chapter by chapter, article by article. This discussion was also quite productive, and went smoothly. At that time, it was already 13.50. The meeting was stopped for a break until 15.00 to provide prayer time for Muslims, and a lunch break for those who were not fasting.


The following section introduces the theme of tolerance to Grade 4 students, and how to practice it amid religious, ethnic, racial, and socio-cultural differences. In addition, the text provides lists of practical behaviors students can implement in their daily lives.
Let's Read

Tolerance of Diversity

Tolerance comes from the Latin word *tolerare*, which means patiently letting something go. Tolerance can be interpreted as an open behavior that respects all differences that exist among fellow human beings. Tolerance means being patient, showing restraint, and appreciating and being generous with people who have different opinions. The following is a form of tolerance toward ethnic, cultural, religious, racial, and gender diversity:

1. Tolerance in Religious Diversity

Freedom of religion is guaranteed in the Constitution of the State of the Republic of Indonesia of 1945, in particular Article 29 paragraph (2) which reads: “The State guarantees the independence of every citizen to embrace their own religion, and to worship according to their religion and belief.” With the guarantee of religious freedom, all Indonesian citizens should develop an attitude of tolerance among religious believers. The attitude of tolerance among religious believers can be shown through the following forms of action:

a. Do not insult the religion that other people believe in.

b. Do not impose religion on others.

c. Respect the religion that other people believe in.

d. Worship properly according to the teachings of your religion.

e. Respect and cooperation among religious people.

f. Give followers of other religions the chance to worship.

g. Maintaining inter-religious harmony, intra-religious harmony, as well as between religious communities and the government.”
2. Tolerance of Ethnic and Racial Diversity

Indonesia consists of various ethnic groups and races. Each ethnic group has characteristics that distinguish it from other ethnic groups. An ethnic characteristic that is based on physical characteristics is called race. Consequently, every ethnicity has its own race. It results in race diversity.

We must respect and tolerate diversity. Why? It is because various ethnicities and races in Indonesia are basically one nation, Indonesia. Tolerance of ethnicities and races is expected in order to establish national unity and integrity, and strengthen the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

We can show tolerance for ethnic and racial diversities through a good attitude and behavior toward anyone, regardless of ethnicity and race. Besides, we value and respect the dignity of every human being by developing the spirit of brotherhood, and upholding human values. In our daily interactions, we must accept other countries' ethnicities and races.

Figure 3.23, Getting together with friends despite ethnic differences

3. Tolerance in Socio-Cultural Diversity

Indonesia consists of various regions. Each area is inhabited by Indonesian people who have their own social and cultural life. Therefore, in Indonesia there is socio-cultural diversity. Socio-cultural diversity is an invaluable richness of the Indonesian people, and has been inherited by our ancestors from ancient times.

We, as the nation's next generation, should always respect, preserve, and develop various forms of Indonesian social and cultural heritage. How? Of course, by being tolerant in order to maintain socio-cultural diversity in the form of actions such as the following:
Figure 3.24, Regional dances as a form of pride

a. Be proud of the local culture.

b. Be selective when adopting foreign cultures that enter Indonesia.

c. Get to know and always look for information on the cultural diversity of Indonesia.

d. Respect other groups who practice their social customs.

e. Appreciate the cultural products of other ethnic groups.

f. Study and master the nation’s cultural arts, according to their interests.

g. Preserve and develop various types of traditional arts such as dance, music, and performing arts.

*The Beauty of Diversity in My Country, Grade 4, 2017, pp. 121-123.*

**Gender Diversity**

Gender equality is discussed in some textbooks, including religious education. In other subjects, equality between men and women is presented in more indirect ways, such as explaining that women can do traditionally male work, and vice versa. Some pictures also depict men doing traditionally female work, such as sweeping the floor, doing household chores, etc.

Most materials adopt binary gender roles and sexual orientations, with the exception of Hindu education and Character Education Grade 1, which state that Hinduism accepts a third gender – effeminate individuals. There is no specific discussion on gender and sexual orientation, except for a story in the Qur’an about the city of Sodom, whose inhabitants were punished by God due to their engagement in homosexual acts; and a discussion on how Muslim students view transgender individuals. In Indonesia, many people view LGBT individuals negatively, resulting in a lack of acceptance of the community. In addition, most textbooks promote the concept of a traditional
family unit consisting of a father, a mother, and a child or several children. There is no reference to single-parent or same-sex families.

Women are viewed as more accountable for something negative happening to them and for educating children, especially in passing down local languages. An example is a passage about hymen in the Natural Science book grade 9. The passage holds women accountable to take care of their hymen by avoiding dangerous activities, including disgraceful acts that are against the norms, without any further explanation that hymen can be torn because of various other reasons. Another example is the passing down of a local language. It is said to be the responsibility of parents, but mothers are more responsible for not teaching it to the children without further explanation.

The lesson below discusses the creation of Adam and Eve and the example of Jesus’s fair treatment of a woman who committed adultery, to highlight the importance of gender equality.
With regards gender equality, the Bible also teaches us that men and women are equal in the eyes of God. The story of creation in Genesis 2:18 states, “The Lord God said, ‘It is not good for man to be alone. I will make a helper for him, proportional to him.’” This story describes how God decided to create Eve. God saw that Adam was unhappy living alone. Even the animals that God created did not make him happy. He needs a proportional helper. Proportional means equal. If Eve turned out to be weaker than Adam, there would be no way she could be a proportional helper. Eve certainly had various skills and abilities that Adam did not have, so that she could really be a proportional partner for Adam.

The Lord Jesus Himself treated men and women equally. When Mary sat down at His feet to listen to His teaching, and Martha protested that Mary did not help her in the kitchen, the Lord Jesus said, “Mary has chosen the best part, which will not be taken from her” (Luke 10:42). Jesus did not forbid women from listening to and learning about the Lord’s word – something that was very taboo for women at that time. In John 8:1-11 the Jews brought a woman caught in the act of adultery to Jesus. In Jewish culture, if a woman commits adultery, she must be stoned, but the man is not punished. Jesus did not punish the woman not because her actions were justified, but because the punishment was unfair to women. In adultery, the man and woman who commit it should be punished equally. This injustice can be called gender discrimination.

Unfortunately, gender discrimination still persists, even among churches today. There are still women who cannot be leaders in the church – whether as elders, deacons, or pastors. In fact, their abilities are no less than that of men. A number of churches in Indonesia have had women as their leaders, such as synod chairperson, deputy chairperson, or secretary, and other important positions in church synods.

*Christianity and Character Education, Grade 10*, 2016, pp. 141–42.

The Grade 9 Christianity and Character Education book explores female leadership in the Church. The text explains that even though many churches have accepted female leaders, some churches argue that women cannot lead churches, using verses from the Bible to justify their views.
1. Women Leadership

Many churches now recognize women as their leaders. Recently, the Anglican Church in England took the decision to allow women to become bishops. However, there are still churches that have not been able to accept women as their pastors. To support the claim that women are unfit to be church leaders, some Christian leaders have tried to find theological reasons. Some say women should not be pastors because Jesus only called men to be His disciples. As leaders of worship, pastors stand as representatives of Jesus. Because Jesus was a man, only men were the most appropriate to stand as representatives of Jesus in the service. Others quote Paul’s words in 1 Corinthians 14:34:

As in all the congregations of the saints, women should remain silent in the churches. They are not allowed to speak, but must be in submission, as the Law says,

Another verse that is also often used to reject women as priests is 1 Timothy 2:11–12: “A woman should learn in quietness and full submission. I do not permit a woman to teach or to assume authority over a man; she must be quiet.”

*Christianity and Character Education, Grade 9, 2017 Page 85.*

Christianity’s openness toward women is also discussed in the Grade 10 Christianity and Character Education book. In addition to the acceptance of female leadership in churches, the following example presents several biblical verses which demonstrate women’s role in spreading the Gospel.
2. Openness to Women

The openness that occurred in the church was not limited to the presence of other nations. We also see the presence of women in activities and even in church leadership, even though so far women have had absolutely no role in worshiping activities in Jewish houses of worship.

In Acts 16 vv. 14-15 and 40, we find the name of a woman who played a major role in Paul’s ministry, namely Lydia. Try reading both parts of the Bible! What can you find there?

Figure 5.4. Archaeological findings of the mosaics at St. Praxedes, Rome. This mosaic shows the leadership of women in the early church. On the far left is Theodora, with a saint’s mark above her rectangular head, indicating that she was still alive when this mosaic was made.

The role of women is not only seen in this short story about Lydia. In 1 Corinthians 18 we also find another female character, namely Priscilla, wife of Aquila. Aquila and Priscilla seem to be active missionaries because in Acts 18:26, it is said that together they explained God’s word to Apollos, who later became one of the most important apostles (see 1 Cor. 3:1; 4-6).

*Christianity and Character Education, Grade 10*, 2016, p. 60.
Following an explanation on how the Church and the Bible recognize women’s roles in spreading the Gospel, students are asked to reflect on the practice of treating men and women equally at their churches, especially in relation to female leadership. In this way, students can directly engage with the issue of women leadership in their churches.

What about the current situation? Are there still churches that do not recognize women as church leaders, elders or pastors? If so, what’s the reason? If your church has accepted women as leaders, think further – how many women are leaders in your church? Are their numbers equal to the number of male leaders? If not the same, why?

*Christianity and Character Education, Grade 10, 2016, p. 61.*

The following lesson explains the shared responsibility of men and women in a family, and that there are no traditionally ‘male’ or ‘female’ jobs.
2. Home as a Comfortable Place

In addition to material and spiritual needs, of course we also need a comfortable, pleasant, and warm home atmosphere. This is not only a mother’s job, but is the responsibility of all family members, both male and female. Currently, there have been rapid social changes. Many women and mothers have dual roles, namely taking care of household problems (domestic) and working to earn a living outside the home (public sphere). If women have made a breakthrough into the public sphere, then it is time for sons and husbands to also be able to carry out tasks in the domestic field. Thus, a balance will be achieved, no one has a “double burden,” and no more jobs are labelled as “men’s work” and “women’s work.” We all need to change, because of the rapid developments in social and cultural fields. Each person in the family can create a home atmosphere that is comfortable and pleasant.

*Christianity and Character Education, Grade 11, Semester 1, 2017, pp. 110–111.*

Surprisingly, in the first grade, Hindu students are introduced to a third type of sexuality – effeminate individuals.

This text describes three types of humans, based on sex and character traits. Those are *purusa* (men with masculine character traits), *pradana* (women with feminine character traits), and effeminate individuals (men having feminine character traits, or women having masculine character traits). This description shows the students that Hinduism acknowledges feminine men or masculine women.

The following are types of people based on gender and character traits:

1. *Purusa* is a man with masculine character traits.
2. *Pradana* is a woman with feminine character traits.
3. An effeminate individual is a man with feminine character traits, or vice versa.

*Hinduism and Character Education, Grade 1, 2017, p. 23.*

The following example states that “[...] the position of husband and wife, must be balanced and equal [...]”, confirming Hinduism’s recognition of equality between men and women, including in the household.
Marriage, or wiwaha, is not good if it is forced, under the influence of others, or under other kinds of coercion. This idea needs to be understood and guided, to avoid tension after undergoing the Grehasta Asrama. The success that can lead to wiwaha, or marriage, is due to the nature and qualities of mutual love, mutual trust, mutual awareness, cooperation, complementing each other, working hand in hand, and other qualities in every household activity. The formation of a happy and eternal family must be accompanied by the balance between rights and duties, as well as the position of husband and wife, and these rights and duties must be balanced and equal, even though the swadharma is different in carrying out duties and obligations.

[Figure 5.1 Wiwaha]


The following activity, which asks students to choose from one of two genders, suggests that Catholicism adopts a binary system of gender and sexuality.

Let’s color
Color in the picture, write down the title and prayer. Choose an image that suits you: boy or girl.

Catholicism and Character Education, Grade 3, 2018, p. 18.

The following example quotes from the Catechism of the Catholic Church, explaining that the Church views men and women as equal.
3. The View of Church on the Equality of Women and Men

The Church pays considerable attention to the struggle for gender equality between women and men. The Church’s struggle is based on the Church’s own views, as revealed in the following Catechism of the Catholic Church.

Article 369

Man and woman have been created, which is to say, willed by God: on the one hand, in perfect equality as human beings; on the other, in their respective beings as man and woman. “Being man” or “being woman” is a reality which is good and willed by God: man and woman possess an inalienable dignity which comes to them immediately from God their Creator. Man and woman are both with one and the same dignity “in the image of God.” In their “being-man” and “being-woman,” they reflect the Creator’s wisdom and goodness.

Article 371

God created man and woman together and willed each for the other. The Word of God allows us to understand this through various features of the sacred text. “It is not good that the man should be alone. I will make him a helper fit for him,” (Genesis 2:18). None of the animals can be man’s partner (Genesis 2:19-20). The woman that God “fashions” from the man’s rib and brings to him elicits on the man’s part a cry of wonder, an exclamation of love and communion: “This at last is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh,” (Genesis 2:23). Man discovers woman as another “I,” sharing the same humanity.

Article 372

Man and woman were made “for each other” - not that God left them half-made and incomplete: he created them to be a communion of persons, in which each can be “helpmate” to the other, for they are equal as people (“bone of my bones. . .”) and complementary as masculine and feminine. In marriage God unites them in such a way that, by forming “one flesh,” (Genesis 2:24) they can transmit human life: “Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth,” (Genesis 1:28). By transmitting human life to their descendants, man and woman as spouses and parents cooperate in a unique way in the Creator’s work.

Catholicism and Character Education, Grade 7, 2016, pp. 49–50.
The excerpt below discusses the life of Guanyin Niangniang, a woman who fought for human rights in Zhou dynasty China, echoing the Confucianism recognition of the role of women in religion—“A religion cannot be great if it does not have female figures.”

Guanyin Niangniang lived in seven BC (11th century BC), the third daughter of King Chu Zhuangwang in the Zhou dynasty. Guanyin Niangniang was already a Shen Ming in the temple that the Prophet Kongzi built. Prophet Kongzi expressed his opinion in the Yijing: “A religion cannot be great if it does not have female figures.”

Guanyin Niangniang cared deeply for her people, especially those whose lives were suffering, including those imprisoned for breaking the law. Although Guanyin Niangniang is a woman, she felt she had a duty to make her people happy, including those in prison. She paid attention to the prison’s cleanliness and the food given to the prisoners.

In today’s era, Guanyin Niangniang would be called a defender of human rights. Note: One of the ten Zhou dynasty intellectuals is a woman.

*Confucianism and Character Education, Grade 10*, 2016, p. 131.
Students are taught about how Buddhism supports gender equality. The words and actions of the Buddha are mentioned as concrete examples of his support in venerating woman, and in considering them as equal, or even superior to, men.

The Status of Women in Buddhism

In Buddhism, equality, or “non-difference,” exists between a boy and a girl. The women's movement is a movement against gender inequality. The Buddha laid a solid foundation nearly 2600 years ago about it. Buddhism acknowledges male and female genders. But in the attainment of liberation, the Buddha did not discriminate between the sexes.

“Some women are really better (than men). According to him, O the King of men. There are women who are wise, pious, treat their mother-in-law as a goddess, and live a holy life. By these noble wives, a valiant son will be born, a king of the world, who will rule the kingdom.”

The Buddha also said that some women could be better than men. These are the original words that Buddha had spoken. Not only that, but the Buddha also often used the term “Matugama,” which means ‘Mother of the People,’ or ‘Association of Mothers.’ This illustrates how significant a woman’s role is. Likewise, the Buddha also opened the door for women to attain purity. He accepted his aunt, Prajapati Gotami, as his stepmother who entered the life of the Sangha. Finally, Prajapati Gotami was able to establish the Bhikkuni Sangha.

_Buddhism and Character Education, Grade 9_, 2018, p. 63.
In the following lesson, Grade 2 students learn that boys and girls, and men and women, have equal opportunities, and that they can mix with one another. The lesson also states that treating female and male friends equally, and not discriminating against others based on gender, is the implementation of the second principle of Pancasila.

Take a look at this picture!

Beni gives girls the same opportunity. Beni is grateful to have friends, including his female friends.

Let’s tell a story
Share your experience!
An experience in school that is applicable to the second verse of Pancasila!

I’m really happy to have friends. All my friends are nice. My friends and I are the same. I also don’t differentiate between the girls. When we’re playing, I invite them. Girls have the same opportunity as boys.

*My Experience, Grade II*, 2017, pp. 102-103
The following lesson for Grade 5 students presents an explanation of the Kongres Perempuan Indonesia (Indonesian Women’s Congress), teaching students about women’s involvement in politics and women’s contribution to the law, their welfare, and Indonesia’s development.

Indonesian Women’s Congress

The Indonesian Women’s Congress took place three times. On the date of August 22, 1928 in Yogyakarta, the first Indonesian Women’s Congress was held. This congress was attended by representatives of various women’s organizations in Indonesia including Mrs. Sukamto, Mrs. Ki Hajar Dewantara, and Miss Suyatin. The Congress resulted in the development of the Indonesian Women’s Union (PPI). The Congress also succeeded in formulating the goal of unifying a vision and a program for advancing Indonesian women, and unifying and creating a network of women’s groups. On December 28–31, 1929, the PPI held a congress in Jakarta, and changed the name of PPI to PPII (Association of Indonesian Wives).

On 20–24 July, 1935, the Second Indonesian Women's Congress was held in Jakarta, led by Mrs. Sri Mangunsarkoro. The Congress discussed the issue of women’s labor, eradication of illiteracy, and marriage.

The Third Women’s Congress took place in Bandung on 23–28 July, 1938, led by Mrs. Emma Puradireja, talking about voting rights and women being elected to representative bodies. At the Congress, a bill on modern marriage, arranged by Mrs. Maria Ulfah, was approved, and it was agreed that PPI’s date of establishment was December 22, commemorated as Mother's Day.

_Events in Life, Grade 5_, 2017, p. 70.
Another example of women’s contribution to Indonesia is presented in the lesson below, on women’s organizations in Indonesia in the early 20th century. Those organizations contributed to the education of Indonesian women and girls, and to gender equality.

Putri Mardika, the first women’s organization, was officially established in 1912 in Jakarta. The organization aimed to help Indonesian girls access education, encourage them to voice their opinions in public, and improve women’s image so they would be treated like equal human beings. The organization had various programs, especially granting educational scholarships to promote education, and publishing women’s magazines called Putri Mardika. The members of Putri Mardika’s management board included Sabaruddin, R. A. Sutinah, Joyo Pranoto, Rr. Rukmini, and Sadikun Tondokusumo. Meanwhile, Mrs. C. Th. Van Deventer, an Ethical Policy advisor, founded Kartini Fonds. Founded in 1912, its goal was to establish Kartini School. […]

The women’s organizations developing across multiple locations in Indonesia later held the first Indonesian Women’s Congress on December 22-25, 1928, in Pendopo Joyodipuro, led by Mrs. R. A. Sukanto. The congress was initiated by Mrs. Sukoto, Nyi Hajar Dewantara, and Ms. Suyatin. The congress aimed to create and maintain a sense of unity among the women’s organizations, and to empower women. As many as 30 women’s organizations attended the first Indonesian Women’s Congress. The congress was an important part of unifying the Indonesian women’s movement. Thus, December 22 is commemorated as Mother’s Day in Indonesia, to celebrate the history of the Women’s Congress.

Students learn that women also contributed to Indonesia’s struggle against colonization, and fight for independence. The passage illustrates this by featuring prominent female figures such as Dewi Sartika, Maria Walanda Maramis, Rohana Kudus, as well as the Aisiyah women’s organization, and the Aisiyah, the second-largest Muslim organization in Indonesia.

**Insight**

**The Struggle of Women Heroes**

Dewi Sartika established a school in Bandung, West Java. Maria Walanda Maramis established a school in Gorontalo, Sulawesi. Amid a national independence movement, women played an active role in supporting the nation’s unity. They actively struggled for Indonesian independence.

In 1912, Putri Mahardika was established in Jakarta. The activities included education, and publication. In 1914, Rohana Kudus established Kerajinan Amai Setia (Amai Setia Handicraft) in Gadang, Bukittinggi, West Sumatra. Rohana played active roles in developing schools for the women.

In 1917, Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta established Aisyah. Aisyah is the first Muhammadiyah women’s organization led by Siti Wardah, the wife of the Muhammadiyah founder, KH Ahmad Dahlan. Aisyah activities include da’wah (the act of inviting or calling people to embrace Islam), education, health, and culture.

Women’s organizations have nationalist spirit. From 22 to 25 December, 1928, a Women’s Congress was held in Yogyakarta. Seven women’s organizations joined the congress. They responded to the Youth Pledge proclaimed on October 28, 1928. The congress was led by RA Sukanto, and succeeded in establishing the Indonesian Women’s Association (PPPI).

*Social Science, Grade 8, 2017, p. 237.*
A Grade 2 textbook promotes gender equality by showing both male and female students taking care of plants, demonstrating that gardening – sometimes perceived as a stereotypically feminine activity – is not exclusive to women.

_Caring for Animals and Plants, Grade 2, _ 2017, pp. 106, 155, 175.

Similarly, a first grade textbook on the environment depicts both men and women working together to complete household chores. The example states that “Mother is sweeping the floor. Father is pruning the plants and sweeping the yard,” reflecting the shared responsibilities between a mother and a father in keeping the home environment clean. The text and illustration describe a family as being comprised of a father, a mother, and a child.
Working together to clean the house

Mother and father are cleaning the house. Mother is sweeping the floor. Father is pruning the plants and sweeping the yard. Dayu wants to help father and mother. Dayu wants to clean the windows. However, Dayu does not know how to clean the windows. Mother gives instructions on how to do it.

Ibu: Dayu, first dampen a cloth with water. Then, rub the window panes with the cloth. After that, dry the glass with newspaper.

Dayu: Ok, Mom.

The glass becomes clean and shiny. They work happily. They want their house clean and hygienic.

*Clean, Beautiful, and Healthy Environment, Grade 1*, 2017, p. 2.

Another example of how all family members share household chores, regardless of gender, is presented in a first grade textbook. The image shows the father sweeping the floor, and the son, Udin, cleaning the window.

Let’s Tell

Take a look at the image above.

Explain it in front of your friends.

Udin and his family were cleaning the house. Udin, his sister, and father were happy to help the mother.

Are you happy to help your mother at home?
Are you happy to help your father at home?
What chores do you do?

*My Family, Grade 1*, 2017, p. 79
Furthermore, a poster designed to encourage students to clean the house displays the image of a boy holding cleaning equipment. This example suggests that boys share the responsibility of cleaning the house, subverting traditional gender roles.

Come on! Clean Up Your Home
Clean House
Good Health
Happy Parents


A passage from a Grade 4 textbook presents a female student, Ida, as an example of someone possessing the qualities of an ideal leader. It suggests that women can be good leaders, and that leaders are not always men.
Ideal Leader, Honest Leader
Ida sits next to me at school. She is petite, has tanned skin, quiet, and smart. She is a modest girl. Her father died long ago. She lives with her mother and younger sibling.

Ida is very bright. Thanks to her consistently good scores, she can continue her education for free. The school provides her with all her textbooks and other educational materials. Ida is never embarrassed about her family circumstances. They even motivate her to study harder, and accomplish more.

Ida’s friends always ask her if they have problems understanding some lessons. Her classmates have chosen Ida as the class prefect. She has what it takes for this position; she is smart, coolheaded, a good communicator, and can keep her class under control.

Various Jobs, Grade 4, 2017, p. 28.

The image below features both boys and girls with differences in physical attributes and clothing, playing soccer together. This demonstrates that soccer is not a sport associated with only one gender – rather, anyone can play soccer.

Let’s Observe
The dry season has arrived.
In the morning, the sun shines brightly.
Siti, Dayu, and Lani play in the park.
The park is near the house.
In the park, many friends have been waiting.
Edo, Udin, and Beni are there.
They play together.

Natural Events, Grade 1, 2017, p. 59.
Similarly, the below example demonstrates this subversion of gender roles. A first-grade textbook presents a group of children doing a traditional dance with a scarf, including children of both genders. This suggests that boys are allowed to do traditional dances with graceful movements.

Let’s Dance

Let’s imitate bird movements.
Dance to the rhythm.
Spread your arms like a bird’s wings.
Swing up and down.
Spin around in a circle.
Shake your head, then nod.
Like a bird looking for food.

_Natural Events, Grade 1_, 2017, p. 86.

The Grade 9 Pancasila and Civics Education textbook highlights that Indonesia’s state policies also target the increased participation of women in domains such as education, economics, and politics.
Development policies that will be carried out in the next five years are directed at:
increasing the involvement of women in the political process and public office; improving
the level of education and health services, and other developmental fields to enhance the
quality of women’s life; perfecting legal instruments to protect each individual from
various acts of violence, exploitation, and discrimination.

In addition, the government’s program in empowering women to improve the quality of
life, role and position of women in various areas of life and development, as well as
increasing protection for women against various forms of violence, exploitation, and
discrimination. The main activities carried out are as follows.

Pancasila and Civics Education, Grade 9, 2018, pp. 140-141.

A Natural Sciences lesson teaches women about the hymen following a previous educational
segment on the vagina, stating that “The primary purpose of the hymen’s creation is for women to
take care not to do dangerous activities, especially disgraceful acts that violate social and
religious norms.” The sentence emphasizes the importance of women avoiding dangerous
activities to prevent their hymen from breaking; in the previous section on the vagina, there is no
additional information on how the hymen can be torn because of other causes beyond the women’s
control, such as abuse, or that some women may be born without one. It is worth noting that, in
Indonesia, premarital sex is considered sinful and is seen by many as violating societal norms. A
broken hymen is closely associated with losing one’s virginity, and women who lose their virginity
are viewed negatively regardless of the cause.
Did you know?

Did you know that the hymen is a thin tissue that consists of blood vessels? The hymen can be torn because of dangerous activities. Therefore, women, you need to be careful not to break the hymen by avoiding dangerous activities.

You may be asking why The Almighty God bestows a hymen unto women. The Almighty God does not bestow a hymen unto women without any purpose. The primary purpose of the hymen’s creation is for women to take care not to do dangerous activities, especially disgraceful acts that violate social and religious norms. *Natural Science, Grade 9*, 2018, p. 19.

A passage which addresses concerns over the extinction of the Sundanese language due to a declining number of speakers blames parents, but places greater blame on mothers for not teaching their children Sundanese, without any further explanation.
The Importance of Preserving Mother Language

1. A global term for one’s first language is mother tongue, or mother language. UNESCO and people around the globe celebrate every 21st of February as International Mother Language Day. Every country has a mother language. That means a language which every person has been taught from his/her mother in early childhood. For example, the mother tongue of Sundanese people is Sundanese, and of Batak people is Batak. Another example is people from Padang, Papua, Aceh, Javanese, Buginese, Betawi, Cirebon, etc. who have their own mother languages. Each country around the globe has its own mother language.

4. Who to blame? Certainly we blame parents, especially mothers, who do not teach Sundanese to their children. Language is national identity. Let us say that we are Sundanese, but we do not speak Sundanese. Many young Sundanese feel ashamed and do not feel confident speaking Sundanese. This kind of feeling is actually the mindset of their parents, as they consider Sundanese not important to teach and they fear their children, if speaking in local language, will be stereotyped as old-fashioned by their friends and neighbors. This kind of mindset is ingrained within Sundanese society and leads to a decline in its native speakers.

5. Parents are considered as lacking in self-confidence when they do not want to teach children Sundanese and feel ashamed of teaching it. When they have low self-esteem and feel inferiority toward other people by speaking Sundanese, they will degrade their true identities. However, when we have many capabilities and acknowledge who we really are, people will respect us. Even when we speak Sundanese, we have abilities in many fields.

6. If you want to be respected by others, you should show your true identity, not to hide it, but to reveal it while improving your personal competencies. Do not be afraid if someone underestimates you when speaking Sundanese. Our mother tongue is our true identity. Parents, especially mothers, should teach their children Sundanese to preserve our cultural identity.

Sundanese Language, Grade 8, 2014, pp. 103-104.
Communism and Indonesia

Communist ideology experienced a rise and fall in popularity in Indonesia, before being banned by the New Order regime (1966–1988). After the 1948 Madiun rebellion, which sparked conflict and hostility between the Indonesian Communist Party and Muslims due to religious harassment, the influence of Communism was weakened. However, following the great success of a Communist party in 1955, ranking fourth in the general election, Communist ideology began to develop. Moreover, Communism was also once accused of strongly influencing Sukarno’s ideology, articulated in Political Manifesto: 1945 Constitution, Indonesian Socialism, Guided Democracy, Guided Economy, and Indonesian Personality and Nationalism, Religion, and Communism, an ideology promoted during the Old Order.

The following text describes how the Indonesian Communist Party was recognized as one of the organizations contributing to the struggle against Dutch colonialism. However, as a result of the Party’s underdeveloped plan, their confrontation with the Dutch colonialists was less successful, and was said to make “the Dutch put more pressure on Indonesian activists.”

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94 Manipol Usdek/Ma--nifesto Politik: UUD 1945, Sosialisme Indonesia, Demokrasi Terpimpin, E--konomi Terpimpin, dan Kepribadian Indonesia.
95 Nasakom/Nasionalisme, Agama, dan Komunisme.
**Insight**

During the national awakening, a prominent organization, the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), emerged. The forerunner of the PKI was the Indische Sociaal-Democratische Vereeniging (ISDV), which was founded by Henk Sneevelt (a Dutch man) in 1914 in Semarang. The Indonesian Communist Party was founded on May 23, 1920, chaired by Semaun. The PKI carried out its first confrontation with forces in 1926. The 1926 confrontation was less developed, causing some of the prominent figures to be arrested and exiled abroad. This confrontation also harmed other national movements. As a result of this confrontation, the Dutch put more pressure on Indonesian activists.

*Social Science, Grade 8*, 2017, pp. 246.

An example of a famous Indonesian film director, which describes a film he directed on the “treason” of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) as “controversial,” highlights the differing opinions on the accusation that the Party was behind an attempted coup on September 30, 1965. As a result of the coup attempt, the Indonesian Communist Party was banned, and was blamed for the murder of six Indonesian army generals.

**Getting to Know a Theater Figure**

Arifin C. Noer, known by his abbreviated name Arifin C. Noer, was the leading and most well-paid Indonesian theater and film director of his time. The director, who was born in Cirebon on March 10, 1941, won the Citra Award several times for Best Film and Best Screenwriter. Arifin died in Jakarta on May 28, 1995. Arifin was very famous through the controversial film he directed: *Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI [The Treason of the Indonesian Communist Party on September 30, 1965]* (1984). The film was required to be screened on all TV stations every year on September 30 by the government of the Second President of the Republic of Indonesia 1966-1988), to commemorate Gerakan 30 September 1965 [the September 30th, 1965 Movement].

*Art and Culture, Grade 7*, 2017, p. 114.
This Grade 12 history textbook discusses the coup in an unbiased, more neutral tone by presenting the views of seven individuals on who they believe was behind the attempted coup. This is despite the long-held belief – since the release of the *Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI – Treason of Indonesian Communist Party on September 30, 1965* film – that the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) was behind the coup, and the killing of army generals.

![Table of views](image)

1) Gerakan 30 September merupakan Persoalan Internal Angkatan Darat (AD).
2) Dalang Gerakan 30 September adalah Dinas Intelijen Amerika Serikat (CIA).
3) Gerakan 30 September merupakan Pertemuan antara Kepentingan Inggris-AS.
4) Soekarno adalah Dalang Gerakan 30 September.
5) Tidak ada Pemeran Tunggal dan Skenario Besar dalam Peristiwa Gerakan 30 September (Teori Chaos).
6) Soeharto sebagai Dalang Gerakan 30 September
7) Dalang Gerakan 30 September adalah PKI

c) 30 September 1965 Movement (G30S/PKI – Communist Party Indonesia)
It is a controversial movement. The controversy mainly relates to the question of “Who was the mastermind behind the 30 September Movement?”
There are at least seven theories of the G30 coup in 1965:

1) The 30 September Movement was an internal problem in the army.
2) The mastermind behind the 30 September Movement was the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).
3) The 30 September Movement was a mixture of Britain – US Interests.
4) Sukarno was the mastermind behind the September 30 Movement.
5) There was no single mastermind of the ‘Big Scenario’ of the 30 September Movement (Chaos Theory).
6) Suharto was the mastermind behind the 30 September Movement.
7) The Mastermind behind the 30 September Movement was PKI [Indonesian Communist Party].


Students are taught an example of religious harassment committed by the PKI (Indonesian Communist Party), communist rebels, which resulted in conflict and hostility between Muslims and the PKI.
Meanwhile, in Mantingan, the PKI tried to forcibly take over 160 hectares of *waqf* land at Pondok Modern Gontor (Ambarwulan and Kasdi in Taufik Abdullah, ed., 2012: 139). This act, of course, further angered the Muslim community. Moreover, four months earlier, the Kanigoro Kediri incident happened, when the BTI created chaos that made participants of the Indonesian Islamic Student Training afraid, and entered their place of worship at dawn, without taking off their shoes covered in mud, and then desecrated the Qur’an.

*Indonesian History, Grade 12, 2018, p. 21.*

**Indonesians of Chinese Descent**

Even though since the era of politician and religious leader Abdurrahman Wahid, Indonesians of Chinese descent have regained their minority rights, there remains a stigma with regards this minority group. Dutch colonization saw a deterioration in the harmonious relations between native inhabitants of Indonesia, and those coming from China. This animosity can be traced back to the *Wijkenstelsel & Passenstelsel* policy, a centralization and passport system implemented against the Chinese community in Indonesia. During the Old and New Order eras, some policies prevented Indonesians of Chinese descent from enjoying their rights, and caused them to stay within their communities.

At present, Indonesians of Chinese descent exercise their rights freely, and openly. They are present in politics, and in other sectors they were once prohibited to enter. That said, anti-Chinese sentiment is still quite pronounced, such as during the Jakarta governor’s election in 2017. This is fueled by the view that being anti-Communist is being anti-China, which impacts Chinese Indonesians; hate speech against Chinese Indonesians relating to the Coronavirus’s Chinese origins; and human rights violations against Uyghur Muslims in China. Despite these growing negative sentiments, some materials present Indonesians of Chinese descent as an inseparable part of Indonesia, by pointing out that they have equal rights with other ethnicities in Indonesia, and that they also contribute to Indonesia’s cultural development.

The following lesson emphasizes the contribution of Abdurrahman Wahid to restoring Chinese minority rights, and promoting religious inclusivity. From this, students learn that Indonesians of Chinese descent are part of Indonesian society, and their rights must be upheld.
Another achievement of Abdurrahman Wahid’s governance is the restoration of the right of the ethnic Chinese minority to practice their Confucianist beliefs, through the Presidential Decree no. 6 of 2000 on the restoration of civil rights of adherents to Confucianism.

During his governance, President Abdurrahman Wahid tried to reduce state interference in the lives of religious people. However, on the other hand, he actually adopted an attitude that was contrary to his political supporters, especially in the case of Communism and the issue of Israel. President Abdurrahman Wahid’s attitude, which tends to support pluralism in society, including in religious life and the rights of minority groups, was one of the starting points for the rise of various actions against his policies and ideas. In the case of Communism, President Abdurrahman Wahid raised a controversial idea, revoking the Tap. MPRS No. XXV of 1966 regulation regarding the prohibition of the Indonesian Communist Party, and the spread of Marxism and Leninism. The idea was challenged by Islamic communities, including the Indonesian Ulema Council and figures from mass organizations and Islamic political parties. These reactions discouraged President Abdurrahman Wahid from bringing his plans and ideas to the MPR Annual Session in 2000.

*Indonesian History, Grade 12, 2018, pp. 164-165.*

The following extract from a Grade 7 Art and Culture textbook presents a prominent Indonesian dancer of Chinese descent, Didik Nini Thowok. It demonstrates a love of Indonesian traditional dance, and the contribution of Chinese Indonesians to Indonesian dance. As the text explains that Didik’s parents are of different ethnicities (Chinese and Javanese), it helps students to understand that different cultures can marry and coexist in peace. Meeting people of different ethnicities is not an issue, and not something to be avoided. The second and fifth paragraphs reveal how a boy and a man can do skills traditionally perceived as ‘feminine,’ without negative judgment from society, and even Didik’s family and friends are shown to be supportive of what he did.
Getting to Know a Dancer

Didik Nini Thowok was born as Kwee Tjoen Lian. Because he was often sick, his parents changed his name to Kwee Tjoen An. Didik’s father, Kwee Yoe Tiang, was of Chinese descent who was “stranded” in Temanggung, while his mother, Suminah, was a native Javane from Citayem Village, Cilacap. Didik is the eldest of five children (he has four younger sisters). After G30S/PKI [the September 30th Movement], Chinese descendants were required to change their Chinese names to indigenous names, so Kwee Tjoen An changed to Didik Hadiprayitno.

Didik’s life as a child was not easy. His father ran a cow and goat skin business. His mother owned a small shop in Pasar Kayu [a traditional market]. His grandparents lived with Didik’s family. They lived from hand to mouth. As the first child and grandchild, Didik was always spoiled by his family. Didik was not naughty as most boys his age. He tended to be like a girl and liked girl’s games, such as playing make-believe, including selling and buying things, being a mother, and cooking. When he was a child, his grandmother taught him traditional women’s skills such as sewing, embroidering, and crocheting.

Didik first choreographed a dance in mid-1971. The dance was entitled “Tari Persembahan” [the offering dance], which was a combination of Balinese and Javanese dance moves. Didik first performed as a woman dancer, wearing a kebaya [traditional Javanese outfit for a woman] with hair bun, at a high school graduation
ceremony in 1972. At that time, Didik presented his own dance gracefully. Didik then continued to develop his dancing skills by learning everywhere. Didik learned Balinese dancing directly from the maestro, I Gusti Gde Raka, in Gianyar. He also learned Sundanese dancing from Endo Suanda and the Palimanan style of Tari Topeng Cirebon [Cirebon Mask Dance] from a great figure of Topeng Cirebon [Cirebon Mask], Mrs. Suji. When he was in Japan, Didik learned Noh (Hagomoro) classical dancing; when he was in Spain, he learned Flamenco dancing.

*Art and Culture, Grade 7*, 2017, pp. 89-90.

**Emphasis on Specific Groups**

Even though most materials in the 2013 curriculum, published by The Ministry of Education and Culture, display a neutral attitude without referring to any particular religion, some of the textbooks outside of religious education refer to the majority religion, Islam.

In a section on *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation), a lesson features a dialogue between a teacher and a student where the student is asked to display Islam calligraphy in a classroom. Although the type of calligraphy is unspecified in the dialogue, the image uses the symbol of the majority religion in Indonesia.

Let’s Observe
Read the following conversation!
Teacher: Kids, I have calligraphy. How can we use it?
Beni: Let’s display it.
Teacher: Please help me to display this calligraphy in the classroom.
Beni: Sure, Beni will do it.

*My Experience, Grade II*, 2017, p. 75

When earning about poetry, students are presented with a poem about the festival of Lebaran, customs of Eid al-Fitr in Indonesia, and Arabic words such as *subhanallah* and *alhamdulillah*, which are not often spoken by other communities in Indonesia in daily life. Rather than referring to a general or neutral topic, this poem draws upon customs and words from a specific religious group in Indonesia.
**Eid Ketupat**

Eid ketupat with curried chicken wings
Eaten after the Eid prayer
For grandpa and grandma, neighbors and friends
So delighted, Subhan Allah how beautiful
Eid ketupat with liver-fried chili
Served on the table after the prayer
Tasty and delicious and savory
Try ketupat, Alhamdulillah really delicious

*My Experience, Grade 2, 2017, p. 96.*

Likewise, while a first grade textbook typically presents its materials without reference to any specific religion, the below illustration shows all students praying in the Muslim way (raising two hands), rather than showing different ways to pray.

Let’s observe
Look at this picture.
These are Siti’s new friends.
What are they doing?
They are praying.
They pray before studying.

*Myself, Grade 1, 2017, p. 29.*
A similar illustration teaching students to pray before going home depicts the Muslim way of praying (raising two hands) instead of including other possible ways of praying.

Today’s lesson is over.
What do Udin and his friends do before they go home?

Living in Harmony, Grade 2, 2017, p. 109

In explaining the importance of becoming closer to God for a singer of traditional music, the following example refers specifically to Allah, the God of Islam, among other neutral references to God – Tuhan Yang Maha Esa and Sang Khalik. No other specific references to God in different religions are used in this extract.

Traditional music singers seriously maintain their health by consuming traditional jamu [traditional herbal medicines from Indonesia]. Do you know that traditional jamu is made from plants and animals?

Besides, the singers or sinden [singers of traditional song] of traditional music have some taboos and must be close to the Creator, the creator of the universe.

Is there a relationship between consuming herbal medicine, avoiding taboos, and getting closer to the Creator of the universe, Allah [the name of Allah in Islam], the Almighty God, with the melodious voice they have?

Art and Culture, Grade 8, 2017, pp. 38-39
International Relations

The preamble of the 1945 State Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia governs how Indonesia develops relationships with other countries. Indonesian foreign policy adheres to a principle of independence and being active: by ‘independence,’ this means that Indonesia does not side with world powers, while ‘active’ means actively settling international issues.

The junior science textbooks reflect Indonesia’s “non-block” policy – not aligning with foreign policy to uphold Indonesian sovereignty – by featuring individuals from less frequently represented parts of the world, such as the Middle East and Africa. Alongside this, another chapter also includes Arab scientists. The inclusion of Arab scientists and a Kenyan environmentalist suggests that the Middle East and Africa, not only the West, also contribute to scientific development and environmental preservation.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Contribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>815</td>
<td>Ad Dinawari</td>
<td>Classified plants based on how they grow. Discovered sexual differences in plants, described plants’ properties and characteristics, the appropriate soil for planting, and explained the stages of plants’ growth and reproduction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1248</td>
<td>Ibnu Al Baytar</td>
<td>Described many kinds of plants, and listed various medicinal plants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1729</td>
<td>Lazzaro Spallanzani</td>
<td>Performed the first artificial insemination of a viviparous animal, a spaniel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1707–1788</td>
<td>Carolus Linnaeus</td>
<td>Divided the kingdoms of plants and animals into big groups called classes. Invented the naming system of organisms, known as Binominal Nomenclature.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1834–1914</td>
<td>August Weismann</td>
<td>The originator of the germ-plasm theory, stating that inheritance in multicellular organisms only takes place through germ cells, such as egg cells and sperm cells.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914–2009</td>
<td>Norman Ernest Borlaug</td>
<td>The pioneer of food crop cultivation technology in America and Asia, as one of the efforts to alleviate world hunger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940–2011</td>
<td>Wangari Maathai</td>
<td>The pioneer of the movement to maintain environmental balance in Africa by inviting Kenyans to plant trees. To date, more than 40 million trees have been planted in Africa.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Natural Science, Grade 9, 2018, pp. 44-45.*
Students learn that Indonesia’s foreign policy is based on the commitment to achieve world order, lasting peace, and social justice. This is demonstrated through Indonesia’s participation in international conferences, and organizations promoting neutrality and peace.

The implementation of Indonesia’s foreign policy is the mandate of the fourth paragraph of the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution, which states that the Government of Indonesia must participate in realizing the world order based on independence, lasting peace, and social justice. This mandate means that the Indonesian government must participate in fighting for the freedom of the world from all forms of colonialism. Indonesia must also actively demonstrate the achievement of world peace through its active involvement in conflict resolution in certain areas, and in the effort to create world peace.

Indonesia’s active role in international relations is implemented through its active participation in maintaining world peace. Several active roles in various events include holding the Asian-African Conference, being active in the Non-Aligned Movement, establishing ASEAN, and sending the Garuda Contingents to many conflict areas in the world.

*Indonesian History, Grade 12, 2018, p. 201.*
The following text presents the background of Indonesia’s “free and active” foreign policy, in the context of the Cold War between the US and the Soviet Union. Peace, impartiality, and unity are the concepts Indonesia is trying to actualize.

During the Cold War that was raging between the American Bloc (West) and the Soviet Union (East) at the beginning of Indonesia’s foundation, Indonesia chose an impartial attitude toward the existing blocs. It was first described by Syahrir, who at that time served as Prime Minister, in his speech at the Inter Asian Relations Conference in New Delhi on 23 March - 2 April, 1947. In his speech, Syahrir invited Asian nations to unite based on mutual interests to achieve world peace, which can only be achieved by peaceful coexistence between nations, and strengthening ties between nations or races in the world. Thus, during the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union, which created disunity, impartiality was the most appropriate attitude to create world peace, or at least defuse the Cold War.

*Indonesian History, Grade 12, 2018, p. 210.*

**China-Indonesia Relations**

Amid the growing stigma toward China, the materials in the 2013 curriculum attempt to depict China in a neutral way. It is even indirectly stated that native Indonesians have a close relationship with China, where their ancestors originated.

The following two extracts from a Grade 5 thematic textbook and a Grade 7 Social Science textbook teach students that their Indonesians ancestors came from China. This reference helps students to relate to China.
The characteristics of Indonesia’s local cultural diversity can be seen from the following:

1. Ethnic Diversity

The ancestors of the Indonesians were from Yunnan, South China. They immigrated and then mixed with the indigenous population and Indo-Arians from South Asia. They continued to grow and form tribes. The ethnic groups in Indonesia are classified into 19 main ethnic groups.

*Animal and Human Movement Organs, Grade 5, 2017, p. 161.*

Indonesian Ancestors

Do you recognize Indonesian people, why there are many physical differences, skin colors, face shapes or types of hair? Why is there also much diversity in cultural values, traditions, and languages? Where are those diversities coming from? The best way to reveal this diversity is to trace down the origin of our ancestors.

Paul and Fritz Sarasin (the Sarasin Brothers) revealed that the Indonesian indigenous population originated from dark-skinned races and small physiques. This particular race previously inhabited mainland Southeast Asia during the Ice Age, or the Glacial period. However, when the Ice Age ended and the ice melted a thousand years ago, the mainland was separated by the South China sea and the
Java Sea and it finally formed a new Asian mainland, and Indonesian archipelago. Indigenous people lived inland, while migrants lived in coastal areas. These indigenous people are called the Vedda tribe by the Sarasin Brothers.

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vedda_people

Picture 4.23 Vedda people

Other races inhabiting the Indonesian archipelago were Proto Malays and Deutro Malays. Their main characteristics were straight hair, brownish yellow skin, and slanted eyes. Proto Malays and Deutro Malays arrived in the Indonesian archipelago in two waves. The first arrival was Proto Malays (Old Proto Malays), and they were considered as part of Polynesian Malays who migrated from Southern China (Now, Yunnan region). The migration of Proto Malays to the Indonesian archipelago crossed two routes, western and eastern routes. The western routes started in Yunnan, Southern China, then continued to Indochina, Siam, the Malay Peninsula, Sumatera and spread out to the Indonesian archipelago. On the eastern route, they were crossing the Ryukyu islands, and they continued to sail on open waters to Taiwan, the Philippines, Sangir, and Sulawesi.

Source: Nurhadi et al. 2009. The Voyage of Social Horizon

Picture 4.2.4 Migration routes, western route (left) and eastern route (right)

Social Science, Curriculum 2013, Grade 7, 2016, pp. 220–221.

Despite the existing negative sentiment of some Indonesians toward China, the below example credits China with influencing the famous “Hong bird [Phoenix] motif.” In this way, the textbook offers a balanced view of China, and how it has contributed to Indonesian arts.
Nature is an endless learning source to explore. Diversity of flora and fauna can be the source of inspiration for drawings. Besides flora and fauna, natural objects can also be sources of inspiration for drawings. A bird is one of the fauna commonly drawn using various techniques and materials. The Hong bird [Phoenix] is one example of fauna often used as an object in Java coastal areas. This Hong bird motif is influenced by China. Below are some pictures of birds, often drawn as objects or motifs on wooden carvings, or batik motifs on cloth. Look at the following pictures.

Art and Culture, Grade 7, 2017, p. 3.

Japan-Indonesia Relations

The materials offer a balanced view of Japan. Aside from exploring Japanese’s colonial cruelty, some materials present how Japan eventually respected the refusal of Islamic leaders to practice the Japanese ritual of seikirei, as it went against their religious beliefs, and how the Japanese occupation strongly influenced the growth of Indonesian nationalism.

The following passage mentions Japan’s cruelty during its occupation of Indonesia.

By understanding the explanations of the Japanese occupation as explained above, Japan was actually an authoritarian and tyrannical ruler. All organizations formed were directed to the interests of war. Therefore, the educational program was militaristic.

*Indonesian History, Grade 11, Semester 2, 2017, p. 37.*

In a chapter conclusion below, students not only learn about the tyranny of Japanese colonialism, but also about its positive impacts on the emergence of nationalism, and the dissemination of Bahasa Indonesia (the Indonesian language).

Although the Japanese period of occupation was called the era of madness by the Javanese (see Ben Anderson, *Java in a Time at Revolution*, Chapter 1), it had a strong enough influence on the growth of Indonesian nationalism, especially in the dissemination of Bahasa Indonesia. In addition, the role of youth was increasing, along with the belief that the Indonesians could progress like Japan if they wanted to learn.

*Indonesian History, Grade 11, Semester 2, 2017, p. 38.*

The lesson explains Japan’s inhumane treatment of Indonesians, in blatant violation of human rights.
The Indonesian people who became *romusa* [Rōmusha, forced labor] were treated indecently, without humanity. They were forced to work from morning until evening without adequate food and treatment. In fact, they did menial jobs that required a lot of food intake and rest. They could only rest at night. Their health was neglected. Not infrequently, many of them got sick and even starved to death. *Indonesian History, Grade 11*, Semester 2, 2017, p. 49.

A Grade 11 Indonesian history lesson describes the suffering of Indonesians during Japanese colonization, stating that “The people hated the Japanese rulers more than the Dutch colonial rulers.” Acts of sexual harassment perpetrated by Japanese colonialists are exposed as inhumane, and just one aspect of the suffering experienced by Indonesians during this period.

The Japanese were first greeted with pleasure, and then it turned into hatred. The people hated the Japanese rulers even more than the Dutch colonial rulers. Japan has often acted arbitrarily. Innocent people were arrested, detained, and tortured. The atrocities were perpetrated by the *kempetai* (Japanese military police). During the Japanese occupation, many Indonesian girls and women were tricked by the Japanese under the pretext of working as nurses or going to school, but they were forced to serve the *kempetai* instead. The girls and women were held in closed camps as prostitutes. We can find these camps in Solo, Semarang, Jakarta, and West Sumatra. This condition added to the suffering of the people under the control of the Japanese colonialists. Therefore, it is reasonable that there would be various resistance against the Japanese occupation government in Indonesia. *Indonesian History, Grade 11*, Semester 2, 2017, p. 50.
The textbooks also offer alternative perspectives on Japanese colonization. The lesson below presents Admiral Maeda, a Japanese colonialist leader, showing respect and support for Indonesia’s independence movement. This indicates the existence of Japanese sympathy toward Indonesian sovereignty, suggesting that not all Japanese people acted cruelly during colonization.

Because Admiral Maeda is the Chief Representative of the Kaigun, his house is ‘extra-territorial,’ which must be respected by the Rikugun. In addition, Admiral Maeda himself had a close relationship with the leaders of Indonesia, and Maeda was also sympathetic to the Indonesian independence movement, so his house was allowed to become a meeting place for Indonesian leaders to negotiate and formulate the text of the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence.


Japan and Indonesia’s dark past has not prevented both countries from developing bilateral economic cooperation, as explained in the passage below.

**Relations with Indonesia**

Japan and Indonesia have long cooperated in the economic sector. Indonesia is the 7th largest exporter to Japan. In first position is China, followed by the US, Australia, Saudi Arabia, UAE, and Korea. Meanwhile, Japan is the largest foreign investor in Indonesia. Approximately 1,000 Japanese companies operate in Indonesia, employing around 32,000 Indonesian workers (BKPM, 2012). This number is the largest compared to the number of Indonesian workers in other countries.

*Social Science, Grade 9*, 2015, p. 51.
Dutch-Indonesia Relations

As Dutch colonialists ruled for the longest period in Indonesia, the Dutch are viewed both negatively as colonialists, and positively, as contributors to Indonesia’s development.

Under the subheading of the Dutch East India Company’s (VOC) greed and cruelty, this passage explains how the Dutch began to mistreat Indonesians, using negative words such as “greedy,” “cruel,” “cocky,” etc to describe the Dutch.

The Dutch working for the VOC were clever. At first, they would behave themselves toward the locals. The trading relations with the kingdoms in Nusantara (Indonesia) were going smoothly as well. Even Prince Wijayakrama allowed the Dutch, working under the Governor General Pieter Both’s leadership, to build residences and lodges in Jayakarta. The VOC, however, took advantage of the community and local leaders’ generosity in order to tighten their grip over Nusantara. The Dutch would later become cocky and pompous.

Now that they enjoyed a good life in Nusantara/Indonesia and huge benefit from trading, the Dutch were even more eager to rule Indonesia. To satisfy their greed, the VOC often forced and abused the locals. The indigenous community and local rulers thus hated them. They refused to be mistreated by the VOC. Therefore, the community and their leaders often fought against the VOC.

*Indonesian History, Grade 11*, Semester 1, 2017, p. 28.
A history textbook describes the Dutch as exploiting the island of Java like a “dairy cow,” and that “Java was a buoy on which the Netherlands floated,” presenting Dutch colonialists in a negative light, as people whose sole interest was to profit from Indonesia’s resources.

Based on the conditions in the colony, the agricultural system had to be developed according to the native farmers’ habits. Thus “kerja rodi” (forced labor) was applied. Hence, the farmers were obligated to perform agricultural tasks. We, Indonesians, call this system “Sistem Tanam Paksa” (Forced Agricultural System). Van den Bosch’s principle was to treat the Dutch colony as a source of profit for the colonialists. As Baud once put it, Java was “a buoy on which the Netherlands floated.” In other words, Java had to be exploited as much as possible to benefit the colonists. One could say that Java was treated like a dairy cow.

*Indonesian History, Grade 11, Semester 1, 2017, pp. 53–54.*

The below excerpt, while acknowledging the “human rights abuses” perpetrated under the system of ‘forced cultivation’ by the Dutch, also presents the contribution of this system to Indonesia’s development. Benefits include the modern engineering marvels the Dutch brought to Indonesia, and the introduction of new plants that nowadays have become export commodities.
Meanwhile, the implementation of “Tanam Paksa” (‘Forced Cultivation’) by the Dutch greatly exploited the Indies. From 1831 to 1877, the Dutch Kingdom made 832 million gulden, so they could pay off the VOC’s past debts and build forts. The Dutch were benefiting from other people’s misery.

Although Tanam Paksa had caused human rights abuses, we must admit that there were some benefits of Tanam Paksa: learning about new plants that have now become export commodities, irrigation channels, and railroad networks. These would greatly benefit the locals later.

*Indonesian History, Grade 11, Semester 1, 2017, p. 57.*

Similarly, despite the “ruthless” Dutch colonial rule for Indonesia, a short introduction to the Grade 11 Indonesian History textbook’s third chapter again emphasizes that Dutch colonialization also brought some benefits to Indonesia, namely a rise in nationalism, and better infrastructure. The textbook explains both advantages and disadvantages in detail later on in this chapter; thus, it provides balanced and unbiased information on the period of Dutch colonialism.

*THE IMPORTANCE*

To learn about how the history of colonialism and imperialism in Indonesia would affect Indonesians in so many ways. We must admit that, despite the ruthless Dutch colonialism, it benefited the natives too. It contributed to the rise of nationalism, as well as public facilities and infrastructure development which still serve as examples to be further developed in Indonesia today.

*Indonesian History, Grade 11, Semester 1, 2017, p. 157*
The following passage describes the railroad networks on the islands of Java and Sumatra, built during Dutch colonial rule, to highlight the lasting positive effects of Dutch colonialism in Indonesian infrastructure. The example states that, centuries later, the railroads are still used for transporting people, natural produce, and other goods.

New cities started to emerge as a result of colonial rule, indicated by the emergence of the transportation network, especially railroads from Jakarta to Bogor, as well as the trains on the island of Java. In 1840, research was conducted to build railroads serving the route of Surabaya-Solo-Yogyakarta-Priyangan. In September 1895, the Semarang-Cirebon railroad network was completed. A railway network was also developed in Sumatra. The Zuid Sumatera Staatsramwegen company created a 62 km-long railroad network in Lampung, and a 152 km-long railroad network in Palembang that has been operating since 1917. The railway network has been part of West Sumatra since 1833, as well as Aceh. Land transportation has brought many benefits for the economy.

*Indonesian History, Grade 11, Semester 1, 2017, p. 164.*

In contrast, a history lesson uses strong negative words to describe the actions of the Dutch during the Padri War. Initially, the Padri War was fought between the Padri, an Islamic renewal movement, and the Adat, the custom group, but eventually the Padri and Adat ended up fighting against the Dutch. In the text, the Dutch are said to “slaughter and dismember” Padri leaders and soldiers.

The Dutch power was growing so strong. With such huge power, the Dutch attacked the Padri’s defense posts in Banuhampu, Kamang, Guguk Sigandang, Tanjung Alam, Sungai Puar, Candung, and some other areas in Agam.

According to the colonial history records on the attacks in those areas, the one occurring in Guguk Sigandang raised a red flag, since it involved the slaughtering and dismembering of Padri leaders and soldiers. Even those accused of supporting Padri suffered the same fate.

*Indonesian History, Grade 11, Semester 1, 2017, p. 116.*
United Kingdom-Indonesia Relations

Even though the UK once colonized Indonesia, at present, textbooks describe the country as maintaining good relations with Indonesia.

The following history lesson on UK colonization teaches students that Thomas Stamford Raffles revoked some rules imposed by the Dutch to develop Indonesia’s economy, although this was still aimed at bringing prosperity to colonialists.

Raffles tried to develop the economy in the Indies through some programs. The programs’ main goal, however, was to benefit the colonial government. The following were some of Raffles’ policies and programs:

1) To apply the land rent system which later would be the basis of the monetary economic system.
2) To revoke the locals’ obligation to submit the agricultural produce to the colonialists.
3) To stop slavery and “kerja rodi” (forced labor).
4) To stop the monopoly system.
5) To appoint villages to serve as the colonial administrative units.

*Indonesian History, Grade 11, Semester 1, 2017, p. 49.*

A Social Science textbook states that the relationship between the UK and Indonesia has experienced ups and downs, but the two countries have nonetheless managed to restore good relations.
The current economic relationship with Indonesia is evidenced in the trading relations between the two countries. Indonesia exports petroleum, coal, steel, furniture, footwear products, natural rubber, printing presses, and clothes. British exports to Indonesia are wheat, factory machinery, IT products, processed foods, etc.

The relations between Indonesia and Britain heated up when Britain was part of the Allied powers, who adopted a neoliberalism opposed by Sukarno. A battle took place in Surabaya when the Dutch and the Allies intended to disarm the Japanese and Indonesian civilian militia, after Japan’s surrender to the Allies. However, the Indonesian side suspected Dutch interests to recolonize Indonesia. As a result, a war broke out between the Indonesian and Allied armies. During the New Order, under Suharto, the relationship between Indonesia and Britain was restored.

United States-Indonesia Relations

The United States, a global superpower, is presented as one of the countries which has an influence on Indonesia, including in the domains of politics, the economy, and education. The textbooks offer a balanced view of the US, in that they present not only the negative impacts the US brings but, also its contribution to Indonesia and to the world.

The following excerpt explains that the US is a developed country with the most advanced military power.
What do you know about the US? How has it become a developed country? The US is one of the developed countries in the world. Besides, it is also known as a superpower, due to its military power being the most advanced in the world. No wonder this country is very influential in its relations with other countries.

*Social Science, Grade 9, 2015, p. 53.*

The US is also described as being one of Indonesia’s largest trading partners.

*Amerika Serikat merupakan mitra dagang terbesar keempat Indonesia setelah Jepang, China, dan Singapura.*

The US is Indonesia’s fourth-largest trading partner after Japan, China, and Singapore.

*Social Science, Grade 9, 2015, p. 58.*

The US is mentioned as one of the founders of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) organization, along with Indonesia.

*Indonesia bersama Amerika Serikat, Australia, Jepang, Malaysia, Selandia Baru, Brunei Darussalam, Singapura, Thailand, Filipina, Korea Selatan, dan Kanada, ikut serta memprakarsai terbentuknya APEC pada tahun 1993.*

*Social Science, Grade 9, 2015, p. 176.*

Indonesia, along with the US, Australia, Malaysia, New Zealand, Brunei Darussalam, Singapore, Thailand, Philippine, South Korea, and Canada initiated the establishment of APEC in 1993.

An example from a Social Sciences textbook teaches students about the military embargo imposed by the US on Indonesia, and how political relations between Indonesia and the US have since improved. From the following text, students learn how Indonesia-the US political relations are better after several ups and downs.
Political relations between Indonesia and the United States political have experienced ups and downs. In the Sukarno era, the relationship between Indonesia and the US deteriorated because the United States was considered a capitalist country. The relationship recovered during the Suharto era, but declined during the Reformation era due to the military embargo against Indonesia. In 2005, the arms embargo was revoked, and subsequently Indonesia-United States relations are improving. Currently, a comprehensive partnership has been launched in the form of Indonesia-US cooperation guidelines for democracy and civil society, climate and environment, trade and investment, and security and energy issues.

Indonesia and the United States’ relationship includes education. Many Indonesian students study in the United States. In 1952, the United States awarded the Fulbright scholarship program. The US covers or reduces the tuition and living cost. The Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and American Indonesian Exchange Foundation (AMINEF) also work together to improve Indonesian diplomats’ skills.

*Social Science, Grade 9*, 2015, p. 59.

The US is depicted as a country that supports liberalism, which is regarded as one of the threats to Indonesia’s ideology. The liberal influences Indonesia has adopted from the US, such as “a luxurious lifestyle” and “premarital sex” are described as being “negative.”
Is Communism the only threat to Pancasila? Of course not. Indonesia has not been completely free from the influence of other ideologies, such as liberalism. Currently, Indonesian people tend to live a liberal life emphasizing individual freedom. In fact, liberalism, promoted by the United States, does not only affect Indonesians, but most countries in the world. It is an impact of globalization. Globalization manages to convince the Indonesian people that liberalism can bring people toward development and prosperity. People are often interested in embracing this ideology. However, Indonesians tend to adopt negative influences, for example a luxurious lifestyle, premarital sex, etc. These things, unless addressed, will become a real threat to Indonesia’s personality. 


As mentioned earlier, a Grade 12 history textbook mentions several views on who was behind the 30 September coup, and the US is one of them.

In a discussion on the fall of Suharto in 1998, the following example mentions the influence of the United States on Indonesia’s politics.

97 Indonesian History, Grade 12, 2018-2022, pp. 16–17.
The international community, especially the United States, openly asked Suharto to resign from his presidential position. Within the country, a student-led mass movement demanded Suharto to step down from his position.


In striving to uphold shared international values, the US is viewed as unfairly siding with its allies. For example, the United States once embargoed Indonesia’s economic sector by not providing F-16 aircraft spare parts and other military assistance, because Indonesia was accused of being undemocratic and of violating human rights. This type of sanction only applies to countries that are not US allies, while its allies are free from sanction despite committing an offense.

*Pancasila and Civics Education, Grade 11*, 2017, p. 159.

**Australia-Indonesia Relations**

The relationship between Australia and Indonesia is depicted through the cooperation of the two countries. Aside from working together, as the founders and members of APEC, Indonesia and Australia cooperate in other sectors such as education. No conflict between Indonesia and Australia is explicitly discussed in the textbooks.

The below passage references the Australian education system as an example which Indonesia should learn from, to improve the quality of its own.

Indonesian education is considered of low quality, so there is a lot to learn from the developed countries’ education systems. Therefore, Indonesia establishes partnerships with various countries, including the United States, Egypt, Japan, Australia, and Germany. Through this cooperation, a transfer of knowledge is expected to happen so that the quality of education in Indonesia becomes better.

*Social Science, Grade 9*, 2015, p. 195.
ASEAN

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), a union for Southeast Asian countries with similar cultural and historical backgrounds, is committed to maintaining the peace and stability of its members.

In a Pancasila and Civics Education Grade 11 textbook, students learn that countries united under ASEAN are like “brothers and sisters,” and that this spirit of brotherhood inspired Indonesia to initiate ASEAN along with Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand.

Indonesia is very active in the ASEAN. As fellow countries in the same region, one race, one family, the relationships between countries in Southeast Asia are like brothers and sisters. Realizing this, Indonesia became one of the initiators of the establishment of ASEAN.


This example teaches students that, in recognition of the cultural and historical similarities between ASEAN countries, its members pledge to “mutually respect every member’s independence and sovereign territory, promote regional peace and stability, and peacefully resolve conflicts and disputes.”

One form of cooperation between countries in Southeast Asia is the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). ASEAN is a Southeast Asian regional cooperation forum. The basis for ASEAN is the equality of cultural backgrounds, the same experiences of countries that have experienced colonialism by Western nations. It ultimately creates a strong feeling of loyalty among the nations in Southeast Asia.

Through this cooperation forum, ASEAN member countries are committed to mutually respect every member’s independence and sovereign territory, promote regional peace and stability, and peacefully resolve conflicts and disputes.

_Social Science, Grade 9_, 2015, p.137.
Malaysia-Indonesia Relations

As one of Indonesia’s neighbors, Malaysia is described as having established cooperation with Indonesia, despite some tensions.

A Pancasila and Civics Education textbook gives the example of Malaysia providing assistance to Indonesia to extinguish a forest fire.

32 Helicopters Deployed to Handle Smoke Emergency

The government dealt with the largest smoke disasters caused by forest fires. The operation, assisted by neighboring countries such as Malaysia and Singapore, deployed 32 helicopters and other aircraft for air operations, 21 helicopters, 7 Fixed-wing Water Bombers, and 4 cloud seeding aircraft units.


A further example of cooperation between Indonesia and Malaysia is demonstrated in a passage which states that, aside from working together to establish ASEAN and APEC, Malaysia and Indonesia are the founders of the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA).

Indonesia, along with Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, Singapore, Thailand, and the Philippines signed the Singapore Declaration as a milestone for the establishment of a free trade area in Southeast Asia, abbreviated as AFTA.

_Social Science, Grade 9_, 2015, p.176.
Malaysia and Indonesia have also developed cooperation in the fields of education and the economy, including the exportation of Indonesian forest products.

SEAMO was established in 1974. The members are the ministers of education from Southeast Asia countries: Indonesia, Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam.

*Social Science, Grade 9*, 2015, p. 180.

Indonesia is an exporter of forest products to a number of countries, such as Malaysia and Japan.

*Social Science, Grade 9*, 2015, p. 11.

An example on the number of foreign workers in Indonesia suggests that foreign workforces, including that of Malaysia, are known for being of higher quality than the local Indonesian workforce, and thus earn a higher salary.

Based on the Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration data, until August 2013, the number of foreign workers in Indonesia reached 48,002 people. Most of them came from China, followed by Japan, South Korea, India, Malaysia, the United States, and Thailand. The quality of these foreign workers is generally higher than that of the local workforce, so their salaries are generally higher than the salaries of Indonesian workers.

Some bilateral issues between Malaysia and Indonesia are also explored in the textbooks, such as the killing of Indonesian orangutans by Malaysia’s palm oil companies, and the dispute over the Sipadan and Ligitan islands, and the Ambalat sea block. The disputed nature of Sipadan, Ligitan and the Ambalat is presented as an element of a project for students to work on. The project asks students to investigate and share their opinions on the country disputes.

As part of a wider scope, you have to learn that we don’t live alone. You have to understand that what we do at school, or in our own cities or villages, can have far-reaching effects on other people. Maybe you’ve seen teenagers playing with slingshots or air rifles to shoot wild birds, squirrels, and other animals. What for? No purpose whatsoever! Just for fun. And that pleasure has caused other beings to die in vain.

In 2011, a palm oil company from Malaysia killed dozens of orangutans in West Kalimantan, because the endangered animal was considered a pest and a nuisance to their crops. In fact, it is the palm oil plantations that have come in and robbed the animals of their living space.

The destruction of forests and the destruction of wildlife in Indonesia have not caused any harm to Malaysia. On the contrary, this gives Malaysia an advantage. The world will know the Indonesian palm oil industry is brutal, and is ultimately avoided by consumers. “They will buy Malaysian palm oil. Indonesian palm oil must be sold first and labeled as environmentally friendly in Malaysia, so that it can be sold on the world market.” (Medan Tribunnews, “Malaysia’s Role in Killing Orangutans in Kalimantan”, 22 Nov. 2011).

There are people who have a lot of money and feel that they can buy anything they want. In some areas on the island of Java, these people build luxury villas in the mountains without permission, and without paying attention to the damage that may be caused to the balance of nature. This can lead to reduced water absorption in the mountains, so that water flows faster to the foot of the mountains and cities in the lowlands and then into the sea. As a result, there is flooding everywhere.

*Christianity and Character Education, Grade 10*. 2016. p. 36
Citizenship Project
Let’s Analyze the Case Study
Indonesia has experienced disputes with Malaysia relating to authority over or ownership of the islands of Sipadan and Ligitan, and the Ambalat sea block. With regards this, answer the following questions.
1. Describe the chronology of the disputes over Sipadan and Ligitan, and the Ambalat sea block.
2. Can the dispute threaten the territorial integrity of our country? Give your reasons.
3. What does the government do to deal with the disputes? What about the outcomes?
4. How did you feel when you found out that the Sipadan and Ligitan islands ended up falling into Malaysia’s hands?
5. What caused the International Court of Justice to rule in Malaysia’s favor over the islands of Sipadan and Ligitan?
6. What should Indonesians, both the government and Indonesian citizens, do to prevent similar cases, like the falling of the islands of Sipadan and Ligitan into the hands of Malaysia, from happening in the future?

_Pancasila and Civics Education, Grade 11, 2017, p. 204._
Singapore-Indonesia Relations

Singapore is depicted as a neighboring country that cooperates with Indonesia in some sectors, including politics (co-founders of ASEAN, AFTA, and APEC) and the economy. As seen earlier, Singapore is also one Indonesia’s largest trading partners, and has assisted Indonesia in providing humanitarian aid following natural disasters.

Timor Leste-Indonesia Relations

The textbooks view Timor Leste as a former region of Indonesia – East Timor. The textbooks narrate the history of how East Timor became a part of Indonesia, how it then separated from Indonesia, and the human rights violation which took place in the newly formed country, Timor Leste. There is no further explanation of the current cooperation between Indonesia and Timor Leste.

A Grade 12 history book explains how East Timor’s House of Representatives urged the Indonesian government to legalize the territorial unity between East Timor and Indonesia in 1976.

On May 31, 1976, East Timor’s House of Representatives issued a petition urging the Indonesian government to immediately accept and ratify the unity of the people and the territory of East Timor into the Republic of Indonesia.

*Indonesian History, Grade 12, 2018, p. 138.*

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98 *Social Science, Grade 9, 2015, p. 58.*

The following example describes the commitment of the Indonesian government to supporting freedom and human rights, by ratifying a decree to enable the separation of East Timor from the Republic of Indonesia.

The people of East Timor held a referendum on August 30, 1999, following the New York Agreement. The results of the referendum announced by the United Nations on September 4, 1999, showed that 78.5% of the people refused to be a part of Indonesia, and 21.5% agreed. After this referendum, various forms of violence took place, so for the sake of humanity, Indonesia agreed to accelerate the deployment of the multinational army in Timor-Timur.

In accordance with the fundamental values held in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution, which states that independence is the right of all nations, President Habibi hopes that the People’s Consultative Assembly will be pleased to discuss the results of the referendum, and include it in a decree that recognizes the decisions of the people of East Timor. In accordance with the New York Agreement, the decree ratified the separation of East Timor from the Republic of Indonesia in a good, honorable, and peaceful manner to show the world that Indonesia is a part of the international community and is responsible, democratic, and upholds human rights.

*Indonesian History, Grade 12*, 2018, pp. 159-160.
The excerpt below highlights how Pope Benedict XVI called upon the people of East Timor to end the violence. In 2006, there was a coup to overthrow the first East Timorese prime minister, Mari Alkatiri, and his Timor Leste Defence Force. The passage cites “tensions and violence” and “casualty and destruction,” highlighting that violence toward civilians was inescapable during the coup.

Pray for East Timor
Unrest that occurred in East Timor caught Pope Benedict’s XVI attention. In a public gathering attended by 35,000 people in the Saint Peter’s arena at the Vatican, the Pope urged people of East Timor to stop the violence and make peace. “All my attention goes out to the beloved people of East Timor. Now East Timor is going through tensions and violence, which has caused human casualty and destruction.”

Catholicism and Character Education, Grade 10, 2017, p. 29

Palestine-Indonesia Relations
The textbooks generally discuss Palestine in the context of Indonesia’s contribution to Palestine, as part of Indonesia’s foreign policy to maintain world peace. Concerning Indonesia’s active participation in international political cooperation, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is presented as an issue that Indonesia also pays attention to.

The following example shows empathy and effort toward peacemaking on the part of Indonesia, by providing help and aid after an Israeli military attack on Palestine. The text does not explain what led to this flare-up, or to the conflict more generally.
Palestine States Gratitude for Indonesians’ Support

The Palestinian Ambassador to Indonesia, Fariz Mehdawi expressed his gratitude for the support of the Indonesian people toward his country, which was under attack by the Israeli military.

Speaking at the Presidential Palace complex in Jakarta (14/7), Fariz explained that the Israeli attack on the Gaza Strip in Palestine had killed many civilians, including women and children. His party cooperated not only with Indonesia, but with many countries.

Meanwhile, the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Marty Natalegawa, explained that Indonesia continues to fight for diplomatic efforts with regards Palestine in international forums. “Our diplomatic efforts continue and even increase. Last Friday in New York, US, the Non-Aligned Movement and the OIC meeting was held at the initiative of Indonesia. In short, diplomacy worked in New York and Geneva. Including holding a special session of the UN Human Rights Commission,” said Marty.

Marty Natalegawa added that his party had spoken with the Palestinian Foreign Minister, asking what Indonesia could help with, including the distribution of 1 million USD, and medical aid from Indonesia to Palestine.

Source: www.pikiran-rakyat.com with modifications

Social Science, Grade 9, 2015, pp. 139.
Another example teaches students about Indonesia’s contribution as a member of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). Indonesia hopes to maintain world peace, particularly peace for Muslims worldwide, by joining the OIC. Palestine is one of the countries with a large Muslim population, and, due to the existing conflict, is one of the focal points of Indonesia’s peacemaking contribution.

e. Member of The Organization of Islamic Cooperation

OIC (The Organization of Islamic Cooperation) is an organization formed by Islamic countries on September 25, 1969, in Rabat, Morocco. OIC members are countries that are constitutionally Islamic, or countries where the majority of the population is Muslim.

As the country with the largest number of Muslims in the world, Indonesia became a member of the OIC in 1972. Indonesia used the OIC as a forum to create world peace.

Based on Indonesia’s independent and active foreign policy, it tries to act as a unifier of Muslims worldwide, and tries to participate in solving various problems faced by Muslims. Indonesia’s membership in the OIC provides many opportunities for establishing cooperation with other countries.

Indonesia has a relatively strong role in the OIC. Indonesia has a role in resolving the dispute between Pakistan and Bangladesh, resolving the problem of the Moro Muslim minority in the Philippines, and assisting in the struggle of the Palestinians.

*Social Science, Grade 9, 2015, pp. 143-144.*
A Social Sciences textbook mentions Gaza one of the locations which received humanitarian aid from Indonesia.

**e. Providing Humanitarian Aid**

In the humanitarian sector, Indonesia sends aid to countries hit by natural disasters or conflicts. For example, Indonesia sent humanitarian aid to the victims of Typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines, and humanitarian aid to Gaza, Palestine. The aid sent included food, medicine, clothing, and medical experts. In addition to sending aid, Indonesia also receives humanitarian aid from other countries, such as aid to help tsunami victims in Aceh.

*Social Science, Grade 9*, 2015, pp. 185.
Israel-Indonesia Relations

Israel is described as a “colonizing country” fated to be rejected, largely in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Nevertheless, Islamic Education textbooks provide useful information about the activities of the prophets of Israel in the Land of Israel (or Palestine), hence acknowledging that Jewish Israelis are indigenous people in their ancestral homeland. Christian education textbooks cover aspects of Jewish history in the Land of Israel, Nazi persecution of Jews, praise a Japanese diplomat who saved many Jews, and teach students about a peace camp for Israeli and Palestinian children. The late President Abdurrahman Wahid attempted to improve relations with Israel, but this was seen as controversial. The main curriculum does not provide factual information about Israel: examples of omissions are the peace process, the Holocaust, and Israel’s historical roots in its homeland and region.

A Grade 12 history textbook states that, despite Abdurrahman Wahid’s willingness to establish trade relations with Israel, many parties opposed such relations on the basis of Israel’s violation of Palestinian rights, with the expansion of trade relations perceived as a violation of the Indonesian Constitution’s call for “the abolition of colonialism in the world.”

In addition to the issue of Communism, President Abdurrahman Wahid’s conflict with mass organizations and Islamic political parties, who became his supporters when he was elected as president, was rooted in his idea of opening trade relations with Israel. The idea was met with strong objection considering that Israel is a colonizing country, and has committed many human rights violations against Palestinians, who are predominantly Muslim. Opening trade relations with Israel is tantamount to violating what is stated in the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution, which explains that Indonesia is a country that calls for the abolition of colonialism in the world.

Indonesian History, Grade 12, 2018–2022, p. 164.

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100 The discussion over World War II focuses on what is directly relevant to Indonesia (no Nazi Germany). Japan's defeat gave a chance for Indonesia to prepare for its independence: Civics Education, Grade 7, 2017, p. 12. Hiroshima and Nagasaki nuclear bombings, Japan's surrender, the Dutch return to Indonesia, Japan occupies Indonesia from the Dutch: History Grade 11, Semester II, 2017, pp. 79–80, 142, 235–36. World Bank post-WWII support: Social Science, Grade 9, 2015, p.150. World War II is also discussed in the context of its influence on the arts. Arts and Culture, Grade 11 Semester 2, 2014, pp. 6, 12.
A discussion of the scriptures acknowledges that the Hebrew Bible and the Book of Psalms were revealed to the prophets of Israel in the Land of Israel, were written in Hebrew (the official language of Israel), and that King David ruled the Israelites in the land of Canaan (the Land of Israel/ Palestine).

2. The Names of the Books of Allah
Allah sent down four holy books and several *suhuf* [volumes] through various prophets and messengers of different eras and followers. Those holy books and *suhuf* were sent down by Allah to the prophets and messengers as sources of truth and guidance for obtaining salvation and happiness in this world and the hereafter. The scriptures are described below.

a. **The Tawrat [Torah]**
The Tawrat was sent down to the Prophet Musa [Moses] around the 12th century BC in Israel and Egypt. The Tawrat is in Hebrew.

b. **The Zabur [Psalms]**
The Zabur was sent down to Prophet Dawud [David] when he reigned as the king of the Children of Israel in the 10th century BC in the land of Canaan.

*Islam and Character Education, Grade 5, 2017, p.16.*

The textbook also states that Jesus received the New Testament in Jerusalem. Another Islamic Education textbook teaches that the Book of Psalms was revealed to [King] David in Jerusalem for the Israelites, or the Jewish people.

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101 *Islamic Education, Grade 5, 2017, p.16.*
B. The Book of Zabur [Psalms] (revealed in the 10th century BC)
The Book of Psalms was revealed by God to Prophet Daud [King David] for the Bani Israel or Jewish people. This book was revealed in the 10th century BC in Jerusalem. This book is written in Coptic [should be Hebrew].

*Islam and Character Education, Grade 8, 2017, p. 8.*

Another Islamic Education textbook teaches that the Book of Psalms was revealed to [King] David in Jerusalem for the Israelites, or the Jewish people.

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b. The Zabur [Psalms] (sent down in the 10th century BC)
The Zabur was sent down by Allah to Prophet Dawud [David] for the Children of Israel or Jewish people. This book was sent down in the 10th century BC in Jerusalem. This book is written in Coptic.

*Islam and Character Education, Grade 8, 2017, p. 8.*

Christian education textbooks cover aspects of Jewish history in the Land of Israel,\(^\text{102}\) discuss martyrs who opposed Nazi Germany,\(^\text{103}\) mention the Nazi persecution of Jews,\(^\text{104}\) praise a Japanese diplomat who saved many Jews,\(^\text{105}\) and teach students about a peace camp for Israeli and Palestinian children.\(^\text{106}\) The main curriculum, however, presents Israel as one of the main US allies, which is not sanctioned by the US despite violating human rights.

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\(^{102}\) *Christianity and Character Education*, Grade 9, 2017, p 21.
\(^{103}\) *Christianity and Character Education*, Grade 8, 2017, p. 60. The textbook discusses Lutheran priest Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906–1945), a martyr, who opposed Hitler's policy.
\(^{104}\) *Christianity and Character Education*, Grade 10, 2016, pp. 78–79. The textbook states that students should not oppress those who are different. The Nazi regime's persecution of Jews serves as an example of oppression.
\(^{105}\) *Christianity and Character Education*, Grade 10, 2016, p. 132. Chiune Sugihara, a Japanese diplomat, saved at least 10,000 Jews from Nazi persecution in Lithuania is presented as example for opposing racism and discrimination.
\(^{106}\) *Christianity and Character Education*, Grade 10, 2016, pp. 49–50.
These kinds of sanctions only apply to countries that are not US allies, while its allies are free from sanctions despite committing an offense. Take for example Israel. The US does not sanction Israel, even though it kills Palestinians and attacks Lebanon.  

*Pancasila and Civics Education, Grade 11*, 2017, p. 159.
Local and Ethnic Wisdom

Unity-in-Diversity is not a new concept for Indonesia, because it is rooted in Indonesian culture. For example, the “Bhinneka Tunggal Ika” motto, originating from Sanskrit, has long been part of Indonesia’s local wisdom. Similarly, other customs such as gotong royong (mutual cooperation) and kerja bakti (voluntary work) are actually the manifestation of unity-in-diversity. This concept is presented across all grades in the 2013 curriculum.

The following passage explains how religious values, gotong royong (mutual cooperation), and musyawarah (decision-making by consensus) have been a part of Indonesia even from as far back as preliterate society, and shows that they worked together despite their differences.

a. Religious Value (Belief)
Preliterate society believed in supernatural forces. They also believed that high and dense trees, dark caves, beaches, the sea, and other sacred places were inhabited by spirits or supernatural beings. They believed that natural events, such as rain, thunderstorms, floods, volcanic eruptions, and earthquakes were caused by spirits and supernatural beings. In order to avoid those disastrous events, they worshipped those unseen beings. The belief in the existence of a magical spirit is called Animism. They also believed that certain objects such as axes, heads of spears, or other objects have inherent force. Due to their magical force, they were sacred objects. The belief in an object that can bring benefit or disaster is called Dynamism.

b. The Value of Gotong Royong (mutual cooperation)
The preliterate community lived in a group. They worked together to achieve a shared objective, for example building a settlement together. The culture of Gotong Royong was indicated by large stone-made settlements that were clearly built by many people in the past.

c. The Value of Musyawarah (Decision-Making by Consensus)
The preliterate community reached a consensus when they lived in a group. Elders were chosen to organize the community, and make important decisions to solve various problems together.

Social Science, Curriculum 2013, Grade 7, 2016, pp. 218.
**Gotong Royong (mutual cooperation) and Kerja Bakti (voluntary work)**

*Gotong royong* is a communal, voluntary activity whereby the burden of work is shared, so that it becomes easier to manage. *Kerja bakti* is one example of *gotong royong*, in the context of cleaning up the environment. Both are done together with local communities, regardless of any differences they may have.

The below lesson presents the example of a student undertaking voluntary work (*kerja bakti*), said to be a form of *gotong royong*; the text encourages students that they, too, can participate in *kerja bakti*.

> Beni likes to do voluntary work (*kerja bakti*). Voluntary work is mutual cooperation (*gotong royong*). Every month, Beni does voluntary work. Voluntary work with his neighbors. Therefore, Beni engages in monthly mutual cooperation.

*My Experience, Grade II*, 2017, pp. 130, 154, 182.

The following lessons for Grade 4 students demonstrate how fishermen in Indonesia apply the principle of *gotong royong* to successfully catch and distribute fish among the fishermen. The sharing of work and earnings is highlighted as the implementation of the third principle of Pancasila.
Gotong Royong Attitude in a Fishing Village

Mr. Eko lived in a fishing village near the shore. The villagers, including himself, made a living from traditional fishing. Usually, Mr. Eko and six other people sailed at night. They sailed by boat. They performed *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation) to pull out the fishing net. They evenly divided the catch of the day between all 7 fishermen, including Mr. Eko. Sometimes they sold the fish immediately. The money made from selling the fish would be evenly divided as well. When they were not fishing, they fixed the damaged parts of the net together.

The meanings of Pancasila’s third principle are:
- Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia
- Love for peace and unity
- Do not prioritize one’s own interests

Does what Mr. Eko and his friends did reflect Pancasila’s third principle? Explain!
Write other examples of applying the third principle in daily life!

Let’s Think
- What values have you learned today?
- Have you applied the third principle in your daily life?

Another lesson uses as the example of cleaning up the environment during community service (gotong royong) to demonstrate the positive benefits of keja bakti, including to develop “cooperation and togetherness among residents.” The image highlights how residents of all ages, including a child, work together to achieve this.

Residents in the area of North Rawa Badak Urban Village, Koja District, North Jakarta Administrative City, together with sub-district government officials, conducted community service work together. These activities were carried out to prevent flooding. The community service activities included cleaning the gutters in front of each resident’s house, and cleaning up trash in the environment.

The Urban Village leader of North Rawa Badak, Suranta, explained that this community service, or gotong royong, was carried out routinely in the North Rawa Badak Urban Village. As part of this activity, residents also carry out reforestation so that the community roads become beautiful and green. Another benefit of kerja bakti is the establishment of cooperation and togetherness among residents.

*Rich in My Country, Grade 4, 201*, p. 135.

The below passage in a Grade 2 textbook teaches that students practice gotong royong and kerja bakti to keep their school and its surroundings clean. The image displays students of different skin colors and clothing (such as a student wearing a hijab, and one without) working together happily, suggesting that the values gotong royong and kerja bakti reach beyond individual differences.
The Culture of Gotong Royong

Students are obligated to keep things clean. Once every week, Siti’s school does *kerja bakti*. They clean the classroom and the yard. Every student works together for the same purpose. All students are happy to do *kerja bakti*.


Similarly, a Grade 2 lesson emphasizes the importance of voluntary work (*kerja bakti*) through a conversation between a child and her mother, who explains the shared benefits for their community.
Let’s Observe
Listen to your friends reading the following conversation!
1. Why do we need to work voluntarily \([\textit{kerja bakti}]\), Mom?
2. Voluntary work \([\textit{kerja bakti}]\) has a lot of benefits, Honey. We can get work done quickly by working voluntarily. Voluntary work is also an example of the willingness to live within a community. Togetherness is the embodiment of unity.
3. Why are there two garbage bins, Mom?
4. There are two kinds of garbage, Honey. Garbage that can be recycled, and the one that cannot be recycled. The garbage bins prevent people from littering. The environment will be beautiful.

*Clean and healthy living, Grade 2, 2017, p. 188.*

This idea is also present as early as first grade. In the example, a student invites his friend to participate in a \textit{kerja bakti} by helping to clean up debris from a storm, as a manifestation of his concern for the environment and for his community.

Rain poured and wind blew in the evening.
Trees were swayed by the wind.
The tree near Udin’s house is broken.
Leaves are scattered.
People are working voluntarily \([\textit{kerja bakti}]\).
They are cleaning the environment.
Udin invites Edo to join the voluntary work, cleaning their environment.

*Clean, Beautiful, and Healthy Environment, Grade 1, 2017, p. 126.*
This principle is also applied to a first-grade lesson which shows how students use Indonesian local wisdom, *kerja bakti* (voluntary work) and *gotong royong* (working together) as a means of community solidarity to resolve a problem, here being cleaning up the school yard after heavy rain.

![Image of children cleaning school yard]

**Let’s Observe**
The wind blew very hard yesterday evening.
It rained heavily the whole night.
There are a lot of puddles in the school yard.
Leaves are all over the yard.
Garbage, blown by the wind during the heavy rain, is scattered everywhere.
The school yard is dirty.
Udin and friends will help clean the school yard.
They divide the task for *kerja bakti* [voluntary work].
Working together [*gotong royong*] to clean the school yard.

*Natural Events, Grade 1, 2017, p. 141.*

**Sundanese and Islam**

A common statement about the Sundanese ethnic group, one of the major ethnicities in Indonesia, is that “*Sundanese are Islam, and Islam is Sundanese.*” This contentious statement may have emerged due to the fusion of Islamic and Sundanese culture and history. According to Facts and Details,107 by the end of the 19th century Islam was the formal religion of the Sundanese. The fusion of Islam and Sundanese is also manifested in the Cikodang indigenous peoples’ claim to be

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Muslim. Islam remains the religion of most Sundanese, aside from Protestantism, Catholicism, and other local beliefs like *Sunda Wiwitan*. This is why all Sundanese Education books include Islamic teachings, and some verses from the Qur’an.

A Grade 9 Sundanese language textbook demonstrates Sundanese toward its ancestral customs pre-Islam as well as its Islamic faith, stating that “*The people of Sindangbarang are Muslims but they still preserve ancient traditions and cultures from their ancestors.*”

Each picture or symbol of Warogé has a different meaning. *Haranghasuan* (the Warogé symbol of fire) is used to obscure demons’ eyes, and prevent them from disturbing the villages, houses, or field crops. *Ratuning Tutulak* (the Warogé symbol of soil) is used to warding off misfortune from humans with bad intention, or demons with evil intention. *Watu Panggilang* (the Warogé symbol of rock) is used to ward off misfortune from demons who live in the rock. *Wangapah* (the Warogé symbol of water), is used to ward off misfortune from evil creatures living in water. *Wawayangan* (the Warogé symbol of wind) is used to ward off misfortune from evil spirits living in the air.

The people of Sindangbarang are Muslims, but they still preserve ancient traditions and cultures from their ancestors. As a result, they often perform Islamic teachings combined with ancient traditions and cultures. Most of them are farmers, planting rice and other crops. *Sundanese Language, Grade 9*, 2014, p. 29.

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An example of the strong influence of Islam in Sundanese textbooks can be seen in the following passage teaching students how to express themselves in Arabic, such as using the words *bismillah, alhamdulillah, insya Allah*, etc. Students deepen their knowledge of expressions in Arabic by exploring their meaning.

1. Natural events are part of *Sunnatulloh* (the universal system and order of Allah)
2. Let us now say *Bismillah* (in the name of Allah)
3. When you are happy, let us say *alhamdulillah* (praise be to God)
4. When you visit someone’s house, let us say *assalamua’alaikum* (peace be unto you)
5. When you see something extraordinary, let us say *subhanalloh* (all praise be to Allah)
6. When we make a promise to be fulfilled, let us say *insya Allah* (if Allah wills it)
7. When you say *takbir* (glorification of God) in your prayers, let us say *Allahu Akbar* (Allah is great)
8. When you encounter something horrifying, let us say *astagfirullah* (I seek forgiveness from Allah)
9. In the name of Allah, the most Gracious, and the most Merciful
10. The Prophet Muhammad is a model of excellence to humankind

*Sundanese Language, Grade 1, 2014, pp. 122-123.*

**Concept of Family**

The textbooks largely depict the ideal of traditional family unit, consisting of a father, a mother, and a child or children. There is no reference to or discussion of single-parent or same-sex parents. However, there is diverse representation of families belonging to different ethnicities.

The image and text below describe a Muslim family (indicated by the *hijab* worn by the mother and daughter in the picture) consisting of a mother, a father, a son, and a daughter.
Subtheme 1

**My Family Members**

I have a happy family.
I have a father, mother, and sister.
We have different hobbies.
We do different activities.
We love each other.
I am grateful for what God has given us.

*My Family, Grade 1, 2017, p. 1.*

The next passage introduces Dayu’s family, with unpictured examples in the textbooks identifying them as a Hindu family, consisting of a mother, a father, and a daughter.

**Listen to the story told by your teacher.**

Dayu loved helping her father and mother at home.
Dayu helped her mother sweep the yard.
Every weekend, Dayu also helped with the cooking.

*My Family, Grade 1, 2017, p. 59.*
A Chinese Indonesian family consisting of a mother, a father, and a daughter is depicted in a first grade lesson.

Let’s Read
Read out loud.
Every afternoon, Lani studied at home. Her father and mother helped her study. Studying with parents was so much fun.

Let’s Talk
Who helps you study at home?
What do you learn?
Tell your friends.
*My Family, Grade 1*, 2017, p. 74.
Another example of a Chinese family consisting of a mother, a father, and a daughter, along with grandparents, is presented in a first-grade lesson.

Let’s Observe

Lani was visiting her grandmother’s house. Lani met with her entire extended family. *My Family, Grade 1*, 2017, p. 135.

Marriage and Disability

In Indonesia, knowledge of the reproductive system is linked with prevailing societal norms. Due to the societal responsibility of producing healthy and smart offspring according to the prevailing norms, students are expected to maintain the health of their reproductive organs. These prevailing norms generally includes heterosexual marriage, and no children before marriage.

This is demonstrated in the below example, which emphasizes the importance of reproductive health, and associates it with “maintain[ing] good relationships according to religious and moral rules.” Students are then asked to rank the extent to which they care about their reproductive system on a numerical scale: acts such as refraining from visiting websites containing pornography are ranked as positive on this scale.
Learning about the reproductive system in living things is similar to seeing the life cycle of living creatures. Not all reproductive processes can be observed directly. So far, we only know that every organism naturally produces new offspring to maintain its survival. However, we do not know the exact stages of the process of producing offspring. The human reproductive process to produce offspring is not a simple process. So many factors are involved in this process, such as the formation of sperm and ovum, and the condition of and growth of the embryo in the mother’s womb before the baby is born.

As living beings who are given the opportunity to be in this world, God also gives us the responsibility to maintain our existence in this world. Therefore, humans are supposed to try to produce healthy and smart offspring according to prevailing norms. One of the ways is to keep the reproductive organs healthy. Another thing to do is maintain good relationships according to religious and moral rules. Keeping oneself away from reproductive system disease, which threatens anyone, is also suggested. What about you? Try to answer the questions in Table 1.5!
Table 1.5 Questions/Statements to reflect on the human reproductive system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Questions/Statements</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Have you kept your reproductive organs clean and healthy?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Do you change your underwear often?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Do you urinate in a proper place?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Do you avoid visiting websites containing pornography?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Do you use your leisure time to do your hobbies or positive activities to avoid unhealthy friendships?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Count your score with the following conditions:
“Yes” answer obtains a 2 (two) score
“No” answer obtains a 0 (zero) score

Match your total score with the following criteria:
0-3 means you do not care about your reproductive system
4-6 means you care less about your reproductive system
7-10 means you care about your reproductive system
If you do not care or care less about your reproductive system, you should care more about it.

*Natural Science, Grade 9, 2018, pp. 42–43*
The excerpt below explains that the Indonesian government affords every individual equal opportunity to find a job, including the disabled.

To increase global competitiveness through developing industrial, trade, and investment policies, the government offers equal accessibility to job opportunities and businesses for all people and the entire region through competitive excellence, especially the potential of natural and human resources, by eliminating all forms of discriminatory treatment and obstacles.

*Pancasila and Civics Education, Grade 11, 2018, p. 139.*

**Indigenous Beliefs**

The curriculum shows limited discussion of indigenous beliefs, and their status in Indonesia. However, this passage on religious diversity in Indonesia includes local beliefs.

3. Religious Diversity

Indonesia has diverse religions and beliefs. In Indonesia, there are six officially recognized religions, namely Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. In addition, there are also local beliefs.

*Animal and Human Movement Organs, Grade 5, 2017, p. 162.*
Conclusion

Indonesia is a diverse archipelago consisting of a large variety of faiths, ethnicities, cultures, and languages, while also being overwhelmingly Muslim. The curriculum examined in this research reflects the commitment of Indonesia to tolerance and multiculturalism, peace, and democracy within an overarching adherence to unity and religious values. Despite some tension between unity and plurality, tolerance and diversity remain central themes.

Diversity is viewed as an asset for prosperity. The promotion and preservation of arts and culture, such as legends and traditional music, serves as a foundation for the creative economy. The nation’s economic policies are presented as non-discriminatory, embracing the disabled and members of all groups in Indonesian society.

In its safeguarding of diversity, the curriculum offers space for local language education under the umbrella of local materials, regulated by regional governments. However, this means that local language education may not be offered if regional governments do not choose to include it in local curricula.

The textbooks encourage students to develop critical thinking, problem solving, and collaborative skills by designing group and individual projects aimed at exploring different local arts and cultures, and both sharing opinions on and solutions to social problems.

Indonesia’s lingering problem with racism is dealt with explicitly in the curriculum. For example, textbooks confront bias against Indonesians of Chinese descent by presenting Chinese Indonesian students, especially in the thematic textbooks for primary school, and some junior high school textbooks. Traditional Chinese attire and religion are introduced in some materials outside of religious education lessons. Textbooks thus help students to internalize different cultures and, specifically, to understand that Chinese Indonesians form part of the Indonesian mosaic of ethnicities. The image of a famous Chinese Indonesian male dancer who favored stereotypically ‘feminine’ activities in his childhood helps to promote diversity, and individualistic lifestyles.

Radicalization is addressed by integrating religious and character education into one textbook, with great emphasis on the teaching of moderation. Religious education textbooks discuss tolerance and respect for other religions. The curriculum also tries to offer an unbiased perspective on the 1965 Thirtieth of September Movement, and the ensuing discrimination toward Chinese Indonesians. Nevertheless, there is no discussion on the massacre of the accused members of Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). Similarly, while the textbooks teach about Indonesia and East Timor (Timor Leste) after the latter gained independence, they shy away from details of war and its atrocities between 1974–1999.

Pancasila, or the five principles, is the nation’s official philosophy, promoting unity within the greater diversity of Indonesian society. The first principle, “One and Only God,” is taught in all schools, implying that every citizen must believe in God. For a Muslim-majority country this principle is extremely tolerant: instead of being enforced as the state religion, Islam is taught as
being just one religion in Indonesia, on equal footing with all other recognized faiths – Christianity (Protestantism and Catholicism), Buddhism, Hinduism, and Confucianism. All recognized religions are foreign in origin. The preservation of local religious traditions is encouraged only within the Christian and Catholic education program, but the curriculum shows emphatic respect for local cultures. In Indonesia there is no room for agnosticism or atheism; the curriculum ignores these philosophical alternatives altogether. Yet, there is also no polemic surrounding agnosticism or local religions.

A lesson in an Islamic education textbook states that killing and fighting, including fighting with non-Muslims, is prohibited, but Islamic textbooks also teach armed jihad – holy war to defend and expand Islam. Jihad war is typically presented in cases of comparison with other religious duties, such as pilgrimage or tending to one’s parents. The latter two are taught as having equal, and even superior, religious value in comparison to jihad in some contexts, but the centrality of Islam’s holy war as a religious duty nevertheless remains present. The textbooks do not explain how, and in what conditions, jihad should be carried out.

The curriculum condemns jihadi terrorists and teaches about domestic acts of terrorism, without blaming or associating it with certain groups. Tolerance is specifically taught in Buddhist textbooks as a means to prevent terrorism, war, and violence.

The curriculum is free of religious hatred. There is no anti-Christian polemic or Islamophobia. While most mentions of Jews in Islamic education textbooks are neutral or positive, limited stereotypical biases exist. Christians and Jews are mentioned positively in the context of the Hebrew Bible, the Psalms and the New Testament, and for their activities during the golden eras of Islamic civilization. There is a clear message that violence toward other religions should be avoided, in response to wronging or offending Muslims, and examples show many acts of generosity toward Jews.

Dawa and missionary work are discussed in religious education materials, particularly in the Islam and Catholicism textbooks. Dawa is said to be carried out in a moderate and courteous way, while missionary work should focus on respecting and loving others, relating to society, and contributing to the surrounding community. Textbooks teaching Confucianism state that missionary work should not be pursued.

All religious education textbooks promote tolerance toward those who are different. However, Islamic education textbooks take a clear stand against homosexuality. Muslim students learn that their religion forbids prostitution and LGBT identity (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender). Hinduism accepts a third gender of effeminate males. Although Hinduism and Catholicism education textbooks instill tolerance toward different religions, they reject interfaith marriages.

Gender equality between men and women is also promoted, both in religious education and in other subjects. While a few examples expose the issues women face in society, most of the content depicts the shared responsibility of men and women. Men contribute to household chores, and women are said to be able to handle “manly” jobs.
The curriculum presents the ideal Indonesian family unit as having a mother, a father, and a child or children. Every individual, male and female, is expected to be sexually abstinent until marriage. However, women are regarded as being solely responsible for protecting their hymen from breaking, by not engaging in premarital intercourse. Such a perspective unfairly places the responsibility for the moral duty of abstinence solely on women, without considering that men are central contributors to the breaking of the hymen, if it does not occur naturally.

In the context of religion, while the textbooks mostly use neutral terms or avoid reference to a particular religion, at times lessons drawn upon the symbols, languages, or practices of a specific religion in ostensibly neutral classes, like poetry and social interaction. In the case of Sundanese education, explicit references to Islam in the teaching of languages, norms, and expectations may be acceptable due to the strong influence of Islam on Sunda culture. Even though there is an emphasis on Sundanese being open to traditional customs, the tendency toward Islam in textbook examples may undermine other religions.

The textbooks also demonstrate efforts to maintain a balanced view of countries whose relationship with Indonesia is of a delicate nature due to such issues as colonialism, disputes, Communism, etc.; that said, some examples use very strong negative language. Instead of only describing the injustices of colonialism, the textbooks also reveal the lasting contribution of colonialists and colonial rule.

Indonesian foreign policy is governed by the ‘independent’ and ‘active’ principle of the non-block policy, namely not siding with any world power. In addition, the 1945 constitution defines Indonesia’s role as a peacekeeping country. Nevertheless, the depiction of relations with different countries is inconsistent, and seems to be dictated by both policy needs, and a desire to maintain harmony. The curriculum tries to minimize criticism toward the government, and to avoid any deeper analysis of foreign affairs that would entail asking difficult questions.

Hence, while the upside of this curriculum is its commitment to harmony and tolerance, the downside seems to be avoiding frank debate on a host of issues. For example, nowhere in the curriculum is there a debate over whether agnosticism should or should not be part of the Indonesian worldview. The persecution of Muslims in China and Myanmar is ignored, as are contentious aspects of Indonesian history, such as the war in East Timor. While the insistence on avoiding demonization – even in difficult cases such as Dutch colonialism and Japanese occupation – textbooks do not foster a culture of open debate.

Local wisdom is taught as promoting unity, even though some of this wisdom does not really accommodate difference. Acceptance toward those who are different, manifested in the principle of communal work to ease the burdens of others, has long been nurtured in Indonesian culture. An example from the textbooks which does not accommodate difference is the presentation of a traditional family unit, without acknowledging the existence of single-parent families.

The curriculum aims to preserve cultural diversity and the environment. It encourages students to cultivate traditional arts such as dance, music, and performing arts. The curriculum seems to adopt
an egalitarian approach to preserving cultural diversity, giving both sexes the opportunity for advancement, and promoting the idea of prosperity via a long-term vision to develop Indonesia. In an effort to preserve local cultures, Christian churches studies have launched studies to translate the Bible into some local languages in East Nusa Tenggara. The Curriculum also pays attention to environmental issues, such as the killing of orangutans in Kalimantan.

Self-criticism and humility are two qualities evident in the curriculum. A lesson on education presents the Indonesian education system as being of low quality, meaning that Indonesia should learn from “developed countries.”

**International Standards for Peace and Tolerance**

The Indonesian curriculum promotes tolerance, understanding and RESPECT toward the “Other,” his or her culture, achievements, values, and way of life. Respect and tolerance are generally extended to believers in the One God, according to the six recognized faiths in Indonesia, all of which originated from foreign sources. There is no space for atheism and agnosticism, and local religions are largely not addressed, except in rare cases. The curriculum encourages diversity, and calls for the nurturing of local cultures and languages. In some cases, responsibility for preserving local languages is attributed, seemingly unfairly, at the doorstep of parents, while the role of the state is given a free pass on this issue. There is no incitement against local religions or agnostics. An exception to this is the ban on Communism, resulting from the 1965 Thirtieth of September failed coup attempt.

In many cases, INDIVIDUAL OTHERS are presented, particularly when the curriculum is trying to foster harmony and good relations among Indonesia’s great many ethnicities. There are fewer such examples in relation to foreign countries, but the curriculum nevertheless tries to avoid demonization, and always endeavors to present a positive perspective of the “Other.” For example, the Japanese colonialist leader, Admiral Maeda, is described as offering his house to Indonesian leaders as a meeting place to formulate the Proclamation of Independence.

The curriculum is free of HATE and is generally committed to PEACEMAKING. There is mostly NO INCITEMENT. Indeed, one critique of this curriculum is that it tries to avoid conflict in its consistent adherence to harmony, at times at the expense of frank debate. One exception, however, to this general trend is that *jihad* war is taught in Islamic education textbooks. According to the standards, “the curriculum should be free of language, content, and imagery that disseminate ideas or theories which justify or promote acts and expressions of violence.” Teaching Indonesian children that *jihad* war against infidels is the right path, without issuing warnings, clearly contradicts peace and tolerance. Granted, the Islamic education textbooks also teach that killing and fighting, including fighting against non-Muslims, is prohibited.

As for UNBIASED INFORMATION, the curriculum generally charts the contours of Indonesia’s relations with various countries. Sensitive issues are not taught, however. Philosophically, unity under God is accepted as an essential ideology. Local religions are not part of the five central principles of the state’s official philosophy. To be fair, the standard in question aims to provide
necessary information on an enemy, in the hopes of facilitating a compromise, and an eventual reconciliation. In the case of the Indonesian curriculum, there no such explicit enemy. The textbooks always present a positive angle, even in difficult cases. In the case of the Japanese occupation, the positive consequence was the emergence of the Indonesian national movement. Problematic issues are avoided to keep the harmony. Examples include the glaring omissions of the fate of Muslims in China and Myanmar, the war and killing in East Timor, and the massacre of Communist party members. The teaching of WWII ignores Nazi Germany.

In terms of GENDER IDENTITY AND REPRESENTATION and SEXUAL ORIENTATION, the Indonesian curriculum is unashamedly conservative. It educates for abstinence before marriage and, especially in Islamic education textbooks, rejects everything which deviates from the traditional, heterosexual family unit. The curriculum avoids the issue of single-parent families and LGBT identity, with the exception of Islamic studies, which emphasizes the prohibition of such relationships. Attitudes toward women are generally egalitarian, with traditional stereotypes being minimal, but in some cases, lessons reveal the unfair treatment of women, and rely on traditional gender roles. However, the general tone of the curriculum is that of full equality, and the environment is one of cultural openness and celebration of various lifestyles. Indeed, the Indonesian curriculum is unique in its presentation of feminine roles—including cross-dressing—for men. Welcoming the great variety of cultures and lifestyles that exist in the archipelago bode well for tolerance in Indonesia.

SOUND PROSPERITY is tied in the curriculum, with tolerance and diversity presented as stimulating creativity. Learning and humility are encouraged. COOPERATION is lauded.

As a whole, the Indonesian curriculum is committed to education for tolerance, peace, and democratic values. Some aspects could be improved, and levels of tolerance differ among the religious education textbooks. This is a conservative curriculum that unites an extremely diversified nation around an uncompromising pledge to the One God, to diversity, to the environment, and to a creativity-based economy aimed at sound prosperity, cooperation, peace, and harmony.
Methodology

IMPACT-se applies methodological standards which are based on UNESCO and UN declarations, and international recommendations and documents on education for peace and tolerance (see notes). Our methodology is designed to consider every detail within the textbooks; it does not paraphrase, rely on interpretations, or attempt to illustrate preconceived notions.

The following is an updated, condensed version of the IMPACT-se UNESCO-derived standards for peace and tolerance in school education:

1. **RESPECT**: The curriculum should promote tolerance, understanding and respect toward the "Other," his or her culture, achievements, values and way of life.\(^\text{109}\)

2. **INDIVIDUAL OTHER**: The curriculum should foster personal attachment toward the "Other" as an individual, his or her desire to be familiar, loved and appreciated.\(^\text{110}\)

3. **NO HATE**: The curriculum should be free of wording, imagery and ideologies likely to create prejudices, misconceptions, stereotypes, misunderstandings, mistrust, racial hatred, religious bigotry and national hatred, as well as any other form of hatred or contempt for other groups or peoples.\(^\text{111}\)

4. **NO INCITEMENT**: The curriculum should be free of language, content, and imagery that disseminate ideas or theories which justify or promote acts and expressions of violence, incitement to violence, hostility, harm and hatred toward other national, ethnic, racial or religious groups.\(^\text{112}\)

5. **PEACEMAKING**: The curriculum should develop capabilities for non-violent conflict resolution and promote peace.\(^\text{113}\)

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\(^\text{109}\) As defined in the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance Proclaimed and signed by Member States of UNESCO on November 16, 1995, Articles 1, 4.2. See also the UN Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding Between Peoples (1965), Principles I, III. Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948): Education shall be directed to the full development of human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial and religious groups and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

\(^\text{110}\) The goal of education for peace is the development of universally recognized values in an individual, regardless of different socio-cultural contexts. See Ibid., Article 6. See also, on exchanges between youth, the UN Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples (1965), Principles IV, V.


\(^\text{112}\) As defined in Article 4 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), adopted by the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2106 (XX) on December 21, 1965. See also Article 20 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), adopted by the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2200A (XXI) on December 16, 1966.

6. **UNBIASED INFORMATION**: Educational materials (textbooks, workbooks, teachers’ guides, maps, illustrations, aids) should be up-to-date, accurate, complete, balanced and unprejudiced, and use equal standards to promote mutual knowledge and understanding between different peoples.114

7. **GENDER IDENTITY AND REPRESENTATION**: The curriculum should foster equality, mutual respect, and should aim for equal representation between individuals regardless of their gender identity. It should also refrain from language, content, and imagery that depicts limiting and/or exclusionary gender roles.115

8. **SEXUAL ORIENTATION**: The curriculum should be free of language, content, and imagery that promulgates violence or discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.116

9. **SOUND PROSPERITY and COOPERATION**: The curriculum should educate for sound and sustainable economic conduct and preservation of the environment for future generations. It should encourage regional and local cooperation to that effect.117

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114 Based on UNESCO recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, adopted by the General Conference at its eighteenth session, Paris, November 19, 1974, Article V.14.

115 The preamble to the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance proclaimed and signed by member states of UNESCO on November 16, 1995, notes the Convention on the Elimination of Any Form of Discrimination against Women and emphasizes respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to gender.

116 Based on Resolutions 32/2 (adopted June 30, 2016) and 17/19 (adopted July 14, 2011) of the UN Human Rights Council, and numerous UN General Assembly resolutions expressing concern and condemnation of laws and practices around the world which target individuals based on their gender identity and/or sexual orientation for discrimination, violence, and even extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions—all of which contradict the most basic principles of the UN and have no place in education.

117 Based on UNESCO recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms, adopted by the General Conference at its eighteenth session, Paris, November 19, 1974, Articles III.6, and IV.7. On the imperative for developing "systematic and rational tolerance teaching methods that will address the cultural, social, economic, political and religious sources of intolerance," see the Declaration of Principles on Tolerance proclaimed and signed by member states of UNESCO on November 16, 1995, Article 4.2. On education for international cooperation, see also the UN Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples (1965), Principle II.
List of Textbooks

The following 2013 Curriculum textbooks were analyzed for the research in this study. The titles both here and referenced in the text have been translated into English to aid the reader. IMPACT-se typically researches all available textbooks used in a curriculum. If new textbooks or previously unavailable books become available after a report’s publication, every effort will be made to update reports to include any relevant material. We welcome any comments related to the acquisition of any omitted materials (http://www.impact-se.org/about-us/contact-us/).

Grade 1

1. *Buddhism and Character Education*, Grade 1, 2017
2. *Catholicism and Character Education*, Grade 1, 2017
3. *Clean, Beautiful, and Healthy Environment*, Grade 1, 2017
4. *Confucianism and Character Education*, Grade 1, 2017
5. *Christianity and Character Education*, Grade 1, 2017
6. *Hinduism and Character Education*, Grade 1, 2017
7. *Islam and Character Education*, Grade 1, 2017
8. *Myself*, Grade 1, 2018
9. *My Activities*, Grade 1, 2017
10. *My Experience*, Grade 1, 2017
11. *My Family*, Grade 1, 2017
12. *My Favorites*, Grade 1, 2017
13. *Natural Events*, Grade 1, 2017
14. *Sundanese Language*, Grade 1, 2014

Grade 2

1. *Buddhism and Character Education*, Grade 2, 2017
2. *Caring for Animals and Plants*, Grade 2, 2017
3. *Catholicism and Character Education*, Grade 2, 2017
4. *Clean and Healthy Living*, Grade 2, 2017
5. *Christianity and Character Education*, Grade 2, 2017
6. *Confucianism and Character Education*, Grade 2, 2017
7. *Hinduism and Character Education*, Grade 2, 2017
8. *Islam and Character Education*, Grade 2, 2017
9. *Living in Harmony*, Grade 2, 2017
11. *My Experience*, Grade 2, 2017
12. *Playing in My Neighborhood*, Grade 2, 2017
13. Safety at Home and Travel, Grade 2, 2017
14. Togetherness, Grade 2, 2017
15. Sundanese Language, Grade 2, 2014

Grade 3

1. Buddhism and Character Education, Grade 3, 2018
2. Catholicism and Character Education, Grade 3, 2018
3. Christianity and Character Education, Grade 3, 2018
4. Confucianism and Character Education, Grade 2, 2015
5. Hinduism and Character Education, Grade 3, 2018
6. Islam and Character Education, Grade 3, 2018
7. Energy and Its Changes, Grade 3, 2018
8. Growth and Development of Living Things, Grade 3, 2018
9. Love Plants and Animals, Grade 3, 2018
10. My Duties and Rights, Grade 3, 2018
11. Scouts, Grade 3, 2018
12. Sundanese Language, Grade 3, 2014
13. Technological Development, Grade 3, 2018
14. Things around Me, Grade 3, 2018
15. Weather Theme, Grade 3, 2018

Grade 4

1. Always Save Energy, Grade 4, 2017
2. Buddhism and Character Education, Grade 4, 2017
3. Caring for Living Creatures, Grade 4, 2017
4. Catholicism and Character Education, Grade 4, 2017
5. Christianity and Character Education, Grade 4, 2017
6. Confucianism and Character Education, Grade 4, 2017
7. Heroes Theme, Grade 4, 2017
8. Hinduism and Character Education, Grade 4, 2017
9. Islam and Character Education, Grade 4, 2017
10. My Dreams, Grade 4, 2017
12. Sundanese Language, Grade 4, 2014
13. The Beauty of Diversity in My Country, Grade 4, 2017
14. The Beauty of Togetherness, Grade 4, 2017
15. Various Jobs, Grade 4, 2017
16. Where I Live, Grade 4, 2017
Grade 5

1. Animal and Human Movement Organs, Grade 5, 2017
2. Buddhism and Character Education, Grade 5, 2017
3. Catholicism and Character Education, Grade 5, 2017
4. Christianity and Character Education, Grade 5, 2017
5. Clean Air for Health, Grade 5, 2017
6. Confucianism and Character Education, Grade 5, 2017
7. Ecosystem, Grade 5, 2017
8. Events in Life, Grade 5, 2017
9. Healthy Food, Grade 5, 2017
10. Healthy is Important, Grade 5, 2017
11. Heat and Displacement, Grade 5, 2017
12. Hinduism and Character Education, Grade 5, 2017
13. Islam and Character Education, Grade 5, 2017
14. Our Friend Environment, Grade 5, 2017
15. Sundanese Language, Grade 5, 2014
16. Things around Us, Grade 5, 2017

Grade 6

1. Buddhism and Character Education, Grade 6, 2018
2. Catholicism and Character Education, Grade 6, 2018
3. Christianity and Character Education, Grade 6, 2018
4. Confucianism and Character Education, Grade 6, 2018
5. Entrepreneurship, Grade 6, 2018
6. Figures and Inventions, Grade 6, 2018
7. Globalization, Grade 6, 2018
8. Hinduism and Character Education, Grade 6, 2018
9. Islam and Character Education, Grade 6, 2018
10. My Earth, Grade 6, 2018
11. Save Living Creatures, Grade 6, 2018
12. Sundanese Language, Grade 6, 2014
13. Unity in Diversity, Grade 6, 2018

Grade 7

1. Art and Culture, Grade 7, 2017
2. Buddhism and Character Education, Grade 7, 2017
3. Catholicism and Character Education, Grade 7, 2016
4. Christianity and Character Education, Grade 7, 2017
5. *Confucianism and Character Education*, Grade 7, 2017
7. *Hinduism and Character Education*, Grade 7, 2017
8. *Indonesian*, Grade 7, 2017
9. *Islam and Character Education*, Grade 7, 2017
10. *Natural Science*, Grade 7, 2017
11. *Pancasila and Civics Education*, Grade 7, 2017

**Grade 8**

1. *Art and Culture*, Grade 8, 2017
2. *Buddhism and Character Education*, Grade 8, 2017
3. *Catholicism and Character Education*, Grade 8, 2017
4. *Christianity and Character Education*, Grade 8, 2017
5. *Confucianism and Character Education*, Grade 8, 2017
7. *Hinduism and Character Education*, Grade 8, 2014
8. *Indonesian*, Grade 8, 2017
9. *Islam and Character Education*, Grade 8, 2017
10. *Natural Science*, Grade 8, 2017
11. *Pancasila and Civics Education*, Grade 8, 2017
12. *Social Science*, Grade 8, 2017

**Grade 9**

1. *Art and Culture*, Grade 9, 2015
2. *Buddhism and Character Education*, Grade 9, 2018
3. *Catholicism and Character Education*, Grade 9, 2018
4. *Christianity and Character Education*, Grade 9, 2018
5. *Confucianism and Character Education*, Grade 9, 2018
7. *Hinduism and Character Education*, Grade 9, 2018
8. *Indonesian*, Grade 9, 2018
9. *Islam and Character Education*, Grade 9, 2018
10. *Natural Science*, Grade 9, 2018
11. *Pancasila and Civics Education*, Grade 9, 2018
12. *Social Science*, Grade 9, 2015
13. *Sundanese Language*, Grade 9, 2014
## Grade 10

1. *Art and Culture*, Grade 10, Semester 1, 2017  
2. *Art and Culture*, Grade 10, Semester 2, 2017  
4. *Catholicism and Character Education*, Grade 10, 2017  
5. *Christianity and Character Education*, Grade 10, 2016  
9. *History*, Grade 10, 2017  
10. *Indonesian*, Grade 10, 2016  

## Grade 11

1. *Art and Culture*, Grade 11, Semester 1, 2014  
2. *Art and Culture*, Grade 11, Semester 2, 2014  
3. *Buddhism and Character Education*, Grade 11, 2017  
4. *Catholicism and Character Education*, Grade 11, 2017  
5. *Christianity and Character Education*, Grade 11, 2017  
7. *English*, Grade 11, 2017  
8. *Hinduism and Character Education*, Grade 11, 2017  
9. *History*, Grade 11, Semester 1, 2017  
10. *History*, Grade 11, Semester 2, 2017  
11. *Indonesian*, Grade 11, 2017  
12. *Islam and Character Education*, Grade 11, 2017  

## Grade 12

1. *Art and Culture*, Grade 12, Semester 1, 2018  
2. *Art and Culture*, Grade 12, Semester 2, 2018  
3. *Buddhism and Character Education*, Grade 10, 2018  
4. *Catholicism and Character Education*, Grade 12, 2018  
5. *Christianity and Character Education*, Grade 12, 2018  
6. *Confucianism and Character Education*, Grade 12, 2018
7. *English*, Grade 12, 2018
8. *Hinduism and Character Education*, Grade 12, 2018
9. *History*, Grade 12, 2018
10. *Indonesian*, Grade 12, 2018
11. *Islam and Character Education*, Grade 12, 2018
12. *Pancasila and Civics Education*, Grade 12, 2018
13. *Sundanese Language*, Grade 12, 20