# Alternative Narratives in History Learning for Multicultural Education in Indonesia

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## Abstract

Indonesia is currently experiencing symptoms of strengthening identity politics. As a pluralistic nation, this phenomenon is dangerous because it can lead to social conflict and national disintegration. This research was conducted with the aim that educational institutions can play a role in minimizing this potential. What he can do is instill the values of multiculturalism in learning practices, especially in history learning. For this reason, the problems that are tried to be put forward in this research are: 1) what is meant by multiculturalism education? 2) what is the conception of multiculturalism education in history learning? 3) how can a multiculturalism narrative be developed in history learning materials? This research uses a literature study method. The literature study obtained data from several library sources such as journal articles, books, the internet, newspapers, and magazines. The study revealed that multiculturalism education is a concept created to help someone understand and appreciate regardless of the high or low culture, ethnicity, religion, race, gender, language, economic ability, or disability inherent in a person. Learning history with a multiculturalism approach is ideological. In history learning, multiculturalism education can be carried out by accommodating students' cultural differences, utilizing culture as a source of content, and using history as a tool to understand other people's cultures in order to grow mutual respect, tolerance, a sense of unity and the spirit of nationalism. A historical event that can be used as an alternative narrative in the development of multiculturalism education is when Suharto, at the beginning of his reign, tried to re-establish Pancasila and the 45' constitution as the ideology and basis of the state amid the threat of ideological conflicts between political parties and the emergence of an inclusive Islamic movement led by Nurcholish Madjid as a response to the death of the movement Islamic politics during the Orde Baru era.

*Keywords: History Learning, Multiculturalism, Inklusive Islamic, New Order*

## Introduction

Before and after the 2017 Jakarta Regional Elections and before the 2019 Presidential election, several survey agencies released the results od their surveys. Some found that in Indonesia, there are symptoms of strengthening identity politics. The strengthening of identity politics, which has an impact on the emergence of political polarization in society, allegedly began and became even more massive when the Aksi 212 event occurred, which was read as an effort to thwart the candidacy of Basuki Tjahaya Purnama alias Ahok as Governor of DKI Jakarta as well as to demand Ahok should be tried for his speech which is considered to have committed blasphemy against Islam. The massive anti-Ahok narratives and movements made his

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acceptability drop, and it ended in his defeat to the pair of Anies Baswedan and Sandiaga Uno during the second round of the regional elections. Ahok was the finally convicted and thrown into prison for two years after the court declared him guilty. In this regard, Mietzner, Muhtadi, and Halida explained that after the Aksi 212, there has been an increase in support for the agendas of Islamic political aspirations in Indonesia (Fernandes, 2018).

Ahead of the registration of Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates, Jokowi, as the incumbent, surprisingly replaced his Vice Presidential Candidate, who was originally Mahfud MD, with Ma'ruf Amin (Rais Aam PBNU and Chairman of MUI). In the 2017 Jakarta Regional Elections, Kyai Ma'ruf's role was very significant. He is a scholar who is very vocal toward Ahok. As the chairman of the MUI, he was also the first to stigmatize Ahok as a blasphemer by signing a statement issued by the MUI. He also became a witness who incriminated Ahok in the trial. The appointment of Kyai Ma'ruf as Vice President can be predicted, namely to accommodate Islamic political groups and strategies to seize the votes of Muslim voters ─ when that context is also among party elites and some political consultants circulating a thesis that says that if the Vice Presidential candidate appointed by Jokowi and his coalition are not from among clerics, then in the presidential election in 2019 Jokowi is predicted to lose. This strategy also flourished; the caliber of Kyai Ma'ruf as an elder cleric united the Central Java and East Java regions, NU's votes, and became the key to Jokowi's victory for the second term. The polarization was so intense that it began in the 2017 Jakarta Regional Election and continued in the 2019 presidential election, which resulted in the society becoming divided; found little hope for the creation of a social integration process after Jokowi as the winner tried to carry out political co-optation in compiling the Advanced Indonesia Cabinet for the 2019-2024 period. Jokowi embraced his political rival in the presidential election, namely Prabowo Subianto, who, during the campaign, was supported by Islamic political groups by making him the minister of defense ─ Sandiaga Uno, who was initially hesitant to join, finally turned around and later became the minister of tourism and creative economy.  Habib Rizieq Shihab (HRS), a charismatic cleric who is the main symbol of resistance of Islamic political groups, was approached. Jokowi's confidants tried to open the communication tap by visiting HRS, who was in Saudi Arabia then. Unfortunately, the act of co-optation ended in a stalemate; Islamic political groups and a handful of government elites did not seem to open up space and clog these channels. So the discourse war with the name "kadrun," which represents the symbol of Islamic political groups and government opposition with the "cebong" group representing anti-Islamic political groups and government supporters, is still massive and continues to occur on

social media to this day. The term radical, liberal Islam also often echoes and becomes a trending topic on social media Twitter, which indicates that this polarization is not over.

The impasse and blockage of the channels of political Islamic groups during the leadership of President Jokowi, if we draw it with a straight imaginary line, can be identified from a series of events and policies issued by the government; the organization Hizb ut-Tahrir Indonesia (HTI) which has been consistently fighting for the establishment of an Islamic state with a caliphate system was dissolved because it was considered dangerous and contrary to the ideology of Pancasila; after returning from Saudi Arabia, under the pretext of having created a crowd at the airport and during his daughter's wedding, HRS was eventually convicted in a trial and later jailed. The action, which seems political, was forced by the government because HRS is considered a figure who often causes trouble and disrupts political stability. The Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), founded by HRS, was also later dissolved because it was considered a radical organization; Munarman, as one of the leads in FPI, was also later detained on charges of involvement in terrorism networks; The Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) which is critical of the government is also under siege. The Ministry of Religion takes over the authority of the MUI in issuing halal licenses. Kill messages through buzzers with radical labels to use the hands of law enforcement are a powerful weapon for silencing critical voices of the MUI. Even the latest is the withdrawal of KH. As the general chairman of the MUI, Miftachul Akhyar (Rais Aam PBNU replaces KH. Ma'ruf Amin) is still a series of scenarios of MUI's decentralization to eliminate Islamic political groups.

The phenomenon of strengthening identity politics in recent times is quite dangerous for the future of the Indonesian nation because this can shake the values of diversity that have become a joint commitment. If this continues, it is not impossible for the Indonesian nation to again fall into horizontal conflicts like what happened.

Educational institutions ─ the curriculum up to the subject level ─ should be sensitive to this phenomenon. Unfortunately, in some cases, we even find practices that violate the values and principles of multiculturalism and even lead to anarchist actions. In this regard, multicultural education must be taught or internalized at every level of education or subject. If not, then the threat of horizontal conflict is very wide open, and if it occurs, it will undoubtedly harm many parties.

History lessons that have the purpose of developing and strengthening oneself or the nation's character based on the existing cultural diversity or as a media of nation and character building should also be able to play this role. Many historical events can be used as examples to build a collective memory about the enforcement of the principles and values of multiculturalism in

Indonesia. Unfortunately, textbooks and history materials in the curriculum still focus on things in memory. Historical narratives still focus on grand narratives that always talk about politics, wars, conflicts, significant figures, acts of heroism, and many more. History is still poor in value. As Sam Wineberg (2006) has stated, history is a science that teaches us not only knowledge but more than that. History also teaches us about the values of life that not all other sciences have.

Based on the description above, the author intends to develop an alternative narrative in history subjects as a form of multicultural education implementation and application. In writing this article, the author was inspired by the opinion of Hasan (2012), who said:

> The history education curriculum should refrain from using the insight that national unity must be based on an existing commonality, and the curriculum should try to turn differences into a commonality. In simple terms, it can be said that the history education curriculum must be able to develop an insight into the cultural diversity of the Indonesian nation by showing historical journeys that illustrate the existence of cultural diversity in the past and present and must be maintained in the future. On the other hand, the history education curriculum must develop national insight by examining various events that occur on the national and local historical stages.

The problems discussed in this study are: 1) What is meant by multiculturalism education? 2) What is the conception of multiculturalism education in history learning? and 3) How to develop multiculturalism narratives in history learning materials?

## Method

This research was conducted using a qualitative method with a literature study model. This literature study is carried out by collecting various literature materials in the form of journal articles, books, electronic documents, printed media (newspapers and magazines), and academic works (theses and dissertations), which are then analyzed and developed in the context of the relationship between history learning and multiculturalism education. That is as defined by Zed (2004), who said that literature studies are a series of activities related to collecting library data, reading, recording, and processing research materials.

The steps taken in the literature study research here include the following: The first step is for the author to collect various materials/literature data relevant to the research subject matter. In the second step, the relevant and collected materials/data are processed, combined, and analyzed with valid theories to create alternative concepts or narratives related to multiculturalism education in history learning. The third and last step is to write the final

version of the process of completing scientific articles by referring to the rules that are general prerequisites for the publication of scientific journals.

## Results and Discussion

### The Concept of Multiculturalism Education

Many experts have defined multiculturalism education. Their opinions are scattered and can easily be found in various books, e-books, journals, or other academic works. Most simply, in this digital era, by using a single language, we can easily find not only a matter of definition but also how to implement multiculturalism education at the level of educational praxis, starting from classrooms, curriculum, learning narratives, to outing class activities that use the concept of multiculturalism education.

Of these experts, James A. Banks and Bhikhu Parekh play an essential role in developing and promoting multicultural education worldwide (Race, 2011). For this reason, we must explore the concept of multicultural education from the two figures. Banks argues that multicultural education is a concept used to describe various school practices, programs, and materials designed to help children experience educational equity, gender, ethnicity, language minorities, low-income groups, and people with disabilities. Multicultural education can also mean a curriculum incorporating the experiences of ethnic groups of color. Another program includes the experiences of both ethnic groups and women. According to Banks, this term can be used in some schools as he and other authors believe it is a total school reform effort designed to increase educational equity for various cultural, ethnic, and economic groups (Banks & Banks, 2010).

Meanwhile, according to Parekh, multicultural education is education in freedom, in the sense that it is free from prejudice and ethnocentric bias and freedom to explore and learn from other cultures and perspectives. The two freedoms for Parekh are inseparable because one cannot be free from an ethnocentric perspective unless one has access to others, and one does not have such access if one remains trapped within the limits of one's perspective (Parekh, 2000).

From the definitions of these two figures, we can conclude that what is meant by multicultural education is an effort created to help a person understand and appreciate regardless of culture, ethnicity, religion, race, gender, language minorities, economic abilities, disabilities that have been attached to him or others.

In a more implemented realm, Cushner, McClelland, and Safford (2012) offer several programs that can be used as examples of actions that lead to the concept of multiculturalism education, including:

Teaching the culturally different. The main goal of this approach is to counter the orientation of cultural deficiencies while helping individuals to develop and maintain their own cultural identity. It also helps them to develop competencies in the dominant group culture while developing a positive self-identity.

Human relations. This category views multicultural education as a means by which students from different backgrounds learn to communicate more effectively with others while learning to respect themselves. The effort provides practical ideas on how teachers can improve their communication with others while at the same time helping students understand their counterparts of different cultures. Individuals in pluralistic countries must learn to communicate more effectively with each other.

Single-group studies. This program is directed to a specific ethnic group. By creating deepening in the form of courses, the formation of additional classes/materials that reflect the heritage, contributions, and perspectives of this "forgotten" group can be developed in schools or universities. The main objectives of this course are twofold: (1) to develop a content dimension, as exclusion from mainstream material usually results in a lack of information available about a particular group, and (2) to help individuals develop a more positive perception and self-image of their origins or culture.

Inclusive Multicultural Education. This program seeks to raise the awareness of all students about cultural diversity and its contribution (the target is all students). Activities offered here include ethnic minority music courses, minority literature, and minority history. These courses are expected to help raise awareness among several people about the perspectives and contributions of various groups to various disciplines. Underpinning the implementation of this approach are the strength and value of diversity in a pluralistic nation, human rights as a fundamental principle for all, acceptance of alternative life choices, social justice, equal opportunities, and equal distribution of power among members of all ethnic groups.

Education That Is Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist. Educational programs should address diverse groups' needs without differentiating between race, ethnicity, culture, religion, specificity, or gender. This approach also seeks to equip students with the necessary skills to become socially active in creating the necessary change. Such efforts are designed to allow individuals to shape their destinies, which is why they are called social reconstructionists.

In contrast to Cushner et al., Wendy Schwartz (in Supardan, 2008) provides three somewhat different approaches/programs that can be implemented in the context of applying multiculturalism education in learning:

Content-oriented programs. It means that the multiculturalism approach to learning can be made by adding content about different cultural groups to the curriculum and teaching materials to increase student's knowledge about the surrounding environment. In a more practical realm, for example, teachers can ask students to read short readings (thin books) with the theme of cultural diversity, hold events or cultural arts performances, outing classes or study tours by visiting places that have cultural value, or conduct studies on specific ethnic groups (studies of Indian, black and female ethnicity). The program has three objectives: to develop cross-disciplinary multicultural content, include/insert various perspectives and viewpoints in the curriculum, and transform the rules, which can ultimately develop a new paradigm in the curriculum.

Student-oriented programs. This program is specifically for those who belong to minority groups so that they can follow or achieve academic parity with the dominant majority group ─ although some views consider this method not to reflect the principles of multiculturalism. The aim of the program is not to change the shape of the curriculum or the social context of education but to help culturally and linguistically diverse (minority) students make the transition to the mainstream of education. Examples include teachers applying teaching styles suitable to specific cultural groups, implementing bilingual or bicultural programs, language and cultural adjustment (affirmation) programs for African-American students, and science learning enrichment programs for minority and female students.

Programs oriented to social issues. This program is carried out to change the cultural context of education and the politics of education. It is not only to improve academic achievement or increase multicultural knowledge but also to have a broad impact, namely by increasing the degree of race and cultural tolerance. In the more implementing realm, programs such as the program to employ minority teachers in order to reduce social tensions, the curriculum can be designed to emphasize more positive social contributions to ethnic and cultural groups, the use of multilingualism, allowing students to ask critical questions about racism, sexism so that everyone is treated equally.

As a diverse country with complex cultural roots, there is no longer any reason for educational institutions in Indonesia not to implement the multicultural education approach/program described above. In addition, the condition of Indonesia is currently experiencing symptoms of strengthening identity politics. Multicultural education is significant because it can be a pillar of support to strengthen, uphold, and maintain diversity.

In any country, the most feared thing about complex diversity is that it can harbor the potential for conflict that can occur at any time – Indonesia has a dark experience about it. In this context,

multicultural education is essential because it can play a role in suppressing ethnic conflicts in societies with a pluralistic culture (cultural pluralism). A study conducted by Hawkins (in Musadad, 2015) said that multiculturalism education is quite effective in increasing awareness of equality, democratization, tolerance, and rationality between cultures. Then, it was also said that an excellent multicultural education curriculum design can suppress stereotypes and ethnic discrimination.

Still related to this, Mikhael said (in Supardan, 2008) that multiculturalism education, if applied, has four main goals: (1) improving ethnocentrism in the traditional curriculum; (2) building understanding among racial and cultural groups and appreciation of different cultures, (3) easing tensions and conflicts between groups; and (4) making the curriculum relevant to the experiences, cultural traditions, and historical contributions of the nation's diverse population.

**Multicultural Education in History Learning**

In his retirement, a genuine academic who is still devoted to the development of history education thinks that there are at least ten goals of history education as part of social studies education. Three of them are: (1) learning important and essential history to build the nation's collective memory; (2) learning important history in order to develop the spirit of nationality; (3) learning history is important to develop friendship and social concern (Hasan, 2012).

We find two different and robust currents in how history subjects are delivered in academic studies. History is taught critically as it is by the facts found, and history is taught ideologically, that is, a history that has been deconstructed or that has undergone reinterpretation by the goals and values to be instilled (hidden curriculum), which is usually not far from the agenda and interests of the state ideology.

The multiculturalism education that is trying to be implemented in history learning, as the goal has been mentioned, the author interprets it is still part of the ideological framework. Of course, this understanding is a good thing. It is a common truth that history is not just a lesson that aims to develop critical-creative thinking, curiosity, values, and attitudes of heroism, leadership, and inspiration. History is not a science that only develops the ability to search, process, package, and convey information. More than that, history also teaches about values, cultivating attitudes, building a sense of unity, friendship, social concern, and love for the homeland nation-building character (Hasan, 2012).

The condition of Indonesian society, which has cultural complexity, coupled with the development of increasingly advanced globalization flows, is marked by the rapid

advancement of communication and information technology. Communication and interaction between cultures today are becoming increasingly massive and complex. The impact of intercultural interaction is now taking place in natural spaces, not just in public spaces, but also in digital spaces (social media) virtually. Facing such a reality, the attitude of mutual respect, respect, tolerance, and empathy as the goal of multicultural education is essential for strengthening the sense of brotherhood among others. With the same socio-cultural reality, multicultural education is an inevitability that is impossible to avoid. Hasan (2012) mentioned that there are five reasons why multicultural education is needed today: First, the development of Indonesian people's lives, which has changed due to economic and technological advances, has made the social gap between the lower and upper layers wider so that the differences in lifestyle and life conditions are increasingly visible; Second, the high mobility of the population makes intercultural interactions more frequent and intense. In order to avoid friction and be able to produce productive activities, there needs to be understanding and mutual understanding between cultural groups; Third, the opening of rural areas from isolation as a result of infrastructure development and also due to the advancement of information and communication technology. An understanding of a culture that is only cursory and not detailed can lead to wrong perceptions and wrong understandings, and it will not be profitable; Fourth, socio-cultural conflicts often result from significant misunderstandings between warring groups. The impact of the strife has produced such deep and painful wounds that it takes a long time and earnest education to repair them; and Fifth, it eliminates myths and interpretations of history unfavorable to intercultural relations and national unity. It also applies to a biased and narrow interpretation of history in understanding the events of intercultural conflicts so that it can take care of unfavorable cultural hatred for a long time.

Those five main things are why multicultural education is considered a necessity. However, as an ideologically charged subject, teaching historical content using a multiculturalist approach should certainly be careful. The multicultural approach applied to history subjects must accommodate students' cultural differences. This action can be done by utilizing/making culture as a content and a starting point to develop culture, understanding other people's cultures, tolerance, arousing the spirit of nationality based on Bhineka Tunggal Ika, developing ethics, and being able to utilize students' culture as part of student entry behavior so that it can create equal and fair opportunities for students to excel (Hasan, 2012).

Historical content, with its multiculturalist approach, to borrow the term used by Gerard Johannes Resing, should also not "slip into divisive regionalism." Even though Indonesia is geographically and administratively united, each region must still have ethnic ties with all

forms of pride that can be offensive to regional pride and the status of other ethnicities (Abdullah, 2012). It is dangerous if left unchecked; horizontal conflicts resulting in incalculable losses are the big bets.

To avoid these misunderstandings in detail, Hasan (2012) also mentioned several principles that are of concern in developing a history learning curriculum with a multicultural approach, including: 1) Cultural diversity must be used as the basis for determining school philosophy, theory, model and relationship in the local socio-cultural environment; 2) Diversity must be used as a basis for determining various curriculum components such as objectives, content, processes, and evaluations; 3) The culture around the student's environment must be used as a source, reference or object of study in supporting student learning activities; and 4) The curriculum must play a role in developing regional culture and national culture.

By departing from these concepts and cultural realities, the author was inspired to write research on developing alternative history content or narratives in history learning through a multiculturalism approach. The hypothesis is based on the description and theory mentioned in the previous description, namely, whether the approach of multiculturalism in learning can be made by adding content about differences in cultural groups to the mainstream or conventional curriculum and teaching materials.

**Inclusive Islamic Movement during the Orde Baru**

*Alternative history* that can be used as a reflective example in the context of developing historical content using a multiculturalism approach is the strengthening of identity politics at the end of the Old Order and the beginning of the Orde Baru, as well as the impasse of political Islam in the early phases of Suharto's rule. In addition, the response of Muslim exponents when faced with the reality of the collapse of Islamic politics during the Orde Baru period by reorienting Islamic political movements can also be an excellent example of a narrative in the context of applying a multicultural approach.

It is an alternative history because the content is slightly out of the main narrative written in formal history textbooks. It is reflective because this event has a sense of image similar to the momentum of strengthening identity politics in Indonesia and the impasse in Islamic politics in the era of Jokowi's leadership, as illustrated in the introduction.

The slight difference is that during the Orde Baru period, the impasse in Islamic politics was responded to by reorienting the movement from politically-centric to cultural Islamic movements that carried the ideas of reforming Islamic thought as commanded by Nurcholish Madjid. However, during the Jokowi administration, the political struggle of Islam still

maintained narratives of a political nature that were sometimes confrontational to power – different political structures and political situations that may be behind it. However, this article does not intend to deepen the study related to this.

It was related to the impasse of political Islam during the Orde Baru period. It happened when the Islamic political group that contributed to Suharto's power to the throne of the highest leadership was left behind and not accommodated. President Suharto, at that time, refused to rehabilitate the Masyumi Party and, at the same time, discredited vocal party leaders from playing an active role in the government.

As the holder of the highest power, Suharto was quite reasonable in carrying out his actions. It is not interpreted as discriminatory or anti-difference (anti-multicultural) action. The deep trauma experienced by the Indonesian people in general and the army in particular ─Suharto came from this group ─ due to the prolonged ideological clash made Suharto not want to be trapped in such a situation again, which would undoubtedly have an impact on the political stability of the government and the development programs carried out in the future. Under the pretext of re-establishing Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution in a pure and consequential manner, Suharto was firm in his decision ─ rejecting Masyumi's rehabilitation and discrediting vocal leaders.

It is just a reflection. Before the Orde Baru came to power in 1950-1965, a rather complicated ideological clash occurred in Indonesia. Several groups are based in the rebellious regions (DI/TII) due to their disapproval of Pancasila and want to make Islam the basis of the state. Likewise, in formulating the state constitution, there was a deadlock between Islamist vs Nationalist-Communist groups in the Constituent Assembly. Masyumi, as one of the most prominent Islamic political forces, firmly wants to include the sentence "Divinity with the obligation to carry out the obligation to carry out Islamic sharia for its adherents" into the basis of the state as stated in the Jakarta Charter. At the end of 1965, which succeeded in putting Suharto on the stage of national political power because it succeeded in suppressing this group, the PKI carried out a rebellion. This ideological rebellion is none other than to make communism the basis of the ideology that regulates the entire order of state life.

Again, multicultural education, the de-ideologization of political parties, and the elimination of the vocal Masyumi leaders carried out by Suharto can be interpreted as an act that adheres to multiculturalism. As the holder of power and the state's leader, Suharto tried to uphold and defend Pancasila as a joint commitment and pillar of support for state life. In this case, multiculturalism education can be exemplified by the commitment in the form of political decisions while maintaining the Pancasila ideology as a unifying tool for life.

Another example of the attitude of adhering to the principle of multiculturalism during the Orde Baru period can also be exemplified by the actions taken by Nurcholish Madjid in responding to the impasse in Islamic politics and the strengthening of identity politics symptoms in the early days of the Orde Baru. Nurcholish Madjid, who is culturally an ideological child of Masyumi because of his activeness in HMI – also led the largest Islamic student organization in Indonesia for two periods (1966-1969 and 1969-1971). He prefers the opposite attitude from his seniors in Masyumi, who hope Islamic politics will be restored, which means reviving Masyumi, which Soekarno had dissolved.

It faces a dilemma like that faced by the exponents of Islamic politics, Masyumi. Whether to continue to fight for Islam on a formal political basis with the consequence of having to collide with power due to being contrary to Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution or to make Islam a cultural religion that limits itself to political life so that Muslims focus more on the internal problems of the ummah that are experiencing confusion of thought, Nurcholish Madjid finally chose the second path, which is to try to depoliticize Islam and focus on more inclusive cultural da'wah activities with a focus on the development of Islamic teachings. In the hands of Nurcholish Madjid, Islam is not always interpreted as a religious or political movement but can also be in the form of cultural da'wah, which focuses on improving the mentality and mindset of the people experiencing turmoil at that time.

Especially for Nurcholish Madjid, the starting point for him to be involved in inclusive and tolerant cultural Islamic movements was when he delivered a speech entitled "The Necessity of Reform of Islamic Thought and the Problem of Integration of the Ummah" in a gathering night of Muslim youth organizations, students, students and scholars who are members of HMI, GPI, PII, Persami, on January 3, 1970 at the meeting hall of the Islamic Research Center on Menteng Raya street, Jakarta. In his speech paper, Nurcholish Madjid introduced the jargon "Islam, yes, Islamic party, No! as an affirmation that he advocates Muslims to choose the discourse of Islamic reform as the agenda of Islamic thought in the future rather than political struggles (Madjid, 1987).

The Islamic Party, which is considered to be the only tool to fight for Islamic principles for Nurcholish, is no longer attractive. Islamic ideas and thoughts are fossilizing, becoming obsolete, and losing their dynamics. Islamic parties fail to build a positive and sympathetic image, even those with the opposite image (Madjid, 1987). He also considered the idea of establishing an "Islamic State" to be just an apologetical idea as a result of the superiority of modern Western ideologies such as democracy, socialism, and communism, which are more able to provide a comprehensive and detailed offer of life, especially in the fields of politics,

social, economy, culture, and others. As a result of feeling inferior, then Muslims seek defense that Islam is not just a religion such as Buddhism, Hinduism, Christianity, and others whose work is only limited to the spiritual or spiritual field. However, Islam is ad-Din, a totalitarian religion that is multidimensional (Madjid, 1987).

In the socio-political context at that time, what Nurcholish Madjid conveyed was quite brave. Nurcholish Madjid did not hesitate to position himself as the person opposite his seniors in Masyumi, who at that time hoped that the tools of Islamic struggle would be returned, in this case, Masyumi's rehabilitation. As a result, various blasphemy and insults that accuse him of being misguided in thinking, out of faith, and far from the essence of Islam were thrown out and even caused a prolonged polemic.

M. Natsir, a prominent figure and former leader of Masyumi as well as the former chairman of the Islamic Da'wah Council, was one of the people who opposed and rejected the idea of Nurcholish Madjid (Tempo, 29/07 1972). Likewise, Prof. Dr. Rasjidi, the former minister of Religion of the Republic of Indonesia from the Masyumi party, is also among the people who strongly oppose the ideas conveyed by Nurcholish Madjid. In the Abadi Daily in August, even Rasjidi went so far as to state firmly that Nurcholish's words are not words that believe in the Qur'an (Tempo, 13/01 1973). However, not a few people then supported and defended Nurcholish. Djohan Effendi, Ahmad Wahib, Usep Fathuddin, and Dawam Raharjo, among others. It was proven when, on October 30, 1972, Nurcholish Madjid was allowed to give a second reform speech; Ahmad Wahid, Djohan Effendi, Aminuddin, and Dawam Raharjo accompanied him.

The prolonged polemic and the bold attitude he showed made Nurcholish transform into a figure that was phenomenal and calculated. In society, his ideas succeeded in providing alternative theology that had been taboo to touch and became the background for ideological conflicts among Muslims. Ummah often thinks that people who are Muslims must choose an Islamic party. The establishment of an Islamic state is a dead price that cannot be negotiated in politics.

Nurcholish Madjid, although taking a step that was unpopular at that time by prioritizing the reform movement, despite the risk of widespread criticism, finally succeeded in breaking the impasse. His speeches, the ideas he raised, and his prolific development of Islamic ideas in the future became decisive moments for his ascension as a vanguard intellectual. Because of the breadth of his influence, Yudi Latief included Nurcholish Madjid as the central figure of the fourth generation of Indonesian Muslim intellectuals (Latief, 2005).

What conclusions can we then draw from the story? Multiculturalism education can be implemented from any angle. From a fragment of the story of Suharto's policies when he had to refuse to rehabilitate the community and vocal leaders, we can learn that political decisions can be a solution to reaffirm or take sides with the enforcement of the principles of multiculturalism. From Nurcholish Madjid's story, we learn that ideas and thoughts can be powerful weapons in promoting and strengthening multicultural values. The movement to reform Islamic thought carried out by Nurcholish Madjid at the ideological level can prevent ideological conflicts and even horizontal conflicts due to the forced formalization of Islamic teachings in state life amid the plurality of the Indonesian nation.

## Conclusion

In theory, there are many ways that an educator can develop history learning using the multiculturalism approach, as explained in the discussion. This research has also provided a concrete example of this application. One of them is that the multiculturalism approach in history learning can be applied by developing alternative narratives or including history learning content that contains multicultural values during learning.

The emergence of an inclusive Islamic movement during the Orde Baru period as a result of the restriction of Islamic political movements accompanied by efforts to eliminate Masyumi figures to be involved in practical politics carried out by Suharto with the aim of re-establishing Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution as the basis of the state is an example of an alternative narrative that can be conveyed in history learning in the context of applying a multiculturalism approach in history learning. Suharto's policy of refusing to rehabilitate the Masyumi party at the same time discredited vocal leaders who played an active role in practical politics and the emergence of an inclusive Islamic movement that carried the idea of reforming Islamic thought into political decisions/policies and alternative ideologies that could be interpreted in order to prevent ideological conflicts as had occurred during the previous government period.

As a country with complex cultural roots, there is no longer a genuine reason for educational institutions not to implement multicultural education in the learning process. So far, multicultural education has proven effective as a pillar of support to strengthen, uphold, and maintain diversity. International studies have shown that multicultural education can suppress the potential for conflict, eliminate harmful stereotypes and racial discrimination, create equality and tolerance, and contribute to democratization. Based on this research, the author also believes that if educational institutions can indeed implement a multicultural approach in

every educational process, the symptoms of strengthening identity politics that have emerged in recent times can be suppressed and will not happen.

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