

**The Self in Struggle: Indonesian Secondary School Teachers'
Multiplicity of Voices amidst Competing Discourses
of Tolerance**

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ABSTRACT

The issue of tolerance has a long history as a contentious topic in Indonesian educational policy. The emergence of religious, ethnic-based conflict and violence in several regions in the last two decades has raised some questions about Indonesia's identity as a moderate and tolerant society. Amidst the increasing incidents of intolerance, the civil society movement called for the nation to revive local wisdom and values of tolerance as catalysts for the unity of Indonesia's multicultural society. In response to the call, the government re-introduced character or moral education into the school curriculum at primary and secondary levels to promote local wisdom and the values of tolerance – perceived to be on a declining trend in society. The policy was met with scepticism at best, as the inclusion and exclusion of character education have become the norm over the years under different national leadership. Educational practitioners and scholars have critiqued the limited hours dedicated to the teaching and development of students' soft skills as an indication of the government's lack of seriousness in addressing character education vis-à-vis tolerance. Understanding the essence of tolerance, as perceived and experienced by teachers, I argue, would help formulate a policy that resonates with the true colour of realities in the local context.

This research employs Ricoeur's phenomenological approach within the qualitative research paradigm to examine tolerance as individually experienced and narrated by the teacher participants. Bakhtin's theory of dialogism, particularly his theoretical constructs of double-voicedness, ideologically becoming, agency, and heteroglossia are used to analyse the data. Ricoeur's three levels of analysis complement the use of Bakhtin's notion of dialogism to provide a more robust analysis. Research findings identified participants' varied views and perceptions of tolerance. They drew on a repertoire of local wisdom and personal experience to echo their aspirations and views of tolerance, rendering their voice heteroglossic as understood within Bakhtin's framework. The findings attest to the participants' internal struggles in the process of ideologically becoming as they attempt to appropriate different competing discourses of tolerance. This research makes three contributions to the field of moral education. First, I propose Javanese local wisdom, "tepo sliro", as the most genuine conception of tolerance as it transcends the superficiality of the practice of tolerance, one that is anchored in the consideration of the feelings of others as the most subtle aspect of human beings. Methodologically, my research makes useful contributions to research in the humanities and social studies regarding how we can better understand the essence of human experience and its idiosyncrasies in an increasingly complex world so as to allow for multiple perspective-taking. Lastly, it is highly recommended that the use of phenomenological research be integrated into educational policy-making processes which consider local contexts so as to promote higher levels of programme participation and ownership.

For my mom, Almarhumah Hj. Tuning Yuhanir
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Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	ii
Acknowledgements	iv
Table of Contents	v
Glossary	viii
List of Figures.....	ix
List of Tables.....	x
Chapter 1. Introduction	1
Research Background.....	1
Research Questions.....	8
Research Rationale.....	8
Significance of Study	9
Organization of Chapters	11
Chapter 2. Literature Review.....	13
Democratisation and Civil Society Development in Indonesia	13
The Old Order	14
The New Order	15
The Reform Era.....	18
Pluralism in Indonesia	21
Education for Democracy in Indonesia	26
Islamic Civil Society Associations and Education for Democracy.....	28
Character Education in Indonesia	32
Tolerance in Indonesia	35
Socio-political Views on Tolerance.....	39
Factors Affecting (In)tolerance.....	41
Contribution of Social Relations to Tolerance.....	42
Prior Research on Tolerance	44
Summary	46
Chapter 3. Theoretical Framework.....	48
Bakhtin's theory of dialogism.....	48
Discourse	49

Voice and identity	51
Double-voicedness	53
Heteroglossia.....	55
Agency	56
Ideologically becoming.....	59
Summary	66
Chapter 4. Research Methodology.....	68
Locating my Research Within a Research Paradigm	68
Researcher Role and Positionality.....	71
Ethical Considerations.....	73
Phenomenological Research Design	74
Research Settings	77
Data Collection	78
Research participants.....	78
Data-collection tools	78
Semi-structured interviews.....	79
Data collection during the Covid 19 pandemic	82
Data Analysis	85
Naïve reading	87
Structural analysis	87
Critical interpretation (in-depth understanding)	88
Trustworthiness	88
Summary	89
Chapter 5. Navigating the Self Through Competing Discourses of Tolerance	91
Data Analysis Process.....	94
Naïve reading	94
Structural analysis	96
Theme 1: Engaging with differences	98
Encountering differences	98
Coping with discomfort.....	102
Theme 2: Thinking about and perceiving differences in relation to tolerance.....	104
Learning from local wisdom	105
Learning from religious teachings	110

Theme 3: Appropriating different views of teaching tolerance.....	114
Handling differences in school	114
Responding to authoritative discourse	119
Proposing ways of teaching tolerance	124
Summary	127
Chapter 6. Experiencing Internal Struggle.....	129
Double-voicedness: Appropriating Competing Discourses of Tolerance.....	130
Agency and Identity: Authoring the Self and Counterbalancing Dominant Discourse	140
Ideologically Becoming: The Unfinalised Self.....	146
Summary	149
Chapter 7. Closing. Tolerance: Looking at the Self Through the Other.....	150
Summary of Research Process	150
Summary of Research Findings and Discussion	152
Multiplicity of Voices.....	152
The Self in Struggle.....	155
Research Implications	157
Research Contributions.....	162
Theoretical contributions	162
Methodological contributions.....	165
Contribution to policymakers.....	166
Final Thoughts	167
References	168
Appendices	190
Appendix A. Participants' Recruitment Poster.....	191
Appendix B. Email for Participants Used in the Research.....	192
Appendix C. Sample of Decline Letter.....	193
Appendix D. Principal's Information Sheet (PIS) and Consent Form	194
Appendix E. Participant's Information Sheet (PIS) and Consent Form	200
Appendix F. Guideline Questions for Interviews.....	205
Appendix G. Ethics Approval Letter	206

Glossary

Golkar	: Golongan Karya (Functional Group Party)
Masyumi	: Majelis Syuro Muslim Indonesia (Confederated Muslim Party)
MK	: Mahkamah Konstitusi (Constitutional Court)
MPR	: Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (People's Consultative Assembly)
NU	: Nahdlatul Ulama (Revival of the Ulama)
P4	: Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila (Guide to the Realisation and Implementation of Pancasila was a mass propagation of Pancasila)
PDI	: Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (Indonesia Democratic Party)
Pkn	: Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan (Civic Education)
PMP	: Pendidikan Moral Pancasila (Pancasila Moral Education)
PPK	: Penguatan Pendidikan Karakter (Enhancement of Character Education)
PPKn	: Pendidikan Pancasila dan Kewarganegaraan (Pancasila and Civic Education)
PPP	: Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (United Development Party)
PSI	: Partai Sosialis Indonesia (Indonesian Socialist Party)
RSBI	: Rintisan Sekolah Bertaraf Internasional (International-Standard School Pilot Project)
UK-BPIP	: Unit Kerja Presiden Bidang Pemantapan Ideologi Pancasila (Task Force Unit of Pancasila Ideology Reinforcement Bureau)

List of Figures

Figure 3.1 Theoretical Map	66
Figure 5.1 Illustration of data analysis process	94
Figure 6.1 Logical flow of critical interpretation	129

List of Tables

Table 4.1 Sample of interview questions	81
Table 4.2 Data collection timeline	85
Table 5.1 The participants' information backgrounds.....	91
Table 5.2 The hermeneutic phenomenological structural analysis.....	97

Chapter 1. Introduction

Research Background

In the past two decades, Indonesia has seen an upsurge of horizontal¹ conflicts and violence, public disturbance, and displays of hostility and hatred in society involving different ethnicities, religions, and social and political affiliations. Following the downfall of the New Order regime in 1998, Indonesian society enjoyed freedom at such an unprecedented level that allowed local sentiments, ethnic and religious prejudices to grow. A country long known for its diversity, hospitality, and peaceful coexistence suddenly seemed to be devoid of tolerance and that could lead to social disintegration. The new government was unprepared for this dramatic status quo. In subsequent years, after President Soeharto was toppled from power, Indonesia plunged into a relentless cycle of ethnic-religious conflicts and violence (Sidel, 2007). During these turbulent months in 1998, the Chinese minority was often the target of violence, resulting in the loss of life, and the destruction of homes and business premises (Colombijn & Lindbland, 2002; Lindsey & Pausacker, 2005; Purdey, 2006). Over the same period, religious and socioeconomic-based conflicts also erupted in a number of regions such as Poso, Sulawesi, Lombok, Halmahera and Ambon, and elsewhere (Bertrand, 2004; Schulze, 2017; Van Klinken, 2006; Wilson, 2010). Although these conflicts were finally contained, religious conservatism and intolerance increasingly gained currency (Allen, 2007; Hadiz, 2018; Indriani, 2017). While sectarian conflicts reverberated over the last four successions of national

¹ Horizontal conflicts involve incidents between and among individuals, members of social groups, political partisans and religious groups, as opposed to vertical conflicts between local and central government.

leadership, the threat of intolerance and communal violence continued to plague Indonesia as it was transitioning into a democratic nation.

While the end of the New Order regime undoubtedly paved the way for democratisation, it came with some profound repercussions. Democratisation has allowed for the expression of individual aspirations and regional identities which had long been suppressed under Soeharto rule (Aspinall & Fealy, 2003; Nyman, 2006). At the same time, the demand for autonomy – and so decentralisation – was an inevitable consequence of the democratisation process in Indonesia (Diprose & Ukiwo, 2008). The shift toward decentralisation, however, was far from being a peaceful, neat process. Local politicians were quick to take advantage of these societal tensions to win sympathy and support for their political appointments in local governments. However, many of these new emerging local elites have turned into what the general public has termed “*raja-raja kecil*” (little kings) to suggest how they abused power in ways that were even more authoritarian and corrupt than Soeharto, in their own self-interest (Aspinall & Mietzner, 2010). These political elites and local authorities engaged in endless bickering and power abuse, much to the resentment of the general public who grew wary and sceptical about the direction of the reform movement after the New Order government. Over the last four presidential elections, polarisation and friction in society were visibly strong, often resulting in physical conflicts among supporters of political parties. During the 2019 general election, attitudes and behaviour exhibiting ethnic, religious, and cultural ideologies reached an alarming level. To a great extent, social media and digital technology played an important role in the public display of these sentiments as people used them to openly lash out at each other and engage in verbal abuse and hate speech. Regretfully, such displays of intolerance did not occur only in political spheres but also spanned across different domains of life, including education

(Fajriati, 2017; Indriani, 2017). During this period, there were numerous reports of violence and hostility against minorities, bullying, and verbal abuse in schools. While the roots of these problems may be multifaceted, it could be argued that democratisation, along with the greatly enhanced media freedom, was the precursor for the heightened sense of degradation in the practice of tolerance in Indonesia (Allen, 2007; Gillespie, 2007).

Against the backdrop of those prevalent displays of intolerance, the government, along with scholars, political elites, and religious figures, has recently made an appeal to all Indonesian citizens to revive the values of tolerance and respect for differences. Education has a strategic role in instilling the values of tolerance in students. This appeal for tolerance, however, looked more like an attempt to rectify the government's previous policy to abolish Pancasila moral education or PMP (Five Pillars Moral Education) in the 1980s. The PMP focused on the inculcation of Pancasila as the nation's philosophical foundation of which values of tolerance were also part. However, after the downfall of the New Order regime, PMP was removed from the primary and secondary curricula partly due to its perceived failure to bring real impact to character building. It was then merged with civic education to become the so-called Pendidikan Pancasila dan Kewarganegaraan or PPKn (Pancasila and Civic Education) as mandated by the Government Regulation No 2, article 39, 1989 of the National Education System. During the reform era,² the word 'Pancasila' was removed as it reflected the old authoritarian regime and so the name became Pendidikan Kewarganegaraan or Pkn (Civic Education). Civic education, which was officially introduced in 2002, aims to educate primary and secondary students about

² The reformation era began in 1998 with the resignation of authoritarian President Soeharto, also known as the transition era characterised by a more open and liberal political-social environment.

the principles of democratic systems, civil society and the rule of the law, as well as the state ideology and civic values of Pancasila (Nurdin, 2015).

The reform movement also gave rise to public demand for greater transparency and autonomy in policymaking including education. In response to the demand, the government issued Decentralization Laws No 22, 1999, which were to be fully implemented in 2001. The laws devolved power from the central government to the district level, bypassing the provincial-level government that had traditionally represented the central government in the regions. Through the laws, local districts and regions were granted greater autonomy over policy formulations and budgetary control, including taxation and local elections for parliament, Governor, and District Head. In the education sector, the government introduced the 2004 competency-based curriculum, partly in response to heated criticism of the one-size-fits-all-type curricula under the Soeharto regime. The 2004 curriculum was formulated on account of the emerging demands and changes brought about by globalisation, as well as rapid development in science and technology. Thus, the government designated the 2004 curriculum as a medium for equipping students with specific competencies relevant to the demands of the changing world. The 2004 curriculum was subsequently replaced by the 2006 school-level curriculum in which local schools were allowed greater autonomy to design their own curricula based on local needs and challenges. The 2006 curriculum also aimed to make learning more authentic and relevant to students. In both curricula, there was a heavy emphasis on competence rather than content and a shift toward student-centred pedagogy promoting learners' active engagement. This shift was prompted by the fact that the teaching–learning process had previously been dependent solely on teachers, leaving little room for students' participation. Hence, within the 2006 curriculum, critical thinking formed a core component to help students learn to think critically,

rationally, and creatively about citizenship issues (Bjork, 2006; Kristiansen & Pratikno, 2006; Raihani, 2007).

In the 2013 curriculum, character education was introduced as part of PKn or Civic Education. The Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) stated that the inclusion of character education was prompted by concern over the apparent decline of awareness of the nation's cultural values, shifts in ethical standards, and threats to national integrity. One of the objectives of character education is to instil the values of tolerance in students, which are to be manifested in tolerant attitudes and behaviours, such as appreciating and respecting others who have different religions, ethnicity, opinions, and ways of life.³

In 2017, President Joko Widodo established the Unit Kerja Presiden Bidang Pemantapan Ideologi Pancasila (UK-BPIP)⁴ through the Presidential Regulations No 54 2017 (Stefanie, 2018). The UK-BPIP constituted a ministerial-level work unit whose task was to reify the teaching and implementation of Pancasila in schools, governmental institutions, and social organisations. Alongside this development, character education was made a priority programme as part of the President's so-called "Revolusi mental" (mental revolution). In 2017, the Ministry of Education and Culture also launched a national campaign called Penguatan Pendidikan Karakter (PPK) (Enhancement of Character Education). President Joko Widodo instructed schools to allocate more hours for character education than for the teaching of knowledge, the proportion being 70% in primary education, and 60% in secondary level (Khairunisa & Wahab, 2019). In 2018, PMP (Pancasila Moral Education) was

³ Puskurbuk (2011). *Pedoman Pelaksanaan Pendidikan Karakter* (Manual of Character Education Implementation), p. 3.

⁴ BPIP (Pancasila Ideology Reinforcement Bureau) is a Task Force Unit directly under the supervision of President Joko Widodo, established in 2017.

brought into public discourse once again, this time by the Ministry of Education and Culture on the grounds that PMP education needed to be re-enacted and taught as early as primary education to help prevent the emergence and spread of radical ideologies deemed to be against Pancasila. For this purpose, the government planned to revive the Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila (P4)⁵ through BPIP. In October 2019, the Minister of Education and Culture, Muhajir Effendi, re-emphasised that PMP as a school subject would be re-integrated into the school curriculum in 2020.

As it stands, moral education, as part of both civic and PMP education, has been contested throughout the historical continuum of the Indonesian education system. For example, in 1972, civic education was revoked and replaced with Pancasila Moral Education (PMP) by the Soeharto regime. Following this, President Soeharto imposed a ban on the circulation of civic books because they were deemed to have served as a medium for spreading the ideologies of his predecessor, President Soekarno (Ardanareswari, 2019). As suggested by Darmaningtyas (2004), the replacement of civic education with PMP brought serious political implications. Among other things, such replacement meant civic education was considered useless since it did not serve the interests of the ruling power. Whereas PMP, according to Darmaningtyas (2004), stressed students' obedience to the state ideology and subordination to the common goal. Hence, PMP was used by the regime to preserve its hegemonic power of the regime to the detriment of students' learning (Darmaningtyas, 2004). Soeharto also created the so-called Supervisory Body for the Implementation of the Guide to the Realisation and Implementation of Pancasila, or BP7. Over a period of 19 years, through BP7, the New Order regime

⁵ P4 or Guide to the Realisation and Implementation of Pancasila was a mass propagation of Pancasila during the New Order regime.

made it compulsory for any civil servants and members of society to complete the course on P4. In school, P4 had been a compulsory subject since the introduction of the 1975 curriculum. Bourchier (2014) suggested that P4 “was not an interpretation of Pancasila”, but rather, “it was a code of practice, a directive and rule of conduct for the social and political life of every Indonesian citizen, every state official and every state and social institution throughout Indonesia” (p. 191). Hence, the establishment of BPIP in the era of Jokowi, along with the plan to reinstate P4, reminded the general public of the methods used by the New Order regime to promulgate Pancasila ideologies. Some scholars, political figures, and human rights activists have expressed their criticism of the plan, which again could lead to the separation of civic education from PMP (Ardanareswari, 2019). They argued that PMP education was subject to being used as a political tool to preserve the ruling power. However, Coordinating Political, Legal, and Security Affairs Minister, Mahfud MD, recently claimed that BPIP was established in response to threats of the radical movement which aspired to replace Pancasila with other ideologies (Andayani, 2018).

While yet to be seen, the extent to which the teaching of tolerance values as part of character education may have a long-term impact on social life in local and trans-local contexts, I argue that we need to examine the way the values of tolerance in education has been understood, experienced and perceived by teachers at the forefront of education. This position is pivotal as teachers’ ideological standpoints may also shape the way the values of tolerance would be passed on through pedagogical processes. It is equally important to acknowledge that the notion of tolerance may be susceptible to different interpretations. Discussing the teaching of tolerance values in education in itself presupposes a political agenda, as educational practices are always influenced by power dynamics (Freire, 1998; Giroux, 2003). The

government's different stances on character education over time further exemplify that the discourse of moral education (and tolerance) has been a subject of contestation in the context of Indonesian educational policymaking.

My research explores how a group of secondary school teachers experience and understand the values of tolerance, what factors may shape their understanding and perceptions on tolerance, how they embrace, if there are any, different views on tolerance in their everyday practice as teachers and how this might impact their identity as teachers.

Research Questions

This research will be guided by the following research questions in the Indonesian context:

1. How do teachers experience and understand tolerance?
2. How do teachers describe their perceptions and experiences in the teaching of tolerance in school?
3. How does teachers' engagement with the teaching of tolerance impact, if at all, their identity and agency?

Research Rationale

The rationale for this study stems from both personal and theoretical concerns. On a personal level, this research originates from my concern after having witnessed how school-aged students were reported to have engaged in different forms of intolerant attitudes and behaviours such as bullying, vandalism, sexual harassment, street violence, and drug abuse. It struck me how they appeared to show no remorse about their intolerant behaviours. This research will contribute to improving our understanding of how teachers actually make sense of the discourse of tolerance.

Study findings hold the potential to inform the development of educational policies using a more holistic approach.

On a theoretical level, there is a paucity of research studies that problematise teachers' perspectives on the discourse of tolerance and its inclusion in the educational practices in Indonesia. Most previous studies focus on examining the pedagogical merits of religious/tolerance/civic education and/or seek to establish a theoretical justification and connection between religious and/or moral education and the desired impact on students' understanding of tolerance, attitudes, and behaviour. For example, Raihani (2014) conducted an ethnographic study investigating how different aspects such as culture, curriculum and instruction, policies and politics, as well as school community, play a role in nurturing religious tolerance in post-conflict areas in Kalimantan. A study by Pohl (2006) also examined the role of Islamic education in the form of the Pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) tradition in contributing to the development of civil society. Most recently, Mulya and Aditomo (2019) conducted a case study investigating students' understanding of religious tolerance through collaborative film-making productions involving students from different religions. While the above research studies may have shed light on the discourse of tolerance and its bearing on students' perceptions, none has sought to problematise teachers' internal struggle in engaging with the discourse of tolerance. Hence, this research will be conducted with a view to tapping into the teachers' perspectives and struggles as they interact within the academic context where the discourse of tolerance has been discussed, experienced, and understood.

Significance of Study

This study aims to present a fresh approach to public policy by examining the teaching of tolerance in secondary-level education in Indonesia. I argue that

anecdotal evidence has pointed to the fact that in many cases, educational policy has been largely imposed in a top-down manner without a thorough understanding of the realities of local contexts. Take for example, the designation of secondary and high schools as International Standard Schools or RSBI, which was initiated in 2007. One of the major issues for RSBI schools is the use of English as a medium of instruction. RSBI schools require teachers to master English, with a TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) score of 500 for science and mathematics teachers. This criterion is a major burden for science and mathematics teachers, whose English communication skills are still far below the minimum required level. The result was many RSBI schools did not fully use English, as both teachers and students were struggling to understand English. In 2013, the Constitutional Court (MK) declared the international-standard school pilot project (RSBI) to be unconstitutional, marking the end of the RSBI school programmes. This shows that there was a lack of clarity of the policy direction from the ministry on how to establish an “international standard school” and the limited planning ability of the schools, which led the RSBI schools to mostly rely on superficial things related to physical infrastructure, such as expensive facilities.

This study, therefore, is expected to make significant contributions in terms of how public policy could be better prepared through careful planning, taking into account the complexities and peculiarities of each context. In the context of this research, such planning would include attempts to understand how teachers understand and perceive tolerance. Understanding what and how teachers think and feel about tolerance education can inform curriculum designers and policymakers to design culturally relevant programmes that position teachers as conscious moral change agents.

Organization of Chapters

This thesis is organised around the following chapters.

Chapter 1 presents my arguments for conducting this research. I begin by providing further details about Indonesia's ethnic-religious-based conflicts throughout successive changes in national government administration. In particular, I highlight how character education has been a site of much contestation at the intersection of politics and power. I then locate my research within the ongoing debates about character education by focusing on the role of teachers in changing the national narrative about tolerance at theoretical and practical levels.

Chapter 2 presents a review of relevant literature on tolerance. I begin by examining the epistemological ramifications underlying character education and its application to the Indonesian context. The review of literature moves on to an analysis of varying views and concepts of tolerance and their influence on Indonesian educational policies and public discourse.

In **Chapter 3**, I outline the theoretical framework that underpins this research. I begin with a thorough discussion of Bakhtin's notion of dialogism and its interrelated constructs such as voice and identity, double-voicedness, agency, heteroglossia, and ideologically becoming. I describe how Bakhtin's notion of dialogism is relevant and useful to illuminate the teachers' intimate dialogue and struggle with the theory and practice of tolerance at different levels of granulation.

Chapter 4 describes in detail the phenomenological design, highlighting its underlying philosophy and its relevance to the line of inquiries pursued in this research. A major part of this chapter is dedicated to the description and elaboration of Ricoeur's hermeneutic phenomenological analysis; what and how it is used as an analytical tool to organise the interview data into meaning units, and

classify them into sub-themes and themes. I describe how this process involves a hermeneutical cycle, which is a constant movement between explanation and understanding.

Chapter 5 and 6 represent a continuum of analysis synthesizing Ricoeur's phenomenological approach with Bakhtin's theory of dialogism. **Chapter 5** describes in detail the findings from this research, drawing from Ricoeur's hermeneutic phenomenological analysis involving the first two phases: naïve reading and structural analysis. **Chapter 6** presents the third phase of Ricoeur's hermeneutical cycle in which the emergent themes and sub-themes were critically interpreted through Bakhtin's theoretical constructs to represent what Ricoeur's terms "a new way of being in the world".

Chapter 7 concludes this thesis with a description of the research implications and contributions to the field of moral education.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

This section presents a brief overview of some relevant literature that provides context to the discussion on the discourse of tolerance. I first discuss the socio-political dynamics that have characterised Indonesia over the years. I describe how ideas and values of democracy develop as a part of such socio-political dynamics as Indonesia is transitioning into a democratic country. I subsequently discuss issues related to character education in Indonesia as part of citizenship education. As Indonesia continues its efforts to restore and maintain peaceful co-existence, it is important to look at the place of character education in Indonesia; how it is envisioned and conceptualised in the curriculum and how tolerance is addressed. Next, I discuss different conceptualisations of tolerance and try to point out their relevance to the context of Indonesia.

Democratisation and Civil Society Development in Indonesia

Since proclaiming its independence (17 August 1945), Indonesia has seen a succession of three different governments: the Old Order, the New Order, and the Reform Era. Under the Old order of Soekarno (1945-1965), and the New Order of Soeharto (1965-1998), democracy stagnated as reflected in the minimum level of political representation and individual freedom in the political arena (Liddle, 1999; Uhlin, 1997). The Reform Era paved the way for greater transparency during which individual freedom and political representation had a stronger presence. One major reform was the introduction of a direct general election to political appointments in all levels of government for the first time since Indonesia's Independence. This dramatically changed the complexion of Indonesia's democracy after 32 years under a closed-door political system. However, Indonesia's democracy is in its fledgling

state and hence a lot of work remains to be done. The following section describes what, and how, different eras of leadership contribute to what Indonesia is like today, in particular in terms of individual freedom of expression, and civil society development.

The Old Order

At the outset of the Old Order, there was an attempt to adopt a multi-party democracy based on the consideration that Indonesia is a multicultural country with its diversity in languages, religions, and ethnicities. However, President Soekarno nullified this idea of multi-party democracy and instead promoted what he called a “Memories of Democracy” and a “Guided Economy” as the foundation of the development of the country (McCormack, 1999, p. 52). Guided Democracy was aimed at creating political stability through the adoption of Western liberal democracy and its institutions to suit the unique socio-cultural context of Indonesia (Vasil, 1997, p. 40). In addition, guided democracy was also envisioned to mirror the heritage, values, and spirit of Indonesian society, particularly its local wisdom such as *musyawarah* (a dialogue) and *mufakat* (a consensus) (Vasil, 1997, p. 41). In the Indonesian political context, conformity to group norms takes precedence over individual choices and expression of differences. Hence, the consensus was often reached at the expense of individual choices which have to succumb to group norms. Ultimately, however, the final decision was in the hands of those at the top of the power structure, in this case, the president of the Republic of Indonesia, Soekarno (Kingsbury, 2002, p. 43). President Soekarno’s leadership style was much like that of Javanese rulers who circumvented political criticism and conflicts in attempts to balance and control differing social and political groups. He was known as being well-versed in both winning sympathy and approval of his supporters and political rivals and dissident groups through his eloquence (Kingsbury, 2002).

Under the pretext of “Guided Democracy”, President Soekarno successfully cemented his grip on the country by institutionalising his ideological views as the foundation of the political system of Indonesia. In doing so, he established himself as the source of all power and became “President for life” (Vasil, 1997). This absolute power was evident in many political manoeuvres, among other things, as reflected in his decision to ban political parties such as the Masyumi (Majlis Syuro Muslim Indonesia or Confederated Muslim Party) and the PSI (Indonesian Socialist Party), both of which opposed the President (Hefner, 2001). He also issued a decree dissolving the Constituent Assembly (Vasil, 1997, p. 43), because they failed to reach a consensus over the state’s ideology and constitution. President Soekarno also attempted to balance the powerful political forces of the army and the PKI (Communist Party of Indonesia) (Liddle, 1992). Ideologically, Soekarno promulgated the concept of “diversity in unity” along with the promotion of a single national language (Bahasa Indonesia) and a spirit of anti-imperialism (Kingsbury, 2002; Vasil, 1997; Vatikiotis, 2013). It is important to note that the concept of “Bhinneka Tunggal Ika” (unity in diversity) was laid down by the founding fathers on 28 October 1928, 17 years before Indonesian independence in 1945, as the ideological basis for building and sustaining Indonesia as a nation-state of about 300 ethnic or tribal groups representing a variety of religions. However, as Indonesia experienced political and economic turmoil instability both before and post-independence, Soekarno’s efforts to build and sustain unity within the country brought little progress.

The New Order

The New Order regime was characterized by Soeharto’s overwhelming control on all aspects of Indonesian society by means of the army and government bureaucracy at

all levels (village, sub-district, district, province, and national). According to Eklof (1999), Soeharto envisaged “liberal” free-market policies to bolster economic growth and development. However, the free-market policies were, by and large, centralised and were installed with the purpose of serving the interests of Soeharto, his political allies and supporters while society at large was pushed to peripheral roles (Eklof, 1999). In the political domain, the New Order regime exploited its control over government apparatus to fully guard its policies and hegemonic power leaving little space for civil society participation. For example, Soeharto had strong control of public participation in local-national, electoral politics with the aid of the military. Soeharto was also known to deploy intelligence operations to identify members of society who did not sympathise with the ruling party. During the general election campaign, while intimidation of opposition groups was often used to garner votes, Soeharto splashed funds for communities that supported the ruling party.

To maintain his power, Soeharto deployed political strategies which were centred around calculated effort to gain people’s support for the ruling party (Golkar) and a systematic political manoeuvre in the form of marginalisation of nongovernmental political parties, such as PPP (United Development Party) and PDI (Indonesia Democratic Party). For example, the New Order issued a regulation that any candidate seeking to be a member of Parliament had to be screened (known as *litsus*) by the Directorate General of Social Politics of the Ministry of Home Affairs. This process served as a pre-emptive measure to reinforce President Soeharto’s position by making sure that any candidates from all parties would endorse his government’s policies and desist from scrutinising his family’s business (Liddle, 1999). Any form of criticism levelled against his family business would be met with harsh consequences such as the removal of individuals from office or parliamentary

posts. To further curb the development of democratic ideas and civil society, Soeharto legislated the Press Law and the Anti-Subversion Law which stipulated, among other things, that a congregation or meeting of more than 10 people held by a community group necessitated permission from the local government or military/police authority.

However, despite the control of the authoritarian government, there was a growing public awareness and courage to gradually challenge the status quo. During the 1980s, the civil society movement, consisting of intellectuals, non-partisan groups, and religious figures began their campaign for democratic governance and protection of human rights. In response, President Soeharto showed signs of a wavering stance as he promised more openness and transparency in the political system of the country. During the first half of the 1990s, Soeharto's government launched the "Indonesian model of perestroika" (*Keterbukaan* or openness) to allow for greater freedom of expression (Eklof, 1999). A year later, addressing the nation via national television, President Soeharto made an appeal to the people to be more courageous to express their views even though they might not align with the government's. However, this call was dubious and served more to create an impression of the government's changed policy and goodwill to institute more democracy. This was because, during his national address back in 1991, President Soeharto stated that openness required responsibility and hence any criticism of the government had to be raised through formal channels such as the Constituent Assembly. In fact, Soeharto's authoritarian character continued to haunt the minds of the people. For example, the idea of "openness with responsibility" often serves as a deterrent to those critical of the government. Those who criticized his policies would face heavy penalties under the Anti Subversion Law on the grounds that their acts or criticism stirred social unrest (Kingsbury, 2002).

Hence, the notion of “responsibility” under Soeharto was analogous to the concept of *mufakat* (consensus) (Vatikiotis, 2013) during Soekarno’s Old Order government. In many respects, *mufakat* reflected the traditional Javanese political culture in which direct criticism of government policy was to be avoided. Soeharto also introduced the concept of *wawasan nusantara* (national outlook) aimed at developing open-mindedness, mutual understanding, and respect for others. In order to nurture and reinforce national bond and unity, he also instituted education programmes about Pancasila (State Ideology) through P4 (Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila or A Guide on Appreciation and Application of the State Ideology), which was approved by a decree of the MPR (People’s Consultative Assembly) on 22 March 1978 (Ramage, 1995, p. 16). This programme was designed to educate the population about Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, and the state policy on national development (GBHN). P4 was initially designed as a two-week course for civil servants who wanted to be promoted. Later, P4 courses were conducted overseas for Indonesians studying abroad, as well as for high school and university students in Indonesia and for board members of civil society associations and political parties.

The Reform Era

The Reform Era was marked by the downfall of the New Order government on 28 May 1998. The historic event was a cornerstone for Indonesia's civil society movement and the newly formed government to re-shape and install a democratic political system which would allow different political aspirations and freedom of speech for all Indonesian citizens. With the momentum in full swing, some amendments were immediately made to the 1945 Constitution during the general

session of the Assembly in October 1999 to lay the foundation for the democratisation of Indonesia's political system (King, 2003). Through the amendments, the judicial and legislative function and stature of the House were strengthened so as to provide more balance and checks on the government. This was done by repositioning the General Election Commission as an independent, non-partisan branch of the government, removing appointed, military seats in the House, and eliminating representatives from the armed forces and police in the People of Consultative Assembly commencing in 2004. Further reform programmes were carried out in August 2001 with the issuance of several decrees to regulate and reposition the relationship between civil society and the military which was often in disharmony in the previous government due to Soeharto's manipulation of the military to function in civilian matters.

Since the Reform Era, the development of democracy in Indonesia has shown an overall positive trend, especially in the level of freedom of speech and political representation through direct election for political appointments in all levels of government administration. However, political contestation among political elites and the remnants of the old regime mentality in the structure of power of political parties have, to some extent, thwarted the development of democracy. The principles of democracy, such as individual freedoms and equitable treatment before the law, and efforts to promote democratic attitudes, such as tolerance, respect for diversity, and dignity of individuals are yet to be fully observed in government affairs and society. For example, the 1999 general election was celebrated nationwide with a great deal of euphoria, but breaches of electoral regulations and counts were found across regions and ballots were reported to have been tampered with which stirred a wave of protests across the country against the legality of the general election (Diamond, 1999; King, 2003). Similarly, there were

still large numbers of appointed seats in the People's Consultative Assembly reserved for members of the Military and Police. Therefore, people from different religious/ethnic groups and/or political parties were unconvinced that they would be treated fairly by the government system (Tempo, 1998).

On a similar note, the reform government encouraged substantial democratisation and political freedom that led to the "liberation euphoria". Under these circumstances, many people freely express their aspirations and interests, and part of this expression has led to conflict between social groups. Abdurrahman Wahid, the fourth president, continued the process of democratisation under challenging circumstances. Inter-religious conflicts erupted in Ambon, Poso and Sampit as well as in North Maluku, and Papua. In West Timor, gang violence broke out, leaving hundreds of people homeless while chaos involving pro-Indonesian East Timorese militants resulted in massive humanitarian and social problems.

Cultural diversity in Indonesia began to be disturbed, marked by the emergence of various violent communal conflicts. The diversity of identity became a serious issue in the Indonesian nation. Interethnic conflicts used to exist such as conflicts in Lampung and Sampang (Madura) and elsewhere. However, it is important to realise that this conflict is not entirely a religious or ethnic problem, but there are external factors, especially economic and political factors that have contributed to the conflict (McLaughlin & Perdana, 2010; Schulze, 2017; Soekarba, 2018). In addition to external factors, the evidence shows that religious and ethnic tolerance in Indonesia is still unstable. Therefore, efforts to develop stable tolerance must be done not only by the government, but also by civil society through pluralism and democracy education (Fealy, 2020).

Pluralism in Indonesia

In the context of Indonesia, the concept of pluralism is often associated with religious dimensions. However, pluralism extends beyond matters related to religion to include a wider range of social, political, and economic dimensions. In general, pluralism refers to a belief in, or sensitivity to, diverse kinds of objects and properties that exist (Turner, 2010). However, the concept of pluralism itself, has invited varied interpretations across diverse disciplines. Different pluralists have focused on varied, yet not necessarily incompatible, types of diversity. For example, they have focused on the diversity of cultures and governing organizations, and of occupations, civil associations, interest groups, religious faiths, and moral values. In the present study of philosophy, pluralism points to the view that the world may be interpreted in a number of different ways or to the evaluation that science is enhanced by competition between several interpretations. In ethical and political philosophy, the term 'cultural pluralism' is coined to reflect the view that all genders, races, nations, religions, and any sociopolitical units are all equally worthy and hence should have a legitimate status of a unique and independence cultural heritage (Forst, 2012). Whereas in political terms, pluralism may be subjected to different interpretations, ranging from the recognition of multi parties politics, to the decentralization of the state apparatus or the distribution of power resources in society (Riis, 1999). Furthermore, Riis (1999) concedes that such recognition of diversity within a society is a prerequisite for individual freedom. Thus, it may be concluded that pluralism has been used in a descriptive and in evaluative sense. It may refer to either an awareness of a myriad of sub-entities or the positive acknowledgement of plurality (Riis, 1999). However, the significance attached to religion mirrors how Indonesian society views pluralism; one which is centred around the diversity of faiths and beliefs as they have long become a source of social disruption in the past decade. Pluralism in religious beliefs and practices has found

its resonance as Indonesia attempts to maintain Unity in Diversity. In fact, Indonesia's founding fathers had anticipated the potential conflicts arising from inter-religious interaction. This was manifested in Article 29 of 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, which stipulates "the State guarantees the freedom of every citizen to embrace their own religion and to worship according to their own religion and belief". This law guarantees every follower of any religious freedom to practise their faiths and show respect for other beliefs (Hefner, 2013).

As a matter of fact, Indonesia has the largest Muslim population of all the countries in the world. The Indonesian Muslim population is currently estimated to be around 207 million, the majority of whom are following Sunni *Mazhab* (school of thought). This number indicates that about 13% of the total number of Muslims in the world live in Indonesia, making Indonesia the country with the largest Muslim population.

However, despite being the largest Muslim nation in the world, Indonesia is not an Islamic state, nor is it a secular one (Barton et al., 2021; Hosen, 2005; Pedersen, 2016). Politically and ideologically, Indonesia is a state based on Pancasila (five principles): 1. Belief in One Supreme God; 2. Just and Civilized Humanism; 3. the Unity of Indonesia; 4. Democracy; and 5. Social Justice. Proposed initially by Soekarno, the First President of the Republic of Indonesia, Pancasila was (and still is) a compromise between secular nationalists who advocated a secular state and Muslim leaders who demanded an Islamic state. Muslim leaders accepted Pancasila when it was adopted into the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution and regarded it as having no incompatibility with Islamic teaching (Ismail, 2018).

In studying the Indonesian plural society, Hefner (2001) argues that proponents of civil Islam, those who believe that Islam is compatible with democratic values, were a key part of the amplification of a Muslim and Indonesian culture of tolerance, equality, and civility. It is noteworthy that despite the emergence of some religion-

based violence involving Muslims and Christians, most infamously the 1999-2002 Muslim-Christian conflict in the Moluccas, as well as the forced shutdown of a number of churches over the years, Muslims and Christians across the country have lived in peaceful co-existence for years.

In *Islam Observed* (1968), Clifford Geertz describes the classical style of Indonesian Islam as illuminationism, with its syncretic world view, in harmony with its adaptive, gradualistic, aesthetic, and tolerant ethos. The fact that Islam came into Indonesia through various agencies (Arab, Indian, Persian, Chinese), accompanied the reality of the "heteroglossia" (diversity) of the archipelago – as an archipelagic society which was always open to the process of cross-culture, preconditioning the worldview and ethos of diversity. With a syncretic worldview and expressive ethos of diversity – the aesthetic presentation of Islam in the archipelago is like a colourful mosaic, while maintaining harmonious harmony with the great Islamic universal tradition (Hasbullah, 2012). However, in most cases, Indonesia's multiethnic society has long shown a strong practice of tolerance toward differences in religion and ideology. As it has grown and modernised, Indonesia has presented a unique answer to the Muslim-Democrat question – "An Indonesian can be both a democrat and a secular Muslim." This idea has been developed by a long line of the country's Muslim thinkers and politicians: Tjokroaminoto, Soekarno, Mohammad Hatta, Ahmad Dahlan, as well as more recently by Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), Nurcholis Madjid, Amien Rais, and Akbar Tandjung. After three decades of authoritarian government, national elections, the manifestation of *vox populi*, are now regular, peaceful occasions (Massardi, as cited in Karni, 2006).

The ideological alignment between Islam and Pancasila provides one of the most fundamental bases for the Indonesian Islamic roots of pluralism. The majority of

Indonesian Muslims consider Pancasila to be in line with a verse of the Qur'an – *kalimah sawa* – which can serve as a common platform among different religious followers. Addressing the Prophet Muhammad, the Qur'an has this to say: Say, 'People of the Book, let us arrive at a statement that is common to us all: we worship God alone, we ascribe no partner to Him, and none of us takes others beside God as lords.' If they turn away, say, 'Witness our devotion to Him' (The Quran, 3: 64).

As the prominent Indonesian intellectual Nurcholish Madjid rightly argues in his "Islamic roots of modern pluralism: Indonesian experience" (1994), the Pancasila thus becomes a firm basis for development of religious tolerance and pluralism in Indonesia. Madjid cited Adam Malik, once Vice-President during the Soeharto period, who maintained that Pancasila, in Islamic perspective, is in a similar spirit to the *modus vivendi* that was created by the Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) in Medina after having migrated (*hijrah*) from Mecca. The Prophet laid down the *modus vivendi* in a famous document called the "Constitution of Medina" (*al-mithaq al-madinah*). The document contains an important provision which stresses that all factions in Medina, and Jews were no exception, belonged to one nation (*ummah*) together with Muslims, and that they have the same rights and duties as Muslims. Adam Malik interprets the "Constitution of Medina" as a formula for a state based on the idea of social and religious pluralism.

Similarly, Robert N. Bellah, the American sociologist of religion in his important article, "Islamic tradition and the problem of modernization", maintains that the Medinan state was the root of Islamic modernity and pluralism. He further argues that Islam in its seventh-century origins was, for its time and place, remarkably modern in the high degree of commitment, involvement, and participation expected

from the rank-and-file members of the community. Despite that, the Prophet Muhammad's experiment eventually failed because of the lack of necessary socio-cultural pre-requisites among the Arab Muslims. In other words, the *modus vivendi* failed because it was "too modern" for the Medinan society. Looking at the Indonesian experience with Pancasila as a common platform, it is a part of what Bellah (1991) saw as an effort of modern Indonesian Muslims to depict the early community as the prototype Islamic recognition of pluralism.

The vast majority of Indonesian Muslims belong to moderate mainstream organisations such as the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), Muhammadiyah, and many other regional organisations throughout Indonesia. All these Muslim organizations support modernity, and democracy (Syarifuddin et al., 2018). They support the current form of the Indonesian state and the Pancasila and, at the same time, oppose the establishment of an Islamic state in Indonesia as well as the implementation of *shari`ah* (Islamic law) in the current Indonesian nation-state.

All of these moderate and mainstream organisations are also religiously based civil society organisations, which play a crucial role in the development and enhancement of civic culture, civility, democracy, and good governance. These organisations are very active in the dissemination of democratic ideas, human rights, justice, gender equality, and other ideas that are crucial in modern society. Not least important, mainstream Muslim organisations have been very active in conducting religious dialogues with non-Muslim groups at local, national, and international levels.

With the Muslim acceptance of democracy, Indonesia has been successful in conducting peaceful elections in 1999, 2004, and 2009. These general elections have

been very historic; particularly the election of 2004, which was the first direct presidential election. With the success of these democratic elections Indonesia, as the largest Muslim country in the world, has shown compatibility between Islam and democracy.

As a basis of Indonesian pluralism, Pancasila, unfortunately, had been used by the Soeharto regime as a tool for repression. As touched on in Chapter 1, Soeharto used Pancasila as a political tool to control the mindsets of Indonesian people by forcing them to accept Pancasila as the sole ideological basis of all organisations in the country, much to the resentment of many Indonesians. Through special training, the Pancasila was forced on Indonesians through indoctrination which, in the end, gave the Pancasila a bad name. It is obvious that for the majority of Indonesians, Pancasila presents no contradictory meanings to any tenets of religious beliefs and teachings nor any social-cultural traditions and values. However, the abuse and manipulation of Pancasila to serve the political interests of President Soeharto have caused people to lose their faith in Pancasila as a unifying force within plural Indonesia.

Education for Democracy in Indonesia

It is generally acknowledged that education (both formal and non-formal programmes for adults and children/youth) plays a pivotal role in disseminating the values and ideas of democracy by means of transmission of knowledge, skills, and values. In the context of Indonesia, civic education was aimed at educating the general population in knowledge of the government system and an understanding and awareness of their rights and responsibilities as citizens of Indonesia. Since Indonesia's independence in 1945, civic education has evolved in terms of its focus and approach in line with the socio-political dynamics of each given era. In the

period of Soekarno's administration, civic education for Indonesian people at large was centred around the promotion of the concept "unity in diversity", a national language (Bahasa Indonesia), as well as a spirit of anti-imperialism and loyalty to the state (Kingsbury, 2002). During the New Order of the Soeharto administration (1965 to 1998), civic education for the Indonesian population was implemented through the P4 (Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila or A Guide on Appreciation and Application of the State Ideology) programme, which aimed to instil perspectives of nationhood or *wawasan nusantara* among the Indonesian population.

However, as previously discussed in Chapter 1, the implementation of the P4 programme was susceptible to being misused as a political means to control the minds of the people and maintain the status quo of the regime (Fearnley-Sander, 2000). In November 1998, the first post-Soeharto session of the Indonesia's People's Consultative Assembly (Majlis Permusyawaratan Rakyat or MPR) revoked the P4 decree of 1978, effectively removing the central apparatus for propagating the regime's interpretation of Pancasila (Fearnley-Sander, 2000; Print & Coleman, 2003). During this time, the Ford Foundation made a proposal to religious (Islamic) organisations and spiritual leaders to design programmes for the development of civil society and democracy in Indonesia. One of the programmes aimed to seek the possibility of synthesising the Western ideas of democracy and the teachings of Islam. This was to be built on Islamic values for the purpose of strengthening pluralist and democratic values within the Muslim community and to reach into all levels of society (Ford Foundation, 2000).

In the years before the general election in 1999, civil organisations such as NGOs and social organisations were the main driving force behind the promotion of civic

education and democratic values and practices in Indonesia, including the general elections. The work by civil society organisations has also received support from international agencies such as UNDP (the United Nations for Development Programs) and USAID (United States Agency for International Development) (Encarnacion, 2001). However, efforts to promote democratic citizenship in Indonesia were limited to increasing public participation in formal politics (e.g., voting in the 1999 general election). After the 1999 general election, the government introduced Law 22/1999 (Decentralization law), which was enacted to accommodate diversity, participation, and real autonomy, and to ensure democratisation and people empowerment (i.e., to promote popular participation in development programmes at the village level). Education for democracy aims to provide village representatives with democratic knowledge and skills, thus helping the Badan Permusyawaratan Desa (village council) to function as a governing body at the village level (Hadiwinata, 2003).

Islamic Civil Society Associations and Education for Democracy

To provide a more comprehensive picture of the practice of tolerance in Indonesia, it is important to acknowledge the contribution of religious associations and organisations to the development of ideas and practices of tolerance in Indonesia. Indeed, as Indonesian society is known for its religiosity, religion has always had a special place in the minds of most Indonesian people, as it provides a source of guidance and inspiration for their lives. Hence, this section revisits the two largest, most influential Indonesian Islamic civil society associations, Nahdhatul Ulama (NU) and Muhammadiyah, both of which were established during the colonial period.

NU was founded in 1926 by Javanese *ulama* (Javanese religious scholars) who sought to reinforce traditional Islamic values and unity of Indonesian Muslim in

response to the increasing threat of secularisation and communism as well as the so-called Islamic reformist schools of thoughts such as Muhammadiyah (Sukma, 2003).

The Muhammadiyah (followers of Muhammad) was officially declared in Jogjakarta, Java, on 18 November 1912, by Ahmad Dahlan, who gained his education for several years in Mecca, where he developed his modernist vision of Islam through the writings of the Egyptian reformist Muhammad Abduh. Abduh advocated the purification of Islamic thought and practice, and the defence of Islam against its critics (Kingsbury, 1998). The main vision of Muhammadiyah is to purify Islam against *bid'ah* (heresy) and *khurafat* (myths) which are still the commonplace practices among some Indonesian Muslim groups and communities. Muhammadiyah embarked upon a *tajdid* movement, which means renewal, restoration, and modernisation. For the promotion of these aims, Muhammadiyah expands its activities in religious, social, and educational fields through extensive networks of youth and women's associations, clinics/hospitals and a modernised system of Islamic education (Sukma, 2003).

Both NU and Muhammadiyah have national, provincial, district, branch and sub-branch organisations, and each has approximately 30 million members, with NU's membership concentrated in rural areas and Muhammadiyah's members mainly living in urban areas. Both NU and Muhammadiyah are actively involved in societal development through schooling, health, and religious guidance (*dakwah*). However, NU is better known for its traditional religious boarding schools (*pesantren*), while Muhammadiyah runs hospitals, schools (from kindergarten to university), and orphan care facilities/programmes. Although they differ in the way they approach Islamic teachings regarding the interpretation of some flexible elements of Islam (*al-*

mutaghayyir), both NU and Muhammadiyah uphold the Sunni doctrine of Islam. For instance, Muhammadiyah was against such traditional practices as sacrificial meals, visits to holy graves (ziarah kubur) or recitations of magically powerful text at life cycle ceremonies, all of these were claimed as an invention not found in the practice of Prophet Muhammad. In addition, Muhammadiyah steadfastly defends its principle of *ijtihad* (independent interpretation of the Qur'an and hadith), which goes against following one of the four traditional schools of Islamic jurisprudence (*madzhab*) (van Bruinessen, 1995). Hooker & Asian Studies Association of Australia (2003) maintains that the major difference is that attempts to draw law directly from the Qur'an and hadith without considering *fiqh* (technical rules of law) texts and this practice is not permitted within NU (Hooker & Asian Studies Association of Australia, 2003). In addition, *ulama* (religious scholars) are less dominant in the leadership of Muhammadiyah than in the leadership of NU (Fealy, 2003).

Both Muhammadiyah and the NU have organised members throughout Indonesian society and thus have the potential to restructure the socio-cultural and political spheres of Indonesian life without becoming political parties (Ali, 2003). Both Islamic civil society associations have a lot of experience in organising the people of Indonesia as a way to promote their potential and to facilitate people in solving problems. This includes educating people about "politics" in a broad sense, for instance, in terms of awareness of problems that arise in a community, participation in decision making, and the like. Furthermore, both the NU and Muhammadiyah transmit religious values congruent with the principles of western democracy, including tolerance, respect for differences, freedom of speech or opinion, and decision making (*shura* = deliberation for making a decision).

In addition, during the Old Order of the Soekarno administration, both NU and Muhammadiyah were involved in the political process under the umbrella of Masyumi (Majlis Syuro Muslim Indonesia or Confederated Muslim Party), which served as a pan-Islamic political federation. In 1952, NU was no longer part of Masyumi because of its political aspirations and immediately became a political party which existed until 1972. In 1973, Soeharto forced NU to join together with three smaller Islamic parties to form the politically ineffective PPP (United Development Party). NU decided to disengage from political contestation in 1984 in order to concentrate on programmes related to social and religious issues (Kingsbury, 2002). Muhammadiyah left the political arena earlier than NU while continuing its activities as a non-party organisation in 1960 (Hefner, 2001; Kingsbury, 2002). Such experiences helped to familiarise NU and Muhammadiyah members with the manifestations of politics in Indonesia since Indonesia's independence.

Both NU and Muhammadiyah were heavily involved in civil society programmes, including education for democracy, by interconnecting the principle of Islam with the principles of Western democracy (Ford Foundation, 2000). During the Reform Era, both Muhammadiyah and NU launched programmes designed to educate Indonesian society about democracy and its implementation in different aspects of life both as citizens of Indonesia and members of the community. Prior to the 1999 general election, both NU and Muhammadiyah ran programs to socialise knowledge about the general election, voters' rights and obligations to urban communities, especially those living in remote areas. They have also been consistent in promoting the values of democracy, such as tolerance and mutual respect, to their respective members through training, workshops, and other programmes. Muhammadiyah is strongly committed to preserving civic virtues such as open-mindedness, tolerance,

pluralism, and respect for the dignity of individuals. In terms of the decision-making process, Muhammadiyah is known for its use of a participatory approach and the inclusion of community development projects as the substantial component of its programmes, highlighting Muhammadiyah's commitment to the principle of democracy and a bottom-up approach to the decision-making process. (Abdullah, 2018; Mitsuo, 2001). Currently, NU aspires to develop a democratic civil society in Indonesia, which is basically non-Islamic and non-military (Falaakh, 2001). To pursue this mission, NU has developed various programmes such as human rights advocacy, and gender awareness advocacy.

Character Education in Indonesia

Character education has been conceptualised and operationalised in different ways across different cultural contexts (e.g., Christou, 2015; Ho et al., 2013; Smith, 2013; Thambusamy & Elier, 2013). There is also a great deal of haziness in the way the term *character education* has been used in educational contexts. In some cases, it is often used interchangeably with other terms such as *moral education*, *civic education*, *personal education* and *democratic education* (e.g., Barr & McGhie, 1995; Bennett, 1991). But, regardless of the subtle difference in meanings, they are generally concerned with helping children possess a set of noble characters necessary for the long-term goal of creating harmony and peaceful co-existence in homes, schools, communities and the nation as a whole. As Lickona (2000) suggests, "one of our most basic responsibilities as adults is to sustain our civilization by passing on the values that are the foundation of our society" (p. 48).

The need for character education has probably never been greater than in today's society as children are exposed to a myriad of negative influences from multiple directions through the media and from a society that is increasingly characterised by

violence, social unrest, bullying, and crime (Britzman, 2005; Hutcheon, 1999; Schaeffer, 1999; Stedje, 2010). Character education is seen as playing a pivotal role to promote good character traits (Gilead, 2011; Wringe, 2006), the ability to make wise decisions and choices (Bennett et al., 1999), and the internalisation of particular values as the foundation for decision-making and moral behaviour within a social context (Davis, 2006). Broadly, character education can be understood as any endeavour a school might take to help children become good people. While different models for character education may vary between countries, Narvaez (2005) devised an *integrative ethical education* model, which is probably the most widely used. This model focuses on the teaching of specific character traits valued in a given society and the development of children's thinking skills for making sound moral judgements. However, some criticism has also been directed at character education. For example, critics believe that it is futile to teach moral education in the absence of the necessary elements such as strong families, a general respect for the rules of a civilised society, and an environment in which people care about each other (Davis, 2006; Hunter, 2000). Kohn (1997) claimed that any attempt to introduce values into schools is either simplistic or indoctrination. Furthermore, Davis (2006) conceded that moral education cannot be separated from the teaching of religion and that good character behaviour may result from the formation of good habits rather than a change of character within.

In the context of Indonesia, the framework for character education is inspired by Lickona's theorisation of character education. Lickona (1991) defined character as "a reliable inner disposition to respond to any situations in a morally good way" (p. 51). He described character education as "the deliberate effort to cultivate virtue. Virtues are objectively good human qualities.... To be effective, character education must be comprehensive, intentionally making use of every phase of school life as an

opportunity to develop good character” (p. 23). Lickonian character education comprises three interconnected elements, which are: “knowing the good, desiring the good, and doing the good” (Lickona, 1991, p. 51). In Lickonian terms, character education does not merely entail teaching children what is wrong and right, but also involves a habituation process through which a desirable set of character traits gets internalised and become children’s habits.

In Indonesia, character education was first (re)introduced in 2013 as a reactive response to the escalation of social unrest, religious-ethnic violence and other forms of horizontal conflicts. As pointed out by the Minister of Education, the integration of character education was founded on a general consensus that there was an overwhelming sense of moral degradation in society and of a gradual loss of identity as a nation (Ministry of National Education, 2007). The government felt the urgency to revive the old virtues and values and so education was seen as the most efficient and logical means to help Indonesia’s younger generation maintain and uphold harmony and peaceful co-existence. The inclusion of character education was a manifestation of the mandate of Pancasila (Five Pillars) and Undang Undang Dasar 1945/UUD 1945 (1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia). UUD 1945, Chapter 31, Article 3, stipulates that the government is committed to creating a national education system which can foster and nurture religious piety and noble character. According to the 2013 curriculum, character education is designed to forge a range of desirable personal traits which, among others, are to be religious, honest, tolerant, disciplined, hardworking, creative, independent, empathic, democratic, and fond of reading (Muslich, 2011). In the description of values, being tolerant is defined as both an attitude and behaviour which appreciates differences in religions, ethnicities, opinions, attitudes, and behaviours/ways of life. From the description of values above, character education in Indonesia is very much inspired

by Lickona's ideas about the aspects of good character that need to be instilled in children. However, the ever-presence of religious-ethnic prejudices, coupled with the apparent loss of ethical awareness in society, raises critical questions around character education in Indonesia; to what extent has character education, which has been in place since 2013, had a tangible impact on children and young people in becoming responsible and contributing citizens who live by the principles of democracy, in which the values of tolerance are cultivated? As Raihani (2011) claims, education for tolerance in Indonesia has relied heavily on the use of textbooks and indoctrination. Hence, he proposes a shift toward a more holistic approach to character education involving all school components, including stakeholders, rather than merely focusing on textbooks.

Tolerance in Indonesia

As with the term character education, there is no singular definition of tolerance among philosophers and educators. As a result, despite similarities in theory, the meanings of tolerance greatly vary across diverse cultural contexts and social domains. Most commonly (Habermas, 2004; Jackson, 2007) being tolerant is understood as respecting and understanding the ideas, feelings, and behaviours of those who are defined as *other*. Here tolerance may entail self-containment, in which the feelings of being uncomfortable with differences are subdued in favour of social harmony (Bretherton, 2004). But tolerance is not only discussed in terms of social interaction among individuals in society. Tolerance has also been discussed vis-à-vis a broader socio-cultural political context. For example, tolerance has been associated with issues of social justice that presuppose political will and commitment to equality and respect of human rights in terms of fair distribution of access and opportunities within a political state (White & Cooper, 2013). UNESCO defines tolerance as "respect and appreciation of the rich variety of our world's

cultures, our forms of expression and ways of being human. Tolerance recognizes the universal human rights and fundamental freedom of others” (Article 1 of the Declaration of Principles of Tolerance, 1996). Although UNESCO’s view of tolerance may offer an overarching framework for the understanding of tolerance, the meanings of tolerance may become much more elusive in practice as it is inextricably interwoven with one’s socio-historical background, religion, cultural values and traditions, race and ethnicities.

Indonesia has had a long historical struggle to promote tolerance. With a population of 271.3 million people (The Indonesian Population Census, 2020), Indonesia is the fourth-most populous country in the world. It is also one of the most multicultural societies in the world with more than 1000 ethnic/sub-ethnic groups (Suryadinata et al., 2003). Given such diversity of ethnicities, religions and languages, Indonesia has often had to grapple with ethnic-religious conflicts. Perhaps there is no country in the world where religious tolerance is more conspicuously given significance than in Indonesia. Since independence in 1945, religious-based conflicts and debates have characterised different eras of national leadership. During Indonesia’s preparation for independence, the drafting of the Pancasila (Five Pillars) and the 1945 Constitution was historically wrought with debates over the place of Islam as the majority religion in Indonesia; that is whether it was to be included as the fundamental element of the state, rather than to be relegated to the private realm. In subsequent years, religious interests, conservatism and fanaticism had always figured into political contestation and Indonesia’s process of transitioning into a democratic nation (Fajriati, 2017; Hakim, 2016).

The Indonesian government’s efforts to maintain harmony amidst religious differences have been attempts to address religious toleration. According to Murphy

(1997), religious toleration refers to “a governmental response to religious dissent or diversity in society that refrains from punishment and provides legal guarantees to those engaging in such activities” (Murphy, 1997, p. 599). This definition implies any ruling government is under an obligation to grant individuals equal rights irrespective of religious affiliations. In this sense, religious *toleration* differs from religious *tolerance* although they both originate from the same Latin word, meaning “to endure” or “put up with”. According to Cohen (2004), toleration refers to “an agent’s intentional and principled refraining from interfering with an opposed other (or their behaviour, etc.) in situations of diversity, where the agent believes she has the power to” (p. 69). Whereas religious tolerance manifests in actual attitudes and behaviours, acknowledging others’ religious perspectives and entails refraining from passing value judgments and taking into account contradictory views (Cohen, 2004; Murphy, 1997). Religious tolerance also presupposes a recognition of different cultures and beliefs without personal bias as the basis to maintain a mutual understanding with people of different religious beliefs and affiliations (Lester & Roberts, 2009). Within this notion, religious tolerance focuses on commonalities rather than discrepancies between two or more religions. This stance on religious differences entails opening one’s mind to multiple perspectives and refraining from imposing one’s religious assertions and beliefs upon others.

However, the issues of tolerance in Indonesia do not only concern religious conflicts, but also emanate from an increasing trend of individuation in viewing tolerance. In the public sphere, tolerance becomes a site of multiple interpretations. What constitutes tolerant and intolerant behaviour may rest on one’s ability to engage in provide rational judgment. However, this is not always the case. At the grass-root levels, discrepancies in perceptions about tolerance often lead to conflictual relations. After a long period of suppression under the Soeharto regime, individuals

and society seem to have overreacted to an overwhelming sense of liberation. While this may signify the fruit of democratisation and transparency, there has been a tendency in society to use freedom at one's disposal to express one's version of truth with little regard for others' viewpoints. A recurrent issue in the inter-faith dialogue in Indonesia concerns the seemingly mundane act of congratulating one's religious events such as Christmas Day for Christians and Idul Fitri for Muslims. This exchange of congratulations often causes debates in the public sphere including in schools. Christians accuse Muslims of not showing tolerance as the majority of Muslims would not congratulate Christians on Christmas day. Muslims, on the other hand, would argue that such an act of congratulation defies their religious teachings and conviction. This discrepancy, unfortunately, is often framed by certain groups of people as a sign of intolerance. However, within the Muslim faith, there are also two opposing groups which differ in the way they view the case. This situation shows how different understandings of tolerance may provoke a difficult situation of conflicts which, at times, are difficult to reconcile. It is akin to the liberal view of tolerance (Grayling, 2010) which conceives tolerance as a space for the democracy of ideas. In this sense, the power of argument and honest reasoning will decide which version of tolerance is most plausible and should prevail (Dworetzky, 1981; Grayling, 2010). Grayling (2010) contends that a modern conception of tolerance should embrace stern opposition to hierarchies rather than acceptance of diversity. By this token, he emphasises that, because of liberalism, individuals at present choose to live differently and yet should strive to live peacefully with others who are different (Gray, J. 2009). Although the liberal view of tolerance may be useful to serve the individual freedom of expression and the development of rational thinking, I argue that it might be incompatible in the context of multilingual-religious Indonesia which requires sensitivity and awareness of diverse religious perspectives, along with an ethical responsibility to maintain harmony in a society strongly

imbued with religiosity. Conversely, the liberal view of tolerance tends to accentuate the supremacy of individual autonomy.

Galston's view of tolerance (2002) may be more compatible in the context of Indonesia as he values diversity over personal autonomy. In Galston's (2002) view, "liberalism is about the protection of diversity", not the valorization of choice (p. 23). Galston's theory seems to resonate with the context of Indonesia as it places emphasis on the pivotal role of tolerance for citizenship in multi-religious societies. Galston's theory implies a respect for group integrity, absence of interference in matters which involve one's valuation, and assessment of particular issues situated in a given context. In essence, Galston's view of diversity and autonomy allows religious, ethnic and cultural groups to exercise their rights while being cognizant of diversity.

Socio-political Views on Tolerance

The concept of tolerance can be defined in two ways. Social tolerance relates to "a positive general orientation toward groups outside of one's own" (Dunn & Singh, 2014, p. 7), whereas political tolerance refers to one's willingness to respect political and social rights of groups one disagrees with. High social tolerance in a society maintains social cohesion and facilitates cooperation. Political tolerance, on the other hand, guarantees the idea of democracy as a free marketplace where ideas are exchanged, and political competition takes place. In a society that is unwilling to tolerate unpopular views, citizens who hold such views will be forced to keep those views to themselves, creating a "spiral of silence" (Noelle-Neumann, 1993) where the dissenters feel they are alone and the majority feel everyone agrees with them. While related, the two constructs are not the same. Being prejudiced would indicate a lower social tolerance, but to the extent that the prejudice is not translated into

real discriminatory actions, it would not necessarily lead to lower political tolerance. Also, as political tolerance is related to how one respects the rights of groups one disagrees with, it is constrained by what the laws themselves allow or disallow.

The case is different with social tolerance. As it relates to feelings, attitudes, and stereotypes, it is less susceptible to the constraints of laws. Laws cannot regulate what people think or feel about each other. Even if that were possible, there would be issues with how democratic that would be. In that sense, some studies (Sullivan et al., 1982; Weldon, 2006) find that the level of social tolerance is generally lower than the level of political tolerance.

Both social and political tolerance are important for the functioning of a democracy for at least two reasons. First, several studies link tolerance to government and society efficiency (e.g., Knack & Keefer, 1997; Putnam et al., 1993). This is particularly true with social tolerance. In a socially tolerant society, associations and interactions that cross group boundaries may be more common, creating dense social networks that would maintain social cohesion and facilitate cooperation or serve as a buffer against the threats of conflict and violence (Varshney, 2001). Second, without tolerance it would be particularly challenging to uphold the idea of democracy as a free marketplace where ideas are exchanged, and political competition takes place. Minority groups could face or experience disproportionate pressures for their “non-compliance” to what society considers appropriate or desirable.

A study by Gibson (2006) reveals that social tolerance and political tolerance are known to share some antecedents (Gibson, 2006). Social tolerance also shapes political tolerance and is more conservative in the sense that more people are

socially intolerant than politically intolerant (e.g., Weldon, 2006). This suggests that social tolerance may be seen as a “baseline” of a society’s tolerance level – an indicator of how people would think of and treat the different others absent the constraints of the legal and political system (Sullivan et al., 1982).

Factors Affecting (In)tolerance

The antecedents of (in)tolerance have always been the focus of study by different scholars. Sullivan and Transue (1999), for example, have identified through their research study, three antecedents that could cause individuals to engage in both tolerant and intolerant behaviour and attitudes. The first relates to cognitive ability and includes variables such as level of education and political expertise. People with higher political sophistication tend to be more tolerant (McClosky, 1964), presumably because they are exposed to dissonant political views more often and have a better internalisation of democratic values.

The second antecedent of tolerance is threat perception (Marcus et al., 1995). Individuals are inclined to tolerate a group they disagree with if they perceive the group as posing little or no threat to them or their way of life. The politicisation of social cleavages can significantly shape this threat perception. When certain groups are framed as ancient enemies, members of each group would perceive the other group as threatening which, in turn, may lead to intolerance.

Third, in terms of personality type, intolerance has been linked to close-mindedness and dogmatism (Sullivan et al., 1982). These predispositions increase the possibility of individuals complying with established social norms while defying unorthodox views. Since religiosity is related to a strong adherence to beliefs (Saroglou, 2002),

these predispositions can explain why highly religious people tend to be less tolerant (Gibson, 2010).

However, these categorisations of the antecedents of intolerance are incomplete because they overlook an important component of political life: the relationships between individuals themselves. For this reason, the following section illuminates how social relations need to be the focal point when discussing the issues of tolerance.

Contribution of Social Relations to Tolerance

This focus on social relationships diverges from most other studies that focus on threat perceptions and other individual-level variables as discussed earlier (see Sullivan & Transue, 1999) and, at the same time, highlights the inherently social nature of tolerance judgment. While subject to psychological and political predispositions (e.g., personality and party identification), tolerance judgment is inherently social because it always involves social groups other than one's own.

Social relationships affect not only the individuals' political behaviour (Huckfeldt & Sprague 1987; Nickerson 2008), but also how the society functions (Putnam et al., 1993). Social ties improve the efficiency of the government and society (Putnam et al., 1993), facilitate collective action (Coleman, 1988), and nurture a feeling of reciprocity and trust among individuals (Brehm & Rahn, 1997; Putnam, 2000). Not all social ties are equal, nor do they always have desirable effects, however. Social ties that are inward-looking (bonding relationships or relationships with ingroup members) are more likely to produce undesirable effects on attitudes toward an outgroup compared to ties that are outward-looking (bridging relationships or relationships with outgroup members). There are three reasons why bonding

relationships may be related to more negative evaluations of an outgroup and, by implication, why religious bonding may be related to lower religious tolerance.

The first relates to the flow or transmission of social norms and information (Huckfeldt & Sprague, 1987). Individuals receive political and social cues from their surroundings (Berelson et al., 1954). Psychological works on social Learning theory (Bandura, 1977) and on attitude-behaviour congruence (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977) also suggest that one's social environment shapes what is considered appropriate or inappropriate behaviour and attitudes. As such, the higher one's level of bonding relationships, the more likely it is, then, for the social networks to facilitate the flow of norms and information that are favourable to the ingroup and unfavourable to the outgroup (Huckfeldt et al., 2004).

The second mechanism concerns enhanced ingroup identity. In an experimental setting, Levendusky et al. (2016) show that interactions with politically similar others have the potential to enhance partisan identity. Coupled with preferential treatments for ingroup members, such an attachment to the ingroup may lead to intolerance and rejection of the outgroup (Brewer, 1999). In the context of religious life, religious social identity also has been shown to lead to intolerance toward and rejection of religious outgroups (Ben-Nun Bloom et al., 2015; Rhodes, 2012).

The literature on religious economy offers another example of how bonding with one's religious ingroup may lead to intolerance toward the outgroup. According to this perspective (Finke & Stark 2005), strict churches (or strict religious congregations in general) have an incentive to ask more from their members to weed out free-riders. This creates a more cohesive congregation with high levels of participation. On the other side of the coin, the emphasis on group identity and

group loyalty discourages dissents and cultivates rejections of non-mainstream outgroups, as exemplified by studies on Evangelical churches (see Reimer & Park, 2001).

The third reason as to why bonding may lead to intolerance and negative attitudes towards others concerns lower levels of bridging relationships. To the extent that maintaining relationships is costly in that one has to devote time to one's friends (Wellman et al., 1997) or one's group (Campbell, 2004), likely there would be a trade-off between bonding and bridging. The more one devotes time and other resources to one's ingroup, the less that one can devote to one's relationships with outgroup members. Bridging relationships, on the other hand, have been linked to tolerance and acceptance of outgroups (Cigler & Joslyn, 2002; Harell, 2010; Ikeda & Richey, 2009; Mutz, 2006). Positive interactions with people from a different group reduce anxiety about the group (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008) and increase the ability of individuals to empathise with, and understand, the viewpoints of the other group. Perspective-taking, in turn, nurtures tolerance and mutual understanding (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000). Such a high level of bonding may take up the time and resources needed to develop bridging relationships and might, in turn, hinder the development of these positive effects.

Prior Research on Tolerance

Despite a substantial number of research studies investigating moral or civic education in relation to the teaching of tolerance (see, for example, Connolly & Hosken, 2006; MacNaughton & Hughes, 2007; Pfeifer et al., 2007), few have examined how the discourse of tolerance features in everyday life from the perspective of teachers who are at the forefront of education. Previous studies have tended to focus on teachers' understanding of tolerance as a set consisting of

internalised knowledge and personal qualities. For example, Afdal (2004) investigated how tolerance was understood by primary teachers in Norwegian compulsory education. The researcher interviewed teachers and examined official curricula on tolerance and education. The findings point to successful teachers being tolerant and spontaneous. Sahin (2011) conducted semi-structured interviews with teachers about their perceptions of the importance of tolerance education, whereas Turcan (2015) investigated Moldovan teachers' understanding of tolerance education using tolerance education evaluation and self-evaluation questionnaires. In all of the abovementioned studies, the focus was on examining teachers' understanding of tolerance in relation to pedagogical practice. This research, however, is concerned with looking at the discourse of tolerance from the standpoint of teachers as the frontrunners of education.

On a slightly different note, Freeman (2013) investigated the implementation of character education and strategies to prevent bullying in preschool children. He employed both qualitative and quantitative data collection through questionnaires and interviews with preschool children. The main procedure used involved the use of bullying themes in children's literature to teach character education. His research study revealed that, through the reading of picture books and character education activities with a bullying theme, preschool children develop a better understanding of bullying characteristics and strategies for dealing with bullying behaviours. Similar studies, mostly taking place in America, focus on pedagogical methods for the teaching of tolerance in early childhood education, preparation programmes for teachers working with diverse students, an anti-bias curriculum as well as development of students' multicultural awareness (see for example, Collabucci, 2004; Corson, 1998; Gonzales, 2001; Gutierrez-Gomez, 2002).

In the context of Indonesia, there are not many research studies that attempt to investigate the issue of tolerance in relation to education and social practices. Fachrudin (2005) conducted a comparative study of how values of democracy and citizenship were perceived and promoted across two Islamic civil organisations, Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah. He revealed that, although both organisations subscribe to values such as individual freedom, respect for differences or plurality, tolerance and open-mindedness, individual sovereignty, acceptance of other religious groups' beliefs and gender equality as problematic for Muslims in Indonesia. Another study, by Sumaktoyo (2018), problematised interfaith tolerance between the Muslim majority and minority Christian in Indonesia through a review of policy documents and research studies on tolerance across different contexts. He concluded that promoting democracy and tolerance in the Muslim world and beyond must not be limited to promoting moderate religious views or institutional improvements but also must include strategies to enhance social integration between various social groups.

It can be concluded that none of the research studies mentioned addresses the issue of tolerance from the perspectives of teachers. They are also different from this research as to research objectives and methodological approach used to investigate the research questions. Therefore, in many respects, this research would offer a fresh approach to investigating the issue of tolerance through the use of phenomenological analysis and teachers' individual experience of engaging with tolerance.

Summary

In this chapter I have presented a body of related literature and research studies on the issue of tolerance. I started with a brief account of the epistemological

ramifications underlying character education. I then revisited character education in Indonesia and how it evolves along the historical continuum. I describe the long-standing debate around character education in Indonesia and how this debate has played out in the way character education in Indonesia has been addressed through educational policies. I briefly highlighted the philosophical basis of character education in Indonesia, which is inclined toward Lickonian conceptualisation of character education. I continued the review of literature by presenting different views and concepts of tolerance and its interpretation and influence on educational policies and public discourse on tolerance in Indonesia. In particular, I sought to bring the readers' attention to Indonesia's multicultural, multi-ethnic-religious society to foreground the magnitude of the issue of tolerance and the size of tasks and challenges faced by the government and society to maintain harmony and unity in a culturally diverse society like Indonesia.

To provide a broader perspective on the issue of tolerance and character education, I concluded this chapter with a discussion on previous studies which problematise character/moral education vis-à-vis the teaching of tolerance around the world. I, accordingly, attempt to show where my research is located within the existing research studies and the nature of the research gap that can be filled by my research.

The next chapter outlines the theoretical framework that underpins this research.

Chapter 3. Theoretical Framework

This section presents the theoretical framework which will inform the line of inquiry and data collection and analysis in this research. I draw on Bakhtin's (1981) notion of *dialogism* as the major framework both for my data collection and analysis. I consider Bakhtin's dialogism useful as it will allow me to tap into the teachers' possible struggle involving appropriation of different competing discourses through the notions of voice, discourse, ideological becoming and the dialogic interaction between institutional discourse and internally persuasive discourse.

Bakhtin's theory of dialogism

I use Bakhtin's dialogism as a conceptual tool to provide powerful insights into the social nature of human language from a micro-interactional perspective. Bakhtin's (1981) concept of *dialogue* relies on an understanding of language, which assumes any form of speech or writing as always a dialogue and is always a struggle for meaning. Dialogue consists of three elements: a speaker, a listener, and a relation between the two. Language is thus always the product of the interactions between at least two people.

Discourse and *voice* are two terms central to Bakhtin's (1981) dialogic theory. He observes that human language is stratified into social and ideological language groups, and particular characters of each language group are factors in stratifying a language. The notion of discourse implies that certain language groups require certain types of formal devices of speech for representing words. In other words, discourse is both an individual word and a way of using words. The following section discusses each key term in Bakhtin's dialogic theory of human language.

Discourse

Bakhtin (1981) noted that words acquire meanings through social interaction between interlocutors in a dialogue. What one conveys through a dialogue with others is shaped by his/her beliefs, intentions, purposes, values and norms. At the same time, in a dialogic setting, the meanings of the words may also be interpreted and understood differently from what the speaker initially intends to say. In this sense, meanings emerge out of a dialogue. From this perspective, the use of language mirrors how one positions herself/himself while simultaneously being positioned by others during participation in a variety of culturally shaped events.

Drawing on the philosophical underpinnings of Bakhtin's (1986) dialogism, Gee (2008), a sociolinguist and a literacy theorist, points out that any language is stratified into many different social languages and different individuals carry different senses of self, different ways of being and doing through their use of different social languages. Gee (2008) uses the term *discourse* to emphasise language in its social context, recognising the role of language in the process of socialisation. He explains that discourse refers to particular ways of specific groups of people's behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking, reading and writing that are accepted as instantiations of particular roles by members of particular groups. Human beings create and act out different *types of people*, including multiple types of selves for themselves, by putting words, deeds, and values in different specific times and places (Ivanic, 1998). When the term discourse is used as a count noun, it means a culturally recognized way of representing a particular aspect of reality from a particular ideological perspective. In this sense, taking the plural form of the term, discourses imply ways and forms of human life which integrate words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes, and social identities, as well as gestures, glances, body positions, and clothes (Gee, 2008). Discourses are a sort of

“identity kit” (Gee, 2008, p. 155) with appropriate customs and instructions on how to act, talk and write for the members of particular cultural groups.

Appropriation of a particular discourse pattern is an expression of personal and social identities. In an interactive process, individuals come with different social histories, with identifying markers or attributes such as gender, social class, race, religion, geographical region, and other markers of social and professional groups obtained through the participation in their communities (Hall, 1995). In terms of the use of language, individuals can have multiple identities as a consequence both of participating in a variety of culturally shaped literacy events and employing a variety of culturally shaped practices in those events (Ivanic, 1998). Individual actions, words, or thoughts at certain times are often an internal compromise among several different voices and discourses. Identity is constantly changing and negotiated across time and space (Ivanic, 1998).

Identities are constructed moment to moment in social and cultural contexts that are shaped by structures of power. This way of viewing identity is underscored by the phrase “social identity” (Bloome et al., 2005, p. 101) or “socioculturally-situated identity” (Gee, 2005, p. 141). Bloome et al. (2005) further stated that, instead of viewing identities as fixed, predetermined, and stable, they should be “viewed as being constructed through the interactions people have with each other (sometimes referred to as *social positioning*) and as a consequence of the evolving social structures of social institutions” (p. 101). They also maintain that “language is not a “transparent vehicle for the communication of information” (p. 46). Any use of language (spoken, written, electronic, etc.) involves complex, social, cultural, political, cognitive, and linguistic processes and contexts – all of which are part of the meaning and significance of reading, writing, and using language. Hence,

identities are constantly mediated through language and the contexts where they are being acted out, thereby are constantly fluid and dynamic. The nature of identity is precarious and contingent upon the situation and the discourse in which it occurs.

The concept of identity is “a complex one shaped by individual characteristics, family dynamics, historical factors, and social and political contexts” (Tatum, 1997, p. 15). Identity is essentially a political concept (Gee, 2008; Lewis et al., 2007). “What people do in interaction with each other is complex, ambiguous, and indeterminate and it often involves issues of social identity, power relations, and broad social and cultural processes” (Bloome et al., 2005. p. xvi). Sociocultural and poststructuralist perspectives view identity as intricately connected to the issue of literacy (Barton et al., 2000; Cope & Kalantzis, 2000; Gee, 2000). From sociocultural and poststructuralist perspectives, identity is not a singular entity; rather identity is multiple, dynamic, and constantly changing as people interact and are constantly changing as a result of those interactions. They also contend that identities do not exist in isolated situations so they are always socially constructed and should be viewed within social frameworks. Furthermore, these interactions are constantly being mediated through language, which takes these interactions back to the content and context of the situation. Hence, identities cannot be separated from their situation and context (Gee, 2000; Cope & Kalantzis, 2000; Lankshear & Knobel, 2011).

Voice and identity

This research considers identity as deeply entangled with agency. In Bakhtinian terms, identity is closely related to the process of becoming, that is, how we develop

our sense of the Self in relation to the Other. Bakhtin uses the notion of voice to explain identity. For Bakhtin, voice is our speaking personality, that is, when we speak, we convey a particular way of representing the Self, how we want to position ourselves and at the same time how we are positioned by others as we participate in social interaction (for example, as we respond to a particular discourse). Our identity or voice reflects different ways of seeing, believing, valuing which we may have learned in the past and are instantiated through the words or language we use in interaction with others.

Voice refers to the speaking consciousness of individuals, which can be understood only in their specific socio-historical and cultural situations in which particular discourses are embedded. For Bakhtin, the concept of voice is “a manifestation of the speaker’s or the writer’s overall conceptual horizon, perspective, intentions, and values” (Wertsch, 1991, p. 51). In this regard, what is said is not only language (in its structural and linguistic sense), but also meanings and significations that a speaker attaches to particular phenomena.

The dialogical argument, however, suggests that the individual ways of speaking and their voices are acquired by way of social interaction with others. Bakhtin (1984) wrote, “someone else’s words introduced into our speech inevitably assumes a new intention, that is, they become double-voiced” (p. 195). This means that a single utterance consists of words that are “one’s own” and at the same time “half someone else’s”, but which we have infused with our intention, desire, and emotion to become truly appropriated into our linguistic consciousness and discourse.

Double-voicedness

To understand more thoroughly Bakhtin's notion of double-voiced discourse, it is important to know what *single-voicing* is. Bakhtin (1984) described *single-voiced discourse* as having a direct relationship between language and the objects, people, and events in the world to which it refers. Its function is primarily to name, inform, express, and represent the referential objects of speech. In using single-voicing, the orientation of the speaker is principally to themselves and to perpetuating their own agenda, rather than to engaging with the interests and concerns of others. As this type of direct, unmediated, "fully signifying" discourse is directed towards its referential object, it constitutes, in Bakhtin's view, "the ultimate semantic authority within the limits of a given context" (1984, p. 189).

While single-voiced discourse is referentially orientated, in contrast, double-voiced or polyphonic discourse is "directed both towards the referential object of speech as in ordinary discourse, and toward another's discourse, towards someone else's speech" (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 185). A speaker may use single-voiced discourse to express one, unmediated utterance, but they may make use of double-voiced discourse to bring together their own thoughts and intentions with those of another speaker: "in one discourse, two semantic intentions appear, two voices" (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 189). The philosopher argues that two voices or discourses equally and directly oriented towards a referential object within a single context cannot exist side by side without interacting dialogically, regardless of whether they confirm, mutually supplement, or contradict one another. Hence, these different voices exist in a reciprocal relationship such as, for example, in the form of accusation and refutation, or dominance and resistance. The two quite distinct voices or discourses form a semantic bond without compromising the intention of the Other.

Double-voicing can be located within all forms of discourse: at the micro-level of an individual's *inner speech* and interpersonal relationships; at the meso-level of interactions between members of a community or social group or network, and at the macro-level of changes in languages and social movements. Double-voicing can be found in numerous semiotic forms such as ordinary speech and interaction, art and writing, political rhetoric and popular culture. It operates within all cultural production – whether it is literate or non-literate, verbal or non-verbal, highbrow, or popular.

In the context of this research, double-voicing may provide a rich understanding of the nuanced ways in which teachers talk, think, and feel about particular topics in relation to the discourse of tolerance. As an analytical tool, double-voicing could lend itself to unearthing teachers' internal struggle and degree of appropriation induced into the way they respond to the discourse of tolerance, here being understood as the "words of the Other" (Bakhtin, 1981). A parallel example of double-voicing can be discerned from the different ways teachers and educational practitioners in Indonesia talk about the discourse of "Kampus Merdeka" (Free Campus) which the new Minister of National Education Indonesia recently launched. The Free Campus policy grants campus more autonomy, among other things, to ease the opening of new study programmes and student apprenticeship programme in place of three-semester, in-class lectures. As I have witnessed through my interaction within the academia at my university, teachers echo different voices in response to the discourse of a Free Campus. Some teachers showed both support and reservation simultaneously. While they praised the Minister for such a policy and expressed excitement at the prospect of aligning educational curriculum with practical demands and needs in businesses and industries, they were equally apprehensive and concerned when they talked about

how the new policy could potentially disrupt the existing system which they have been accustomed to. This example illuminates the phenomenon of double-voicing as a discursive strategy enacted by the teacher to position themselves against the discourse of the Free Campus. At the same time, such a strategy also mirrors the degree of appropriation as they struggled to encompass the discourse of the Free Campus, to be populated with their own intention and emotion or, in the words of Bakhtin, their “emotional-volitional tone” (Bakhtin, 1993, p. 28).

Heteroglossia

As described above, apart from double-voicing or double-voiced discourse, a single utterance may also signify the presence of different perspectives, or voices in one’s inner reality (Salgado & Hermans, 2005), leading to *multi-voicedness* or heteroglossia. The multi-voicedness of the mind is, in a way, a product of the heteroglossia of the society – that is, a variety of genres, styles, registers and discourses that Bakhtin (1986) sees as characteristic of all language use. Thus, multi-voicedness can be understood as a metaphor that describes the presence of different perspectives, or voices in one’s inner reality and which may also be seen as constitutive of our identities. In the context of this research, I argue that different competing perspectives and views on tolerance may have figured into teachers’ linguistic consciousness and discourse repertoire to be reflected in the way they talk, think, and feel about tolerance. In other words, surrounded by several, possibly competing and conflicting discourses, teachers’ individual ways of speaking, such as those manifested in an interview, might bear traces of different social and historical contexts. The same can be said about the discourse of the Free Campus as discussed earlier. Teachers’ voices on the discourse of the Free Campus were characterized by different perspectives. For example, there was a suggestion that the Free Campus

policy was too premature to be implemented, and that the policy focused too much on entertaining the ideology of the neoliberal economic ideology which accentuates competition, and individual excellence with little regard for local wisdom and cultures. Thus, in responding to the discourse of the Free Campus, these teachers drew on a variety of different discourses, rendering their voice heteroglossic.

In summary, heteroglossia can be viewed as the ideological struggle at the centre of language and discourse, whether in the form of everyday interaction, artistic practice, political rhetoric or large-scale language change. Every apparently unified community is characterised by social heteroglossia, whereby language and discourse become the site of confrontation between differently oriented voices, as diverse social groups compete on the terrain of language.

Agency

Agency has been defined in different ways across multiple disciplines. For example, agency has been discussed in terms of human consciousness, choice, autonomy, and capacity to act purposefully and reflectively (Ahearn, 2001; Hermans & Hermans-Konopka, 2010; Korsgaard, 2009). This research, however, will use Bakhtin's notion of agency as interpreted by Michael Holquist (2002). According to Holquist (2002), agency refers to how we develop our sense of the self in relation to the Other. We call this authorship, that is, the way we represent the Self through language (or any symbols/signs) in response to a particular event/discourse/external force. In the process of representing the Self, we occasionally use the words or ideas that we have heard or encountered in the past. In this sense, we engage in appropriation of the words/ideas of the Other. Thus, agency also presupposes appropriation of discourses involving conscious decision, creativity and even resistance.

For Bakhtin (1986), agency is also intertwined with voice and authorship. He speaks, for example, of a search “for one’s own (authorial) voice” (p. 147) which presupposes one’s dialogic interaction with the words of the Other. Since the notion of the author connotes personhood and creativity, “authoring the self” is the meaning we make of ourselves as we organise, categorise, and orchestrate others’ voices and turn our orchestrated discourse toward ourselves. In this sense, the process of authoring entails our struggle to navigate through two opposing discourses, which Bakhtin (1981) terms *authoritative discourse* and *internally persuasive discourse*. An authoritative discourse is an official language coming from outside our consciousness. It implies the use of religious, political, and moral appropriation of words, including the words of parents, leaders, and teachers. On the other hand, internally persuasive discourse is an unofficial language coming from within our consciousness. It is assimilated forms of both official and unofficial language, or as Bakhtin describes as “half-ours and half-someone else’s” (p. 345). In the context of this research, the discourse of tolerance as conceptualised by the Indonesian Minister of National Education, can be understood as the official language or the authoritative discourse which tends to be monological and centralising. Teachers’ perceptions of tolerance may be acquired through different socio-cultural processes, life experience and education, conceived as internally persuasive discourses. Hence, this research seeks to examine how teachers author themselves through the tension that may arise out of their attempt to appropriate the authoritative discourse of tolerance.

Bakhtin’s notion of agency is closely tied to such a process of “ideologically becoming” where individuals engage in authoring themselves by appropriating the other’s words to become one’s own. In doing so, they experience power struggles among the different voices inside themselves, involving both authoritative and

internally persuasive discourses. Since such appropriation requires intention, creativity and interpretation, it may signify a level of agency, as individuals use language to author the worlds around them, as well as themselves within those worlds. Drawing on Bakhtin's notion of authoring, Holland et al. (1998) posit that, "in authoring the world, in putting words to the world that addresses her, the 'I' draws upon the languages, the dialects, the words of others she has been exposed to" (p. 170). An example of how the notion of agency, involving appropriation of the words of the Other, can be seen in the way students cope with the challenges in the Academic Writing class that I once taught. I noticed that students' writings contained a blend of colloquial and formal language expressions as well as a number of grammatical mistakes. While I was marking their work, I could sense that the majority of my students were experiencing difficulty in writing an argumentative essay using an academic language style. In this sense, it can be argued that the academic writing standards, as the authoritative discourse, were brought into contact with the students' own understanding of writing an essay in English, as the internally persuasive discourse, resulting in the many instances of mixing between everyday English and academic style writing. My students struggled in response to the authoritative discourse of academic writing which they had not fully appropriated or incorporated into their linguistic consciousness. However, they engaged in authoring the self by blending formal and informal English, showing some degree of creativity and conscious decision as forms of agency. Thus, the concept of dialogism offers a different take on agency, one that locates agency not in the individual, but rather in the dialogic relations between people and their social world mediated by a multiplicity of social languages.

Ideologically becoming

In this research, I am specifically interested in understanding how teachers navigate themselves through different ideas about the teaching and practice of tolerance. I seek to describe what kind of struggles teachers experience from their interaction with school environment and policies, curriculum, teaching practices and students and how this interaction provides a dialogic space for the development of teachers' identity. In seeking to understand this, I consider Bakhtin's concept of *ideologically becoming* extremely relevant and helpful.

It is worth clarifying what the term *ideology* means to provide a comprehensive understanding of ideologically becoming in Bakhtinian terms. The American Heritage Dictionary (2000) defines ideology as:

1. The body of ideas reflecting the social needs and aspirations of an individual, group, class, or culture.
2. A set of doctrines or beliefs that forms the basis of a political, economic, or other system.

The first meaning refers to the way individuals view the world in the context of everyday social interaction. People have certain ideas and aspirations about various issues in life and try to express or make them known to others through social interaction. The second meaning is more politically charged as it refers to a broader system comprising a set of beliefs, norms or rules and regulations that works and operates in certain society. Although the second meaning is more commonly associated with Bakhtin, the original meaning of the Russian word *ideologiya* is far from being political. As Morris (2003) suggests, Bakhtin's reference to ideology aligns mostly with the first meaning:

The Russian “*ideologiya*” is less politically coloured than the English word “ideology”. In other words, it is not necessarily a consciously held political belief system; rather it can refer in a more general sense to the way in which members of a given social group view the world. It is in this broader sense that Bakhtin uses the term. For Bakhtin, any utterance is shot through with “*ideologiya*”, any speaker is automatically an “*ideology*”. (p. 249)

One of Bakhtin’s followers, Emerson (1983), echoes a similar view when he writes:

Its English cognate “ideology” is in some respects unfortunate, for our word suggests something inflexible and propagandistic, something politically unfree. For Bakhtin and his colleagues, it means simply an “idea system” determined socially, something that *means*. (p. 247, emphasis in original)

In Bakhtinian terms, ideological becoming refers to how an individual develops his or her view of the world, which makes up a system of ideas through a dialogic interaction with others. Although Bakhtin’s concept of ideological becoming does not connote a political edge, the individual process of ideologically becoming is inevitably influenced and shaped by political considerations. In the case of tolerance as theory and practice, particularly, I take into account the fact that how teachers think and perceive tolerance as well as practise tolerance is also part of ideological development. In school, the choices teachers make in relation to the teaching and learning process are political when they are consciously made to position one’s self in a particular way within a school community. Likewise, teachers make conscious and unconscious decisions about how to promote tolerance in school, what rules of conduct need to be socialised, and what kind of intervention is required to bridge differences among students. These are all political considerations in a broad sense as teachers attempt to develop their views on the teaching of tolerance, or the ideological self within a community of practice. They bring implications to the sense of who they are and to the way the others position them within a community of

practice (Trudgill, 1995). At the same time, as teachers are part of a larger educational social and political system, the way they develop ideas about tolerance and the practice of tolerance is also shaped by these larger systems.

It is also noteworthy that the notion of ideological becoming does not index how a person develops his or her ideas per se. Bakhtin and his proponents show more interest in how a person develops ideas holistically through interaction with complex ideas and concepts, including political ideas, as well as other parts of the idea system. This is because Bakhtin views the individual as being deeply embedded in a social context and suggests that the individual shapes the social world – just as the social world shapes the individual.

In this research, Bakhtin's concept of ideological becoming is considered extremely useful to understand how teachers struggle to develop their ideas in contexts where different policies and perspectives on tolerance interact with each other. Bakhtin & Medvedev in Morris (2003) notes that ideological becoming occurs within such contexts that he terms as "the ideological environment". According to Bakhtin and Medvedev, "[h]uman consciousness does not come into contact with existence directly, but through the medium of the surrounding ideological world" (Morris, 2003. p. 127). Bakhtin put emphasis on the social nature of human beings as conscious beings who interact, not only with other human beings but also with a web of ideas, perspectives, beliefs and values. Individuals are influenced by the social world while simultaneously capable of shaping the social context they live in. In the context of this research, teachers' ideological environments such as schools, professional associations, community groups or gatherings, serve as a medium for the process of ideologically becoming, allowing them to develop ideas as the essential part of their identity as teachers and members of society. In ideological

environments coloured by a variety of voices, teachers not only are faced with the challenge of maintaining social bonds among colleagues, but also interesting opportunities and possibilities for broadening and developing their understanding of the world, in particular in the context of theory and practice of tolerance.

Bakhtin (1981) maintained the ideological environment, with its diversity of voices, plays a pivotal role in a person's growth because it is through interaction with different voices that a person learns through struggle in the process of coming to a new understanding of the world, as Bakhtin (1981) suggests, "[a]nother's discourse performs here [in ideological becoming] no longer as information, directions, rules, models and so forth – but strives to determine the very basis of our ideological interrelations with the world, the very basis of our behaviour" (p. 342).

Bakhtin emphasises the social nature of learning; that learning takes place most likely through social interactions which are characterised by tension and conflicts. It is by struggling through these tensions and conflicts that a person comes to a new understanding. "The importance of struggling with another's discourse, its influence in the history of an individual's coming to ideological consciousness, is enormous" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 348). In everyday life, we encounter an array of different perspectives or discourses, some of them may resonate with our own views while some others may require appropriation that causes us to experience struggle along the way in the process of developing our ideological self. According to Bakhtin (1981), "our ideological development is ... an intense struggle within us for hegemony among various available verbal and ideological points of view, approaches, directions and values" (p. 346). We go through a "process of selectively assimilating the words of others" (p. 341). Hence, the Other plays an important role in one's process of ideologically becoming. As we are exposed to the words of

others, we select from among those words of others and assimilate them into our repertoire of knowledge which, in turn, contribute to our sense of who we are. In Bakhtinian terms, with whom, in what ways, and in what contexts we interact will determine what we stand to learn.

Bakhtin (1981) argued that the ideological environment as a fertile ground for the process of ideologically becoming consists of two distinct categories of discourse: (1) *authoritative discourse*; and (2) *internally persuasive discourse*. Because of their different properties, we struggle with them in different ways. Bakhtin defines authoritative discourse:

The authoritative word is . . . so to speak, the word of the fathers. Its authority was already *acknowledged* in the past. It is a *prior* discourse. It is therefore not a question of choosing it among other possible discourses that are its equal. It is given [it sounds] in lofty spheres, not those of familiar contact . . . for example, the authority of religious dogma, or of acknowledged scientific truth or of a currently fashionable book. (pp. 342–343, emphasis in original)

Bakhtin points out that how, and in what ways, we respond to authoritative discourse shape the nature of our struggles in our process of ideologically becoming. Bakhtin (1981) points out that these struggles often happen in what Bakhtin calls a “contact zone”, where we interact and struggle with a variety of authoritative discourses much like literary characters who would struggle against “various kinds and degrees of authority,” against the “official line” (p. 345). However, this does not necessarily mean that all of us struggle against all authority or all authoritative discourses, but rather that there are times in our lives when what we think as an individual is not the same as some aspect of the official doctrine of our larger world. It is through these moments of struggle that we are in the process of ideologically becoming. Bakhtin (1981) maintains that we experience struggle because the

authoritative discourse compels us to accept it, to make it our own, while we try to challenge it and develop our own discourse.

Morson (2004) further argues that there is a difference in meaning between the authoritative word and the authoritarian word. The authoritative word may not always be accepted and agreed upon by people so as to lose its authoritarian nature Wertsch (1991). For example, teachers who are forced to implement certain programmes mandated by the National Curriculum may resist in their private discourse. In this sense, the authoritative word is not felt as being authoritarian as teachers are able to at least develop their own discourse and reject the authoritative word (the mandate of the National Curriculum) while publicly acting as if they accept it. The essence of this distinction lies in the question of whether a particular authoritative discourse is truly perceived by an individual as being authoritative, the answer to which also determines the intensity of struggle that individuals experience in response to the authoritative words.

However, in everyday life, we are not only confronted with authoritative discourse which causes us to struggle in the process of developing our own view of the world. We are also surrounded by many competing discourses that exist in society. These are the everyday words or views of ordinary people that we meet in our everyday life, that Bakhtin calls internally persuasive discourse. Unlike the authoritative discourse with its authority already embedded, internally persuasive discourse has no such authority whatsoever and hence it is often not considered as the official language and its presence is not even acknowledged (Bakhtin, 1981). It is important to note that internally persuasive discourses are those views of the world that we have come to accept and internalise to become part of our discourse consciousness or ideologies. As we interact with the diverse range of internally persuasive

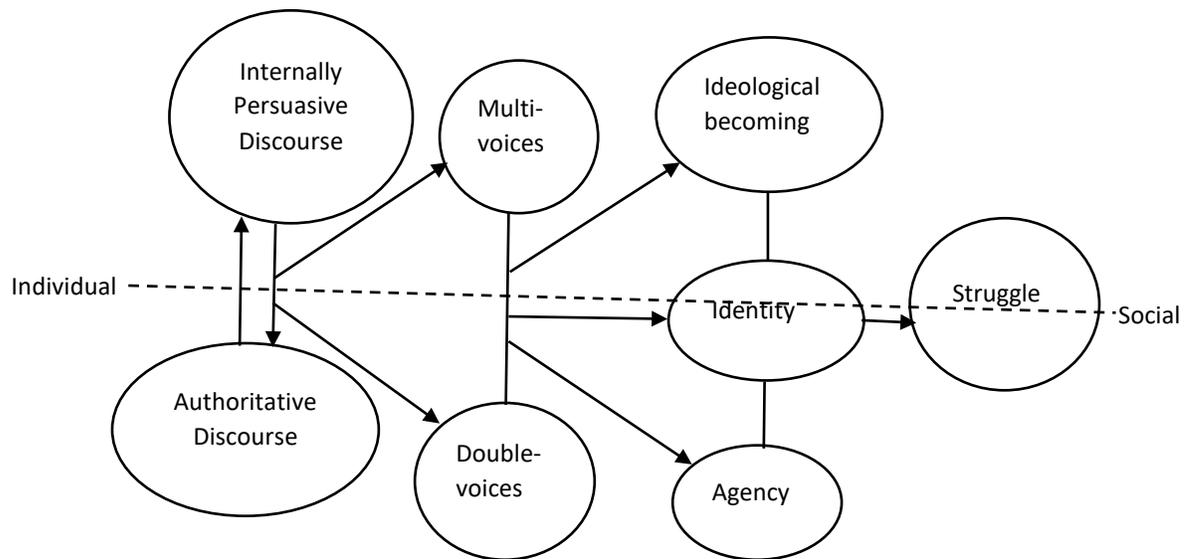
discourses of others, we also struggle with what we experience in authoritative discourse. The discourse of others also affects the ways we develop our ideas and eventually may shape the choices we make regarding which of the words of others can become internally persuasive for us. However, internally persuasive discourses may change as we evolve in our understanding of the world as a result of our interaction with the words of others. With this, Bakhtin (1981) notes, “a variety of alien discourses enter into the struggle for influence within an individual’s consciousness (just as they struggle with one another in the surrounding social reality)” (p. 348).

If we take the case of the teacher participants in this research, we can imagine the importance of considering their teaching practices, particularly in regard to tolerance, in terms of ideological becoming. In the present digital era, we are exposed to competing perspectives and views of the world in ways that are more massive and prone to tension and conflict. Teachers are likely more varied in terms of ideas and perspectives on teaching practices as a result of wider exposure to the world of ideas disseminated through digital space and social media. This leads to the possibility of teachers’ developing a variety of internally persuasive discourses that may shape the way they interact with the words of others in the form of both authoritative discourse and the internally persuasive discourse of others. We can visualise the school and classrooms as the rich and complex *contact zone* where different internally persuasive discourses come into contact to provide a medium for teachers’ process of ideologically becoming. At the same time, the contact zone is laden with tension and conflicts as teachers’ internally persuasive discourse come into collision with the authoritative words of the school and the mandate of the National Curriculum. These are all the struggles that the teacher participants in this research may experience and that this research aims to explore through the lens of

ideologically becoming. The interconnectedness of the different theoretical constructs is described in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1

Theoretical Map



Summary

In this chapter I have presented a detailed body of theoretical frameworks drawn primarily on Bakhtin’s notion of dialogism and its interrelated constructs such as voice, double-voicedness, agency and identity, ideologically becoming, and heteroglossia. I described how Bakhtin’s notion of dialogism could be immensely relevant and useful to illuminate the teachers’ intimate dialogue and struggle with the theory and practice of tolerance at different levels of granulation. Bakhtin’s dialogism not only provides a useful lens to analyse teachers’ struggle at a micro-level of speech but also at a discourse level through the notion of internally persuasive discourse and authoritative discourse. As an overarching framework for

analysis, Bakhtin's dialogism offers a powerful tool of analysis as it goes straight to the essence of dialogue at the level of social interaction and human consciousness. It serves the purpose of this research by allowing me to tap into the internal struggle of teachers in engaging with the discourse of tolerance both as teachers and individuals/members of society at large.

The following chapter details my philosophical beliefs and assumptions about the nature of reality that I wish to investigate and the methodological approach I chose to conduct the research.

Chapter 4. Research Methodology

This section presents the methodological approach I employed to investigate Indonesian teachers' understandings of tolerance discourses. I start by introducing my philosophical beliefs and assumptions about the world – those which underpin the design and direction of my research. Next, I outline my role and positionality as a researcher, where I highlight my relationship with the research participants and how I address the issue of power relations which might come into play during my interaction with them. I subsequently discuss the research method that guides the line of inquiry pursued in this research. I provide a brief description of phenomenology design within qualitative methodologies along with the rationale for its adoption in my research. Next, I transition into a discussion on the data-collection process which includes recruitment of research participants, research setting, and data-collection tool. I conclude this chapter by discussing the issue of *trustworthiness* as understood in qualitative research.

Locating my Research Within a Research Paradigm

When embarking on research, it is important to be explicit and clear about a paradigm or knowledge claim that will guide a research study (Creswell, 2003; Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006). A paradigm can be understood as “a loose collection of logically related assumptions, concepts, or propositions that orient thinking and research” (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998, p.22) or a worldview that guides a researcher or investigator in terms of ontological and epistemological stance (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Ontology is the study of *being* and is concerned with *what is* or the nature of existence and structure of reality as such (Crotty, 1998) or what it is possible to know about the world (Snape & Spencer, 2003).

Furthermore, Bryman (2008) introduces the concept of *social ontology*, which he defines as a philosophical consideration in research which concerns the nature of social entities, i.e., whether these social entities are, or can be, objective entities which exist independently of social actors or rather they are social constructions in themselves built up from the perceptions, actions, and interpretations of the individuals in society. Whereas, epistemology, in general, is the assumptions we make about the kind or the nature of knowledge (Richards, 2003) and how it is possible to find out about the world (Snape & Spencer, 2003).

In a total rejection of positivist and objectivist approaches, interpretivism and constructionism assert that there are ways of knowing about the world other than direct observation; namely, our perceptions and interpretations of the world around us (Bryman, 2008; Crotty, 1998). People use their perceptions to interpret what their senses tell them. As such, knowledge of the world is based on our *understanding* which arises from our reflection on events rather than only on lived experiences (Ormston et al., 2014).

In this research, I conceive the participants' perception about the discourse of tolerance as being deeply embedded in a particular situated social context. I wish to illuminate how the discourse of tolerance is subjectively experienced and articulated by the teachers within such a context. I adopt a relativist ontological stance which views reality as unstable and multiple, dependent upon the subjective experience and the negotiation of meaning between individuals within a particular social context (Merriam, 1998). Hence, the method of inquiry in this research is anchored in the constructionist-interpretive paradigm (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011) in which realities exist in multiple forms and are socially constructed within a situated specific

context, dependent for their form and content on the persons who hold them (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Consequently, in this research I rely on the teachers' subjective views of the phenomena being studied and acknowledge that my relations with the participants may affect the creation of knowledge generated from this research. As such, rather than imposing meanings on the research subjects, I position myself as a co-constructor of knowledge, of understanding and interpretation of the meaning of lived experience alongside the research participants (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

The ontological and epistemological stance I adopt aligns with a qualitative approach which operates on the assumption that meaning is socially constructed by individuals in interaction with their world (Merriam, 2002). A qualitative approach allows researchers to look at people or situations in their natural settings and attempts to bring understanding or to make sense of their experience, using the meanings or interpretations of the people involved in those experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). In this sense, I reject the notion of value-free inquiry (Denzin & Lincoln 2005), which views reality as unitary, stable, and measurable through some sort of quantification. As Schwandt (2000, p. 189) notes, "qualitative inquiry practitioners share a general rejection of the blend of scientism, foundational epistemology, instrumental reasoning, and the philosophical anthropology of disengagement that has marked mainstream social sciences."

In this research, I seek to understand and interpret the participants' perceptions of the discourse of tolerance as it is subjectively experienced and articulated through the teaching and learning practice in their naturally occurring settings. By *naturally occurring setting*, I mean my attempt to make sense of, or to interpret phenomena in terms of the meaning the participants bring to them without the meaning being imposed externally (Brewer & Crano, 2014; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Therefore, the

participant's engagement with the discourse of tolerance will likely be richly infused with personal feelings, aspirations, values, emotions and belief systems which are unique to their own contexts. At the same time, they may also share commonalities in the ways they perceive the discourse of tolerance. Hence, my research requires a situated qualitative methodology which is carried out from a particular embedded position so as to allow me to gain in-depth understanding of the participants' perception of the discourse of tolerance. For this purpose, I chose a phenomenological design which I elaborate following the section on researcher's role and positionality later.

Researcher Role and Positionality

In qualitative research, the role and position of the researcher needs to be revealed to readers to help them understand how this influences interactions with participants, and to determine what triangulation is needed (Merriam, 2009; Stake, 1995). Triangulation is the process of using multiple sources of data to ensure trustworthiness. In qualitative research, the researcher's educational background, experience and perspectives that the researcher brings to the field need to be revealed for credibility purposes (Patton, 2015). According to Patton (2015), in qualitative methodologies, the researcher serves as "the primary instrument in qualitative inquiry" (p. 196) because the investigation of natural phenomena is filtered through his or her lens. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) speak of "the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied" and of "the personal biography of the researcher, who speaks from a particular class, gender, racial, cultural and ethnic community perspectives" (p. 18).

Hence, in alignment with the constructionist-interpretivist paradigm, I assume a role as both an insider and outsider (Brannick & Coghlan, 2007; Floyd & Arthur, 2012;

Mercer, 2007) interested in how the participants navigate through the discourse of tolerance within the school environment and beyond. I may represent a role as an insider in the sense that the participants and I work in educational institutions in Indonesia, a setting which has recently seen an upsurge of religious, ethnic violence and marked polarisation in society. My insider perspective includes being in a locally situated condition where my participants and I often engage in the discussion of tolerance. I have personally experienced how the discourse of tolerance has evolved over time, along with the educational and socio-political dynamics in Indonesia. However, this research focuses particularly on secondary teachers' perspectives of tolerance.

In adopting an interpretive, qualitative research orientation, I attempted to build my subjectivity into the data analysis to make sense of the teachers' accounts of tolerance. My subjectivity includes my own worldviews, beliefs, positionality, choices and experience (Rosaldo, 1993) in regard to the discourse of tolerance. Hence, I have to be aware of my own subjectivity in examining and interpreting my own worldview. This notion of subjectivity is referred to as an *insider's perspective* (Borko et al., 2007) which I activated during the recursive process of data interpretation. However, my insider perspective could also pose a problem if I did not cautiously negotiate my worldviews with those of my participants. Therefore, I strived to keep a distance between my worldview and my participants' worldviews in order to make the most plausible, well-rounded interpretation insofar as the data are concerned (Creswell, 2013). At the same time, I exercised my reflexivity in the process of data interpretation as an integral part of qualitative research to question the realities of research practices (Pillow, 2003) and to provide a quality check of my qualitative study (Berger, 2013). Reflexivity is a conscious process of unmasking hidden conflicts and assumptions, ideas, and beliefs with a goal of emancipating

thinking and action of Self, Others, reality and context (Hibbert, 2013; Holmes et al., 2005). In simple terms, being reflexive entails a deliberate awareness of differences in people's perceptions with an aim of creating a well-rounded perspective or interpretation of the phenomenon. This means that I had to constantly remind myself of the influence of my position as a researcher (my subjectivity) and of context (cultural and physical) on the participants and the topic being discussed, while simultaneously recognising how my experience may shape the way I construct my research design, implementation, and analysis.

Ethical Considerations

As to my relationship to the research participants, I selected participants I had not known before. My decision to include them in my research was related to their ability to meet the research participant criteria. I had no authority whatsoever over their academic practice, as we work in completely different educational institutions. Hence, this helped to remove possible psychological barriers and asymmetrical power relations once I commenced my research journey with them.

To meet the expected ethical considerations, I exercised transparency throughout the whole process of my research. For example, at the start of participant recruitment, I contacted the school headmaster where possible research participant candidates worked, to seek site access to the school and the prospective teacher participants. I requested permission from the headmaster and outlined the intentions I had regarding conducting the research. I informed them of the topic and length of my research and my personal and professional details. Once I obtained a letter of consent from the school headmaster, I asked for my recruitment letter to be made available to the teachers who could then make initial contact with me individually so I could inform them about my study. I scheduled a meeting with them

to explain my study in further detail including details about my background, professional affiliations, research topic and procedures involved. Of equal importance, I explained what I was asking them to do as a research participant and how much time they would need to give to the research. I emphasised that their participation in my research was voluntary, meaning that they could choose to participate or not to participate. Furthermore, they could withdraw from their participation in my research at any time during the research process if they wished to do so. In addition, I would keep their identities confidential and use pseudonyms across the entire research process, including data analysis and findings. Having made these aspects explicit, participants would have time to review the study information and ask questions prior to formally consenting to be part of the research.

Phenomenological Research Design

In this research, I seek to gain insights into the perceptions of a group of teachers based on their lived experiences in engaging with the discourse of tolerance. For this purpose, I turn to phenomenology as the philosophical foundation of inquiry. Phenomenological research is underpinned by the central assumption that individuals develop subjective meanings of their own experience and the researcher's role is to understand the perceptions of the participants. This focus on the meanings individuals attach to their experience aligns with a constructivist philosophy which acknowledges the social creation of knowledge and rejection of absolute truth and objectivity (Creswell, 2003). Hence it is also in line with my philosophical belief about the nature of reality and knowledge I described in the previous section.

Phenomenology is concerned with uncovering the essence of something as it is lived through experience and how it shows itself in consciousness as an object of

reflection. In the context of this research, I sought to explore and uncover the essence or meanings the teachers bring to their experience of engaging with the discourse of tolerance; how it is lived in everyday life in the workplace, school, home, and society at large. To help me conduct a phenomenological inquiry, I drew on Martin Heidegger's work which was the basis of hermeneutic phenomenology. Heidegger proposed the use of hermeneutics in researching experiences to interpret the lived experiences of participants (Dowling, 2007). To do this, Heidegger introduced the idea of a "hermeneutic circle" to the methodology, in which the researcher's role is situated in analyzing text and making meaning by interpreting both the data as a whole and the data as thematic parts, in order to interpret the experience as a whole. Heideggerian phenomenology suggests that researchers interpret data collected through interviews in terms of their own experiences (McConnell-Henry et al., 2009). Heidegger did not believe it was possible to interpret text from an interview without relying on the researcher's experiences; he referred to this as "being-in-the-world" (McConnell-Henry et al., 2009). Being in the world means researchers are not entities which exist parallel to their world. Heidegger emphasised that there is no separation between being and the world (Hatch, 2002). This means that there is no possibility of bracketing, having individual but parallel experiences without connection, because we always exist in the world with others.

Heidegger's (1967) hermeneutic circle highlights three steps for interpreting the study phenomenon, namely: pre-understanding; understanding and interpretation. The hermeneutic dimension of phenomenology projects the possibility of interpreting the phenomenon of teachers' engagement with the discourse of tolerance through my pre-understanding and previous conceptions of the realities surrounding the discourse of tolerance. As a consequence of being there or existing,

I have my own pre-understanding of tolerance, which cannot be devoid of assumptions. Heidegger (1967) relates the process of understanding to the notion of possibility. He suggests that the movement of understanding opens the possibilities of being with the Other's perception in one's perception, as well as in the perception of the Other. In the context of my research, this movement presupposes my willingness to open myself to the possibilities of being or existence as a result of my interaction with the participants during the interview and research process. The last step in Heidegger's (1967) hermeneutic circle, interpretation, is the projection of the presence, inherent to understanding, and having the possibility of elaborating the interpreter into different forms. Interpretation is existentially based on understanding. To interpret is to create new possibilities projected onto the understanding. In the context of this research, the process of interpretation entails incorporating the new world of possibilities into my being, my world. Hence, this is the stage where the theoretical lens was useful to help me arrive at a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of tolerance. As phenomenological inquiry seeks to uncover the essence of experience, the hermeneutic approach allowed me to use Bakhtin's (1981) notion of dialogism in a way that provides a profound understanding of the phenomena as sought in a phenomenological study. This is because Bakhtin (1981) emphasises the supremacy of dialogue in the development of human consciousness. Bakhtin (1981) stresses that meaning always emerges out of a dialogue with others. A dialogue is always characterized by an individual's struggle to navigate between two opposing forces, the authoritative and internally persuasive discourse. Bakhtin's (1981) notion of dialogism helped me understand how the participants experience this internal struggle in appropriating different views of tolerance and how such a struggle figures into their linguistic and discourse consciousness. Hence, I deem it relevant to use Bakhtin's (1981) notion of dialogism

as a useful lens to help me uncover the essence of tolerance as experienced by the teacher participants.

In summary, phenomenology is best suited to my research for a number of reasons. First, as suggested by Moustakas (1994), phenomenology examines “entities from many sides, angles, and perspectives until a unified vision of the experience is achieved” (p. 58). Thus, this research study allowed for the perspectives of a group of teachers to be heard to reach a unified vision of how the phenomenon of experiencing the discourse of tolerance figures into teachers’ consciousness. This methodology therefore aligns with this research study because of its strong roots in using the participants’ personal experiences to explore the phenomenon that is at the centre of the issues suggested by the research questions. The use of the phenomenological method and, more specifically, hermeneutic phenomenology, allowed me to use my own knowledge of tolerance in the context of educational curriculum design and policy in Indonesia to guide open-ended interview protocols to explore the participants’ perceptions and reflections of their experiences, while keeping potential bias and influence in check (Sloan & Bowe, 2014).

Research Settings

This research took place in secondary schools in the Special Province of Yogyakarta, the students’ city of Indonesia. Yogyakarta was selected as it provided a sound education system. Secondary schools were chosen because that was the sector in which character education received considerable attention from the government. As mandated by President Jokowi in the Regulation of the President of the Republic of Indonesia No. 87, 2017, on Strengthening Character Education, the teaching of character should take up 60% of the total hours allocated for teaching. This shows

how the government sees secondary schools as playing a pivotal role in instilling a set of desirable character traits for their students.

Data Collection

In this section, I discuss the data collection, which includes the recruitment of research participants and data-collection tools. I elaborate each of the data collection processes as follows:

Research participants

The participants for this study were selected using purposive sampling. This technique allows for the identification and selection of information-rich cases for the most effective use of limited resources (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Patton, 2015). Purposive sampling also considers participants' availability and willingness to participate and their ability to communicate experiences and opinions in an articulate, expressive, and reflective manner (Bernard, 2002). In addition, this type of sampling is in line with the interpretive research paradigm (Llewellyn et al., 1999). Based on these definitions, I purposefully selected, from three different secondary schools in Yogyakarta, a total of five teachers who have taught for at least five years. The rationale for such selection is based on the assumption that teachers with five-year teaching experience in the same school should have good knowledge of the school curriculum and its development over time. In particular, they should be willing to discuss their understanding of how the discourse of tolerance has been subjectively experienced and given significance.

Data-collection tools

The data were collected through semi-structured interviews. Below is a brief description of the data-collection tool.

Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were employed to gain an in-depth understanding of how the participants perceive, think, and feel about their engagement with the discourse of tolerance as enacted by their institution. Semi-structured interviews enable researchers to extract the responses from the participants by asking further questions to clarify meanings (Gray, D. E. 2009; O'Toole & Beckett, 2010). A semi-structured interview format enabled me to facilitate and ask open-ended questions with little control over the participants' responses (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). Furthermore, a research interview is "a social interpersonal encounter, not merely a data collection exercise" (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 361). Cohen et al. (2007) stated that researchers may manage the order of the interview while still giving space for spontaneity, and they can "chase" not only for complete answers but also for responses about complex and deep issues. Interviews are used to better understand the world by interpreting the meaning of participants' perspectives and lived experiences (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015).

I designed the semi-structured interviews by outlining the larger research questions which revolve around such topics as agency, identity, and ideological becoming. Within each of these topics, I developed questions to elicit responses that may denote the notion of agency, identity and ideological becoming through instances of language use. However, as these three topics are deeply entangled, the boundary between questions, in terms of which topic they lead to, is also very fluid. One question may lead to responses that simultaneously denote agency, identity and ideological becoming. Similarly, the questions are not meant to be fixed, as in reality they may be subject to change as I shape them to fit particular kinds of participants or as I expand and probe on particular aspects of the participants' responses.

Because of the fluid boundary between agency, identity, and ideological becoming, I organised the questions under different themes such as demographic information (hometown, brothers/sisters, parents, place of birth), biography/life history (place of birth, education, career, childhood life), social interaction experience (school, neighbour, workplace), schoolwork (curriculum, syllabus, classroom interaction, teaching tolerance). The participants' responses to the questions are expected to contain propositions, nuanced statements, phrases or non-verbal language which may signify the notion of agency, identity and ideological becoming.

I followed the qualitative interviewing guidelines of Rubin and Rubin (2005) who suggest that the researcher "pose initial questions in a broad way to give the interviewees the opportunity to answer from their own experiences." (p. 33). I started with "warm-up" questions – something that the participants could answer easily and at some length. It does not have to pertain directly to the topic of the research, but this initial rapport-building helped put the participant at ease for the rest of the interview. Since an interview is an interpersonal encounter, it was important for me to show my empathy, warmth, attentiveness and even humour (where appropriate) during the interview. Samples of indicative interview questions are presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1*Samples of Indicative Interview Questions*

Themes	Questions	Purpose
Personal Information	<p>Could you tell me about yourself?</p> <p>Where do you come from? Where is home for you now?</p> <p>What brought you into teaching? How long have you been teaching?</p>	Initial /warm-up questions to establish rapport
Biography/life history	<p>Could you tell me more about yourself and your background – family, culture/ethnicity, religion, schooling, study, experiences?</p> <p>Where did you grow up?</p> <p>What was your neighbourhood like?</p> <p>How would you describe your childhood and schooling?</p> <p>What are some key experiences you remember?</p> <p>Who or what had an important influence on your life?</p> <p>How would you describe your identity now?</p> <p>How has your identity changed over time?</p>	Inquiry into discourses
Social interaction experience	<p>How would you describe your friends in school or in your neighbourhood or wider activities?</p> <p>What would you consider to be the most significant experiences in getting along with friends, schoolmates or colleagues at work?</p> <p>Can you share a time where you had an unpleasant experience interacting with others?</p> <p>How do you find interacting with others who are quite different from yourself?</p> <p>Can you tell me about one of these experiences?</p> <p>What about experiences where you have seen or heard of others being treated unpleasantly?</p> <p>Why do you think that happened?</p> <p>What is the most important thing that you have learned from interacting with others?</p>	Starters for further questions on tolerance and other discourses

Themes	Questions	Purpose
Teachers' work around tolerance	<p>How would you describe the idea of tolerance?</p> <p>What does tolerance look like when it is working well?</p> <p>What does the curriculum say about tolerance?</p> <p>Some people think that tolerance cannot be taught in school. Do you have any comments on that?</p> <p>What approaches to teaching tolerance do you use or have you seen in your school?</p> <p>What are the challenges in the implementation of tolerance teaching?</p>	Lead-in questions for in-depth inquiry into teachers' perception of tolerance.

Data collection during the Covid 19 pandemic

In anticipation of the global travel restrictions due to Covid 19, which extended beyond Semester two 2020, there was some modification required in data-collection techniques. In the case that I was unable to travel to Indonesia, I considered the use of VoIP (Voice over Internet Protocol) mediated technologies such as Zoom or Skype (Messaging service and video call application on Android mobile phone). VoIP allowed me to send voice and video across the internet via a synchronous (real-time) connection. In this research, I used Zoom instead of Skype as it is a more widely used platform these days, and because the two platforms share similar features. WhatsApp was also used to facilitate my communication with the research participants alongside email correspondence. For reasons of space and word limits, I briefly highlighted the advantages and limitations of using Zoom as a methodological tool for data collection. Of paramount importance, I discussed some ethical concerns that may have arisen using Zoom and described some procedures to address them.

The advantages of using VoIP-mediated technologies for qualitative data collection has been well documented in some research studies (Carr, 2001; Deakin & Wakefield, 2013; Rowley, 2012; Seitz, 2015). The use of Skype allows participants greater freedom to choose a place and time for the interview that best suits their situations, thereby eliminating the need to visit an agreed location (Rowley, 2012). With Skype, “the place of the interview becomes much more fluid” (Deakin & Wakefield, 2013, p. 609). The flexibility afforded through the use of Zoom or Skype for qualitative interviews could have been pivotal in my research as my research participants may live busy lives. Another advantage is that it allows both participants and researchers to record video and audio at the same time without the need for additional equipment (Cater, 2011; Hanna, 2012). In addition, logistical issues with regard to access to certain spaces such as a classroom, meeting room, and area of school are also eliminated. Thus, it can be argued that the use of Zoom or Skype enables a more democratic research process.

Relating to rapport-building, Deakin and Wakefield (2013, p. 610) found that “Skype interviewees were more responsive, and rapport was built quicker than in a number of face-to-face interviews. Online rapport is ... only an issue when interviewing an individual who is more reserved or less responsive.” Hanna (2012) also reported that some participants in her research felt more comfortable speaking up because both the researcher and the researched are located in their own chosen place of comfort, hence there is no interference with another’s personal space. To address the possible difficulty in establishing rapport with my research participants, I created a connection with them prior to the interview by exchanging a series of emails. As suggested by Seitz (2015), exchanging emails several times may help strengthen rapport before the interview takes place. Hence, Iacono & Brown (2016) argued that whether Skype or face-to-face interviews are better to build rapport really depends

on the topic of the research and on the personalities of the participant and interviewer.

The next limitation arising from using Zoom or Skype interviews is the decreased visibility of non-verbal cues. According to Talja and McKenzie (2007, p. 102), “paralinguistic cues such as gesture, facial expression, and tone of voice can both convey emotion and provide the hearer with clues for interpreting the meaning of an utterance.” Most of the time, during the Zoom interview, I may be able to see only the participant’s facial expression and may miss important cues from the rest of the body. To address this issue, I undertook to listen more attentively to the participants’ voices and looked carefully at their facial expressions. As Seitz (2015, p. 232) suggests, “researchers should use their own facial expressions deliberately to convey understanding and emotion too.”

Lastly, using Zoom interviews raises some ethical concerns. The use of such interviews is capable of blurring the boundary between public and private, raising some questions as to who has access to data, and how participants’ privacy and confidentiality can be protected (Garcia et al., 2009).

To resolve ethical issues as those mentioned, I ensured that the participants had a chance to pre-read the consent form. Similarly, they were reminded and asked if the interview could be recorded. They were also informed that they could stop the interview any time and can withdraw from the research at any time. They were given the opportunity to choose the location, day and time of the interview at their own discretion and convenience. To address the issue of confidentiality, once collected, the data would be transcribed and stored on a password-protected computer and only myself and the participant had access to the research data. Because the interview is mediated through the use of Zoom, which is owned by a third party, there is a potential for the data to be compromised. Therefore, I created

a specific Zoom link for every research participant. Once the interview was completed, all the Zoom links were closed and, subsequently, all of the participants' online details and data would be permanently removed. By doing so, I expected to help protect the participants' anonymity. The data-collection timeline is in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2

Data-collection Timeline

No	Data Collection Stages	OCT 2020	NOV 2020	DEC 2020	JAN 2021	FEB 2021	OUTCOME
1	Initial contact with school to gain school principals' consent						Signed consents
2	Initial Phone Call and Email exchange with participants to get informed consent						Signed consents
3	Online Interviews						Five individual interviews, each lasting for a duration of approximately 90 minutes

Data Analysis

In this research, the stages of analysis were adapted from Ricoeur's (1981) theory of interpretation. Ricoeur's theory is built around three fundamental concepts: *distanciation*, *explanation*, and *appropriation*. These stages were utilised in this study to frame the analytical process of interpretation. Distanciation refers to the changing nature of text as an oral interview is converted to a written form. This process results in the distancing of text from, not only the author, but also from the situation of the discourse and from the original context and audience. In a research

context, distancing involves viewing the transcripts of interviews as a co-shared discourse fixed in writing. This co-shared written discourse is opened up to the world of the reader. This is where the researcher's reflexivity is exercised to distance their world from the world of the text by acknowledging their prior knowledge of the phenomena. The distancing is reflected in the initial stage of seeking an explanation of the text in which the researcher focuses only on the internal nature of the text. The question being asked is "What does the text say?" As the researcher explores the text, they ask the second question, "What does the text talk about?" To facilitate more in-depth exploration of the text, they begin to take into account other factors such as knowledge of the interviewee/participants, the context of the interview. However, this process represents a naïve understanding of the text since no interpretation is yet to be made outside of the text.

The last stage of understanding entails appropriation, which is a process of understanding text involving a necessary mediation between the writer and the reader. The appropriation culminates in a new understanding of the self, of being there with the world – as a result of dialogic interaction with the text (Ricoeur, 1981). Thus, to understand is not to project oneself into the text but, rather, to open up to an enlarged self, to incorporate into one's world (the interpreter's world) other possible worlds as portrayed by the text.

Ricoeur describes the relationship between explanation and understanding of the text as involving the movement back and forth between parts of the text and a view of the whole, during the process of interpretation. He used the term *hermeneutic arch* to describe this movement back and forth between a naïve and an in-depth interpretation. Therefore, interpretation moves from immature understanding to deeper understanding, but this follows an iterative process involving interpretation

of parts of the text in relation to the whole text and vice versa. The data analysis involves the following steps:

Naïve reading

Following the verbatim transcription of the interviews, I read the text in order to obtain a general sense of the text as a whole. At this phase, I focused on the internal nature of the text as a way of distancing myself from the world of the text. The naïve reading led to spontaneous interpretation of the text and an examination of the influence of my pre-understandings.

Structural analysis

Having distanced myself from the text through naïve reading, I then identified patterns of meaningful connection through the structural analysis. This step involved an interpretation of what the text says across the data (presented as text quotations) and what the text speaks about based on teachers' engagement with the discourse of tolerance and of my pre-understandings of tolerance. For this purpose, I adopted thematic analysis as a way of seeking to identify and formulate themes. Thus, the whole text was re-read and divided into meaning units. A meaning unit is a part of the text that conveys just one meaning (Lindseth & Norberg, 2004).

Following the hermeneutic circle, I examined the meaning units against the meaning of the naïve reading as to similarities and differences. The meaning units were then condensed so that the essential meaning of each meaning unit could be expressed in plain language as accurately as possible. The condensed meaning units which share similarities were further condensed to form sub-themes which, in turn, were assembled into themes. The themes were reflected in relation to the naïve

understanding at the first phase of the analysis to verify whether the themes validated or invalidated the naïve understanding. When the structural analysis invalidated the naïve understanding, the analysis process was repeated until a new naïve understanding was formulated and checked by a new structural analysis.

Critical interpretation (in-depth understanding)

The final phase of data interpretation involved my attempt to reflect on the initial reading of the text, my pre-understandings, and the interpretive process during the structural analysis. Again, this process entailed moving back and forth between explanation and understanding in the form of a critical dialectic between my pre-understandings, and parts and the whole of the text. It entailed a process of appropriation in which my understanding of the themes and subthemes was re-contextualized in light of the theoretical frameworks adopted (Bakhtin's theory of dialogism) to deepen and widen the understanding of the text (Lindseth & Norberg, 2004). In addition, the understanding of the essence of tolerance as individually experienced by the teachers was also informed by my experience and beliefs that I brought to the task, knowledge about the context of the interviews as well as the participants' accounts of their experience.

Trustworthiness

In a qualitative study, reality is viewed as multiple and difficult to depict (Merriam, 2009). Therefore, the issue of validity has taken a new form and instead may be addressed through honesty, depth, richness, and scope of the data achieved, the participants approached, and the extent of triangulation (Cohen et al., 2007). In particular, qualitative researchers commonly reject conventional approaches to validity, appealing for "value to be accorded to alternatives such as trustworthiness and authenticity" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 100). As I engage in qualitative

research, I bring my own perspective to my interpretation (Creswell, 2013). Hence, in this research, I attempted to address trustworthiness by acknowledging the socially constructed nature of my data interpretation which is not devoid of my subjectivity. In addition, I strived to provide data analysis and interpretation which was sustained by a sound argument and explanation based on the range of data collected (Cohen et al., 2007).

Next, I tried to establish good rapport with the participants to increase the level of trust on which to build a genuine conversation and communication which leads to honest and trustworthy disclosure of information. During the interview with the participants, for example, I strived to create a relaxed ambience. I also avoided the use of leading questions or asserting my personal views. I tackled possible bias by continuously reminding and re-emphasising the voluntary nature of their participation.

Summary

In this chapter, I have described what and why a phenomenological approach was adopted for this research. I begin by drawing the reader's attention to the ontological and epistemological questions in my attempt to help locate my research within research paradigms. I subsequently described in detail the phenomenological design, highlighting its underlying philosophy and its relevance to the line of inquiries pursued in this research. A particular discussion is dedicated to the data-collection process during the Covid 19 pandemic. Under this section, I presented methodological adjustment that needs to be made, along with its theoretical ramification. I also described in detail how data were collected with a view to maintaining rigour despite some limitations and modifications as a result of the Covid 19 pandemic. I also described my attempt to conform to ethical guidelines in

regard to data collection in this research. The data-collection tools include long-distance Zoom interviews, informal chats through WhatsApp application, and follow-up phone calls as well as communication via emails. A major part of this chapter is dedicated to the description and elaboration of Ricoeur's hermeneutic phenomenological analysis; what and how it is used as an analytical tool to organise the interview data into meaning units, classify them into themes and sub-themes. I described how this process involves a hermeneutical cycle consisting of a constant movement between explanation and understanding. I then discussed how this process culminates in a comprehensive understanding of the phenomena or a new way of being in the world by recontextualising the themes and subthemes through the lens of Bakhtin's dialogism such as double-voicedness, agency and identity, and ideologically becoming.

The search for an appropriate research methodology poses a particular challenge in this research. The question to be asked is how the participants' individual meaning-making process in relation to the discourse of tolerance can thoroughly be unearthed in ways that allow me to tap into teachers' individual struggles. Case study was once considered but later dropped after much discussion with my supervisors. The ramification being that the purpose of this research is to understand the subjective, lived experiences and perspectives of the teachers whereas case study necessitates an investigation of a single event or situation over a period of time. The decision was finally made to adopt a phenomenological research approach as it aligns well with the objective of the research.

The next chapter presents the findings from this research as a result of structural analysis as part of Ricoeur's hermeneutic phenomenological cycle.

Chapter 5. Navigating the Self Through Competing Discourses of Tolerance

This chapter represents a continuum of analysis linking Ricoeur’s phenomenological approach with Bakhtin’s theory of dialogism. The first two phases: naïve reading and structural analysis were used as analytical tools to make sense of the interview data. The data-collection process and analysis were guided by three research questions: 1) How did the participants perceive and experience tolerance?; 2) How do teachers describe their perceptions and experiences of teaching tolerance?; and 3) In what ways does teachers’ engagement with tolerance impact on their identity and agency? To provide a relevant context for the analysis, Table 5.1 below first provides information about the participants’ backgrounds.

Table 5.1

The Participants’ Information Backgrounds

Participants	Pseudonym	Sex	Institution	Subject taught	Teaching experience
Participant 1 (P1)	Setyaki	Male	Public School under MOEC	Information Technology	17 years
Participant 2 (P2)	Darmayudha	Male	Public School under MOEC	English	12 years
Participant 3 (P3)	Pujawati	Female	Public School under MOEC	Guidance and Counseling	25 years
Participant 4 (P4)	Nakula	Male	Public School under MOEC	Guidance and Counseling	25 years
Participant 5 (P5)	Lesmana	Male	Public School under MOEC	Art	12 years

Following Ricoeur's (1981) phenomenological analytical procedure, the initial data analysis entailed reading the text as a whole during which time I focused on the internal nature of the text (what does the text say?). The next process involved re-reading the text, this time using my pre-understanding of the teacher participants and the context of the interview to decipher what the text talks about. I highlighted quotes from the text that speak to the research questions and assigned them different labels. The labels were then read against the entire context of the text and condensed into meaning units as sub-themes. Finally, the sub-themes were classified into overarching themes.

The data analysis revealed that the participants' accounts of tolerance revolve around different topics such as early experiences in engaging with differences, parental guidance in dealing with differences, social interactions involving differences, development of ideas about tolerance and school curriculum and methods of teaching tolerance. For example, the first participant, Setyaki, referred to his early years of living with a foster family who embraced a different religion. This experience left a mark on his consciousness as an important milestone in his learning of tolerance. Another participant, Darmayudha, recalled how he, as a minority Christian child, experienced segregation in a predominantly Muslim neighbourhood; an episode of life which he deemed instrumental in the development of his ideas about tolerance. The third participant, Pujawati, cited Quranic verses on diversity and tolerance as taught by her parents to be the foundation of her way of engaging with people of different religions and ethnicities. However, religion-inspired perspectives on tolerance were not the only precursor for the development of their ideas about tolerance. Social interactions in school, public spaces and the workplace also serve as rich sites for the engagement with differences, which can widen perspectives on tolerance. In the same vein,

participants also drew on the current political situation and national governance when discussing the teaching of tolerance. For example, one participant, Darmayudha, spoke of how breaches of law corruption and embezzlement of public funds, and “compromised” law enforcement, by politicians and high-rank government officials can create public indifference towards others, which, in turn, provide a negative role model for students.

Due to the high variability and interconnectedness of the participants’ voices and description of both their life experience and perspectives on tolerance, the classification of data does not reflect a rigid boundary of themes and sub-themes. For example, the participants’ remarks on their past experiences with tolerance may contain interrelated propositions in a single quote that denotes two simultaneously different themes. Therefore, in this research, the boundary between themes is fluid. In other words, different themes may intersect at a certain shade of meaning. This is because one whole unit of meaning under a particular theme may also be coded under a different theme due to its nuanced similarity.

The process of naming themes follows the philosophical foundation of hermeneutic inquiry which centres around the notion of “being with the world”. This notion suggests that a human being is an active agent who actively engages with the world, experiences the world and finally comes to a new understanding of the world. In this research, rather than using a noun phrase or an adjective, I use verbs to label the themes to align with the notion of being with the world. The emerging themes are: 1) Engaging with differences (sub-themes: *encountering differences, coping with discomfort*); 2) Thinking about and perceiving differences (sub-themes: *learning from local wisdom; learning from religious teaching*); 3) Appropriating ideas about teaching tolerance (sub-themes: *Handling differences in school, responding to authoritative discourse, proposing ways of teaching tolerance*). The following section

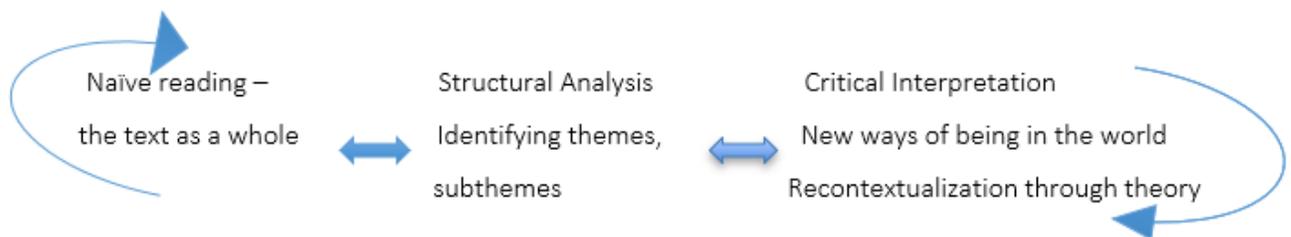
discusses the findings where I present my description of the three major themes supported with quotes from the interview data.

Data Analysis Process

In line with Ricoeur’s phenomenological approach, the process of data analysis entails dialectical movements between three levels of analysis: the naïve reading, structural analysis, and critical interpretation and discussion (Pedersen, 2005). This process encompasses movements between explanation and comprehension to validate initial preconceptions and presumptions about the meaning of the text (Dreyer & Pedersen, 2009). The process of data analysis is described in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1

Illustration of Data Analysis Process



Naïve reading

The naïve reading represents “a naïve grasping of the meaning of the texts as a whole” (Ricoeur, 1976, p. 74) during which the interview transcripts were read several times to gain an initial understanding and to recognise the meaning of the text as a whole. At this stage, the interview transcript was approached as a *narrative voice* as it takes on its own life as a result of a distancing process in which the text

becomes detached from the author (the participant) and loses its dialogic and living nature.

The naïve reading of the interview transcripts provided the initial spontaneous impression of how the participants experienced and understood tolerance as described below:

In general, the participants have experienced being in situations where they met and interacted with people of different religions, regions, languages and cultures. They appeared to have a vivid memory of the experience as they were able to narrate them in great detail. The early experience of engaging differences appeared to have shaped their views on tolerance, in addition to teaching them some life lessons. All of the participants proposed different ways of teaching tolerance. They thought that the curriculum did not pay sufficient attention to the students' affect. However, the participants consider teaching tolerance as part of their obligation as a teacher regardless of what the curriculum says. The participants also considered the teaching of tolerance cannot be effective if the society and political elites and government showed intolerance.

Ricoeur (1976) emphasised that the process of analysis that follows the naïve reading involves or entails a movement between explanation and understanding of the text, leading to new insight into what a text reveals. Ricoeur (1976) described this as an appropriation. The next step of analysis involves the interpretative process known as the "Structural Analysis" which aims to discard or validate the first guesses derived from the naïve reading.

Structural analysis

The goal of the structural analysis is to open up the whole text and to make further interpretation possible. First, the whole text is divided into meaning units, representing “what the text says”. The units of meaning were then read through and reflected against the meaning of the naïve reading. The units of meanings were further condensed to derive the essential meanings which are identified as description of “what the text talks about”, leading to sub-themes and themes. Thus, this analysis is conducted as a dialectical process, moving from “what the text says” to “what the text speaks about”. The themes were reflected in relation to the naïve understanding acquired at the first level of analysis in order to verify whether the themes validated or invalidated the naïve understanding. Thus, this process represents an ongoing internal validation of units of meanings, “what the text says”, “what the text speaks about” and themes. The process of structural analysis can be seen in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2

The Hermeneutic Phenomenological Structural Analysis

Unit of Meanings (What does the text say?)	Subthemes (What does the text talk about?)	Themes
P1: But when I arrived in Yogya, I was shocked, different languages. The way people from my region think of Yogya was... very soft. While I was loud and outspoken	Encountering differences	Engaging with differences
P2: I felt, of course, like I was alone at that time. I prefer staying at home after school until the following day.	Coping with discomfort	
P3: So, I actually had to be careful, I would keep a distance or just be passive. I was worried if I made a mistake or sounded weird to them.		
P4: When I was younger, I often was told by my parents to respect other people with different religions. Not only that, with anyone in whatever situation and relations. We must be 'tepo sliro'. And we have the slogan 'Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, which is unity in diversity.	Learning from local wisdom	Thinking about and perceiving differences in relation to tolerance
P1: Because I lived with a family who have a different religion for 10 years. It affected me...I become very tolerant. But I have to draw a line between religious beliefs and social relations. It is very clear, no crossing the line. lakum dinukum waliyadin, for you is your religion, for me is my religion.	Learning from religious teachings	
P5: We accommodate all in the sense that when we plan religious activities, we facilitate both Islam and Christianity, the budgeting is under the same scheme.	Handling differences in school	Appropriating different views of teaching tolerance
P2: I think the curriculum care a lot about knowledge, and little about character and affect. Although it is mentioned, every day we have to teach knowledge and science to meet the target in RPP (Teaching Plan). But as a teacher, it is part of our responsibility.	Responding to authoritative discourse	
P5: For me, I have to be the first to practice tolerance, as a teacher. Not only about religion, but everyday attitude. How I treat students must reflect values of tolerance.	Proposing ways of teaching tolerance	

Note: As in Table 5.2, the arrows indicate the process of analysis characterized as being dialectical as it moves forwards and backwards between the first two levels of analysis. The analysis of the themes involves moving forwards and backwards across units of meanings, sub-themes and them

Theme 1: Engaging with differences

Under this theme, participants describe past life episodes that allow them to recognise differences and begin to think about ways of coping with the situations. This emerging theme is important as it informs the extent to which the participants' experience with differences serves as a learning platform to develop their ideas about tolerance. The sub-themes under these themes were *encountering differences* and *coping with discomfort* — both of which are interconnected. For example, the participants' experience with difference often makes them feel uncomfortable. As a consequence, they have to find ways to overcome such discomfort while maintaining social harmony and cohesion.

Encountering differences

This sub-theme features the participants' first experience engaging with situations where they sensed differences in behaviour, norms, attitudes, religion, and social status amongst others that may, or may not, have caused discomfort and required adjustment. The first participant, Setyaki, recalled the occasion when he spent the early years of his life under the guardianship of a couple due to his parents' poverty. Setyaki's mother had been known to the couple and their family for years as she used to work for them, doing chores and taking care of the couple's babies. They offered to take Setyaki under their guardianship to alleviate the burden, including paying for his school tuition fee. In exchange, Setyaki was expected to do housework to help the family. However, Setyaki noticed that the family was Christian, which differed from his religion of Islam. As he narrated below:

I lived with a Catholic family which has nothing to do with kinship. Only good relation. So at that time my mother worked as a housemaid taking care of the baby of the couple I stayed with. I lived there for almost 10 years with the non-muslim family. So I knew their rituals and so on. But they did not force me or influence me to embrace their religion. No. nothing like that ... but sometimes I don't ... what do you call it ... mmm because when they had Christmas ...

should I say like happy Christmas? I am not sure ... what can I do? Err actually in their bigger family, there are some who are Muslims. So they get used to it. That's why they have high toleration.

This excerpt illustrates Setyaki's encounter with people of a different religion which seemed to pose no issues to him as a Muslim. The family was described as being kind and some of their extended family turned out to be embracing Islam as well. Setyaki also grew up knowing the way the family performed their religious practices and described the family as highly tolerant towards his beliefs.

The second participant, Darmayudha, described his early experience as a minority Christian. However, his story offers a compelling picture. Darmayudha was first a Catholic, then a Protestant, before becoming a Jehovah's Witness, an apathetic and finally an atheist. With this, he remarked:

I am a Javanese, my religion was a Catholic, then when I was in secondary school, I became protestant Christian and then in my view I became a Jehovah Witness ... After that I became apathetic and atheist ... although in Indonesia it is obvious it is something against the law when we persuade people "no need to have a religion". So because of that I basically was a minority and became even more a minority [by being an atheist]).

Darmayudha's remark illuminates a level of tension with himself as his religious beliefs evolved. In the following excerpt, Darmayudha described his experience of being a minority Christian in a neighbourhood that was predominantly Muslim:

I once, this is, will not be forever forgotten, so the story is when I was in kindergarten until I was in fourth grade of primary school, I was in good terms with my Muslim friends in my neighbourhood ... in my school there was no problem because we had the same religion. But outside, with my friends in my area. I was still playing in the mosque, I could play with them in the front yard. Even when my Muslim friends prayed inside, I could still wait outside. When they had TPA [Quran learning], I was still around, after they finished, we went back to playing. But I did not understand why ... one day there was a young man, quite a figure, maybe a university student, he lived in the boarding house, he did something to my friends. I was suddenly left by them, not being

looked at, ignored ... no longer regarded as a friend, never asked to play, it was during the month of Ramadan. I was in fifth grade. Since then, I lost contact with them. I was a bad influence on them. I felt of course like I was alone at that time. I prefer staying at home after school until the following day.

As the excerpt shows, the incident heightened a sense of difference in Darmayudha's consciousness development as a young child to the extent that he lost contact with his usual friends and preferred to isolate himself by "staying at home after school until the following day".

The third participant, Pujawati, considered her experience of moving out of her hometown in East Java to Yogyakarta in Central Java as the one that reminded her of Indonesia's diversity was. She said:

I was born in Mojokerto and went to elementary school. In my area it was a favourite school. Then I went to secondary school, also a favourite school. I moved to Yogyakarta to continue high school. Why? Because my parents thought If I studied in Yogyakarta, I would have a good competition. Many smart students there. But when I arrived in Yogya, I was shocked, different languages. The way people from my region think of Yogya was ... very soft. While I was loud and outspoken. So I actually had to be careful, I would keep a distance or just be passive. I was worried if I made a mistake or sounded weird to them. But I also had some friends from outside Java like Kalimantan and Sumatra. That's also worrying but also interesting for me. Because when they came back from their hometown to Yogyakarta, they often brought special snacks or food special from their hometown. So I got to know their culture as well. I also did the same. You know a special cake from Mojokerto? Yes, it is called onde onde. Well, actually people everywhere make onde onde he he...

The above excerpt describes a life episode that stood out in Pujawati's mind when she was asked about her early encounter with difference. Her relocation to Yogyakarta allowed her to engage with people who have a different way of speaking, character, and cultures. It could be argued that the transition was far from

being a smooth process. She had to make some adjustments to the way she got along with her new friends as she was very oblivious of their cultural differences.

When asked about what he remembered most about engaging with difference, the next participant, Nakula, recalled that it was when he entered high school that he began to see different social statuses among his friends, which occasionally led to conflict. In the following, he described one bullying incident:

Then I went to high school still in the same town. I started to feel like the social gap between the have and the have-not was very visible. Rich students went to school by riding their fancy motorcycles whereas others, who come from poor families, usually went to school by public transport. But those coming from rich families, used to gather, sitting on their motorbikes after school. They made fun of anyone passing by ... who do not belong to them. Now you call it verbal bullying.

This was Nakula's experience of dealing with his schoolmates' intolerant behaviour or bullying. He acknowledged that although bullying was a common phenomenon among teenagers, he considered it as instrumental in forging his mentality as he learned to put up with unpleasant situations during his school-age years. If he had not had this experience, he would probably not have become the person he was now. He remarked:

I think we have many cases ... yes ... like students coming from poor families become successful people. They excel in academic performance, so it depends on how we respond to our condition. On the other hand, those from well-off families, because they have everything, they become spoiled. I know some of my classmates who ended up miserably. I mean they are rich but did not finish college. And count on fathers' wealth. But with no skill and knowledge, they ended up wasting money.

The last participant, Lesmana, shared a similar experience to Nakula's. It all started in high school when he was put in a classroom filled with students predominantly from affluent families. He also had some experience of being bullied. When asked about such experience, he said in retrospect:

I was once bullied. I was nicknamed “the son of a fried cake seller”. I took it lightly. Because as a matter of fact, they were right. I came from a poor family. My father’s job was selling fried cakes. I could have felt differently otherwise. But I tried to compromise with myself. I was used to hardship since I was a kid. So tolerance is also about being patient, having a good control of our emotions and feelings.

Lesmana drew lessons from his experience of being verbally bullied. He related tolerance to being able to contain oneself and to come to terms with the reality. However, he also attributed his patience to the fact that his life as a young boy was laden with hardships.

Coping with discomfort

The experience of engaging with differences have resulted in different responses on the part of the participants. Setyaki, for example, barely had any issues with the family with whom he lived. He seemed to blend well with the family. However, it was also apparent that he was in some state of discomfort with the situation he was in. His remark “I don’t ... what do you call it ... mmm because when they had Christmas ... should I say happy Christmas ... I am not sure ... what can I do?” signifies that Setyaki was not comfortable with the situation. Setyaki’s comment attests to the presence of two opposing discourses that play out in his mind, resulting in his feeling of discomfort. When I enquired further about this remark, he responded:

Well, it is because in my religion, it is part of my belief. It is fundamental. To say ‘Happy Christmas’ means you agree with the teaching of Christianity about Jesus. But I know there is some debate about it. Is it in your heart or just for lip service? Also, not only that. When you are *ngenger* [being in someone’s custody]. You always feel uneasy. For example, if you are hungry, you have to hold yourself ... no matter how hungry ... until the landlord offers you.

The second participant, Darmayudha, chose a self-withdrawal strategy to cope with the discomfort of being segregated from his circle of Muslim friends. This early experience seems to have shaped the way he conceptualises tolerance. As I discovered later in the interview, his definition of tolerance largely resembles the liberal view of tolerance in which individual choices and freedom should be celebrated as long as we do not do any harm to other people or violate laws. With this, it stands to reason that the same experience may have also contributed to his transformation to an apathetic and later, atheist, as can be discerned from the following excerpt:

Later when I became Christian and Jehovah Witness, I got many challenges from my Catholic friends. Why did you do that? When I became a Jehovah witness, there were even more friends showing opposition. For them I was someone who got lost after I read a lot, understood more, I became apathetic and atheist until now ... my friends are being even harder on me. Why did you believe in nothing now? ... Personally, I am always in a minority position and intolerance surprisingly comes from my friends who knew what I was like in the past.

This excerpt illustrates the feeling of discomfort that he experienced as a result of being different from the rest of his whole circle of friends of the same faith. The fact that he has evolved in his religious convictions signifies the degree of internal struggle arising from his continuous search for what he believed to be true. In this case, Darmayudha encountered the issue of tolerance when challenged by his friends, which he deemed as an act of “intolerance”.

The third participant, Pujawati, also experienced some discomfort when she engaged with people coming from different regions in Indonesia. Pujawati’s response was to exercise caution when dealing with her new friends. She developed awareness of the potential discomfort that she may have caused as she came from East Java whose people were known for their being outspoken and direct. It may be

argued here that Pujawati understood tolerance as awareness to consider others' feelings, by putting oneself in someone else's shoes.

To cope with bullying by his peers, the fourth participant, Nakula said that he would avoid bullies and chose to socialise with a group of friends who were well-mannered and respectful of each other. He made himself busy by participating in religious activities at the school and in the afternoon, going to Madrasah (Islamic school) where he enjoyed learning how to recite and memorise verses in the Quran.

For Lesmana, his response to being nicknamed "son of fried cake seller" was one that reflects the ability to come to terms with his own life. His remark, "I chose to keep quiet. Let it go. They are right. That's my father's job" indicated that he was not provoked by the name-calling. Instead, he wholeheartedly embraced it as a reality.

Theme 2: Thinking about and perceiving differences in relation to tolerance

Under this theme, the participants expressed their views on values of tolerance by drawing on a diverse range of discourses that they have ingrained in their minds to become part of their discourse consciousness which they used as a point of departure to develop their ideas about tolerance. Central to this theme is the teacher participants' strong allusion to local cultures and religious teachings as a source of inspiration to discuss and theorise tolerance. As revealed through the interview, the influence of Javanese culture and values in the participants' perception of tolerance was visibly strong. The traditional Javanese values such as *tepo sliro*, *sepi ing pamrih rame ing gawe*, and *mikul dhuwur mendhem jero* were cited by different participants to frame their view of tolerance. The prominent role of religious values is also highly valued by the participants as they cited verses from the holy Quran to discuss the issues of tolerance in society and to propose ways of

creating a peaceful co-existence in a heterogeneous society like Indonesia. The theme suggests that local wisdom is still highly valued in society and that religion has its bearings on people's way of life.

Learning from local wisdom

Under this sub-theme, the participants refer to local wisdom as a source of inspiration to conceptualise tolerance in the present. The Javanese philosophies appear to hold a significant stature among the participants. Sayings such as “gotong royong” (shared responsibility), “tepo sliro” (being considerate of others), and “mikul dhuwur mendhem jero” (respectful of elder people, parents and leaders) were cited by the participants as they discussed tolerance. These local values reflect a profound understanding of life, distilled from everyday life and passed on through generations by parents, community and school education. Take, for example, gotong royong. This philosophy was deeply rooted in the communal tradition of villages in Java where villagers helped each other in the construction or relocation of a house, manually lifting the house and carrying it to the designated location. The word “royong” refers to a tree trunk of a tall coconut tree-like plant. By definition, the word “gotong” means “to lift” whereas “royong” means “together”. Due to its cultural, social, and historical roots, gotong royong has become the philosophical foundation of the nation and is widely cited in the 1945 Constitution as the basic values of nationhood.

The identity of being a Javanese appears to be quite essential for the first participant, Setyaki. In the course of the interview, he often inserted the phrase “sebagai orang Jawa” (as a Javanese) as a lead-in to a proposition he was going to make. Indeed, the fact that he was born in Wonogiri, Central Java, justified his strong sense of being a Javanese. Wonogiri is located in Central Java, adjacent to

Surakarta, which is the centre of Javanese tradition and culture as it is where the Royal Palace of Mangkunegara Kingdom is located. Setyaki spoke fervently of Javanese philosophy “*mikul dhuwur mendhem jero*” when asked about his experience of staying with a family who employed him:

As a Javanese, I live with Javanese values. Tolerance, for example. I learned it from my father. I remember before I was sent to live with my foster family and to work there, my father said, “Son you have to *mikul dhuwur mendhem jero*”. I am sure you have heard of it. By that, my father wanted me to be responsible ... how? doing the work properly, if I don’t, I disrespect the family. Also, to respect older people than including parents. Not only through words but through action. So for instance, in my school, we have a curriculum team, each teacher has some tasks to finish. But if one teacher does not do the job properly, it can ruin the whole work. This teacher is holding back others’ work. So this is also intolerance. Because this should think of how other teachers feel. In other words, this teacher is not “*mikul dhuwur mendhem jero*”.

This excerpt demonstrates Setyaki’s view on tolerance inspired by the Javanese philosophy *mikul dhuwur mendhem jero*. Here the concept of tolerance is described as being respectful of others. However, according to Setyaki, the philosophy also means that respect for others must not only be limited to being softly spoken or polite to others. More fundamentally, being respectful is analogous to being able to complete tasks to the satisfaction of others. The concept of tolerance involves a consideration of others’ feelings, positions and conditions and this is what *mikul dhuwur mendhem jero* is all about, according to Setyaki.

However, Setyaki expanded the discussion to touch on a most well-known figure, the late President Soeharto. His admiration for the former president for his ability to manage the country with the slogan *mikul dhuwur mendhem jero* which the former president would occasionally cite on numerous public meetings. When asked further about this, Setyaki conceded that the former president was able to keep the respect of his circle of political allies and bureaucrats in the public eye. Here, the philosophy

takes on a twist, as in the case of Soeharto, tolerance means being able to take care of others' dignity by not disclosing one's misconduct, which is close to the idea of corp loyalty or individual awareness of the feeling of oneness in an institution. Setyaki's admiration for the former president might have stemmed from the shared primordial ties where Soeharto was also a Javanese.

The second participant, Darmayudha, did not specifically refer to local wisdom when talking about tolerance. Most of the time, however, he emphasised the fact that Indonesia has long been known as a culturally diverse and pluralistic society with more than 215 ethnicities who speak 312 different languages. In his view, Indonesian society has lived in co-existence peacefully for years despite differences. For this reason, he suggested that other countries should emulate Indonesia for its success in maintaining unity in diversity, not vice versa. He argued, "It doesn't make sense. We don't have to borrow any foreign concept of tolerance". However, when prompted further to comment on current situations in relation to the subject of tolerance, he finally made an indirect allusion to Javanese philosophy, as he said:

What is happening today? Why does our society suddenly become intolerant, selfish, and get angry easily? I think the biggest cause for this is the lack of a sense of justice. In all aspects of life. Because of oligarchy everywhere. I am sorry to say this. But you can see it by yourself. When authorities, political elites do not care about people, they manipulate laws. They can always find an excuse for self-interest. People sense this. They watch, listen and experience injustice. Nowadays, it's hard to find a leader who cannot be swayed by businessmen and political elites. They work together. The system is ok. What we need is a leader who is "sepi ing pamrih rame ing gawe". But I don't know if that type of leader exists.

In the above excerpt, Darmayudha attempted to offer his opinions on the roots of intolerance. According to him, tolerance does not stand on its own; rather, it is embedded in the social, economic, political system. A tolerant society could be far

from reality if the social, economic and political system does not allow for a fair and just treatment of every citizen. Darmayudha relates the apparent decline of tolerance in society to the commonplace practice by Indonesian political elites, bureaucrats and businessmen who formed an oligarchy of their own to the expense of people at large. Interestingly, Darmayudha claimed that it was not so much that there was not a solid, good system in place. He believed that Indonesia has come a long way to have a good system. Rather, the problem rests on the leaders of this nation. He then cited a Javanese philosophy “sepi ing pamrih, rame ing gawe”, which more or less means “not concerned with what one will get (reward) but more about doing work for people”.

The next participant, Pujawati, was equally blunt about the tendency to look up at Western ideas about tolerance. For her, the notion of pluralism is a borrowed Western concept:

People often relate this to pluralism. We know it is a western idea. But we actually have our own concept that is the Javanese philosophy “tepo sliro” which means being considerate of differences, appreciating and respecting differences. It’s a beautiful philosophy of our ancestors.

This excerpt illuminates Pujawati’s stance on people’s tendency to refer to a Western concept as a source of values to conceptualise and discuss tolerance. Pujawati offered a counterbalance to the discourse of pluralism by bringing up the Javanese philosophy “tepo sliro”. The phrase comes from the Javanese language which has been adopted into Bahasa Indonesia. As Pujawati suggested, “tepo sliro” is a Javanese philosophy which encompasses different meanings such as “being considerate of others”, “being respectful of each other”, and “appreciating and respecting differences”. According to her, the philosophy has a profound message. “tepo sliro” emphasises hospitality, being friendly to everyone and showing a hospitable attitude in social interaction. Pujawati thought that to be considerate of

others may look simple, but in practice it could be difficult. To be considerate of others requires one's willingness to consider others' feelings and thus to put others' feelings first, before our own.

When asked about why she seemed to have a reservation about the use of the word *pluralism*, Pujawati explained that pluralism is a Western concept that may not be compatible in the context of Indonesia. She said, "[i]f pluralism means accepting differences, it is ok. But people often act under the pretext of pluralism. Like when we have a religious event. If I don't congratulate Christians, then people will judge me as not respecting differences." Pujawati's comment once again highlighted the frequent debate in society as to whether, from Islamic point of view, a Muslim can congratulate Christians on their Christmas Day without necessarily compromising the purity of their faith. According to Pujawati, congratulating one's festive religious event could also mean confirming the theological foundation of the event which for her, as a Muslim, amounts to having a faith in it. Pujawati is just one of many examples of individuals in Indonesia, in particular, Muslims, who are still wrestling with the theological foundation of congratulating Christians on Christmas day.

The next participant, Nakula, also cited the Javanese philosophy "tepo sliro" when reflecting on his childhood years. He remarked:

When I was younger, I was often told by my parents to respect other people with different religions. Not only that, with anyone in whatever situation and relations. We must be "tepo sliro". And we have the slogan "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika", which is unity in diversity.

As is shown in the excerpt, Nakula's understanding of the philosophy "tepo sliro" was passed on to him from his parents. First, it is associated with the idea of respecting other people regardless of their religions. Second, it is associated with everyday social interaction where one has to be mindful of others in order to maintain social harmony. Interestingly, Nakula relates the philosophy to the national

motto “Bhinneka Tunggal Ika”, which means “Unity in Diversity”. The motto, emblazoned on the National emblem of Garuda Pancasila, reminds Indonesian citizens that although Indonesia is a culturally diverse nation being made up of different religions, ethnicities and languages, they stick together as one nation. In relating “tepo sliro” to the national motto, Nakula pointed out that the philosophy is fundamental to the maintenance of “Bhinneka Tunggal Ika”. He believed that “tepo sliro” is a lesson of life that the ancestors invented through everyday life experience and deep contemplation on the reality of Indonesia as a diverse society. With this, he was convinced that the philosophy was the ultimate solution for Indonesia.

The last participant, Lesmana, held a similar view to Darmayudha in that he was somewhat bewildered with the increasing incidence of horizontal conflicts in a society abounding with local wisdom and long known for its hospitality. He questioned the role of the government and political elites in creating a condition ripe for conflicts and division at the grass-root level.

Learning from religious teachings

To discuss the sub-theme of “*learning from religious teachings*”, it is important to understand that Indonesian society is known for its strong attachment to religion. According to a recent survey by the Pew Research Center (2020), Indonesians are among the most religious people in the world. The survey revealed that nearly all Indonesian respondents (96%) surveyed stated that belief in God was necessary to be moral and have good values. Religion, thus, plays a pivotal role in Indonesian society.

Hence, it is understandable that, when discussing tolerance, the participants look for references from religion. As the majority were Muslims, the participants cited verses

in the Holy Book Quran and stories of Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him) to propose their ideas about living in peaceful co-existence with others. The spontaneous manner in which they cited verses in the Quran during the interview also speaks volumes as to how religion constitutes an inseparable part of their life, providing them with guidance to be used in everyday life. However, not all of the participants refer to religious teachings when discussing tolerance.

The first participant, Setyaki, had a significant experience of living with a family from a different religious background. As described in the previous section of this chapter, Setyaki experienced some struggle arising from his attempts to position himself in the family, although overall, he successfully managed his relations with the family. Responding to my question of how he viewed tolerance in relation to everyday social interaction with people of different faiths, he recollected:

Because I lived with a family who had a different religion for 10 years ... It affected me ... I have become very tolerant. But I have to draw a line between religious beliefs and social relations. It is very clear, no crossing the line, *lakum dinukum waliyadin*, for you is your religion, for me is my religion.

His response was archetypal of the customary debate around the interaction between two major religions in Indonesia, Islam and Christianity. According to him, he grew up becoming a very tolerant individual because he spent a long time living with a family who embraces a different religion. But he put a special emphasis on the distinction between social relations and religious practice. In his view, for the purpose of maintaining social cohesion, he would welcome any opportunity to socialise with people of different religions. But he insisted that we need to distance ourselves from trying to influence or even ask others of different religions to accept our assumption and truth about our beliefs, as this would only mar social relations. This is because, from the Islamic point of view, there is no compulsion in religion.

The verse that Setyaki cited, “lakum dinukum waliyadin” serves as the basic framework for all Muslims when it comes to interaction with other religions. For Setyaki, the verse lays the foundation to be respectful of other religions by not interfering with its beliefs and practices. He further said that the verse resonated with the current situation in Indonesia where religious-based sentiments and acts often emerged. Indeed, to fully understand the verse, it is important to look at the circumstances surrounding the revelation of this verse. The leaders of disbelievers came to Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) for a treaty of reconciliation or mutual cooperation. Their demand was to worship Allah (God, in Islam) one day and other idols the next day. This is when Surah Al Kafirun (Chapter 109) was revealed to Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H), which served as a reminder for the Prophet. The verse comes as a concluding remark of the previous verses which speak directly to disbelievers. The complete verses are presented below:

Say, “O disbelievers (1) I do not worship what you worship. (2) Nor are you worshippers of what I worship. (3) Nor will I be a worshipper of what you worship. (4) Nor will you be worshippers of what I worship. (5) For you is your religion, and for me is my religion. (6)”

Speaking of equality and human rights, the other participant, Nakula, was equally inspired by religion. He cited the last speech of Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) below:

But for social relations and harmony, the most important for me is to be kind and do good deeds for other people regardless of their religion. Because Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) once said in his farewell speech before his death “the best among you are those who have the best manners and characters” and “Arab has no merit over non-Arab other than taqwa” [piety].

In the above excerpt, Nakula pointed to the last speech of Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) to underline his conviction and understanding of how he should behave in society while engaging with people of different religious backgrounds. Based on the

message in the Prophet's last speech, it can be understood that human beings are equal in the eyes of God, and they should not be judged upon skin colour, ethnicities, and nationalities. What separates one human being from another in the eye of God is the extent to which one's life benefits others. Nakula reiterated that the Prophet's last speech is the pinnacle of the human rights statement made thousand years before the Declaration of Human Rights by Thomas Jefferson in 1776. Prompted by his statement, I searched online for the complete version of the Prophet's last message, and I found the following:

All mankind is from Adam and Eve, an Arab has no superiority over a non-Arab nor a non-Arab has any superiority over an Arab; also, a white has no superiority over black nor a black has any superiority over white except by piety and good action.

The participants' spontaneous allusion to religious teachings and the life of Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) when discussing the issue of tolerance once again attests to the level of religiosity of Indonesian society. For Setyaki and Nakula, religion is more than a set of dogmatic rules, stories of prophets, and worship, it is a way of life that guides them to behave in everyday life. As described above, religious teachings have become their ethical standards to engage with people of different religious backgrounds, ethnicities, social status, and nationalities.

The following section discusses the participants' thoughts on how to teach tolerance in schools and community and how they attempt to resolve the discrepancy between tolerance as a theoretical proposition, and the practice of tolerance in light of the delicate and nuanced interpretations and understanding of tolerance in the context of Indonesia as has been discussed in the previous section, with particular emphasis on the complexity of tolerance.

Theme 3: Appropriating different views of teaching tolerance

Under this major theme, the participants express their ideas on the teaching of tolerance in school. Although their opinions and views vary in regard to the approach and method of teaching tolerance in school, they share commonalities in the way they emphasise the inseparability of the teaching of tolerance in school from a broader social, cultural and political context of Indonesia. This means that discussing the teaching of tolerance would be inadequate without taking into account different socio-political and cultural contexts that shape the practice of tolerance. Under these themes, there are three sub-themes: *handling differences in school*, *responding to authoritative discourse*, and *proposing ways of teaching tolerance*. As teachers, they are faced with differences in students' social status, religious backgrounds, academic performance and students' parents. These differences require them to exercise mindfulness in order to maintain harmony among students and parents as well as teacher–students–parents' relationships. The participants were also disappointed over the National Curriculum that, according to them, pays little regard for students' character-building and development. They all have their own ideas about the teaching of tolerance in and outside of school, highlighting the fact that teaching tolerance is a multi-dimensional task that involves different elements of society.

Handling differences in school

This sub-theme features the participants' ideas, beliefs and practices in responding to differences in school. As teachers, they developed a particular approach to students from different social, cultural and religious backgrounds. The teachers were aware that these differences could potentially lead to a variety of negative feelings if they were poorly managed.

Being in charge of the school curriculum allows the first participant, Setyaki, to have some autonomy to exercise his ideas about handling differences in school. As revealed during the interview, Setyaki works in a public school which enrolls students from more diverse backgrounds in comparison with Islamic-based schools or any schools affiliated with religious foundations. According to Setyaki, as public or state-run schools in Indonesia are the preferred choice, children who previously went to religiously affiliated schools would apply for admission to public schools. This could pose problems since students coming from religious schools were presumably not used to differences. Surprisingly though, Setyaki was more concerned with the potential division among parents on the basis of religious sentiments. Although on the surface, there seemed to be no issues, Setyaki acknowledged that polarization exists when it comes to school committee formation and school activities. When asked further what he meant, he elaborated:

Sometimes the polarization is not in students but [in] students' parents organization. In Yogya, Muhammadiyah culture is strong. If they meet someone from a strong Catholic or Protestant foundation there will definitely be a conflict. So I always consider that when I put students in one classroom. With students who come from public schools it is easier because we assume they are used to differences. But with those coming from strong Christian and Catholic schools ... they don't get along. So we always design the school committee in such a way to minimize conflict because it will be for three years ahead. We make sure the class is a good mixture of those from public schools, Christian school, Catholic school and Muhammadiyah school.

Setyaki understood the potential for conflict amongst parents whose children previously studied in religion-affiliated schools. Setyaki was heavily involved in the formation of a parents' committee which would run for three years. It was important for him to ensure that the committee could serve as a productive space with every member willing to mingle, share ideas and contribute to the betterment of the school management and equally important, to the benefit of students.

However, based on his years of experience, polarisation may surface if the members of the committee mainly consist of parents whose children previously studied in religiously based schools. To cope with this, Setyaki would develop an approach in which he would mix the students, making sure that in one class, there were more students from public schools mixed with those coming from religious-based schools. By doing so, there would be a process of assimilation into a “culture of difference”, as he put it, for students coming from religious schools. The classroom arrangement would, in turn, affect the composition of the parents’ committee; one in which parents who used to engage in a homogeneous school community, had a chance to blend with other parents who were used to living with differences. As Setyaki acknowledged, it took him years before he finally invented this strategy. He remarked, “to think about that ... placing students in the classroom ... It takes me years to find the recipe. I did not pay attention to this kind of thing before.”

Both Darmayudha and Pujawati pointed to differences in social status as an issue that they had to manage carefully. This concern primarily came to the fore when students had to take extra lessons outside the official hours of schooling. It was not uncommon for students to take extra lessons from their teachers for which they had to pay a certain fee. However, both participants thought that, for students from a lower-income family, the fee could be more burdensome as compared to those coming from well-off families. In public schools, the disparity in parents’ income was much bigger because they were admitted based on their previous academic records and entrance test results. Whereas in private schools, especially those considered as favourite and prestigious, parents are required to pay a high fee for the development of the school as an admission requirement. So, in many respects, only rich people could send their children to these schools. Darmayudha acknowledged the dilemma that he was facing as he narrated below:

As an English teacher, I have many students coming for extra tutoring. I have to put them in one group if they can learn at the same time. You know to be efficient. Like one class of six or eight students. I also do one-on-one tutoring if the student cannot join others. At the moment I have two groups. I know very well some of them come from lower-income families. With these students, I actually don't want to charge them in the same way as I do to others. But how? If I do, then others find out about it, it can cause problems. Really... I personally feel sorry for them. But it is not easy to do that. With one-on-one tutoring, I can be more flexible. But it is risky as well. If I charge lower, I will have to tell the parent and the student not to share any information about the fee. Otherwise, they will think it is unfair.

Here Darmayudha showed empathy to his students who come from low-income families. However, he did not have a solution to the situation he was facing. He could have helped them by lowering the fee they had to pay. However, he was apprehensive about the idea because it could be interpreted as a form of discrimination, contradicting his original intention to show empathy toward students from lower incomes. In this sense, the meaning and scope of tolerance is not limited to religious matters but has widened to include one's empathy toward less privileged others.

Pujawati was equally concerned with students coming from lower-income families. Although she did not conduct extra tutoring, she learned from her colleagues who often sought her advice. But Pujawati also could not offer a solution. She suggested discussing the issue with the school principal and parents' committee. However, her idea never materialised. She remarked:

It is a very sensitive issue. I think we are all aware. We have data on parents' occupations and how much they earn monthly. Some of them really live on a meagre income so 100,000 would make a big difference. So we know it. But most of us just keep it underneath. School activities like study tours, Drum Band, and other activities. They cost money and students have their share in it. Although we have BOS [government funding for school operations], it is often not enough. Also because it has been spent on other priorities. Perhaps it's

best to leave it to the individual teacher. If they feel obliged to help, then do so. Because discussing this with the parents committee is not easy.

It was suggested from the above excerpt that teachers were generally aware of the situation but were in a predicament as to how to find a solution. It is interesting to see that, as a last resort, Pujawati considered the issue as a question of ethical responsibility on the part of the individual teacher. Here, being tolerant with others was fundamentally an ethical issue, one which transcends official procedures.

For Lesmana, tolerance was key to maintaining a positive atmosphere in his school. For example, religious events and celebrations were held involving all of the students regardless of their religion. During Islamic major events such as Eid al-Adha and Eid al-Fitri, students who embraced Christianity were given the opportunity to get involved and vice versa. He explained:

We accommodate all in the sense that when we plan a religious activity, we facilitate both Islam and Christianity, the budgeting is under the same scheme. School has allocated some funds and facilities for both Islamic festive days like Eid Fitri and Eid Adha and Christian celebrations like Christmas. So when there is an Islamic event, we make sure Christian students are also involved. For example, during Eid Al-Adha to honor Prophet Abraham's obedience to Allah, we buy some goats and a cow to be sacrificed. Christian students can come on the day of slaughtering and help distribute the meat to the needy. Likewise, when Christians celebrate Christmas, the school always supports it. For example, we put up a banner 'Happy Christmas and New Year' around the school.

Lesmana's explanation illustrates how different religious celebrations were managed by his school. According to Lesmana, the school had set aside some funds for both Islamic and Christian religious events. There was no discrimination. When asked about the interaction among teachers or students especially during religious celebrations, he said "In my office, there are two teachers who are non-Muslim. They would come to me and say 'Happy Eid Fitri or Eid Adha', I said thank you".

When asked if he congratulated Christian teachers on Christmas Day, he preferred to acknowledge it in a different way. For example, he would say “Did you celebrate Christmas? or How did you celebrate Christmas?”. This remark indicated that Lesmana avoided saying “Happy Christmas” to his Christian colleagues for reasons related to his Muslim belief. However, he found a way to be respectful to his Christian colleagues while maintaining the purity of his Islamic faith. As has been touched upon in the previous section, this issue has been a subject of discussion and debate among Muslims themselves for many years. In the end, it is generally accepted that whether saying “Happy Christmas” has consequences in one’s purity of faith will depend on one’s belief about the event regardless of one’s overt expression or saying.

Responding to authoritative discourse

This sub-theme features the participants’ perceptions of authoritative discourses with regard to the teaching of tolerance. It is apparent that all of the participants have developed their own way of thinking about teaching tolerance, one which is grounded in their day-to-day experiences as a teacher practitioner. Consequently, their views on the teaching of tolerance gravitated more towards everyday practice of tolerance thereby moving away from the official curriculum mandate imposed on them. They claimed that there was a dissonance between tolerance vis-à-vis character building as envisioned in the curriculum and the actual hours dedicated to building character.

The first participant, Setyaki, lamented the lack of attention given to the teaching of tolerance. Although it was mentioned in the curriculum, character education is not a priority. The reason was that teachers were already overwhelmed by both administrative work and teaching workloads. In his view, education has gravitated

more toward the acquisition of hard knowledge such as science and technology while the importance of soft skills has been pushed aside. He remarked:

I think the curriculum care[s] a lot about knowledge, and little about character and affect. Although it is mentioned, everyday we have to teach knowledge and science to meet the target in RPP [Teaching Plan]. But as a teacher, it is part of our responsibility. The problem is we don't have much time to focus on it because of the curriculum itself. We are all busy. Nowadays teachers work only to meet the target in RPP. All we think about is meeting the target and learning outcome. We don't care about the process. Our students also are affected. You know their mindset is always on grades. They care a lot about grades. Because we teach them so. We give quizzes and show them how to do quizzes. They come to school to do quizzes and get good scores. That's it. It is worrying. In the past there was a lesson on budi pekerti [moral lessons]. But it is no longer in the curriculum. Why? I don't understand the policy.

Setyaki's resentment over the apparent lack of consistency in the curriculum regarding the teaching of tolerance vis-à-vis character education is evident in this quote. Interestingly, Setyaki spoke of the curriculum's over-emphasis on learning outcomes at the expense of the learning process. Setyaki's comment reflects current phenomena in most educational contexts in Indonesia where the urge to meet the standard mandated by the curriculum and requirements for institutional accreditation has often shaped the way teachers conduct teaching and learning in the classroom. For example, it is a commonplace practice for teachers to gear their teaching toward equipping students with practical skills to do tests with the hope that all of the students pass the final exam, a parameter which may be used for accreditation purposes.

A similar view was also echoed by Darmayudha and Pujawati who described the current situation as paradoxical. They referred to the disconnect between what the government aspires to achieve through education and the reality surrounding the curriculum and teaching-learning process. In particular, they both resented the government's tendency to treat character education as merely an overt act of

transmitting values of tolerance to students, all assumed to be taking place in an isolated cognitive space. To make it worse, the parameter being used to assess the success of character education is by relying only on the fulfillment of teaching hours, paperwork and exam results. On this, Darmayudha commented:

Well, it is part of character education. For other subjects, it is up to each teacher. No specific guidelines. I don't really bother. Because characters like being tolerant cannot only be discussed. It has to be shown through examples. The curriculum does not emphasise that. They emphasise cognitive aspects. Not affect. But whatever the curriculum says, you cannot teach moral values just like teaching biology or chemistry or maths. You have to be the role model as well. We lack this.

Pujawati expressed a similar view that the teaching of tolerance vis-à-vis character education cannot be sufficiently dealt with only through classroom instruction. She insisted that if the government was serious about helping students develop a set of desirable traits, teaching of soft skills must be re-introduced to school curriculum as early as primary level education. In stark contrast, the government abolished the *budi pekerti* subject (moral education) from primary education. She considered this as a blunder, as she narrated:

We don't seem to be consistent. On one hand, we talk about how important it is to develop good traits in the young generation as they are the future of this country. On the other hand, we no longer have a *budi pekerti* [character education] subject in elementary school. This is a blunder. Look at our kids now. They know more about game characters than ... for example ... our founding fathers like Syahrir, Hatta, or Wahidin Sudirohusodo. Even as early as the first grade of primary school, they are driven by parents and teachers to excel in school subjects. Parents will be proud if their kid ranks number one in school subjects. And also teachers. They can be proud. So, the idea of competition is already there. When I was their age, I didn't have to have extra lessons after school, and I was alright. But kids nowadays ... They look like robots. After school, they have to take a private lesson or go to Bimbel [Tutoring Centre]. When they go home late in the afternoon, they are exhausted. All they want to do is playing games and then go to sleep.

Pujawati's stance on the current situation surrounding character education. She noticed how students were driven to study hard in pursuit of academic excellence. In her opinion, the current education system has given rise to outcome-based mentality which emphasises the acquisition of hard knowledge and good grades as measures of success, "sadly speaking, we all contribute to this mentality", she added. Pujawaty was evidently in disagreement with the government's handling of character or moral education. When education is devoid of moral values, it has lost its very essence. Pujawati said, "to educate is to help children develop good characters. Even when it is not in the curriculum, the word 'education' implies that through education students can become better human beings in all aspects including character and soft skills."

Nakula demonstrated a rather different view of curriculum. He conceded that the current curriculum was more politically motivated than design-based on educational considerations. When asked further about this statement, Nakula referred to the long history of character education, its inclusion and exclusion in and from school curriculum for years. In his opinion, the government did not do justice to both teachers and students because in reality, character education was supposed to be incorporated into each school subject. This implies that in terms of number of hours, there is no definite allocation of hours for character education, giving the wrong impression that it is not as important as other subjects. Hence, Nakula may be justified when he suggested character education was used more as a political instrument to appease pressure from different interest groups, as he narrated below:

If you look back, character education and Pancasila Moral Education ... errr ... it is always political. What happened during Soeharto? It is a political means to control the public mindset. And that happened again when it was removed

from the school curriculum. Same reason. Do you remember when President Jokowi used the tagline “mental revolution” during his campaign for presidency? How about now after almost six years? Nothing changes. Corruption is still rampant. So, the tagline was used only to win people’s sympathy. Look at it now. The politics of labelling and stigmatization goes out of control ... often causing division and polarization in society ... made worse now with social media. The same thing happened when President Jokowi re-enacted PPKN in school [Reinforcement of Character Education]. I am sure it was because of pressure from ... maybe you know it yes? I don’t want to say it. That’s why it looks like a half-hearted policy.

As the excerpt shows, Nakula projects an air of distrust about the curriculum due to its exploitation for political gains. In his observation, politics is reflected in the inclusion and exclusion of character education in the school curriculum. Although character education vis-à-vis the teaching of tolerance was mentioned in the curriculum, the content of the curriculum was mostly dedicated to the development of knowledge of science and technology. Hence, he perceived the inclusion of character education in school curriculum as being half-hearted. When asked further what changes could be made to the curriculum, he surprisingly said “well it does not matter. Because the teaching of tolerance cannot be independent of social context. How can you expect society or students to practice tolerance if social justice and abuse of power still exist?” This remark is particularly refreshing because it can be understood as reflecting a more democratic view of tolerance; one which connects tolerance to social justice. For Nakula, a feeling of injustice can be a trigger for intolerant behaviour. When asked to provide an example for his claim, Nakula said, “A couple of weeks ago there was news of domestic violence resulting in the battering of a store owner by one of his employees because the owner cut down on his wages. The employee's feeling of justice has resulted in an act of intolerance”.

In all of the above statements, the participants appear to draw a clear line of demarcation between the theory and practice of tolerance. In theory, the teaching

of tolerance is understood as necessary and crucial to help develop a set of desirable characters in students or young generations. The curriculum, however, is perceived as lacking commitment in its treatment of character education vis-à-vis tolerance. More fundamentally, the four participants shared a view that there is a dissonance between the ideal of character education and the practice of tolerance in its broad sense in society.

Proposing ways of teaching tolerance

Under this sub-theme, the participants present their arguments as to how tolerance is to be inculcated in students and in society at large. They referred to the role of teachers in helping students internalise values of tolerance alongside parents, society and government. The sub-theme highlights the participants' creativity in the way they theorise the teaching of tolerance, drawing on both their personal experience and knowledge of tolerance.

Darmayudha offers a rather radical opinion on how values of tolerance can possibly be taught. His ideas about the teaching of tolerance seem to be grounded in his liberal views which accentuate individual freedom of choice (See sub-theme "*Encountering differences*"). He understood tolerance as being respectful of others' opinions and actions as long as they do not harm others or breach any laws. In hindsight, this view of tolerance also implies that one can do whatever they want to do as long as it neither causes harm to others nor violates any rules. In the same vein, it also implies that, regardless of how much you disagree with other's opinions or actions, you are supposed to remain respectful of others. The following excerpt illustrates Darmayudha's view on the teaching of tolerance:

There is a danger if we easily label people with intolerance ... How easy a group of people accuse someone or another group as intolerant? Radical? The

problem is our students can be exposed to this kind of bad example. So, the environment must also support the teaching of tolerance, if not, it is nonsense. Take for example the case of bullying. Does it stand alone? I don't think so. Students do not suddenly become violent or abusive to others. There must be a cause. So, I believe in the impact of the environment on individual consciousness. Unfortunately, now anyone can easily file a lawsuit against a person simply by labelling him as radical or by accusing him of hate speech or personal insult. This is wrong. Why not let others have their own choice? Why do they label one group of people as radical? For me as long as they don't harm me or violate rules, let them do it. Because if I do, it could even incite division and disharmony in society.

Darmayudha stressed the role of the environment in shaping the way children and young people behave themselves. He supported the view that one needs to be tolerant of others regardless of what they do as long as it does not directly affect one's life. Thus, Darmayudha views tolerance as allowing others freedom to choose their own course of action. Darmayudha expressed his concerns over the current phenomena in social media where people can easily label and stigmatize others as radical or intolerant. In his view, this practice could contribute to social tensions. Hence, Darmayudha was adamant that the teaching of tolerance could not be understood as simply being a transmission of knowledge of tolerance from teachers to students. Rather, he viewed this as a multi-dimensional task that cannot be approached solely through classroom instruction. In other words, the teaching of tolerance must also be grounded in a social context where students are able to benefit from real examples of tolerance operating in society.

From a slightly different viewpoint, Pujawati was drawing from everyday practice as a source of inspiration to help her formulate ways of teaching tolerance. She remarked:

Do we ever ask our children when they come home after school "what good thing have you done for others today? What nice words have you said to your friends today?" maybe very rarely, instead we ask "did you understand the

lesson?" When we ask these questions repeatedly, we subconsciously instill in our children the idea that all that matters is understanding school lessons, everything else becomes secondary. I don't want to be judgmental but ... you see how children respond. They suddenly look strange to us because they no longer shake hands when I have my sister visiting me, even my father and mother. My kids would just walk away.

As is shown from the excerpt, Pujawati proposed a simple way of teaching tolerance and yet it was perhaps the most useful and realistic. It is interesting to learn that Pujawati's idea about teaching tolerance might have been forgotten by many parents nowadays as they are trapped into a mindset which celebrates the primacy of intellectual achievement essential for their children's success in the future. In this sense, Pujawati's proposal refers back to the role of family in instilling values of tolerance; one which is done through an intimate dialogue between mother and children. At the same time, Pujawati expressed her overriding concern for the lack of appropriate behaviour shown by her kids, which, as Pujawati acknowledged, "gives me a slap in my face."

The notion of teaching as an ethical endeavour highlights Lesmana's theorization of teaching of tolerance. Although he considered the teaching of tolerance as a shared responsibility among parents, teachers, and society, he acknowledged that as a teacher, he felt obliged to help students develop positive characters. He proposed ways of instilling the values of tolerance in students as follows:

For me, I have to be the first to practice tolerance, as a teacher ... not only about religion, but everyday attitude. How I treat students must reflect values of tolerance. For example, although students deserve equal treatment, sometimes I felt sorry for those below-par students. So, I give them more attention than others although in reality, it sometimes works otherwise.

Lesmana underlines the need to view tolerance in a broader context. For her, teaching is a passion that brings particular satisfaction. Most importantly, he feels it as an obligation to help humanity. Therefore, he remains enthusiastic and energetic

after 12 years of teaching. Once again, Lesmana shared his view of teaching tolerance with others as a system that caters for the development of self-reliance, discipline, empathy, sympathy and, lastly, desirable character.

In conclusion, all the participants unequivocally agree that the teaching of character education cannot be understood as being separate from the socio-cultural and political context.

Summary

This chapter described in detail the findings from this research. It presented the process of data analysis in line with Ricoeur's phenomenological approach which entails dialectical movements between the first two levels of analysis: naïve reading and structural analysis. The research has revealed a number of findings which were presented as themes and sub-themes along with interview excerpts to provide examples for each sub-theme and theme. It is revealed that the participants demonstrate a plethora of views and perceptions on the concept of teaching tolerance under each emerging theme such as *Engaging with differences*, *Thinking about and perceiving differences*, *Appropriating different views of teaching tolerance* as well as under such sub-themes as *Encountering differences*, *Coping with discomfort*, *Learning from local wisdom*, *Learning from religious teachings*, *Handling differences in school*, *Responding to authoritative discourse*, and *proposing ways of teaching tolerance*. These different sub-themes and themes emerged as a result of structural analysis as part of Ricoeur's hermeneutic phenomenological analysis representing a phase in which the interview text as discourse fixed in writing is given a new meaning through the world of the interpreter.

The next chapter presents a discussion of the research findings through the lens of Bakhtin's theoretical constructs. This analytical process constitutes the final phase in

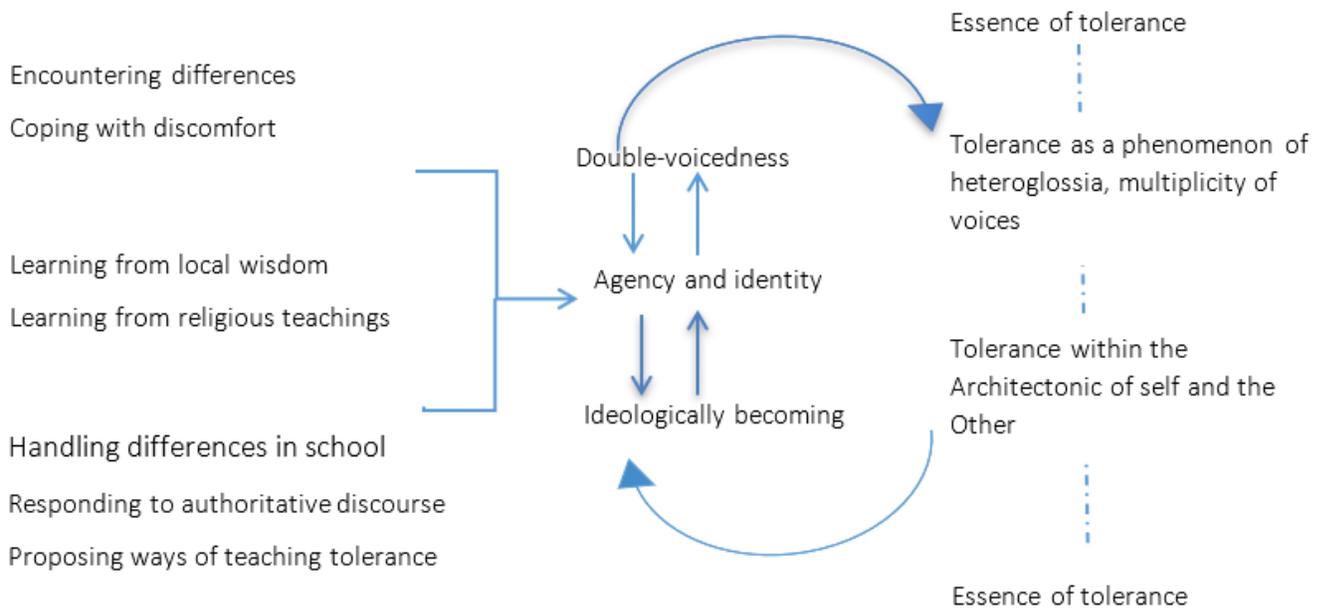
Ricoeur's hermeneutic phenomenological analysis, comprising critical interpretation of the findings generated from the first two phases as described in Chapter 5.

Chapter 6. Experiencing Internal Struggle

As described in Chapter 5, the hermeneutic phenomenological cycle consists of three phases: naïve reading, structural analysis, and critical interpretation. This chapter represents the final phase of Ricoeur’s hermeneutic phenomenological cycle in which the findings are recontextualised through critical interpretation using Bakhtin’s theoretical lens as a major framework. Ultimately, this process culminates in new ways of being in the world which constitutes the essence of all findings. Figure 6.1 illustrates the logical flow of analysis of the findings:

Figure 6.1

Logical Flow of Critical Interpretation



The next section discusses the participants’ attempts to appropriate different competing discourses of tolerance encircling their life. The discussion presents

examples from the interview transcripts under different themes and sub-themes, as well as other excerpts from the interview that have not been included in the previous chapter.

Double-voicedness: Appropriating Competing Discourses of Tolerance

The findings show that, in responding to different questions pertaining to the issue of tolerance, the participants demonstrated a palpable struggle to navigate themselves through different competing discourses that have figured in their discourse consciousness. As a result, they produced utterances that bear a quality of being double-voiced; one that reflects a tension between two opposing forces: an authoritative discourse with its centripetal force towards uniformity; and an internally persuasive discourse with its centrifugal force towards diversity of discourse.

In his accounts regarding encountering differences, Setyaki previously suggested that he had no issues whatsoever with the family whom he worked for during his younger years. He described the family, who were Christian, as being highly tolerant toward his beliefs as a Muslim. However, it was apparent that Setyaki was in a predicament when confronted with the occasion of Christmas celebrations. He remarked, "... but sometimes I don't ... what do you call it ... mmm because they had Christmas... should I say like happy Christmas? I am not sure ... what can I do?". Here Setyaki described the occasion when the family celebrated Christmas. This occasion seemed to pose a dilemma for him. On one hand, he was conscious of the need to maintain social cohesion with the family by acknowledging the Christmas celebration. On the other hand, with his Islamic beliefs, he was apprehensive about doing so because he was aware of the implications it could bring to the purity of his Islamic faith. He later added "Well it is because in my religion, it is part of my belief.

It is fundamental. To say 'Happy Christmas' means you agree with the teaching of Christianity about Jesus. But I know there is some debate about it. Is it in your heart or just for lip service?"

It might be argued that Setyaki's whole utterance bears a palpable struggle arising from his attempts to appropriate his Islamic beliefs about Jesus as his official, authoritative discourse and the alternative, unofficial discourse of tolerance and pluralism manifested in the form of acknowledging a different religious celebration. The tension is particularly visible in such utterances as "What can I do?" and "But I know there is some debate about it. Is it in your heart or just for lip service?" In addition to being caught up within these two opposing discourses, Setyaki was also wrestling with the unfinished debate within the Islamic community itself as to whether saying "Happy Christmas" fundamentally amounts to acknowledging the underlying theological truth of the occasion with regard to both the birth and divinity of Jesus. In this sense, the internal struggle that Setyaki experienced was made more intense by the fact that there was another discourse that he had to wrestle within the process of discourse appropriation. This process led to his utterance bearing the quality of being double-voiced.

Setyaki also demonstrated the phenomenon of double-voicedness when he described his view on the school curriculum in regard to the teaching of tolerance. According to him, the government showed ambivalence toward the teaching of character education vis-à-vis the teaching of tolerance. The findings show that Setyaki was visibly perplexed by this, as he remarked:

I think the curriculum care[s] a lot about knowledge, and little about character and affect. Although it is mentioned, everyday we have to teach knowledge and science to meet the target in RPP [Teaching Plan]. We don't care about the process. Our students also are affected. You know their mindset is always on grades. They care a lot about grades. Because we teach them so. We give

quizzes and show them how to do quizzes. In the past there was a lesson on budi pekerti [moral lessons]. But it is no longer in the curriculum. Why? I don't understand the policy.

The above excerpt illuminates the tension that Setyaki experienced as a result of his disagreement over the way the government handled character education. His remark highlights two major issues: the curriculum that overemphasises the transmission learning paradigm in which learning is seen simply as a transmission of hard knowledge (i.e., knowledge of science and technology), and the removal of Budi Pekerti (moral/character lessons as school subject) from the current curriculum. Regarding the first issue, Setyaki developed his own discourse by implying that the current curriculum did not promote process-oriented learning. Education, as he views it, is too concerned with outcomes. As a result, teachers often teach students how to do tests, which further shaped students' way of thinking, "they only emphasize on marks", as he put it. Secondly, Setyaki questioned the government's decision to remove moral/character lessons from the school curriculum. He argued that education can gain a lot of benefits from moral/character lessons which were once part of the school curriculum as a separate school subject.

The difference between what he believed to be a proper curriculum and the current curriculum along with its underlying outcome ideology has created a condition of conflict in his discourse consciousness; one that stems from his attempt to develop his own (internally persuasive) discourse which is in opposition to the authoritative discourse of curriculum mandated by the government. It could be argued here that as a result of this collision of two opposing discourses, Setyaki's utterance has a quality of being double-voiced.

Evidence of double-voicedness as a phenomenon of dialogicality between language and discourse can be seen from the statements made by the second participant,

Darmayudha. As presented in Chapter 5, Darmayudha grew up embracing different beliefs of Christianity before becoming an atheist. Much to his disappointment, his conversion to being an atheist did not sit well with the circle of his Christian friends, to the extent that he was socially ostracised. His view of tolerance hinges on this tension between the discourses of atheism and the dominant discourse of Christianity among his circle of friends. According to him, his decision to become an atheist should have been respected since it is everyone's right to choose any course of action and express opinions. Insofar as one's course of action neither causes harm to others nor violates laws, it is to be respected. This opinion largely resembles a liberal view of tolerance as discussed in Chapter 5.

When describing his view of tolerance, however, Darmayudha was aware that his identity as an atheist was problematic in the Indonesian context. He said "...after that I became apathetic and atheist ... although in Indonesia it is obvious it is something against the law when we persuade people [that there is] no need to have a religion." This remark shows Darmayudha's feeling of discomfort with his own identity. He even considered being an atheist as against the law, as he put it. Indeed, the very first pillar of Pancasila as the philosophical foundation of Indonesia is to believe in God. Yet, in his theorisation of tolerance, Darmayudha emphasises the primacy of individual freedom to choose a course of action as long as the action does not do harm to others or violate the law. This seemingly paradoxical stance toward the concept of tolerance stems from his attempt to appropriate two opposing discourses, the authoritative discourse of state philosophical foundation as expressed in the first pillar of Pancasila and the discourse of atheism as an internally persuasive discourse which he nevertheless acknowledged as being against the law. His utterance, thus, can be understood as bearing the quality of being double-voiced.

The third participant, Pujawati, was rather cautious when discussing the relationship between tolerance as a theory and as a practice, in particular in the context of the discourse of pluralism. As revealed in Chapter 5, Pujawati expressed her reservation over the taken-for-granted concept of pluralism in Indonesia. In her view, Indonesia has a wealth of local wisdom which can be used as a source of values to guide the practice of tolerance, among other things, the Javanese philosophy “tepo sliro” which she deemed “beautiful”. However, later during the discussion of the topic, Pujawati referred to the notion of pluralism when she described her experience of engaging with difference. As discussed in the previous chapter under the sub-theme of “Coping with Difference”, Pujawati described her experience of meeting a new circle of friends from different parts of Indonesia upon her relocation to Yogyakarta. She pointed out how she felt awkward when interacting with them, realising that she had a different style of communicating and as such, would exercise caution when speaking to avoid any possible misunderstandings. She referred back to this episode by underlying the importance of emphasising “kesadaran keberagaman” or “pluralistic awareness”. as she stated:

But when I arrived in Yogya, I was shocked, different languages. The way people from my region think of Yogya was ... very soft. While I was loud and outspoken. So, I actually had to be careful, I would keep a distance or just be passive. I was worried if I made a mistake or sounded weird to them. In this case I have practiced tolerance. Because I have awareness that people are different. I have kesadaran keberagaman [pluralistic awareness]. This is what pluralism is all about. I mean pluralism which appreciates differences and not to force or judge people who are different from you.

Pujawati was visibly caught up between the two discourses: the Javanese philosophy of “tepo sliro” and the notion of pluralism. Despite her earlier objection to the naturalised discourse of pluralism in the context of Indonesia, she found truth in the particular meaning of pluralism and acknowledged it as a useful framework for her to engage with her friends who come from different socio-cultural backgrounds. In

describing such an experience, Pujawati was oscillating between the two competing discourses, highlighting the extent of the internal struggle he experienced, leading to his utterance bearing the quality of being double-voiced.

Both Nakula and Lesmana speak of the importance of character education and quickly point to the government's failure to take character education seriously. They both believe in the fundamental role of character education for a nation because a civilised society and a strong nation can only come into existence if each citizen possesses noble characters. Nakula remarked:

If students develop noble characters such as being honest, trustworthy, hardworking, responsible, what else ... sociable, and of course tolerant, it is a valuable investment for our country. We have seen how people with bad characters take a leadership role in this country. Indonesia is struggling economically partly because these people corrupt public funds. Worst of all, we don't see this as fundamentally an issue of character. We have a good system in place. But in the hands of bad guys, no matter how good the system, they can always manipulate. Yet we act as if this has nothing to do with education, nothing to do with character education. We don't see this as a moral problem.

The above excerpt illuminates Nakula's conviction that character education is all important in shaping the direction of a nation such as Indonesia. He asserted that the roots of the problems faced by Indonesia are, in fact, embedded in the lack of moral commitments. He feels that the contribution of character education in shaping the future of Indonesia has been played down and is only given attention when conflicts arise.

In a similar fashion, Lesmana also views character education as an indispensable element of education. However, he did not go beyond the context of education to emphasise the importance of character education. He recalled his own experience in the early years of schooling:

Just to give a simple example of how we need character education. When I was in my first year, I came late to class. My teacher, not the usual teacher, I guess. I expect to be given sort of punishment as what most teachers do. You know something like standing up in front of the class for the entire lesson. But this teacher did not do that. Instead, after I said “I am sorry I am late”, he asked me to take my seat. But after the class, without everyone else knowing, he came to me and asked why I came late. He just wanted to know. I learned from this teacher that you don’t humiliate someone in front of other people. This is character education in real practice.

In the above excerpt, Lesmana believes that the teacher’s tactful approach to his being late has taught him how to treat people respectfully and this has become his own moral standard ever since. He emphasises how this experience has left a mark on him and inspired him to treat his students in the same way as he has been treated. His remark suggests a strong belief in the virtues of character education for his character development.

Despite the strong belief they share in the contribution of character education, the participants made comments which play down character education, in particular because of its emphasis on the teaching of character as purely normative. According to them, in the absence of real examples by the teachers in the classroom and by the community in general. As revealed in Chapter 5, Nakula stresses the inseparability of character education and the broader socio-political context. He provided an example of this inseparability:

The environment must support the teaching of tolerance, if not, it is nonsense. Now it is more complicated because of social media. I can tell you that most of my students, 90% of them have social media accounts. They have alternative space to express their identity. But they are also vulnerable. I have seen my student playing interactive games while swearing a lot. I mean this is not a good sign. Because from this a person develops a culture of violence. Starting from the way they speak. And how can you control things like this?

While Nakula relates character education to the broader socio-political condition in Indonesia, Lesmana points to the exemplary role of teachers as a more reliable basis for the teaching of tolerance. As revealed in Chapter 5, the following is a longer excerpt from Nakula's interview where he touched on his methodological approach to teaching character:

For me, I have to be the first to practice tolerance, as a teacher, not only about religion, but everyday attitude. How I treat students must reflect values of tolerance. The values of tolerance are not to be memorized. Otherwise, character education will have no impact. We should do the teaching of Ki Hajar Dewantoro, our "Bapak Pendidikan Nasional" [Father of National Education] that is "ing ngarso sung tulodho". As an educator, we must be able to serve as role models. For example, in the event of the appointment of the Head of OSIS [Student Organization], we can show values of tolerance during the process. Whether by what they say or what they do so that students will observe and use it as their moral standard of their behaviour in the future. When a student came to me and complained about a teacher, I dealt with extra care so as to show to the student how I exercise tolerance.

Both Nakula and Lesmana demonstrate some ambiguity towards character education. On one hand, they believe in the virtues of character education as an indispensable element of school curriculum. They contend that character education plays a pivotal role in shaping the direction of the country. Through character education the present generation are expected to develop a set of desirable characters which will be useful when the time comes for them to assume a leadership role in various positions. This ideally will help establish good governance which will work in the best interest of people.

However, they both also cast some doubt over the efficacy of character education. Both draw on alternative views of how character education should be implemented. They suggest that character education cannot only be understood as a transmission of knowledge about good and bad character from the teacher to students. Nakula

draws on socio-political discourse and online social media to suggest the complex nature of character education. He dismissed the idea that character education alone can help produce school graduates with noble characters. He had rather seen the task of educating the young generation and society about tolerance as involving concomitant improvement on the governance of public affairs, socio-political atmosphere, law enforcement and social justice. From this perspective, everyday interactions outside the classroom walls impact students' ways of perceiving the world which, in turn, shape their character development.

While believing in the importance of character education, Lesmana is equally pessimistic about character education. In proposing an alternative approach to character education, he draws on the Javanese proverb "Ing Ngarso Sung Tulodho". The proverb was formulated by Ki Hajar Dewantoro, a renowned Javanese scholar and an independence activist who fought against inequality in education during the Dutch colonisation from 1913 to 1922. His birthdate was made a National Education Day in honour of his contribution to education in Indonesia. The philosophy "ing ngarso sung tulodho" – the phrase is part of a longer slogan, "ing ngarso sung tulodho ing madya mangun karso tut wuri handayani" – suggests that an educator should be able to set an example for learners to see and learn. Lesmana's reference to the Javanese proverb serves as a methodological framework for him to teach character education vis-à-vis tolerance.

The double-voicedness of the Nakula and Lesmana is reflected in the way they both show ambiguity toward character education in Indonesia. They experienced an internal struggle as they tried to assess the need to incorporate character education into school curriculum against their own perceptions of the efficacy of character education based on their own everyday observations. In response to the official discourse of character education, which they deem important but inefficient so far,

they propose an alternative methodological approach to character education; one that takes into account the broader socio-political context and the importance of role models. In this sense, it is not so much that they dismiss the importance of character education. It is the logical fallacy underlying character education, that is, to consider the teaching of character vis-à-vis tolerance as merely a transmission of knowledge. Furthermore, they criticise the government for not taking character education seriously as reflected in the way it is accommodated in the curriculum and in the way school instruction mostly focuses on the acquisition of knowledge despite the explicit inclusion of character education in the present curriculum. In response to this, both participants attempt to develop their own ideas as to how character education should be conducted. While Nakula refers to the role of broader socio-political context as being intertwined with character education, Lesmana attempts to develop his own discourse by drawing on the Javanese proverb “ing ngarso sung tulodho” which accentuates the exemplary role of educators in the teaching of tolerance. It can be argued here that these two discourses, representing internally persuasive discourses, are brought into contact with the discourse of knowledge transmission as the official, more dominant, discourse (at least in the context of Indonesia) and in the process of this interaction between these competing discourses, both of the participants demonstrate a sense of internal struggle, resulting in the ambivalent stance toward the inclusion of character education in the national curriculum. This process of dialogue with different competing discourses has rendered their utterances double-voiced, highlighting their struggle to navigate the self through competing discourses on character education.

Agency and Identity: Authoring the Self and Counterbalancing Dominant Discourse

The argument that agency has been understood in different ways across different disciplines was presented in the previous chapter. Aligning with Bakhtin's notion of dialogue, agency in this research is understood as being embedded in one's authorship during participation in a discursive event involving one's improvisation and creativity. Whereas identity is also embedded in one's authorship during which individuals express their ideas and stance through language in response to a particular discourse. Bakhtin (1981, 1986) uses the notion of *voice* to describe how individuals' different ways of speaking reflect their speaking personality as they position themselves against a variety of discourses encircling their life. As agency and identity are deeply intertwined, they are discussed together in this section.

The findings illustrate how participants were able to author their voices in a way that denotes improvisation and creativity in relation to the ongoing discourse being discussed during the interview. Under the theme of engaging with differences, the majority of the participants share similarities in the way they echo their stance on the issue of tolerance among people of different religious beliefs. Both Setyaki and Pujawati expressed their objection to the view that a tolerant attitude includes congratulating Christians on the birth of Jesus. This objection could be understood as running against the view of pluralism that, at least according to Pujawati, does not take into account the fact that in doing so, religious conviction and purity of faith are at stake. Both participants draw a clear line between social relations and religious beliefs and practices, which are not to be mixed. In this sense, the two participants have demonstrated different stances and ideas that diverge from the more dominant discourse of pluralism in the context of Indonesia. This authorship simultaneously illuminates the speaking personality of the two participants which is

most likely shaped by the Islamic discourse of tolerance that they have appropriated as internally persuasive discourse. In other words, the identity of being a steadfast Muslim came to the fore as they responded to the discourse of tolerance. Such an identity might have been either consciously or unconsciously constructed by the participants as part of their discursive strategy in the presence of the interviewer.

Alongside the issue of tolerance as against the interfaith dialogue, under the subtheme "*Learning from local wisdom and learning from religious teachings,*" the participants generally hold views that run counter to the more dominant monolithic view of tolerance. This counter-narrative highlights their level of agency and identity in relation to the discourse of tolerance. All of the participants offer different ways of understanding the notion of tolerance, showing how tolerance applies to different social domains and brings multiple layers of meanings to each of them. For example, Setyaki uses the Javanese philosophy "mikul dhuwur mendhem jero" to convey his ideas about tolerance which is deeply rooted in his identity as a Javanese. It was suggested that Setyaki has a strong belief in the value of such a philosophy to the extent that during his time with the Christian family, he not only remembered this philosophy but also put it into practice. As such, he was able to maintain social harmony and respect with the family which took him in. With regard to the concept and practice of tolerance, Setyaki was able to exercise his agency by thinking differently about tolerance. In doing so, Setyaki draws on the Javanese philosophy "mikul dhuwur mendhem jero" as internally persuasive discourse. As shown in the findings, Setyaki revealed that it was his father who inculcated the values of tolerance through this philosophy during his childhood upbringing. In this sense, the word of the others i.e., this Javanese philosophy has become his own through the process of appropriation. In both cases, Setyaki has demonstrated his agency in terms of being able to make choices as to which discourse of tolerance he views as

most compatible to his own context. Similarly, Setyaki's accounts of tolerance and the way he spoke of the Javanese philosophy strongly attest to his identity as a true Javanese.

Darmayudha's agency is marked by his improvisation in the way he offers his opinion on the roots of intolerance as revealed in Chapter 5. Quite unusually, Darmayudha traces back the issue of tolerance to the establishment of social justice and the quality of leadership. He relates the emergence of intolerant behaviour to the perceived lack of justice in society due to the corrupt behaviour of government authorities and political elites coupled with poor law enforcement. In particular, he blames the situation on the lack of leadership qualities and moral commitment as often showcased by those in power. For this reason, he envisions an ideal leader as having personal qualities summarised in the Javanese philosophy "sepi ing pamrih rame ing gawe" which translates "being quiet in personal gains, busy with work". According to Dhamayuda, this Javanese proverb rightly describes the quality of leadership that is much needed by Indonesia at present; that is, a leader who works in the best interests of the people, who works for the accomplishment of common goals, rather than for personal gains. Unfortunately, he is rather pessimistic about finding a leader of such quality, as he said, "I don't know if this type of leader exists".

Darmayudha's views offer glimpses of his agency and identity regarding the emergence of tolerant behaviour. As described above, he was able to exercise his agency by offering a different view on the roots of intolerant behaviour, regardless of whether his theoretical proposition can be justified or not. The fact that he cited the Javanese proverb also signifies his identity as a Javanese who, to some extent, still upholds Javanese values amidst the presence of possibly competing values surrounding his life.

Likewise, Pujawati demonstrated her improvisation and creativity in the way she views the practice. First, she proposes looking at the Javanese philosophy “tepo sliro” as a counter to the weight of the dominant discourse of pluralism whose legitimacy, according to her, has been taken for granted. In her view, the discourse of pluralism is a Western concept whose application needs not be taken for granted. As pointed out earlier, Pujawati shows high regard for local wisdom by proposing this philosophy as a way to conceptualise the practice of tolerance in Indonesia. In doing so, Pujawati demonstrated her ability not only to think differently but also to challenge the dominant discourse of pluralism. As such, she has exercised her agency in the way she thinks differently and in the way she has courage to express her differing view which runs against the more dominant discourse of pluralism. The identity of being a true Javanese also came to the fore as Pujawati narrated her experience and described her belief about tolerance from Javanese philosophical point of view. In this respect, her identity as a Javanese could be understood as providing a necessary discursive repertoire to improvise and manoeuvre in response to the dominant discourse of pluralism.

Religious teachings have also become a rich repertoire of discourses to draw from by the participants. Many of the participants appear to have a strong attachment to their religion as a source of inspiration to discuss the practice of tolerance. They exercise agency by drawing on religious texts to discuss the practice of tolerance in ways that occasionally challenge the dominant views of tolerance dictated by authorities. For example, Setyaki’s stance toward congratulating Christians on their Christmas celebration was based on the teaching of Islam. In contrast to the beliefs that many people may hold, Setyaki was firm in his belief that doing so would be against his religion as it would tamper the purity of his faith. He cited the verse in the Holy Quran “lakum dinukum waliyadin”, which means “there is no compulsion in

religion”, as a philosophical foundation to maintain social cohesion and harmony with people of different religions without interfering with one’s religious conviction. Similarly, Pujawati has her own ideas about the practice of tolerance based on her religious beliefs. Following her comments on the discourse of pluralism and her reference to the Javanese philosophy as revealed in the Chapter 5, Pujawati continued her improvisation by describing how Islam teaches her about tolerance with regard to the rights of neighbours. She cited a hadith (the sayings and actions of Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) as narrated by his companions) which says “He who believes in Allah and the Last Day let him not harm his neighbour; and he who believes in Allah and the Last Day let him show hospitality to his guest...” (Al-Bukhari and Muslim). By citing the above hadith, Pujawati demonstrated her authorship by drawing on the teaching of Islam as part of her internally persuasive discourses. The improvisation in the way she practised tolerance inspired by religious teaching denotes her agency as well as her identity as a practising Muslim.

Nakula also demonstrated authorship in response to the discourse of tolerance. Rather than discussing tolerance under the framework of pluralism, he developed his own discourse by drawing on the examples from Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.). As revealed in Chapter 5, he presented a historical account of the prophet’s famous last speech which conveys a profound and universal message about equality, human rights and democracy. When asked further about the relation between the message and the practice of tolerance, Nakula asserted that the Prophet’s message lays the foundation for peaceful co-existence and tolerance. He then referred to the Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.) as a statesman whose leadership has successfully turned the city of Medina into a city where social justice, equality and democracy were manifested so as to make Medina a peaceful and prosperous city. In all of the above

statements, Nakula was able to use his voice to project his identity as a committed Muslim while simultaneously exercising his agency.

In regard to the teaching of tolerance through formal education, all of the participants demonstrate a certain level of agency while simultaneously enacting identity as creative and independent teachers. As described in the previous section on double-voicedness, while they all seem to be in support of character education, they demonstrate different views on how the teaching of tolerance can be best approached. They developed their own discourse by proposing a different way of looking at the teaching of tolerance and the curriculum for character education. They differ from the government's view of character education, not only in terms of methodological approach, but also in terms of the way they relate the teaching of tolerance to Indonesia's larger socio-political context. Most of the participants share a common view that the teaching of tolerance should not be understood as merely a transmission of knowledge of tolerance from teachers to students. Rather, tolerance must be taught through examples of real behaviour and attitudes on the part of the teachers in every situation and event in and around school. Setyaki proposes integrating character education into the everyday teaching–learning process and school management which comes along with it. Both Pujawati and Lesmana stress the exemplary role of teachers in everyday practices as a more viable way of teaching tolerance. In exercising his agency, Lesmana proposes looking at the Javanese philosophy “ing ngarso sung tulodho” as the basis for teaching tolerance – which accentuates the importance of role models. Both Darmayudha and Nakula challenge the assumption implicit in the curriculum that character education can be taught simply as a transmission of knowledge and memorising of the values of tolerance. They both highlight the relation between what goes inside classroom walls and what happens outside on a daily basis. According to them, the feelings of

injustice and discrimination themselves can give rise to social unrest and contribute to the shaping of intolerant mindsets. In all of the above instances, the participants demonstrate agency while projecting their identity as teachers with more or less independent thinking.

Ideologically Becoming: The Unfinalised Self

The overall findings attest to the participants' inner struggle in the process of *ideological becoming*. In Bakhtin's writings (1981, 1993), ideologically becoming refers to how we develop our way of viewing the world, our system of ideas, what Bakhtin terms *an ideological self*. The findings show that all the participants attempt to exercise agency by developing their own perspectives on the practice and teaching of tolerance. In authoring themselves, that is, in making a word *one's own*, they are faced with a simultaneous presence of many competing discourses. As discussed earlier, this process of ideologically becoming has often resulted in their utterances bearing the quality of being double-voiced.

The sense of struggle in the process of ideologically becoming basically mirrors the dialogic interaction between internally persuasive discourses and authoritative discourses that come into contact and consequently require some degree of appropriation. However, the ensuing struggling resulting from the process of ideologically becoming can also result from multiple various competing discourses within one's discourse consciousness. As the findings show, in authoring the self against the words of the other, the participants experienced internal struggle as reflected through the phenomenon of double-voicedness. Setyaki's view on the issue of congratulating each other on one's religious event provides a good example of how he experienced struggle in the process of ideologically becoming. This process involves improvisation in which he chose to distance himself from, or even

challenge, the idea of congratulating Christians on their Christmas Day. Setyaki's process of ideologically becoming is heightened by the fact that, in his opinion, those in support of congratulating Christians on their Christmas Day often use the notion of pluralism as a pretext to judge people with opposing views like him as being intolerant. In this sense, his struggle in the process of ideologically becoming can be understood as being more intense as he is faced with the more dominant discourse of pluralism.

The other participants also experienced internal struggles in the process of ideologically becoming regarding the issue of tolerance. For example, Darmayudha's search for the truth regarding his religious conviction intersects with the issue of tolerance that he had to wrestle with. As the findings show, in developing his own discourse of atheism, he inevitably was caught up with the dominant discourse that prescribes individuals to believe in God. As a consequence of his being different, hence, part of his agency, not only did he wrestle with his own beliefs about divinity but also with the harsh treatment he received from his former circle of friends who embraced Christianity. During this interview, he reflected on this experience to propose his view of tolerance; one that allows for individual freedom of choice and expression as long as it does not cause harm to others nor violate rules. It can be argued here that Darmayudha's view of tolerance is grounded in the process of his ideologically becoming which was characterised by both internal struggle and tensions in real life.

Pujawati's process of ideologically becoming is marked by her objection to the taken-for-granted nature of pluralism. She offered a counter to the weight of the discourse of pluralism by emphasising that pluralism is, to some extent, incompatible for Indonesia. Her argument was based on the distinction she made between social relations and religious practices and convictions. Like Setyaki,

Pujawati disagreed with the practice of congratulating Christians on Christmas Day because such an act would overlap with her religious conviction. It is apparent that in asserting her authorial presence in regard to the issue, she is faced with the more dominant discourse of pluralism which she has not fully appropriated. This dialogic interaction between her Islamic faith as internally persuasive discourse and pluralism as the more authoritative discourse becomes a site of struggle in her process of ideologically becoming.

Lesmana's process of ideologically becoming is embedded in his exercise of agency in regard to the teaching of tolerance through formal education. He distanced himself from the implicit assumption underlying character education that tolerance can be taught merely as a transmission of knowledge about what is good and bad.

To take the argument further, the participants' different views on the practice of tolerance constitute a product of interaction with the social world through speech and other cultural tools that provide the structuring features of mind, meaning and voice (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986; Vygotsky, 1978). What is most compelling, though, is the diversity of perspectives that they projected regarding the theory and practice of tolerance. All the participants developed their own ideas about the meanings of tolerance, the methodological approach to teaching tolerance and the practice of tolerance in society. Hence, the participants' way of expressing ideas about tolerance reflects a phenomenon of heteroglossia – the multiplicity of voices representing a variety of discourses that Bakhtin (1986) sees as characteristics of all language use.

The struggle that the participants experienced in the process of ideologically becoming attests to the fact that the ideological self is always in dialogue with the word of the Other. Hence, the self is never finalised because a dialogue necessitates the Self to be responsive to the “word of the other” and to make the “word of the

other” one’s own. This means the discussion on tolerance is an ever-lasting dialogue; there is no final and single version of the meaning and scope of tolerance or the practice and method of teaching tolerance. The multi-voicedness of the participants lays bare the necessity to acknowledge that there are multiple layers of the meanings of tolerance that have to be acknowledged and celebrated.

Summary

In this chapter, I have presented the emergent themes and sub-themes that were critically interpreted through Bakhtin’s theoretical constructs. The critical interpretation produced an in-depth understanding of the participants’ individual lived experience of engaging with the discourse of tolerance both as teacher practitioners and members of society. Bakhtin’s different constructs such as an authoritative and internally persuasive discourse, double-voicedness, voice, authorship and ideologically becoming narrated their unique experience of engaging with the teaching and practice of tolerance in school and beyond.

Chapter 7. Closing. Tolerance: Looking at the Self Through the Other

This concluding chapter is divided into three sections. The first section summarises the research process, highlighting the rationale for the need to conduct this research from the empirical and theoretical lens in regard to the teaching and practice of tolerance in Indonesia. The second section epitomises the key research findings and discussion to provide a coherent context for and transition to the research implications and contributions as the last section.

Summary of Research Process

This research was conducted against the backdrop of an enduring debate about the issues and teaching of tolerance in Indonesia. In the past decades, Indonesia, long known as a culturally diverse and yet moderate, tolerant nation, has had to grapple with ethnic and religion-based conflicts in a number of its regions. The socio-political atmosphere has also been in turmoil with polarisation in society and hatred between different social and political groups characterising everyday interaction via social media. While the roots of the problem could be multi-dimensional, public awareness and scrutiny turned to school education as the starting point where peaceful co-existence and tolerance can be taught. However, character education vis-à-vis the teaching of tolerance has been a subject of debate and contestation over the years. Character education was once introduced as a compulsory subject to be taught from primary education through to university, only to be removed later as a new government came to power. The inclusion and exclusion of character education in the school curriculum has become a pattern in the context of education in Indonesia. This reflects the lack of certainty over the place of character education

in Indonesia, as well as the government's ambivalent stance on character education and the political dimensions involved. Amidst all the controversies and competing discourses on character education, two fundamental questions have been overlooked: "How do teachers at the forefront of education feel about themselves in regard to character education?" and "What do they believe as the most viable approach to character education and how do they perceive and experience tolerance?" Hence, this research was initiated with an explicit intent to explore the essence of tolerance as individually experienced by teachers.

The research process began with the selection of five high school teachers from three different schools through purposive sampling. The participants taught different school subjects and had been teaching for a minimum of five years. They were all born and raised in Java Island and hence, were more inclined toward a Javanese cultural orientation in the way they relate to the issues of tolerance. The use of a phenomenological approach in this research has allowed for a thorough exploration and analysis of the teachers' experience of engaging with both the theory and practice of tolerance as educational practitioners and members of society at large. Ricoeur's (1981) hermeneutic, three-level analysis provided this research with a viable means to bridge the internal reality of the interview data as a narrative voice and the world of the interpreter (researcher) so as to breathe new understandings into the text. The first stage of analysis entailed a naïve reading during which the interview transcripts were read several times to gain an initial understanding and to recognise the meaning of the text as a whole. The second level of analysis involved a structural analysis in which the text was divided into meaning units representing "what the text says". The meaning units were read again through and reflected against the meaning of the naïve reading. The units of meanings were further condensed to derive the essential meanings which are identified as

description of “what the text talks about”, leading to sub-themes and themes. The whole process was characterised by a constant movement between explanation and understanding, or the hermeneutic cycle, which is the core of Ricoeur’s phenomenological analytical approach. To make sense of the emerging themes and sub-themes, Bakhtin’s theory of dialogism (1981) was employed to tap into the layers of meanings and internal struggles experienced by the teachers in engaging with the discourse of tolerance. Bakhtin’s theory of dialogism lends itself to a rich analysis and description of the participants’ struggles in navigating themselves through many competing discourses around the teaching and practice of tolerance in school and in society at large. Bakhtin’s notions of double-voicedness, internally persuasive and authoritative discourse, ideologically becoming, agency and identity, proved to be useful lenses to, not only provide a fine-grained analysis of the participants’ internal struggles, but also a profoundly rich understanding of the essence of tolerance as individually lived by the participants. In other words, the use of Bakhtin’s dialogism allowed for a comprehensive understanding of the phenomena which, in turn, led to what Ricoeur terms a “new way of being in the world”.

Summary of Research Findings and Discussion

Multiplicity of Voices

As presented in Chapter 5, the data analysis produced three emerging themes and six sub-themes illuminating the participants’ different perspectives and experiences of engaging with the teaching and practice of tolerance, both as teachers and members of society in general. A multiplicity of voices permeated the teachers’ accounts of their experience and engagement with the discourse of tolerance as captured from the emerging themes and sub-themes below:

Theme 1: Engaging with differences

Under this theme, the participants described past life episodes that allowed them to recognise differences and begin to think about ways of coping with the situations. The *Sub-theme: Encountering differences* featured the participants' first experience in engaging with situations where they sensed differences in regard to behaviour, norms, attitudes, religion, and social status amongst others that may, or may not, cause discomfort and which required adjustment. Under the category of *Sub-theme: Coping with discomfort*, the participants narrated their experience of engaging with differences and their strategies to cope with the feelings of discomfort resulting from such experiences. Their different ways of coping with discomfort at different levels of social interaction illuminated the values and assumptions they upheld in regard to the theory and practice of tolerance.

Theme 2: Thinking about and perceiving differences in relation to tolerance

This theme features the participants' different ways of thinking about and perceiving the issue of tolerance on both theoretical and practical levels. Under the *Sub-theme: Learning from local wisdom*, the participants drew from Javanese philosophies to shape the way they thought about and perceived the practice of tolerance. For example, they refer to the Javanese philosophy "tepo sliro" as the overarching concept to guide the practice of tolerance at different levels of social interaction. *Sub-theme: Learning from religious teachings* presented the participants' allusion to religious texts and teachings as a source of inspiration to discuss the issue of tolerance and to convey their views on the concept and practice of tolerance based on religious teachings. For example, one of the participants cited the Prophet's last speech to foreground the need to respect others and to eliminate

discrimination on the basis of race, skin colour and religion in order to create a culture of tolerance among human beings.

Theme 3: Appropriating different views of teaching tolerance

This theme features the participants' perspectives on the character education vis à vis the teaching of tolerance in school. Under the *Sub-theme: Handling differences in school*, the participants shared their experience of handling differences in school as well as ideas, values and beliefs that guided them in handling those differences. For example, Setyaki suggested that he used his awareness of differences to foster an atmosphere of tolerance and harmony among students of different religions when the school had to organise religious festivals. The *Sub-theme: Responding to authoritative discourse* featured the participants' perceptions of authoritative discourses in regard to the teaching of tolerance. They all perceived the National Curriculum as lacking a sense of direction and commitment to character education. For example, according to Pujawati, the lack of attention to character education could be observed from the way the teaching–learning process puts heavy emphasis on cognitive aspects with little regard for the development of soft skills. In the *Sub-theme: Proposing ways of teaching tolerance*, the participants presented their arguments as to how tolerance is to be inculcated in students and in society at large. They referred to the role of teachers in helping students internalise values of tolerance alongside parents, society, and government. They also argued that the practice of tolerance could not stand on its own; rather, it was being shaped as well by the broader socio-political and legal system of the country. To teach or inculcate values of tolerance is to ensure social justice is also served, in addition to the presence of role models in various social contexts.

The findings attest to the fact that the theory and practice of tolerance have been understood differently by the teachers. Different perspectives on tolerance suggest that the participants have developed their own ideas and understandings of tolerance at both theoretical and practical levels. Each participant understands and perceives tolerance from a particular vantage point, influenced and shaped by individual history, tradition, local wisdom and life experience. The findings further highlight the simultaneous presence of many competing discourses that lead to what Bakhtin (1986) terms *a phenomenon of heteroglossia*, to suggest the participants' multiplicity of voices in responding to the discourse of tolerance.

The Self in Struggle

As presented in Chapter 6, the emerging themes and subthemes were further analysed and recontextualised through the theoretical lens of Bakhtin's dialogism (1981). Bakhtin's notions of double-voicedness, agency and identity, as well as ideologically becoming, afforded the opportunity to examine the participants' accounts of tolerance in an in-depth and profound manner. Through these different constructs, the analysis of the findings revealed participants' pervading sense of struggle on the part of the participants as they shared their views and experience of engaging with differences and the teaching and practice of tolerance as teachers and members of society. This internal struggle embodied the participants' dialogic interaction with different competing discourses surrounding their life.

The double-voicedness reflects an attempt by the participants to appropriate two competing discourses – the internally persuasive and the authoritative. For example, when asked about the character education curriculum, all participants

acknowledged the importance of character education. However, they simultaneously demonstrate varying levels of distrust in the curriculum, not only due to the lack of hours dedicated to the teaching of character, but also the government's tendency to look at the teaching of character education as simply a transmission of knowledge. This distrust leads to the teachers' proposing alternative views of how character education vis-à-vis the teaching of tolerance is to be approached. The curriculum becomes a site of struggle for them as they attempt to develop their own discourse.

The participants' exercise of agency is also marked by a palpable sense of struggle. This struggle stems from their attempt to author their own voice while making a counter to the weight of authoritative discourse. As discussed in Chapter 6, Setyaki and Pujawati were struggling to mark their authorship when asked about the customary debate over the issue of congratulating Christians on their festive Christmas Day. Setyaki's response was rather apprehensive. He suggested that the practice of tolerance must recognise the boundary between social relations and religious practice and faith. While fully agreeing to the importance of maintaining social cohesion and interaction based on mutual respect, Setyaki rejected the practice of congratulating Christians on Christmas Day since doing so would tamper with the purity of his faith. Pujawati was more blunt in her response by suggesting that pluralism, which she deemed a Western concept, is not to be taken for granted because it may not be entirely compatible when used to frame the interaction between religions in Indonesia. She also made a distinction between social interactions and religious practices. Both participants attempted to exercise agency in the way they respond to the discourse of pluralism and in doing so, experienced some degree of internal struggle as they were simultaneously projecting their identity as teachers.

The participants' internal struggle also comes with the process of ideologically becoming as they engaged in authorship through improvisation and creativity in response to the issue of tolerance. The sub-theme highlights the participants' creativity in the way they theorise the teaching of tolerance, drawing on both their personal experience and knowledge of tolerance. For example, all the teachers held different perspectives on the teaching and practice of tolerance in school and beyond. While developing their own discourse, they often distanced themselves from the authoritative discourse of the National Curriculum. This process of ideologically becoming involves an internal struggle resulting from the teachers' attempts to appropriate the words of the others, i.e., to make them half one's own and half someone else's. The process of ideologically becoming also signifies that the Self is never finalised. It is always in constant dialogue with Others and in doing so, experiences different levels of struggle.

Research Implications

The findings from this research have shed light on how the notion and practice of tolerance embodies a reality of heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 1986) in which a variety of perspectives on tolerance exists. Accordingly, the practice of tolerance requires willingness to listen to others and to consider other perspectives. An attitude of tolerance could be fostered when it is grounded in respect and consideration for Others. Indeed, the significance of the Other reverberated throughout this research process when the participants described their experience of engaging with the Other and when they proposed ways of teaching tolerance. Underlying most of their accounts of tolerance is the overwhelming suggestion that in practising tolerance, one needs to include the Other in one's consciousness. The Javanese philosophy "tepo sliro" (literally, consideration of the Others') that the participants fondly refer

to when discussing tolerance aptly summarises such consciousness. However, in considering the other, this philosophy goes beyond the need to understand the Other in terms of perspectives, values, and traditions. The philosophy incurs a delicate consideration of others as it places others' feelings prominently at the centre. Within this notion, one's own interpretation and understanding of tolerance becomes secondary because others' feelings are considered more paramount for the maintenance of social cohesion and harmony.

The ability to suppress one's own ego for a common cause of maintaining harmony is echoed by the majority of the participants. Setyaki, in his process of ideologically becoming regarding the discourse of inter-religion interaction, was willing to suppress his ego for the greater purpose of maintaining his relations with the family. Setyaki refers to "mikul dhuwur mendhem jero", another Javanese philosophy, to emphasise that a consideration of others' feelings, position and condition is the foundation of tolerance. When Pujawati came to Yogya to study, she was mindful of how her accent might be perceived by her new friends. She chose to be quiet most of the time as she considered others' feelings even in this seemingly trivial matter. Pujawati held "tepo sliro" in high regard by saying that being tolerant of others requires one's willingness to consider others' feelings and thus to put others' feelings before one's own. Darmayudha, likewise, refers to the Javanese philosophy "sepi ing pamrih rame ing gawe" when discussing leadership qualities much needed to guide Indonesia in the right direction. In this philosophy, the care for others outweighs personal interests or gains. Nakula's accounts of tolerance were also characterised by a consideration of others' feelings for the sake of maintaining social harmony. He considered "tepo sliro" as an important foundation for the maintenance of unity in diversity as emblazoned on Indonesia's national motto "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika". A similar insight also underlies most of the participants'

accounts of how they dealt with differences in schools and beyond. Their handling of religion-based differences, and income disparity among students' parents, highlights the need to consider the presence of the Other in one's consciousness. Even when the teachers distance themselves from the authoritative discourse of the National Curriculum regarding the teaching of tolerance, they insinuate the government's lack of understanding and attention to the teachers' voices as practitioners as the Other.

From theoretical perspectives, the participants' common allusion to the significance of the Other in one's consciousness as profoundly embodied in the Javanese philosophy "tepo sliro" can be understood in terms of what with Bakhtin terms the architectonic of self and the Other (1993). Through this framework, Bakhtin reveals that the structures of the interhuman architectonic include the Other from whom ethical imperative emanates and the Self who will have to interpret that imperative and act upon it. In this sense, ethics is itself dialogical, involving a sort of conversation between Self and the Other whose very presence is the origin of the ethical imperative. A practice of tolerance from this point of view involves looking at the Self through the Other whose very existence summons our answerability with ethical responsibility. To be ethically responsive would mean the Other has to be experienced as the concrete Other whose very existence is irreducible. In this sense, the Other is the multiplicity of voices, the reality of heteroglossia that cannot simply succumb to a single interpretation. To engage in the practice of tolerance is to acknowledge the multiplicity of voices as the Other, who cannot be wholly interpreted or translated into the language, experience, or perspective of the Self since it would, at that point, no longer be the Other. In the context of tolerance in Indonesia, too often, the practice of tolerance is marred by an individual, institution, social group or the State which attempts to promote sameness under the pretext of

tolerance and so doing, reducing the quality of otherness in the Other. Whereas the findings from this research have shown that the concept and practice of tolerance is multi-dimensional, involving interaction among different perspectives and perceptions across different social groups, religions, political affiliations, and cultural backgrounds. Our answerability with ethical responsibility entails willingness to listen and feel the quality of otherness in and through the Other. The philosophy “tepo sliro” mirrors the willingness to listen and consider the feelings of the Other, irrespective of differences. This lays a much stronger foundation for the practice of tolerance as it touches the most subtle aspect of social interaction, that is, human feelings.

Bakhtin, however, notes that, in the end, our answerability is answerable to the Self. With this, Bakhtin emphasises the existential freedom of the Self within the architectonic of Self and the Other. According to Bakhtin, “the answerable act is, after all, the actualization of a decision” (1993, p. 28), the freedom to obligate oneself through the answerable act. There are no ethical imperatives that can drive us to respond to the Other and to do so with ethical responsibility. Ethics, for Bakhtin, remains centred on the Self’s own consciousness, judgment, valuation, and existence: “my unique participation in that world ... produces a concrete ought” (Bakhtin, 1993, pp. 56-57). Yet, Bakhtin’s answerability implies that it is in the presence of the Other that the Self is answerable to itself. This draws our attention to our answerable act as an embodied performance of commitments and attitudes. Instead of a set of rules and norms, the concrete Other, revealed through this research as the reality of heteroglossia, lays the foundation for our ethical decisions pertaining to the practice of tolerance. This is to say that to be ethically responsible, one has to take the Other as always being experienced as the concrete Other. It is by

experiencing the other through a conversation based on dialogic ethics that we may demonstrate tolerance in our everyday interaction with differences.

At the level of policymaking process, Bakhtin's architectonic Self and the Other can serve as a useful framework to help educational policies resonate more with everyday practices and knowledge of teachers at the forefront of education. With this, the notion and practice of tolerance should not be based on a monolithic view which tends to exert a single interpretation of tolerance masked as an objective truth while negating the plurality of voices that fundamentally provides the rationale for the practice of tolerance. Hence, in the context of character education vis-à-vis tolerance, the reality of heteroglossia in regard to the teaching and practice of tolerance within the school environment should be acknowledged. This includes teachers' agency and identity embedded in the way they propose different approaches to the teaching of tolerance in school and beyond, as well as their ensuing struggle in the process of ideologically becoming in regard to the method of teaching tolerance. Inherent to this struggle is the teachers' view that the teaching of tolerance requires, not only its inclusion in the school curriculum, but more importantly, role models and exemplary behaviours that children can look up to. Teachers also touch on social justice, law enforcement and distribution of wealth as factors that shape the practice of tolerance in society.

In conclusion, this research proposes that the teaching and practice of tolerance as a reality of heteroglossia needs to be acknowledged through the lens of the Javanese philosophy "tepo sliro" and Bakhtin's architectonic of Self and the Other. At the individual level, a consideration of the Other is paramount to the implementation of dialogic ethics that stems from our answerability to both the Self and the Other. At the intersection of policy as authoritative discourse and everyday practice as

internally persuasive discourse, this research proposes that policymakers need to look at the Self through the Other to avoid the pitfall of producing policies that do not resonate with what is happening in local contexts. This means that character education and the teaching and practice of tolerance must embrace the reality of heteroglossia in ways that place the Other at the epicentre of prominence.

Research Contributions

In this research, I have taken both Ricoeur and Bakhtin and used them to tap into the subtlety of human experience, meanings, and struggle in regard to the theorisation and practice of tolerance. I have shown that, through my creative use of Ricoeur and Bakhtin, I have illuminated the unfamiliar yet fundamental terrain of teachers' experience of engaging with the issue of tolerance in ways that no other studies, as far as I am aware, have done before. Therefore, I wish to convince curriculum and programme designers, policymakers in civic and moral education, practitioners and researchers, of the contributions that this research has made to the field of character/moral education, developmental programmes, and research enquiries in humanity and social studies. I elaborate my research contributions here.

Theoretical contributions

From theoretical perspectives, tolerance is largely defined as a set of ethical imperatives that are supposed to be adhered to by individuals in order to manage differences of any sort and to maintain social harmony and cohesion. Respect for differences, appreciation of others' opinions and ability to contain oneself are some of the values that are taught in schools as part of character education vis-à-vis tolerance. Although these values are essential ingredients of tolerance, which I agree with, these conceptualisations tend to place the values of tolerance as being

external entities ready to be acquired through an internalisation process that takes place in an isolated cognitive space. Although this theorisation may be useful in the context of pedagogy, it overlooks the fact that tolerance is embedded in social relations to be forged through real experience of engaging with differences.

My contention is that a view of tolerance that is centred around the values of "showing respect for differences" may engender what I call "pseudo-tolerance". In my view, pseudo-tolerance is a form of tolerance that is being dictated by external forces rather than coming from within. We show tolerance to differences as a consequence of being in an environment that leaves us no option but to show tolerance. For example, when one lives in a residential area or real estate complex that is home to people with different backgrounds, there is a necessity to show respect for differences and to conform to group norms and consensus. However, such necessity is likely to be forced upon the individual by external conditions. Although this practice of tolerance is justifiable with a view to maintaining harmony, it is superficial in nature and tends to position individuals or learners in the context of education as being passive or having no agency.

As my original contribution to the field of character education, I wish to propose a view of tolerance which is grounded in the Javanese philosophy of "*tepo sliro*". I contend that offers a more profound, overarching concept of tolerance; one that is built around dialogic ethics that involve a consideration of others. However, in this conception, when we act or behave in consideration of others, we go beyond thinking about all kinds of differences that we recognise in others, be it religions, perceptions, opinions, or any other differences. Instead, this philosophy presupposes a consciousness in which we feel the presence of others and so, recreates how our attitudes and behaviours would impact the feelings of others.. This conception of tolerance, from my point of view, is the ultimate form of

tolerance because it transcends the superficiality of ethical imperatives, norms, rules, and consensus that are established to *create* tolerance. “Tepo sliro” touches on the most subtle aspect of human beings, that is human feelings, from which dialogic ethics grow; it is, hence, the essence of tolerance that can serve as a stronger foundation for tolerant behaviour and attitude toward differences in the context of social relations.

Ultimately, I wish to invite scholars in social, cultural and moral/ethical studies to revisit and reconsider the virtue of local wisdom, which may have been deserted or even lost with times, but still resonates strongly with our present world. As the findings from this research have illuminated, the local wisdom ‘tepo sliro’ turns out to be the guiding principle for the majority of the participants in responding to the issues of tolerance in Indonesia. Similarly, in New Zealand, where I am currently studying, local wisdom as contained in the Maori culture ‘whanaungatanga’ and ‘manaakitanga’, has become a fundamental source of values which promote a cultural ethic of generosity, mutual respect and cooperation, and has long served as guiding principles at different levels of social interaction in Aotearoa New Zealand.

To take my argument further, the inclusion of local wisdom as the ingredients of dialogic ethics, have the potentials to create a state of equilibrium where different individuals and entities demonstrate answerability with ethical responsibility in order to create a culture of tolerance that is based on a shared sense of vulnerability and solidarity. Hence, there is always the need to view tolerance as being dialogically reciprocal, one that involves an understanding that to create a culture of tolerance, each entity and individual should establish a dialogue in the spirit of looking at the Self through the Other.

In terms of the teaching and promotion of tolerance, I have shown, through my analysis, that teachers unequivocally agree that promoting tolerance requires a

situation where antecedents of tolerance are created while those of intolerance are eliminated. With this in mind, I wish to propose two approaches to the teaching and promotion of tolerance. First, the promotion of tolerance in all domains of social life, requires exemplary behaviour reflecting tolerance. In the context of education, students need as many role models as possible from the teachers through school handling of differences. Second, the promotion of tolerance must be viewed as being located within a larger socio-political economic and legal system. I argue that these broader systems may provide antecedents for the practice of both tolerance and intolerance because they contribute to the psychological narratives of individuals and society at large. It is probably impossible to expect a high level of tolerance being practised by a society where the existing political and economic system gives rise to antecedents of intolerance such as oppression of freedom of speech, inequality in wealth distribution and economic access as well as marginalisation of grass-roots people. A culture of tolerance is only made possible if there is a larger system in place that is, in itself, conducive to the practice of tolerance.

Methodological contributions

The second contribution that this research makes pertains to the methodological approach. I have shown through this research how my decision to use Ricoeur in combination with Bakhtin proved to be fruitful and effective in tapping into the essence of human experience. In particular, this research presents strong evidence of the benefits of using the phenomenological approach, especially if we seek to understand human experience to its utmost depth.

The methodological approach that I used in this research could be useful for researchers working in the area of humanity and social studies with a view to

understanding the essence of human experience. I argue that in today's increasingly complex world, individuals greatly vary in terms of experience, viewpoints, expectations, beliefs, and goals. Understanding the idiosyncrasies of each particular context may contribute to multiple perspective-taking, which can further lead to a better understanding of a given phenomenon in our society. For this reason, I have shown how I used a phenomenological approach to produce a fine-grained analysis of human experience in ways that are enlightening and provoking.

Contribution to policymakers

The last contribution that this research makes concerns the methodological approach to policymaking process. Based on the findings from this research, I suggest that policymakers at different levels of government, industries and businesses as well as educational institutions, take advantage of the findings from this research regarding what needs to be observed in the process of policymaking. I propose that the policymaking process needs to take into account the diversity of contexts and the individuals' nuanced expressions, feelings and thoughts of any entity that is going to be affected by a given policy. In particular, I suggest that policymakers can benefit from the use of Ricoeur's phenomenological analysis when it comes to formulating a policy which impacts different stakeholders. Methodological approaches such as surveys or statistical-based quantitative research may generate large amounts of data but cannot capture the most intimate struggle and meaning-making processes of individuals. Very often, a top-down policy to help a particular community is based on observation as an outsider. As a result, what the policy assumes is often different from what the community feels, thinks and needs because the meaning of experience is different for the community. Hence, I strongly recommend that policymakers who wish to increase a sense of

ownership and level of participation on the part of the stakeholders make use of phenomenological approaches within qualitative research design to tap into what local contexts truly need.

Final Thoughts

We live in an era characterised by a free flow of information mediated through digital technology where individuals are exposed to a myriad of ideas, values, and worldviews. Due to this changing reality, individuals' ways of thinking and views of the world tend to be much more heterogeneous and fluid while, at the same time, more complex. Within this notion, we need to develop an attitude of tolerance by acknowledging and embracing the multiplicity of voices that exist in society. This research has demonstrated that tolerance may be perceived and understood in different ways across different social groups, religions, and ethnicities. Tolerance, as conceptualised through this research, should be anchored in one's consideration of the other's feelings as the ultimate form of tolerance. It is through this consideration of the most subtle aspect of human beings, individuals are likely to be able to refrain from engaging in any form of intolerant attitudes and behaviours. In an increasingly complex world like today, this dialogic ethic emanating from consideration of other's feelings can play a crucial role in creating a highly tolerant society which is free from prejudice and any forms of stigmatisation. With this, we can help eliminate antecedents of intolerance as echoed by Darmayudha, one of the participants: "There is a danger if we easily label people with intolerance."

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Appendices

Appendix A. Participants' Recruitment Poster

**Teachers' Beliefs and Practices
on the Discourse of Tolerance in Secondary Education**



An Invitation

Are you a teacher who have at least 5 year full time teaching experience?
... if so, would you like to take part in a research study I am conducting?

You would be asked to attend one interview with me to talk about your perceptions and experiences on the discourse of tolerance within the school environment and beyond.

If you would like to participate or know more about the study, please contact me using my contact details below:

Thanks!

M Tolkhah Adityas
Email: madi031@aucklanduni.ac.nz
Ph: +6281328854666

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone 09 3737599 Extn. 83711. Email: humanethics@auckland.ac.nz

Approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on 29/10/2020 for three years. **Reference Number: UAHPEC2688**

Appendix B. Email for Participants Used in the Research.

Dear Mr./Ms/Mrs. _____

Thank you so much for contacting me about participating in my research project on the teachers' understanding of tolerance. I really appreciate your interest to participate in the research.

Attached are two documents.

(1) Participant Information Sheet. Please read this carefully so you are clear what you are being asked to do. If you have any questions, please contact me on the email or phone number on the sheet.

(2) Consent Form. After you have read all the attached documents and have asked me any questions, please sign and date the form and return to me by email.

It is important that you read this before you sign the Consent Form. When I have received your signed forms, I will be in touch to organise a time and place for the interview.

Thank you

M Tolkhah Adityas

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone 09 3737599 Extn. 83711. Email: humanethics@auckland.ac.nz

Approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on 29/10/2020 for three years. **Reference Number: UAHPEC2688**

Appendix C. Sample of Decline Letter

Dear Mr./Ms./Mrs. _____

Thank you so much for contacting me about participating in my research project on the teachers' understanding of tolerance. Unfortunately, I have sufficient participants to undertake my project. I really appreciate your interest in my project.

Thank you

Kind regards,

M Tolkhah Adityas

Approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on 29/10/2020 for three years. **Reference Number: UAHPEC2688**

Appendix D. Principal's Information Sheet (PIS) and Consent Form



**EDUCATION AND
SOCIAL WORK**

School of Critical Studies
Faculty of Education
Epsom Campus
Ph: 623 8899
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92601
Auckland, New Zealand

Project title : Teachers' Beliefs and Practices on the Discourse of Tolerance in Secondary Education
Principal Investigator : Professor Carol Mutch
Co-investigator : Dr. Jennifer Tatebe
Researcher : M Tolkhah Adityas

Researcher Introduction

My name is M Tolkhah Adityas. I am a Doctoral student at the School of Critical Studies of Education, Faculty of Education and Social Work in The University of Auckland, New Zealand. My supervisors are Professor Carol Mutch and Dr. Jennifer Tatebe.

Project Description and Invitation

This project aims to investigate how the discourse of tolerance has been understood, perceived and experienced by secondary school teachers in their workplaces amidst the government's recent call to revive the values of tolerance in home, schools and community. It also attempts to illuminate how teachers may struggle to appropriate different views on the concept of tolerance and the role of education in teaching the values of tolerance.

I would like to seek your permission to share the attached invitation letter to the teachers. I only need two teachers, so if there are more than two volunteers I will randomly select two of them. I will ask for your help to to share to your teachers of this research project. Willing teachers can contact the me by email or phone number which is provided in this Information Sheet.

Project Procedure

- Teacher participants in this study must have at least 5 year full time teaching experience. I wish to collect data through a semi-structured interview and collection of artefacts. I will use technology such as Zoom or Skype to conduct semi-structured interview with the participants. Each participant will have one interview which lasts for a duration of approximately 90 minutes. The use of Zoom or Skype allows teacher participants greater freedom to choose a private place and time for interview at their convenience and best suits their situations. Online interview with the participants will be conducted via Zoom or Skype, and it will be password protected. Specific

meeting account for every teacher participant will be created. Once the interview is completed, the account will be closed and subsequently all of the participants' online details and data will be permanently removed. It is to help protect the participants' anonymity. The interview will also be recorded using both Zoom or Skype recording facility and an additional recording device. The interview will be recorded and transcribed by myself. Participants will have the right to go through the transcribed interview and confirm whether any part of them needs to be changed. Once the transcript is emailed to them, they have two weeks to return any changes they wish to make.

- In addition, I also wish to collect documents such as curriculum guidelines, syllabi, and lesson plans from each of the teacher participants' lesson.

Right to withdraw from participation

Participation in this study is voluntary. Participants have the right to withdraw until two weeks after a scheduled interview without having to give a reason. This will be clearly indicated in the Participant Information Sheet and Consent form.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

Participants will expose their identity to the researcher. This will be explicitly communicated to them via their Participant Information Sheet and the Consent form they will have to sign prior to participating in this research.

In this study, demographic information will be collected. However, the participants' anonymity will be guaranteed throughout the analysis and discussion of findings and implication of the research as presented in the thesis and subsequent publication through the use of pseudonym. The researcher will ensure that the data will not be shown to anyone. The researcher will not expose the identity of the school and any participant when reporting the findings.

Data storage and use

All data from interview and collection of documents will be stored in a password protected computer and an online storage system (Dropbox). All data will be kept for 6 years. After 6 years, digital data will be permanently erased from the computer and Dropbox.

The data will be used for my Doctoral thesis and may also be used for journal publications and conference presentations.

Consent forms will be stored for a period of 6 years in a locked cabinet in my workstation at The University of Auckland. Access to the consent forms will be restricted to myself and my supervisors.

I assure that I, the researcher, do not have conflict of interest

I would seek confirmation from you that teachers' decision to participate or not in this study will not affect the teachers' standing in the school or their tenure.

If you have any questions regarding the above information, my contact details and my supervisors are below.

If you are willing to allow access to your school site and inform this research project to your teachers, please sign and return the accompanying consent form to me by email.

Contact details

Researcher

M Tolkhah Adityas

Phone: +6281328854666

Email: madi031@aucklanduni.ac.nz

Supervisors

Professor Carol Mutch

Phone: +64 9 373 7999 ext 48257

Email: c.mutch@auckland.ac.nz

Dr. Jennifer Tatebe

Phone: +64 9 923 7906

Email: j.tatebe@auckland.ac.nz

Head of School

Professor John William Morgan

Phone: +64 9 373 7999 ext 46398

Email: john.morgan@auckland.ac.nz

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone 09 3737599 Extn. 83711. Email: humanethics@auckland.ac.nz

Approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on 29/10/2020 for three years. **Reference Number: UAHPEC2688**



EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WORK

School of Critical Studies
Faculty of Education
Epsom Campus
Ph: 623 8899
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92601
Auckland, New Zealand

CONSENT FORM (Principal)

THIS FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF 6 YEARS

Project title : Investigating Teachers' Beliefs and Practices on the Discourse of Tolerance in Secondary Education
Principal Investigator : Professor Carol Mutch
Co-investigator : Dr. Jennifer Tatebe
Researcher : M Tolkhah Adityas

I have read the Participant Information Sheet and understood the nature of the research. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

I understand that participation in this research is entirely voluntary.

I agree to allow access to my school and to share this research project to the teachers.

I understand that the researcher does not have conflict of interest

I give my assurance that participation or non-participation by teachers will not affect their standing in the school.

I understand that confidentiality will be completely guaranteed to school and teachers.

I agree that if any provided information is reported or published, it will be in a way that does not identify the school and the teacher as a source of the information. Instead, pseudonyms will be used.

I agree that teacher interview will be recorded and, once transcribed, available for participants to access, review, and/or change if they wish to do so.

I agree that the data will be kept for 6 years, after which they will be destroyed.

Name _____ Email _____

Signature _____ Date _____

For any queries regarding ethical concerns you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone +649 3737599 Extn. 83711. Email: humanethics@auckland.ac.nz

Approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on 29/10/2020 for three years. **Reference Number: UAHPEC2688**

Appendix E. Participant's Information Sheet (PIS) and Consent Form



**EDUCATION AND
SOCIAL WORK**

School of Critical Studies
Faculty of Education
Epsom Campus
Ph: 623 8899
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92601
Auckland, New Zealand

Participant Information Sheet

(Teacher)

Project title : Teachers' Beliefs and Practices on the Discourse of Tolerance in Secondary Education
Principal Investigator : Professor Carol Mutch
Co-investigator : Dr. Jennifer Tatebe
Researcher : M Tolkhah Adityas

Researcher Introduction

My name is M Tolkhah Adityas. I am a Doctoral student at the School of Critical Studies of Education, Faculty of Education and Social Work in The University of Auckland, New Zealand. My supervisors are Professor Carol Mutch and Dr. Jennifer Tatebe.

Project Description

This project aims to investigate how the discourse of tolerance has been understood, perceived, and experienced by secondary school teachers in their workplaces amidst the government's recent call to revive the values of tolerance in home, schools and community. It also attempts to illuminate how teachers may struggle to appropriate different views on the concept of tolerance and the role of education in teaching the values of tolerance.

Project Procedure

Teacher participants in this study must have at least 5 year full time teaching experience. I wish to collect data through a semi-structured interview. I will use technology such as Zoom or Skype to conduct semi-structured interview. You will have one interview which lasts for a duration of approximately 90 minutes. The use of Zoom or Skype allows you greater freedom to choose a private place and time for interview at your convenience and best suits your situations. Online interview will be conducted via Zoom or Skype, and it will be password protected. Specific meeting account for every teacher participant will be created. Once the interview is completed, the account will be closed and subsequently all of the participants' online details and data will be permanently removed. It is to help protect the participants' anonymity. The

interview will also be recorded using both Zoom or Skype recording facility and an additional recording device. The interview will be recorded and transcribed by myself. You will have the right to go through the transcribed interview and confirm whether any part of it needs to be changed. Once the transcript is emailed to you, you have two weeks to return any changes you wish to make. In addition, I also wish to collect documents such as curriculum guidelines, syllabi, and lesson plans.

Right to withdraw from participation

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You have the right to not answer any question or to take a break. You have the right to withdraw until two weeks after a scheduled interview without having to give a reason. I have an assurance from your school principal that whether you participate in this study or not will not affect your standing in the school.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

I will keep your participation in this study confidential. The information you provide will be reported and published without identifying your identity and your school. Instead, pseudonyms will be used.

Consent forms will be stored for a period of six years in a locked cabinet in my workstation at The University of Auckland. Access to the consent forms will be restricted to myself and my supervisors.

Access to your transcript

You have the right to go through the transcribed interview and confirm whether any part of them needs to be changed. Once the transcript is emailed to you, you have two weeks to return any amendments or alterations you wish to make.

Reimbursement

Each participant will receive an Rp. 150.000 (NZ\$20) Telkomsel internet voucher for compensation of the internet time/data spent during the interview.

Data storage and use

All data from interview and collection of documents will be stored in a password protected computer and an online storage system (Dropbox). All data will be kept for six years. After six years, digital data will be permanently erased from the computer and Dropbox.

The data will be used for my Doctoral thesis and may also be used for journal publications and conference presentations.

I assure that I, the researcher, do not have conflict of interest

If you have any questions regarding the above information, my contact details and those of my supervisors are below.

If you are satisfied, willing to participate in this study, and have no unanswered questions, please sign the accompanying consent form and send it to me by email before the interview.

Contact details

Researcher

M Tolkhah Adityas

Phone: +6281328854666

Email: madi031@aucklanduni.ac.nz

Supervisors

Professor Carol Mutch

Phone: [+64 9 373 7999](tel:+6493737999) ext [48257](tel:+6493737999)

Email: c.mutch@auckland.ac.nz

Dr. Jennifer Tatebe

Phone: [+64 9 923 7906](tel:+6499237906)

Email: j.tatebe@auckland.ac.nz

Head of School

Professor John William Morgan

Phone: [+64 9 373 7999](tel:+6493737999) ext [46398](tel:+6493737999)

Email: john.morgan@auckland.ac.nz

For any queries regarding ethical concerns, you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone +649 3737599 Extn. 83711. Email: humanethics@auckland.ac.nz

Approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on 29/10/2020 for three years. **Reference Number: UAHPEC2688**



EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WORK

School of Critical Studies
Faculty of Education
Epsom Campus
Ph: 623 8899
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92601
Auckland, New Zealand

CONSENT FORM (Teacher)

THIS FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF 6 YEARS

Project title : Investigating Teachers' Beliefs and Practices on the Discourse of Tolerance in Secondary Education
Principal Investigator : Professor Carol Mutch
Co-investigator : Dr. Jennifer Tatebe
Researcher : M Tolkhah Adityas

I have read the Participant Information Sheet and understood the nature of the research. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction.

I agree to participate in this study.

I have understood that participation in this research is entirely voluntary.

I understand that my participation or non-participation will not affect my standing in the school.

I understand that I am free to withdraw my participation up to two weeks after a scheduled interview without having to give a reason.

I understand that confidentiality will be completely guaranteed to me and my school.

I agree that the findings will be used in the student-researcher's thesis and may be used for journal publications and conference presentations.

I agree that if any provided information is reported or published, it will be in a way that does not identify myself and my school as a source of the information.

I agree that interview will be recorded and, once transcribed, available for me to access, review, and/or change if I wish to do so.

I agree that all data will be kept confidential and only viewed by the researcher and his supervisors. The research data will be kept for six years, after which they will be destroyed.

Name _____ Email _____

Signature _____ Date _____

For any queries regarding ethical concerns, you may contact the Chair, The University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee, Office of the Vice Chancellor, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1142. Telephone +649 3737599 Extn. 83711. Email: humanethics@auckland.ac.nz

Approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on 29/10/2020 for three years. **Reference Number: UAHPEC2688**

Appendix F. Guideline Questions for Interviews

Participants' Backgrounds

1. Could you tell me about yourself?
2. How would you describe your childhood? Where did you grow up?
3. What was your neighbourhood like?
4. How did you find the environment?
5. What do you remember most about your school life?

Social Interaction Experience

1. How would you describe your friends in school?
2. What would you consider to be the most significant experiences getting along with schoolmates or colleagues at work?
3. Have you ever had unpleasant experience getting along with schoolmates or colleagues at work?
4. What is the most important thing that you learn from interacting with others?

Understanding Concept of Tolerance

1. The word tolerance is used in many ways and it means different things to different people, and contexts. What is your conception of tolerance?
2. In your opinion, what are the factors which affect tolerance?
3. What has influenced you in developing ideas about tolerance?

Teaching Tolerance

1. What do you think is the best way to teach tolerance in school?
2. At present, are there enough materials about tolerance in the curriculum?
3. Are there resources that you would use to assist you? If so, what are those resources?
4. Are there school regulations regarding tolerance teaching?
5. Some people think that tolerance cannot be taught in school. Do you have any comments on that?
6. What are the challenges in the implementation of tolerance teaching?
7. Have you ever experienced challenges in introducing your ideas about tolerance?
8. In your opinion, has the teaching of tolerance been successful?
9. If you were going to make a change in teaching tolerance, what would you do? [e.g., suppose that you wanted to make a change in the textbook you use, how could you make this change? [content/teaching strategies/assessment practices etc.]
10. Teachers are on the frontline of practicing a curriculum and facilitating ideas about tolerance. Do you think a teacher's background helps him/her in creating ideas about teaching tolerance? Or do you have another opinion?
11. How should teachers be prepared to teach tolerance in the context of Indonesia?

Approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on 29/10/2020 for three years. **Reference Number: UAHPEC2688**

Appendix G. Ethics Approval Letter



The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland, New Zealand
Level 3, 49 Symonds Street
Auckland, New Zealand
Telephone 86356
Facsimile +64 9 373 7432

UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND HUMAN PARTICIPANTS ETHICS COMMITTEE (UAHPEC)

29/10/2020

Muhammad Adityas

Re: Application for Ethics Approval (Our Ref. UAHPEC2688): Approved

The Committee considered your application for ethics approval for the study entitled "**Indonesian Teachers' Understanding of Tolerance**".

We are pleased to inform you that ethics approval has been granted for a period of three years.

The expiry date for this approval is **29/10/2023**.

Completion of the project: In order that up-to-date records are maintained, you must notify the Committee once your project is completed.

Amendments to the approved project: Should you need to make any changes to the approved project, please follow the steps below:

- Send a request to the UAHPEC Administrators to unlock the application form (using the Notification tab in the Ethics RM form).
- Make all changes to the relevant sections of the application form and attach revised documents (as appropriate).
- Change the Application Type to "Amendment request" in Section 13 ("Submissions and Sign off").
- Add a summary of the changes requested in the text box.
- Submit the amendment request (PI/Supervisors only to submit the form).

If the project changes significantly, you are required to submit a new application.

Funded projects: If you received funding for this project, please provide this approval letter to your local Faculty Research Project Coordinator (RPC) or Research Project Manager (RPM) so that the approval can be notified via a Service Request to the Research Operations Centre (ROC) for activation of the grant.

The Chair and the members of UAHPEC would be happy to discuss general matters relating to ethics approvals. If you wish to do so, please contact the UAHPEC Ethics Administrators at humanethics@auckland.ac.nz in the first instance.

Additional information:

- Do not forget to fill in the 'approval wording' on the PISs, CFs and/or advertisements, using the date of this approval and the reference number, before you use the documents or send them out to your participants.

All communications with the UAHPEC regarding this application should indicate this reference number: **UAHPEC2688**.

UAHPEC Administrators

University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee