



Indonesia's Religious Diversity Management in Education

A case study addressing the possible freedom of religion for the indigenous Nuaulu pupils attending the Junior High School SMP Negeri 6 Amahai at Seram Island, Indonesia.

Myrthe de Vlieger

ANR: 742940

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. H.L. Beck

Second reader: Dr. H.G. Siebers

Thesis circle: Frans Seda

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School of Humanities, Tilburg University

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ABSTRACT

This thesis addresses Indonesia's religious diversity management and its effect on the freedom of religion in education. Central to Indonesia's religious diversity management is the Pancasila that was introduced in 1945 and recognizes only six religions to be official, namely Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism. While it is argued in literature and human rights reports that this restricted recognition is limiting the freedom of religion in education, little research has been conducted that analyses the effects experienced by schools and pupils. Hence, as part of this research a case study has been conducted at the Junior High School SMP Negeri 6 Amahai at Seram Island in Maluku. This school is attended by pupils following the recognized Islamic religion as well as by indigenous pupils following the non-recognized Nuaulu religion. This study shows to what extent the school is influenced by the state's religious diversity management; how the school manages religious diversity; how the religious diversity management is perceived and experienced by the Nuaulu pupils; and to what extent the Nuaulu pupils are free to express their religion. A focus group and individual interviews illustrate that a significant aspect of the school's approach towards religious diversity is that it recognizes the Nuaulu beliefs as a tradition rather than a religion, striving to provide the Nuaulu pupils with freedom of tradition at school. It is assumed that the school's non-recognition of the Nuaulu religion is an effect of Indonesia's public discourse and the influence of the Pancasila. On the one hand, the school's non-recognition of the Nuaulu religion may be viewed as discriminatory. On the other hand, the approach to recognize the Nuaulu beliefs as a tradition rather than as a religion has enabled the school to provide the Nuaulu pupils with freedom to express their beliefs, while simultaneously obeying Indonesia's laws.

Keywords: Freedom of religion in education, indigenous rights, Indonesia, Nuaulu, Nuanea, Nuaulu, Pancasila, religious diversity management, Seram island, SMP Negeri 6 Amahai.



PREFACE

This thesis is carried out as part of the Frans Seda research circle of the Master of Arts in Management of Cultural Diversity at Tilburg University in the Netherlands. Considering Indonesia's great cultural diversity, the Frans Seda research circle immediately got my interest during the master's thesis information session. I felt very enthusiastic and thankful when I later found out that I got selected for this research circle. What particularly interests me is to combine the fields of cultural diversity and human rights. Unfortunately, many cases exist around the world in which human rights are violated in culturally diverse contexts. The topic of this thesis is related to how Indonesia's religious diversity management is affecting the freedom of religion in education for people following a religion that is not recognized by the government. In order to research this, I conducted a case study among the indigenous group Nuaulu at Nuanea village in Maluku, Indonesia. I have travelled to different places in my life and can truly say that my time in Nuanea has been the most remarkable.

It must be noted that conducting research on human rights situations in Indonesia is not always appreciated by everyone and therefore brings some risks. Hence, the research topic, location and agenda have undergone several adjustments in order to ensure safety during the research. This is also the main reason for not making the regular deadline for this thesis.

I would like to emphasize that I would have not been able to write this thesis without the help of others. Many people and organisations have contributed to this research, for which I am truly thankful. I would like to use this opportunity to express my gratitude.

I thank Tilburg University in the Netherlands for providing me with the opportunity to take part in their Master's programme. I express gratitude especially to Prof. Dr. Beck, the Supervisor of this thesis, and Dr. Siebers, the second reader of this thesis as well as my Course Coordinator, for guiding, inspiring and advising me throughout my research. I also thank Universitas Indonesia in Jakarta for guiding me in my thesis process and helping me with visa procedures. I would like to thank Dr. Seda especially, for providing me with advise on my thesis, welcoming me to the university, and introducing me to her network. Furthermore, I thank Universitas Pattimura in Ambon, Indonesia, for welcoming me to their university and helping me with visa procedures. I thank in particular Mr. Tjiptabudi, Ms. Daties and Ms. Apituley. I thank Mr. Tjiptabudi, for welcoming me to the law faculty. Ms. Daties, for helping me with practical matters, but especially for giving me a very warm welcome to Ambon. I have wonderful memories of the Lebaran Idul Fitri celebrations with

Ms. Daties and her family. I thank Ms. Apituley for helping me with visa procedures and accompanying me at the immigration office. After this I had the opportunity to meet Ms. Apituley during several other occasions, she always inspired me with meaningful insights on human rights situations.

I am truly thankful for the help of the Frans Seda Foundation and the Indonesia Nederland Youth Society. All board members of the Frans Seda Foundation, Mr. Huijgers, Drs. Ginting, Drs. van Gent, Dr. Seda, and Dr. Dua, have been very engaged with my research process. Furthermore, without the financial support of the Frans Seda Foundation I would have not been able to conduct my research. Hence, I am very grateful that I am given this opportunity. The Indonesia Nederland Youth Society and in particular Mr. Roos, Ms. Rutten and Ms. Bodlaender, have greatly supported my research. Before my trip to Indonesia they have organised a very interesting pre-departure briefing day for me in Amsterdam, entailing presentations about Indonesia and the opportunity for me to ask questions and discuss my research plan with them. Moreover, Mr. Roos was my contact person in the Netherlands regarding my stay and research in Indonesia, I experienced our contact as very pleasant.

I thank Mr. Regus, PhD student at Tilburg University, for introducing me to his network in the field of human rights in Indonesia. It was through him that I got in contact with Ms. Moniaga, Commissioner at Komnas HAM, and Mr. Chairah, Head of the Study and Research division at Komnas HAM. I would like to thank them for inspiring me about conducting research on the human rights situation of the Nuaulu people and introducing me to the local research team in Ambon, Maluku. Once I arrived in Ambon, I met Ms. Toisuta and Ms. Holle of Komnas HAM, and Ms. Peilouw who is involved with AMAN's research projects about the Nuaulu people. I am truly grateful for their help. Ms. Toisuta and Ms. Holle provided me with their research report about the Nuaulu religion and education, and advised me on research gaps and the need for further research. Ms. Peilouw has helped me to settle in Ambon, mediated and translated meetings between me and Komnas HAM, and advised me on the research. What I am particularly thankful for, is that Ms. Peilouw has taken me to the Nuanea village to introduce me to the Nuaulu people and explain my research to them. Besides this, she has also put me in contact with my translator Ms. Titihalawa. I am very thankful for the contribution of Ms. Titihalawa to this research. She was highly motivated, she was able to connect very well with the Nuaulu people, and her translating work was professional. She did not only translate during the interviews, but also during personal communication, this allowed me to bond with the people in Nuanea.

I also express gratitude to the people in Nuanea for making me feel very welcome in their village and for being open to my research. I thank the king of Nuanea for trusting and accepting me to conduct research in his village. I am also grateful for all participants of the focus group and personal interviews to take part in my research. Furthermore, I thank my host family for the wonderful time my translator and I had during our stay at their house. I also thank SMP Negeri 6 Amahai and especially the school's Vice Headmaster who also works as a religion teacher at the school, for his willingness to contribute to my research through a personal interview.

Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends for supporting me throughout my studies and this research. As for my parents, brother, and sister, I feel fortunate that they have never pushed me in any direction, but have rather always encouraged me to do in life what I love most, such as this opportunity to conduct research in Indonesia.

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GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Karanunu	Red head cloth worn by Nuaulu men
Matahenne	Nuaulu male puberty ceremony
Pinamou	Nuaulu female puberty ceremony

ABBREVIATIONS

AMAN	Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara, Indigenous Peoples Alliance of the Archipelago
Komnas HAM	Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia Republik Indonesia, The National Commission on Human Rights of the Republic of Indonesia
SD	Sekolah Dasar, Elementary School
SMA	Sekolah Menengah Atas, Senior High School
SMP	Sekolah Menengah Pertama, Junior High School

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Problem statement

This thesis addresses Indonesia's religious diversity management and its effect on the freedom of religion in education. An important aspect regarding this issue is that Indonesia officially recognizes only six religions, namely "Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism" (Fasya et al., 2015, p. 252). It is claimed by Komisi Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia Republik Indonesia, which is the National Commission on Human Rights of the Republic of Indonesia (Henceforth; Komnas HAM) that the country's recognition of only six religions is limiting the freedom of religion in Indonesian education (Toisuta & Holle, 2016). Current research (Toisuta & Holle, 2016) on this topic mainly focuses on the macro level of this issue, conducting research from a juridical point of view. Little research compares this to the actual experiences of the schools and pupils on the meso and micro level. This research aims to fill this research gap.

Although this is an issue that is affecting many religious groups (Tunny, 2010) and schools in Indonesia, it is not in the scope of this research to study the issue nation-wide. Rather, a case study has been conducted at Seram Island in Maluku, at the Junior High School SMP Negeri 6 Amahai. This school is attended by Islamic pupils as well as by indigenous Nuaulu¹ pupils. The Nuaulu people are an indigenous group of approximately 3.000 people, spread over six locations at Seram Island in Maluku. Currently, nearly all Nuaulu children follow basic education. (Tunny, 2010) It is researched if there is freedom of religion at SMP Negeri 6 Amahai, especially with regard to the Nuaulu religion that is not officially recognized by the government. This research looks into the possible effects that the government's and school's religious diversity management approaches have on this freedom of religion. Finally, it is researched how the Nuaulu pupils experience and perceive the extent to which they can express their Nuaulu religion.

1.2. Rationale of this study

The Jakarta Post (Tunny, 2010) has dedicated a news article on the issue of the Nuaulu people seeking recognition, referring to their restricted freedom of religion as well as the government's violation of their human rights. Within this article, it is mentioned that the non-recognition has a negative impact on their education, especially with regard to the obligation to follow religion classes about one of the six official religions. Komnas HAM (Toisuta &

¹ Please note that there are different ways of spelling applied in literature, whereas some use the spelling 'Nuaulu', others use the spelling 'Noaulu'. The spelling used in this report is 'Nuaulu'.

Holle, 2016) has also addressed the situation of the freedom of religion in education with regard to the Nuaulu people in one of their research reports. Considering that the issue is addressed by Indonesia’s national human rights commission as well as by a major newspaper, one may assume that the situation of the Nuaulu is an important topic, relevant to receive close review. Little research has been conducted on this topic however, especially on the meso and micro level (personal communication with Komnas HAM, May, 2016). For this reason, this research is seen as both scholarly and societal relevant.

The aim of this research is to extent the current knowledge on the effects of Indonesia’s religious diversity management on education. Specifically, this research aims to increase the knowledge on how people following non-recognized religions are treated in education, by providing an example of how a school is handling the situation, and how a religious community is experiencing and perceiving this.

1.3. Research questions

This research analyses three levels, namely the macro, meso and micro level. In order to see where each level of research is focused on, please see the figure below.

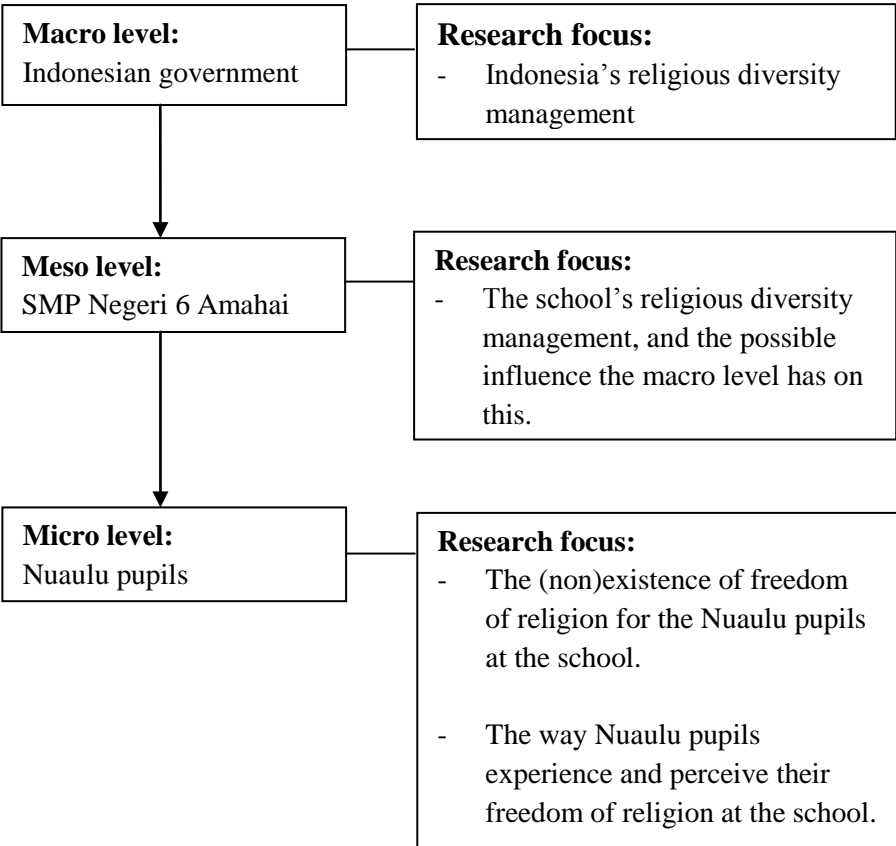


Figure 1. Research outline

Based on the above research outline, the following main research question has been formulated and is central in this thesis:

Is there freedom of religion for the Nuaulu pupils at SMP Negeri 6 Amahai? If so, how do the Nuaulu pupils experience and perceive this freedom, and what possible role do the religious diversity management approaches of the school and the Indonesian government play in this?

In order for this question to be answered, the sub-questions in appendix A will be answered throughout the thesis.

2. METHODOLOGY

For this thesis, the researcher has spent five months in Indonesia. Approximately two months have first been spent in Jakarta, after which approximately three months have been spent in Maluku. Considering that it is most effective to approach people in person rather than digitally, the researcher deliberately chose to finalize the research plan in Indonesia where there is the possibility to speak to Indonesian experts in the field of human rights.

In Jakarta a meeting was arranged with a commissioner of Komnas HAM. She advised the researcher to meet with her team in Ambon, who were conducting research on the indigenous Nuaulu community and their freedom of religion in education. Considering the scope of Komnas HAM's research, she argued that her team may face research gaps or may be in need for further research.

In Ambon, the local team indicated that their research focuses on a juridical point of view and that they therefore have not conducted an extensive analysis on the meso and micro level effects of Indonesia's religious diversity management. This thesis aims to fill this gap by focusing the research on the possible effects experienced at a junior high school that is attended by Nuaulu pupils.

Please note that this thesis is not written on behalf of Komnas HAM. Rather, Komnas HAM has informally offered their help by providing information and data, and by introducing the researcher to their network. The fact that this research is independent and not written on behalf of a party, is assumed to have increased the reliability of the findings in this research. This is because no certain outcomes are expected, allowing the researcher to be objective.

2.1. Research design

The purpose of this fundamental or basic type of research is to expand current knowledge on the effects of Indonesia's religious diversity management in education. Considering that at the start of this thesis project the direction of the research was unknown, the nature of this research is inductive. Inductive reasoning has allowed this research to move from a specific level of focus to a general level of focus, through qualitative analysis. This research moved from a starting point of research questions, to data gathering, to finding patterns in the data, to developing a theory that explains those patterns.

Literature that was reviewed at the starting point of this research was a report by Komnas HAM (Toisuta & Holle, 2016). The report addresses the freedom of religion for the Nuaulu pupils in education, from a juridical point of view and at the macro level. Although this report showed the research gap influencing the topic of this thesis, and gave insight into

the issue prior to starting the research, it has not influenced the research questions. This decision was made in order to limit possible bias, and to avoid drawing conclusions prior to the research that are based solely on one source. Rather, the findings of Komnas HAM are compared to other literature as a method of triangulation, and can be found throughout the thesis.

Furthermore, a qualitative research method is applied. Data is collected through secondary data such as primary, secondary and grey literature, as well as primary data retrieved through interviews and a focus group as part of a case study in the Nuaulu village called Nuanea.

2.2. Sample strategy

Please see the overview of the interviews that have been conducted in appendix B. A focus group as well as interviews were conducted for this research. The unit of analysis is the Junior High School SMP Negeri 6 Amahai, at Seram island in Indonesia. The school has 79 pupils who have Islamic and Nuaulu backgrounds, and 12 teachers who have Islamic and Christian backgrounds. Moreover, the Headmaster is Christian and the Vice Headmaster is Islamic.

The subjects forming the sampling unit are 20 Nuaulu pupils, the parents of six pupils², and the Religion Teacher/Vice Headmaster of the school. Furthermore, the King of the Nuanea village has also been interviewed. No Islamic pupils have been approached for the research. This is because the researcher wanted to fully focus on building trust with the Nuaulu people. When also being in contact with the Islamic classmates, the researcher was afraid of the risk that her research topic may create tension at the school. This is because the non-recognition of religions and also indigenous rights are sensitive topics in Indonesia. Also, one must be careful to intervene in culturally diverse contexts.

Furthermore, please note that the visit to Nuanea was during the holiday period. For this reason, the school setting was not able to be observed. Also, it was the holiday between two school years, hence this research focuses on the school year prior to the holiday.

People in the village suggested to have a focus group since all Nuaulu pupils wanted to participate in the research and this way they would not be excluded. During the focus group all SMP Nuaulu pupils from the year prior to the holiday were asked to join. 20 pupils showed up out of a total of 22 to 34 pupils, as estimated based on a database of AMAN (2016).

² Please note that the results of the interviews with the pupils' parents are not extensively discussed in this thesis. This is because most parents indicated that they are not aware of their child's education because they never speak about it.

The interview respondents were selected by the non-probability purposive sampling method. A total of six pupils were selected, a male and a female of each class, namely class 7, 8 and 9. While staying in Nuanea, it was noticeable that in the Nuaulu culture there are many gender differences among people. For this reason, as well as to reflect the diversity of the population, it was decided that pupils of both genders in each class would get interviewed. Furthermore, it was ensured that the participants came from a diversity of clans. This is because it appeared during the field research, that there are social and economic differences among clans. It was also suggested to select participants from a diversity of clans by the brother of Nuanea's King. Furthermore, the role of the pupils during the focus group influenced the sampling for the interviews, pupils who seemed to want to share more information were more likely to be picked for the interview. The final selection of the six pupils was done by the researcher, the translator, and the brother of Nuanea's King. The parents of the interviewed pupils have also been interviewed, in some cases only the mother or only the father was able or willing to participate. Finally, the King of Nuanea as well as the Religion Teacher who is also the Vice Headmaster, were selected based on a suggestion of the brother of Nuanea's King.

Since the non-probability purposive sampling method has been applied for this research, it is difficult to determine if the sample is representative of the population or not. Considering the large sample for the focus group however, as well as the diverse sample for personal interviews, it is assumed that the sample is representative. It must be noted however that although representation of the sample is desired in this research, and has been aimed for, the sample has not been used to make strong generalizations about the population since the interviews rather serve as an exploration of the research questions. Hence, in the case that the sample does not completely represent the population, it is not considered to harm the reliability of this research.

2.3. Data collection

Nuanea village at Seram island in Maluku, has been visited for data collection from June 23, 2016 till July 3, 2016. Lusi Peilouw, who has conducted research about the Nuaulu people since 2005 and frequently works for AMAN, introduced the researcher to the Nuanea village. Presumably due to the past in which the Nuaulu cut human heads as part of a ritual, not many outsiders interact with the Nuaulu people. Despite that this has not occurred in the past decades, it still influences their image. (Toisuta & Holle, 2016) Hence, since the Nuaulu are not very familiar with outsiders, it is essential to be introduced by someone that is trusted.

After two days of introduction to the village, Mathelda Christy Titihalawa, a contact of Lusi Peilouw took over in order to do the translation. Mathelda Titihalawa is an Indonesian citizen from Ambon, Maluku. She is an English Education graduate from Universitas Pattimura and frequently works on research projects as a translator. Though she has been involved in projects about indigenous people before, it was her first time to interact with the Nuaulu people. The researcher and the translator were hosted by a local Nuaulu family during their entire stay in Nuanea.

In order for people from outside of Maluku to be accepted in the village, it is expected that one participates in a ritual. Considering that the researcher is a Dutch citizen, she went to the King of Nuanea to offer him a special plate which can be used for rituals, 55.500 Indonesian Rupiah which represents a symbolic number for them (Ellen, 2012), and a red cloth to make headpieces from.

As part of the data collection, firstly a focus group was conducted, after which 14 in-depth interviews took place. The reason for conducting a focus group is to include all pupils in the research and not give any pupil a feeling of exclusion, as well as to give everyone the opportunity to share their views, increasing the representativeness of the research. The reason for conducting individual interviews is the assumption that pupils may feel more comfortable to share their views on the research topic when they are interviewed alone.

Considering the rare occasion for someone from outside of Indonesia to come to Nuanea, all of the inhabitants were very curious about the purpose of the visit. For this reason, it was decided to inform the village about the exact topic of the research. The fact that all participants thus knew the aim of the interview may have affected the information they shared. This risk however outweighs the possible risk of creating suspicion when the aim of the study would not have been shared.

Regarding the settings in which data was collected, the focus group has been held in the village house of Nuanea. SMP pupils as well as some SD pupils that were about to attend SMP after the holiday, had participated. Outside, several younger children were looking through the windows to see what was happening. Besides the pupils, also the village secretary was present during the focus group, considering that he is in charge of the village house. Though not certain, whereas the children outside did not seem to affect the responses during the focus group, the presence of the secretary did seem to have an influence. Especially the girls would look at his direction while replying and sometimes indicate that they rather not answer. Clearly, in order to show respect, there was no intervention in this context. As for the interviews, they were all held inside the house. Some interviews have been held at the house

of the participants, whereas others have been held at the house in which the translator and researcher stayed. The participants were asked to be interviewed in a separate room from their family, this was asked order not to let the presence of family members influence their answers. The participants and their family members understood, only occasionally family members walked in and out of the room which did not seem to influence the interviews. Prior to the interviews, all participants gave their permission for the interview to be recorded. Despite their permission, this may bias the answers, considering that the participants while talking, are aware that they are being recorded (Sekaran & Bougie, 2013). Nonetheless, recording the interviews does increase the reliability of the research (Verhoeven, 2007). It also enabled a more precise data analysis during a later stage of the research process.

What served as the basis of the focus group and the interviews, was a predetermined set of open ended questions (Appendix C), that could be deviated from during the interview. The questions have been established by reading into the topic in order to identify relevant aspects to be discussed during the interviews. This entailed reading literature that addresses freedom of religion in education as well as reading the research report of Komnas HAM (Toisuta & Holle, 2016). While staying in Nuanea, prior to the interviews the proposed question list would be discussed with the translator and a Nuaulu inhabitant of Nuanea that offered her help. The appropriateness of the questions from the perspective of the Nuaulu was discussed, based on this questions were adjusted, added or eliminated. The translator and researcher also kept this advise in mind when deviating from the question list during the interviews.

The flexibility of the interviews seems in line with the semi-structured style of conducting interviews. The predetermined question list, rather than a topic list, seems in line with the structured style of conducting interviews however. Considering that there was a lot of deviation from the questions during the interviews, the data collection strategy of this research is considered to be semi-structured. The reason for a question list rather than a topic list is that the questions were carefully phrased, and cross-checked with a local Nuaulu person, in order to ensure the appropriateness for the Nuaulu participants as much as possible. Also, this way the interpreter was already aware of possible questions to translate.

All interviews and the focus group were conducted in Bahasa Indonesia since the translator does not speak the local Nuaulu language. Please note that generally all citizens of Nuanea are able to speak Bahasa Indonesia, though many people of the older generation have an accent. During the interviews with pupils' parents, some participants mentioned that they felt uncomfortable to reply in Bahasa Indonesia since they were afraid to make mistakes. The

participants were reassured once it was explained to them that it would be translated to English and that therefore only the essence of their answers would be included in the thesis rather than their exact wording. Furthermore, none of the participants were able to understand English. This is important to note since occasionally during the interviews, the translator and the researcher discussed what would be best to ask next, this would not be appropriate in the case that participants could understand this.

Mathelda Titihalawa directly translated the questions and answers in the third person, during the interviews as well as the focus group. During the focus group however, the comments were summarized when translated, considering that sometimes several pupils would answer one question. Please note that consequently it is not always clear when reading the transcripts of the focus group, which pupils are behind certain comments. This direct translation into the third person is done because even an exact translation will be subject to the translator's interpretation. When writing in the third person, it is clear that it is partly constructed, and possibly influenced, by the translator. (Edwards, 1998) Also, literal translations are sometimes difficult to understand due to differences in grammar and sentence structure, especially when one is not familiar with the context. For this reason a "free" translation that allows for a change in the structure, suggested by Filep (2009), is applied in this research.

Conducting and translating interviews in multicultural or multilingual situations, is a challenging task that requires translation of language as well as culture. Hence, it is important that a translator is aware of the societal and cultural context of the interview, and has high linguistic flexibility. (Filep, 2009) Mathelda Titihalawa was informed by the researcher as well as by Lusi Peilouw on the Nuaulu community, making her aware of the societal and cultural context of the research. Furthermore, her extensive experience as a translator as well as her fluency in English, makes her linguistically flexible.

It is much debated to what extent a researcher should involve a translator (Temple & Young, 2004). In this research, Mathelda Titihalawa is treated as a key informant rather than a neutral transmitter of information. This approach is based on research by Edwards (1998). According to her, the translator's role is to some extent hybrid. It is argued that a translator will always make assumptions on meaning, making her an analyst as well as a translator (Edwards, 1998). As for Mathelda Titihalawa, considering that she is Indonesian and worked as an interpreter in similar settings before, she shared her ideas about the interviews. Being fully informed on the research and its context, as well as being able to immediately

understand the original replies, she would occasionally add, omit or rephrase questions during the interview.

The backgrounds of the researcher and the translator may also influence the research. Respondents may more easily share information to insiders than to outsiders (Filep, 2009), and vice versa. In this research, the researcher as well as the translator are outsiders. The researcher is a woman with a Dutch background, her religious background has not been discussed with the participants, though generally people in Maluku assume she is Christian. The translator, as mentioned before, is Indonesian and comes from another island in Maluku, namely Ambon. Her origins are however from the same island as the Nuaulu live on, Seram island. Considering that the Nuaulu people recognized that her family name originates from their region, the translator may have been seen less as an outsider. Her religion is Christian and the participants were aware of this. It must be noted that the researcher and the translator both belong to majority groups, whereas the participants belong to a minority group. Though the Nuaulu people may have opened up less to the research than when the researcher and translator would have been insiders, the Nuaulu people did seem open about the research. The King of Nuanea mentioned something in his interview, that has a direct connection to what is argued in this paragraph about the impact of insiders and outsiders in a research:

. . . he is hoping that what we are doing now would help them to spread the story about themselves. . . . finally he hopes that what you are doing will encourage their people to do the same thing by themselves so the story will spread by themselves. Not other people do. Because sometimes other people being afraid to talk, to spread it too loud, but if it starts from their people, it is going to be like very helpful for them, because it starts from them. So, he hopes that the next generation, slow or fast, could help their people by doing this kind of research, so they can spread to the world about their own story, about the difference, being Hindu or being Hindu-Nuaulu, or Nuaulu itself. (The King of Nuanea, Lines 192-211)

2.4. Data analysis

The focus group and the interviews have been audio recorded and transcribed. Following, the transcriptions have all been read carefully, after which the interviews were deconstructed, coded, and reconstructed. The coding is a continuous process involving the interpretation of meaning, the finding of relations and comparisons, and constant evaluation. The coding scheme in appendix D serves as a structured overview of the data, that helps to answer the research questions. The coding scheme has been established by carefully reading all

transcripts and highlighting the most important parts. Following, all these parts were copied into the scheme, after which they were categorized by topic and given codes accordingly.

As for the literature, no coding has taken place. Rather, all literature has carefully been read, after which a selection of relevant materials was included in the thesis, evaluated, connected to other literature, and in some cases restructured.

It was desired to apply a central model or theory to this research, that elaborates on ways in which schools can manage religious diversity. Unfortunately, no relevant theory or model has been found. Most theories were focused on utterly different contexts such as education in the United States, or were focused specifically on curriculum content or on religious education.

2.5. Research quality indicators

The findings of this research apply only for this research and cannot be applied to a broader setting, hence there is no external validity or transferability. Furthermore, considering the qualitative nature of this research, as well as the relatively small sample size for data collection, the research may be difficult to replicate. A different setting or sample may result in somewhat different results. The research rather serves as an example to show what effect the religious diversity management of the Indonesian Government may have on education. The research explores the topic and contributes to the existing knowledge in the research areas of religious diversity management in Indonesian education, the position of SMP Negeri 6 Amahai in this situation, and the treatment of the indigenous Nuaulu religion in education.

Some argue that internal validity does not apply to qualitative research. This is commonly argued because there are no causal relationships in qualitative research that can make the research internally valid, as is the case with quantitative research. Denzin (1970, as cited by Brink, 1993) applied internal validity to qualitative research however, by defining it as “the extent to which research findings are a true reflection or representation of reality rather than being the effects of extraneous variables” (Brink, 1993, p. 35). Based on this definition, internal validity is aimed to be ensured in this research by creating a familiar environment for respondents, conducting the interviews and the focus group in their own environment in Nuanea; by building trust with the respondents; by trying to make the researcher and translator stay objective; by cross-checking data to eliminate extraneous information; by recording the focus group and interviews so that no information gets lost or taken out of context; and finally, by cross-checking with the Nuaulu people as well as the translators if the interpretations of the data are correct. Also, during the last interviews of the research, the

saturation point seemed to have been reached. As for the literature, generally all sources except for reports of institutions and news articles, are peer-reviewed and academic. Moreover, if possible, literature is cross-checked with other articles in order to ensure its validity.

The term reliability is also defined in different ways by different scientists. Selltiz (1976, as cited by Brink, 1993) argues that “reliability is concerned with the consistency, stability and repeatability of the informant’s accounts as well as the investigators’ ability to collect and record information accurately” (Brink, 1993, p. 35). Based on this definition, this research has aimed to ensure reliability by applying consistent methods in data collection and analysis. This is achieved by basing all interviews on semi-structured pre-determined question lists; recording all interviews and the focus group; providing all participants with the same information about the research; having similar interview settings in each interview; by transcribing all interviews; and finally, by coding all transcripts in the same manner, allowing for a consistent and reliable analysis of data.

3. CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

3.1. Religious demography of Indonesia

Indonesia consists of over 17.000 islands and has a population of 258 million people (2016 est.) (Central Intelligence Agency, 2016). Though the majority of Indonesians is Muslim, Indonesia does not identify itself as an Islamic state. Rather, it identifies itself as a religious state, striving to accommodate all of its six recognized religions. (Künkler & Lerner, 2016) The registered religious demography is as follows, 87.2% of the population is Muslim, 7% is Christian, 2.9% is Roman Catholic, 1.7% is Hindu, 0.9% consists of other religions including Buddhism and Confucianism, 0.4% of the population's religion is unspecified and presumably includes indigenous religions (2010 est.) (Central Intelligence Agency, 2016). Hefner (2013), argues however that Indonesia in fact has dozens of religions. Considering that the population must register with one of the six recognized religions, or in some cases leave this field blank, the religious demography is assumed to differ in reality.

3.2. Indigenous people in Indonesia

In literature, the estimations on the amount of ethnic groups and indigenous people in Indonesia greatly differs. A possible explanation for this discrepancy is that the Department of Social Affairs, identified certain people as *masyarakat terasing* and *masyarakat terpencil*, meaning estranged and isolated communities. People are given this identification in the case that they move from place to place, strongly commit to beliefs and customs, do not follow a world religion, and have limited access to proper facilities for education, housing, health, transportation, diet and clothing. (Li, 2000) According to Li (2000) these elements could apply to almost all of the rural population that live outside of Java. The Department of Social Affairs however, only classified 1.5 million people as belonging to this group. The remaining group of people that occupies forests and mountains, are identified as *orang kampong*, which means village people. Furthermore, as stated in a recent report by the Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara (Henceforth; AMAN) and by the Asia Indigenous Peoples Pact (Henceforth; AIPP) (2016) the Indonesian Government recognizes 1.128 ethnic groups. In contrast to the governmental estimations however, AMAN estimates that Indonesia has about 50 or 70 million indigenous people. Considering that the identification of suitable classification subjects is a matter of negotiation and interpretation (Li, 2000), it is assumed that AMAN considers both groups of *masyarakat terasing* and *orang kampong*, to be indigenous. It must also be noted that many activism groups apply a broad definition to the term indigenous, in

order to provide a great amount of communities with land rights based on the Basic Agrarian law of 1960 recognizing land rights based on custom (Li, 2000).

Indonesia incorporates indigenous religions under the Ministry of Education and Culture, since these religions are considered to be a spiritual culture referred to as *adat* rather than a religion, referred to as *agama*. Approximately 250 local religious organisations are administrated under this ministry. This number is constantly changing however, since some organisations get banned by the state. These organisations officially have the right to have a house of worship, register birth and marriage, get identity cards, enrol for education, get employed and so forth. Yet in practice, for many this is a challenge. (Fasya et al., 2015)

It must be noted that it is not common for Indonesia to refer to the term *indigenous people*. The term that was officially used until recently is *masyarakat terasing*, which means isolated people. (Persoon, 2004) Indonesia recently mainly uses the terms *masyarakat adat* meaning customary community or *hak alayat* meaning collective right, to describe indigenous groups in its laws and regulations. Other terms used are *suku terasing*, meaning alien tribal community, *masyarakat tertinggal*, which translates to neglected community, *masyrakat terpencil* which means remote community and *masyarakat hukum adat* meaning customary law communities. (McCarthy & Robinson, 2016) According to Persoon (2004) historical documents show that Indonesia officially never used the term *orang asli* which is used in Malaysia and means indigenous or original people. Also, the term *Inheemse Volksstammen* meaning indigenous tribes in Dutch, which was applied in colonial times, was never used. McCarthy and Robinson (2016) however, argue that there have been several cases in which the Indonesian government has used the term indigenous peoples. This is in line with what is argued by AMAN and AIPP (2016), that the term is used in various official documents, as well as by the former Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono during the International Day of the World's Indigenous Peoples in 2006, and by the current Indonesian President Joko Widodo during his candidate pledge in 2014. According to McCarthy and Robinson (2016), even though Indonesia has used the term indigenous peoples with regard to Indonesia before, it now refuses to use it again during especially international events. This reasoning seems to reflect the situations described in the following paragraphs.

In 2007, Indonesia signed the United Nations Declaration on the rights of Indigenous Peoples. Although this declaration is not binding, it is the most powerful statement that Indonesia has signed on indigenous rights. (McCarthy & Robinson, 2016)

Once every four years, the United Nations (Henceforth; UN) reviews the human rights records of all its member states. Indonesia's most recent review was in 2012 (The General Assembly of the United Nations, 2012), Norway requested Indonesia to ensure the rights of its indigenous people in law as well as in practice. As a reply, Indonesia argued:

The Government of Indonesia supports the promotion and protection of indigenous people worldwide. Given its demographic composition, Indonesia, however, does not recognize the application of the indigenous people concept as defined in the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in the country. (The General Assembly of the United Nations, 2012, p. 3)

As can be seen in an article by Persoon (2004), Indonesia has argued the same in the past as a reason not to participate in international forums on indigenous rights. According to McCarthy & Robinson (2016) many activist groups oppose this notion.

The goal of the Indonesian government is According to Persoon (2004) to integrate indigenous groups back into the mainstream of society. He argues that the state sees this as their obligation since indigenous people initially lost touch with the mainstream of society, in terms of religion, politics, economics and social aspects. This is in line with Dutch colonial efforts, that attempted to decrease the differences between indigenous people and the rest of Indonesia's society (Li, 2000). In the current state policies it can be seen that through education, religion, health care, housing and so forth, the indigenous people are encouraged to interact with other parts of society (Persoon, 2004).

3.3. Religious diversity management by the Indonesian Government

The national motto of Indonesia is "unity in diversity" (translated from: *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, Li, 2000, p. 1). Indonesia faces significant challenges related to its management of religious diversity (Banks, 2009). As mentioned in the article by Cush (2007), three social responses to religious plurality have been identified: *naturalistic* that divides people into categories, *rationalistic* that focuses on similarities, and *romantic* that focuses on people's freedom to construct their own identity. As will be elaborated during later paragraphs, based on the above, Indonesia has a naturalistic reaction to religious diversity. Furthermore, important in understanding how a government manages religious diversity is to know the government's definition of religion.

As mentioned by the Minister of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, Indonesia's definition of religion is insufficient. Also, there is no Indonesian legislation that defines religion. (Fasya, Ahmad, Arifianto & Zainurrakhmah, 2015) The following definition is given by the Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language, "a doctrine or system that governs faith and belief in God Almighty, way of worship, and rules related to relationships between humans, between humans and the environment" (as cited by Fasya et al., 2015, P. 254).

Furthermore, as indicated by Indonesia's Department of Religious Affairs, religion "is something that must come from God through revelation, brought by the Prophet, written in scripture, containing rules of behaviour, laws, and orderly way of worship" (as cited by Fasya et al., 2015, p. 254). Indonesia's concept of religion such as the above, is argued to be influenced by Islam and Christianity. Local religions often do not meet the description above because they for instance do not have a god, a prophet, or do not make use of a holy book. (Fasya et al., 2015)

Indonesia applies neither a theocracy, nor secularism. From the 20th century on, there is tension between Muslim nationalists and secular nationalists. On the one hand, Muslim activists argue for Indonesia to become an Islamic state. On the other hand, secular activists argue for Indonesia to become a secularist nation, also referred to as *Merdeka*, in which religion is separated from the state and is something personal instead of public. Hatta, former Vice President and former leader of the Secular Nationalist Group, as well as Supomo, were two prominent secular nationalists in history. In 1945 Supomo argued that an Islamic state would exclude minorities, leading to discrimination and consequently leading to a situation in which minorities lose their loyalty towards Indonesia. He did not insist on an irreligious state however. Rather, he argued that people must be stimulated to bow down to God and think of God every moment. Supomo's arguments were in line with Hatta's view. (Intan, 2006)

In order to end the conflict between the two groups, President Sukarno introduced the Pancasila in 1945. The Pancasila consists of five principles, at first the secular nationalists considered them a victory, while the Muslim nationalists considered them a defeat. Consequently, the Muslim nationalists managed to change first principle of "one lordship", to "one lordship with the obligation to carry out the Islamic law (Shari'ah) for its adherents" (As cited by Intan, 2006, p. 40). Hatta, who later became Vice President, argued that this change was discriminatory towards minorities and insisted on unity of the nation. An agreement was made that removed the Islamic elements of the first principle. A monotheistic element was added however, as the first principle from then on argued for the belief in one supreme being.

(Intan, 2006) The second principle is the commitment to a civilized humanitarianism, to a just, or said differently, the commitment to internationalism. Following is the commitment to the unity of Indonesia as the third principle. The fourth principle is about arriving at policies through a people led process of consultation and consensus. Finally, the fifth principle is a social justice commitment for all Indonesian people. Please note that the principles are argued to be ambiguous when analysed closely and less suggestive in the English translation than in the original Indonesian language. (Morfit, 1981)

The further explanation of the first principle, to belief in one supreme being, states that the religions embraced are those officially recognized by the government. These officially recognized religions or in Indonesian, *agama*, are “Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism” (Fasya et al., 2015, p. 252). Ellen (2014), argues that the Pancasila was introduced as a model of cultural inclusiveness but in practice is a model of exclusiveness. This is reflected in the following paragraphs.

First, the recognition of six official religions has restricted citizens in choosing a religion. This restriction is especially felt by citizens who have religions that are not recognized, such as indigenous religions that existed before any of the now recognized religions did. It is stated in the constitution of 1945, Article 29, Paragraph 2 however, that religions other than the recognized ones are not forbidden and have the right to receive full state guarantees. Despite this guarantee, it is seen in Indonesia that many indigenous people convert to one of the official religions. This administrative or actual conversion is usually decided upon in order to receive state facilities, since many who follow indigenous religions face difficulties in administrative matters for the government. The government however, argues that it provides sufficient state facilities to indigenous people since they get registered in the database of the state population and are allowed to leave the religion column on their identity cards empty. Allowing people to leave the column empty is allowed since 2013, though it gives people more freedom than before, it often leads to social discrimination and difficulties in administrative matters. (Fasya et al., 2015) Besides that, many local government officials are not familiar with the option to leave the column empty (United States Department of State, 2009). Based on the above, it can be concluded that many local communities face the challenge of maintaining their identity and religion, while making use of economic, social and political state facilities. (Fasya et al., 2015)

Secondly, the restricted recognition is likely affecting the public discourse on local religions in Indonesia, strengthening two camps: one that recognizes local religions, and one that does not recognize local religions. The tension between these two camps is still seen

today and has surely played a role in the religious diversity management of the Indonesian government. (Fasya et al., 2015) An example is a situation in the 1950s in which supporters of religious minorities such as the national party, argued for equal state recognition of religions. The Ministry of Religion, that was mainly employing Muslims, insisted that religious freedom would apply only to the religions recognized by the state.

In conclusion, the Pancasila is in strong contradiction with Indonesia's laws that are ensuring freedom of religion and forbidding discrimination. The issue has raised many debates. As a state, to determine which religions are official and which ones are unofficial can be considered discrimination and a restriction to religious freedom. (Fasya et al., 2015) The following laws illustrate this contradiction.

As for freedom of religion, Indonesia's 1945 constitution states in article 28 that freedom of religion and belief cannot be reduced under any circumstances. In article 29 it is stated that it guarantees freedom of religion and belief, "The state shall guarantee freedom for every citizen to embrace any religion or belief and to practice religious duties in conformity with that religion or belief" (as cited by Hefner, 2013, P. 21). Furthermore, in 1999, article 22 of law no. 39 of this constitution had been edited to:

Everyone has the freedom of thought, belief, and religion. This right includes the freedom to adopt a religion or belief, or set up his own choice. Every person has freedom, whether individually or within the community, in public or private to manifest his religion or belief in teaching and religious. (As cited by Toisuta & Holle, 2016, P. 8)

Moreover, the main universal conventions that insist on freedom of religion and belief of which Indonesia is a state party are the following: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: 1948 (Henceforth; UDHR), The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: 1976 (ICESCR), The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights: 1976 (ICCPR), The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women: 1981 (CEDAW), The convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment: 1987 (CAT), The Convention on the Rights of the Child: 1990 (CRC), and the International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination: 1996 (CERD). (OHCHR, n.d.)

As stated by Tunny (2010), the laws on freedom of religion that apply to Indonesia are contradictive. It is argued that in total there are 141 regulations in laws, circulars and

ministerial decrees that contradict the freedom of religion that is guaranteed in the Constitution of 1945.

As for laws on discrimination, *the Human Rights Legislation* of the Republic of Indonesia that is signed in 1999 states the following in article 1.3 of Act No. 39:

Discrimination means all limitations, affronts or ostracism, both direct and indirect, on grounds of differences in religion, ethnicity, race, group, faction, social status, economic status, sex, language, or political belief, that results in the degradation, aberration, or eradication of recognition, execution, or application of human rights and basic freedoms in political, economic, legal, social, cultural, or any other aspects of life. (As cited by Toisuta & Holle, 2016, P. 2)

Indonesia has also signed the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam (CDHRI) in 1990. An important distinction is that this declaration focuses on human rights from a religious, and in particular Islamic point of view, while the declarations mentioned above focus on human rights from a humanistic point of view. This declaration makes the following statement about discrimination in Article 1:

All human beings form one family whose members are united by submission to God and descent from Adam. All men are equal in terms of basic human dignity and basic obligations and responsibilities, without any discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, language, sex, religious belief, political affiliation, social status or other considerations. True faith is the guarantee for enhancing such dignity along the path to human perfection. (Organization of Islamic Conference, 1990, P. 2)

It is important to note that in 1998, during the *Reformasi* government, certain strict controls on religion were abandoned. Due to increasing ethno religious conflicts and increasing Islamic groups that opposed to a pluralistic state, this was a period in which many debates of religious freedom were raised. It was decided that the Pancasila no longer served as the sole foundation (Hefner, 2013). The role of the Pancasila after this decision has been unclear. During a cultural dialogue in Medan in 2012, the Ministry of Education and Culture argued that the Pancasila no longer serves as the pillars of the nation, it rather serves as the basis of the nation. What is meant with the basis of the nation was not explained. (Dee, 2013)

Finally, according to Hefner (2013) the majority of Indonesians is currently in favour of state support for several religions. Also, the Indonesian authorities seem to be unable or unwilling to adjust existing laws in order to create more freedom of religion. Politicians are having serious disagreements over this matter, many do not agree on how to balance social cohesion and religious freedom in Indonesia. (Hefner, 2013)

3.4. Indonesia's school curriculum and religious diversity in education

The public school system of Indonesia is the third largest of the world, and considering language and culture, has the most diverse student population worldwide. (Banks, 2009) The school system in Indonesia works as follows. The primary education is called *Sekolah Dasar* (Henceforth; SD) and has a duration of 6 years, from age 6 or 7 till age 11 or 12. After primary education comes the junior secondary education called *Sekolah Menengah Pertama* (Henceforth; SMP) which takes three years, from age 12 or 13 till age 14 or 15. Since 1994, everyone is required to follow both primary education and junior secondary education. After this, one may continue with senior secondary education called *Sekolah Menengah Atas* (SMA) after which one may proceed with university. (Nuffic, 2015) The system consists of secular state schools that are attended by the majority of the population, as well as private schools. (Künkler & Lerner, 2016) Furthermore, the national language used in education all over the country is Bahasa Indonesia. (Banks, 2009)

Considering that the case study of this research is conducted at an SMP school, the following paragraphs will mainly focus on information regarding this level of education. According to Indonesian law, it is compulsory for the school curriculum of SMP's to entail: mathematics, social sciences, natural sciences, religious education, citizenship education, Indonesian language education, local content, arts and culture, vocational skills and physical education. (Toisuta & Holle, 2016)

Because of the multi-religious Indonesian society as well as the frequent inter-religious conflicts that happen in the country, religious education is a highly debated topic in the country (Zuhdi, 2005). In the 1950s, religious education was optional in public schools, and the parents could decide to enrol their children or not. (Künkler & Lerner, 2016) In 1966 this changed, religious education has since then been required at all schools in Indonesia at all levels of education. (Suhadi, Yusuf, Tahun, Asyhari & Sudarto, 2015) At the time, there were two groups opposing each other as for and against this decision. The Muslim group was in favour of religious education, whereas the secular nationalists were against religious education. The Muslim group argued that the school should preserve pupils' identities,

including their religion. In contrast, the group of secular nationalists argued that education should create national awareness and therefore families rather than schools should provide religious education. The latter group did argue that religious education should be possible to follow at school as an optional subject. (Zudhi, 2005) Attempts to abolish this requirement for religious classes have been unsuccessful however. (Suhadi et al., 2015) In 2003, the 20th Act of the Republic of Indonesia on the National Education System got introduced, and stated the following on religious education in Chapter 5, Article 12, part A: "Every learner in an educational unit is entitled to receive religious education in accordance with his/her religion, imparted by an educator who has the same religion" (The Ministry of National Education, 2003, p. 11). Important to note here however, is that it is stated in the Act that the national education is based on the Pancasila, in which the term religion refers only to the six officially recognized religions (The Ministry of National Education, 2003). Hence, the policy only focuses on pupils who follow officially recognized religions. Pupils who follow other religions are not allowed to follow education about their own beliefs, rather they are obliged to follow education on one of the official religions. Schiller (1996), argues that it is official policy of the Indonesian Ministry to encourage indigenous belief system to be absorbed into one of the recognized religions, therefore it is not providing freedom for indigenous people to profess their own religion. It can be argued that the religious education in schools discriminates the rights of the pupils who's belief is not among those six religions. Discrimination in education is in strong contradiction with especially the Convention against Discrimination in Education that was accepted by Indonesia in 1967 (UNESCO, 2016).

According to Cush (2007), there are generally three positions a state can take for its curriculum policies when it comes to education and religion, namely *secularist*, *confessional* and *non-confessional multi-faith*. Please note that this division oversimplified, in reality there are many variations and exceptions to these positions, as well as a diverse view on the application. The secularist position separates the state and religion and therefore does not entail religious education in the curriculum. States that hold a confessional position see religious education as an important aspect in the curriculum. Finally, states holding a non-confessional multi-faith position provide religious classes addressing multiple major religions. Indonesia holds a confessional position, seeing religion as an important component in national identity construction. (Cush, 2007) Suhadi et al. (2015) shows the results of several studies on religious education in Indonesia. Experiments in Jakarta, Yogyakarta and Banten for instance showed that religious education creates more openness to diversity and encourages multiculturalism. A study conducted by the Islamic State University Jakarta, shows that pupils

in Islamic and Public junior and senior high schools generally find the Islamic religion classes boring. Jackson (2004), argues for religious education that positively welcomes plurality and diversity, respects students of all backgrounds, and is taught by teachers who have deep knowledge about a variety of religions, teaching not only about religious issues but also about ethical and philosophical matters. Finally, Cush (2007) argues that it should be recognized that the beliefs of many cannot be classified into predetermined categories.

In Indonesia, pupils must indicate their religion when registering for education. This, as well as the requirement for pupils to follow religion classes that are based on firm categories of religion, makes it that pupils must clearly show their religious identity at school. This seems to be the consequence of the political structure in society, where citizens are expected to identify themselves based on religion. Considering the diversity of religion in Indonesia and the diversity within religious categories, this is seen as problematic. (Suhadi et al., 2015)

The newest curriculum of Indonesia was introduced in 2013. This curriculum changed the name of the religious class to *Religious and Character Education*. The objectives of religious education in Indonesia are argued to be to strengthen pupils' piety and faith, to build pupils' social character and to contribute to religious tolerance. Furthermore, SMP's religious classes are increased in the new curriculum from two to three hours a week. This was done in an attempt to solve the problem of moral degradation, such as the use of illegal drugs, or watching pornography. Moreover, this curriculum emphasizes religion more than the previous one, it is stated that religion plays a central role in education. (Suhadi et al., 2015)

Furthermore, the 2013 curriculum works with the concept of core competences (KI) (Translated from: Kompetensi Inti) and basic competences (KD) (Translated from: Kompetensi Dasar). In total, there are four competences, namely: "spiritual competence (KI-1), social competence (KI-2), knowledge competence (KI-3), and skills competence (KI-4)." (Suhadi et al., 2015, p. 37) Every subject must let its basic competence (KD) reflect all four core competences (KI). Said differently, the pupil's knowledge, skills and spiritual and social attitude will be reflected in the evaluation of each subject. It is a must that all competences are met for all subjects. (Suhadi et al., 2015) Suhadi et al. (2015), argues that there are several weaknesses to this new grading system. One weakness is that it may endanger the pupil's freedom to think critically about social and spiritual values. Another weakness is that because spiritual and social values must be incorporated into each subject, teachers of non-religious subjects must be an example in having good spiritual and social values. Furthermore, scientific content in subjects must now be mixed with spiritual values, this is difficult and can

be questioned for subjects such as natural sciences or mathematics. This way all knowledge is put into a religious framework. It is stated in the curriculum that these social and spiritual competences should be adjusted to the teachers' understanding. Considering the diverse backgrounds of the teachers and pupils, this could be problematic. (Suhadi et al., 2015)

3.5. The Nuaulu people

There are approximately 3.000 Nuaulu people in total, belonging to 11 clans. The Nuaulu people live around the top of the Noa river in the Amahai sub-district in South-Central Seram, spread over six villages: Nuanea, Rouhua, Latane, Bonara, Simalouw and Hahuwalan. Please note that all villages have a king, called *Raja*. The leader of the Nuaulu is officially the King of Rouhua, though traditionally the King of Nuanea. (Tunny, 2010)

Many Nuaulu people live from cultivated land and from the forest, where they hunt and pick fruits and plants. Furthermore, the main characteristic of the Nuaulu people is the red headpiece, called the *Karanunu*. Males start to wear this when they reach puberty and become an adult, it should always be worn except when one is bathing or sleeping. As for the married Nuaulu women, they are required to wear a traditional batik skirt and scarf. (Toisuta & Holle, 2016)

3.6. The Nuaulu religion

Though most Nuaulu are registered as Hindu, in reality they practice their traditional religion called the Nuaulu religion (Tunny, 2010). According to Lusi Peilouw the Nuaulu people believe in a god (Personal communication, May, 2016). As written in the book of Ellen (2012), the traditional Nuaulu religion has a combination of totemic, naturalistic and animistic characters. This is because there is for instance recognition of natural objects and non-human spirits, as well as spirits of dead humans. They also believe that humans can use magical power, causing both good and evil situations. (Ellen, 2012) In 2003, the government head of Rouhua told Ellen (2014), that the Nuaulu are not animists and neither Hindu. He argued that Nuaulu is a religion by itself or *agama sendiri*.

An important aspect of the Nuaulu religion are the rituals, this is what identifies them to a great extent. Examples are life-cycle rituals such as birth, puberty, adulthood and death ceremonies. The villages have two sacred houses where ancestors are worshiped and ceremonies are held. Furthermore, when the women give birth or have their menstruation, they must stay in a small sacred house called *Posune* which is build in the family's garden. (Ellen, 2012)

3.7. Governmental (non-)recognition of the Nuaulu people

In the colonial era, Moluccan animists were frequently referred to as Hindu. This continued to be the case even during the post-colonial era. This was so well integrated, that some local communities of Seram island got invited to governmental ceremonies as official Hindu representatives. With this treatment as Hindu, these groups such as the Nuaulu became accepted in terms of religion of the Pancasila. The Hinduism that is recognized by the Indonesian government, refers mainly to the Balinese Hinduism however and less to local forms of Hindu elsewhere. (Ellen, 2014) For administrative matters, the Nuaulu thus refer to themselves mostly as Hindu, even though the religious beliefs of Hinduism and the Nuaulu religion greatly differ. This registration as Hindu is argued to mainly be due to rules and discrimination of the government. If the Nuaulu people would not register as Hindu but rather leave in blank, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism would see them as part of the category 'other religions'. (Tunny, 2010) Besides the categorization as "other religions", having a religion that is associated with culture and tourism may also disparage the Nuaulu people. Please note that different departments assign different categories and terms towards non-recognized religions. In the early 1970s for instance the Department of Social Affairs designated the Nuaulu as *suku terasing* meaning tribal community, and later *masyarakat terasing* meaning isolated people. On the one hand this provided them with protection and access to resources. On the other hand this status gave them a negative image of a group that is behind on others. (Ellen, 2014)

As a consequence of growing Islamization, the Pancasila was under pressure in the 1980s and became stricter than before. This led to greater obstacles for groups such as the Nuaulu. Today, despite the protection of the Pancasila recognition of Hinduism, the Nuaulu still face discrimination. This leads to difficulties in finding jobs, especially in offices or in the army, difficulties in getting accepted for tertiary education and difficulties in obtaining official documents such as birth certificates, identity cards, marriages and official certificates. (Ellen, 2014)

As cited in Tunny's article (2010), Manaf, who writes his doctorate thesis about the Nuaulu tribal religion, argues that the government is the party to be blamed for not acknowledging the rights of the Nuaulu. According to him, viewed from a religious sociology perspective, the Nuaulu religion serves as a social factor that constitutes the moral awareness of the Nuaulu. For this reason he argues that the Nuaulu religion should be respected and treated like all other religions. This is not only the case for the Nuaulu however, as the

Chairman of the Indonesian Conference on Religion and Peace stated, many local religions in Indonesia that are similar to the Nuaulu are also experiencing discrimination. (Tunny, 2010)

As argued by Ellen (2014), the war between Christians and Muslims in Maluku that took place from 1999 till 2002, has significantly influenced the way in which the Nuaulu shape their rituals and beliefs as a religion. Whereas communities used to identify themselves in terms of customs, geographic location and local languages, the differentiating characteristic between communities was now considered to be religion. Besides this, the violence between the Muslims and Christians on Seram Island made the Nuaulu want to distinguish themselves from these groups more than before. Out of fear to be mistaken for a Christian or Muslim and end up in violent situations, the Nuaulu felt a stronger urge to use ethnic markers such as the red head piece which served as protection against violence. It must be noted that the Nuaulu were neutral in the conflict. (Ellen, 2014)

Tunny (2010) states that the Head of the Social Self-Support Section of the Social Affairs Office in Central Maluku mentioned that his office always advises the Nuaulu people to fill in administrative matters using Hindu. In 2008 however, this became an issue since Hindu officers were asked by the government to go to Seram island in order to give religious guidance to the growing number of Nuaulu following Hinduism. The Nuaulu complained about this and from then on the office stopped to advise the Nuaulu people how they should register their religion in administrative matters. Also, it is mentioned in the article that later that year (2010), the office would organise a programme in which the beliefs of remotely living ethnic communities, such as the Nuaulu, would be promoted. The office mentioned to find it important to look after the Nuaulu people without pushing them into a certain direction. They find this important because beliefs such as the Nuaulu religion, are a national treasure which would be lost if people convert to other religions. (Tunny, 2010) In 2014, Komnas HAM monitored the Maluku legislative election in Central Maluku Regency and noticed that the Nuaulu people were registered as Islamic, Hindu or Christian in their residency card (Toisuta & Holle, 2016). Though this statement does not indicate as what religious group the majority of the Nuaulu were registered, this variety of Islamic, Hindu or Christian rather than just Hindu, may be the effect of the changed approach of the Social Affairs Office in Central Maluku.

3.8. The Nuaulu people and education

Before 1970, very few Nuaulu people had attended primary school and acquired basic literacy skills. In the early 1970s though, several Nuaulu villages agreed about the importance of

education and therefore send several children to primary school in Sepa. (Ellen, 2014) Currently, generally all Nuaulu children are attending school. According to Komnas HAM, the Nuaulu pupils are discriminated by the government in the sense that they are restricted in the expression of their religion in education. (Toisuta & Holle, 2016)

Toisuta and Holle (2016) as part of their research, have interviewed the head of SMP Negeri 9 Satap in Rouhua village. He stated that his school has created a policy in which Nuaulu pupils are given the freedom to not follow the religion classes. Instead, for the pupils to fulfil the values of religious subjects, the school has been conducting approaches based on the Nuaulu religion during the local content class. There are for example exams about the origin of the Nuaulu religion. The head of this SMP mentioned that the Nuaulu children's right to education is properly fulfilled since it was possible for him to get permission of the government to build a primary school and junior high school for the Nuaulu pupils in Rouhua. An interview with the Maluku Office of Education showed that this permission was given easily, partly because the Nuaulu are no longer seen as nomads. As mentioned by the secretary, the Nuaulu community has opened up in the last decade, becoming police officers, soldiers, teachers, civil servants etc. Besides that, he mentions that the legislation stating all citizens of Indonesia have the right to educational services, should be obeyed. (Toisuta & Holle, 2016)

Furthermore, as the report of Komnas HAM (Toisuta & Holle, 2016) indicates, the Maluku Office of Education strives to eliminate the discrimination in education against the Nuaulu regarding the non-recognition of their religion by the state. The office is however in a difficult position to implement policies since they would contradict with the central legislation. Sometimes, the office creates spoken rather than written policies. Please note that no examples of these spoken policies are given. The Secretary mentions that real change for the Nuaulu people should come from the central level and that a solution for now is to place the content about the Nuaulu religion in the local content subject, which is a subject in the curriculum. The content of this subject is not decided at a central level and can therefore be decided by the school itself.

In interviews conducted by Tunny (2010), the following was mentioned about the freedom of Nuaulu religion in education. Several primary school student from Masohi mentioned that they cannot follow the religious classes because his or her religion is not taught at school. It is mentioned that at this particular primary school of which the name is not provided, they do receive a fair mark for the religion class that is based on the teacher's judgement rather than attendance. In the article, findings of an interview are stated with a

resident of Nuanea, who at the time of the interview was 25 and is among the first group of Nuaulu people that were introduced to modern education. He mentioned that back when he was in primary school he was forced to attend bible classes. Later, when he attended senior high school he had to participate in the Islamic religion classes in order to graduate. This situation made him feel that the Nuaulu people are treated in an unfair way, since their religion that existed on the island before any of the other religions did, is not officially recognized. (Tunny, 2010) It must be considered that because the Nuaulu now follow education, it presumably allows them to better communicate about discrimination they face (Ellen, 2014).

4. RESULTS

4.1. Educational history of the Nuaulu

The educational history of the Nuaulu people was discussed during the interview with Nuanea's King. Around the eighteenth century, the Nuaulu people were living like nomads and were moving around. At one time, they were living at a mountain on Seram island. The government of Sepa asked them to come down from the mountain to Sepa village, and protect their border between the West and the East where there were frequent fights. Around this time the Nuaulu people wanted to establish their own government. As they were not educated however, and the people from Sepa village were educated, Sepa village took this initiative. This situation made the Nuaulu people realize that they need to be educated. It was not easy for the Nuaulu to follow education around that time however, despite the desire to study they were thus not able to do so.

Many years later, the elders started to see people in the neighbourhood going to school. At the time however, the schools provided free vaccinations. Since the elders did not know about the concept of vaccinations, they were afraid that their children's blood would be taken and therefore did not allow their children to go to school. Another reason for them not to send their children to school was:

They banned the children to go to school because at the beginning they thought, if they go to school they must pick a religion and at the school they might be taught religion and that is not good for them, because they will leave their own tradition and culture and everything when they learn about other religions. (The King of Nuanea, lines 12-15)

Since the Nuaulu also saw the importance of education however, they started two educational trials. For the first trial in the 1970s, almost 10 children went to primary school, some passed through and some did not. In 1983 the second trial followed in which the sister of the king of Nuanea went to school as the first Nuaulu girl ever to follow education. Because the family is the head of the clan for all Nuaulu villages, they expected that it would be a good way to give an example to the others about the importance of education. After two years, the trial was discussed with the elders. It was decided that it would be better for all children to attend school since it broadens people's horizon and it develops the society. The following was said about this:

They should be educated even though they are in their tribe. That is the first reason, but they also have an agreement that even though they go to school, they shouldn't follow another

religion, because for them, their tradition was written by god, that they should live together, Christian Muslim and Hindu. (The King of Nuanea, lines 28-31)

The government in the past has invited some Nuaulu people to a workshop about the importance of education. This created awareness and took away doubt about sending the children to school.

4.2. Explanation of own religion

When the participants were asked to tell something about their religion, different type of answers were given. Several people answered that their religion is Nuaulu but that they are registered as Hindu. An example of this can be read below:

He is registered in the school as Hindu because that is the religion that the parents told him to say for the registration at school. But then for him personally, the religion they have is the religion of their tradition. (Pupil 5, lines 12-15)

Among others however, there seemed to be some confusion on whether to mention the registered religion Hindu, or to mention their traditional religion Nuaulu. This confusion may have been there because the participants were not sure what the researcher meant to ask. Some participants seemed to be confused about the role of Hinduism in their religion however. The King of Nuanea said the following about this confusion:

He understands that people in this place, actually they misunderstood about Hindu, about being Hindu and being Nuaulu. So, because they are all registered as Hindu, they see Hindu as their religion. . . . they should be more specific mentioning themselves as Hindu-Nuaulu . . . their tradition is very different with the Hindu that is recognized from the government, which is Hindu-Bali. (Lines 169-171, 180-183)

The Religion Teacher/Vice Headmaster of the school, said that he thinks the Nuaulu pupils consider themselves Hindu due to registration processes, without actually knowing what Hinduism is. This confusion can be seen in the interview quote “I never know about other Hindu, but I know that we are Hindu” (Pupil 1, lines 12, 13), as well as in the quote below:

What I know from my religion is I am Hindu. And I asked again if it [Hindu] is only registered religion, or do you think your religion is Hindu? She said like yeah, I know that my religion is Hindu. . . . that is not really Hindu Hindu. Like, they have different Hindu. (Pupil 6, lines 11-13, 20, 21)

The King of Nuanea also mentioned that what they really want is the government to recognize the Nuaulu religion by itself, as high as other religions, rather than to be categorized as ‘other religion’ or to be recognized as part of a religion that is not theirs. However, for now they think it is better and safer for them to adjust towards Hinduism. As the King mentioned “they have no option. . . . If they don’t, it will be very hard for them to be recognized by the government. So recognized as Hindu, is better than no recognition at all” (Lines 158-161).

4.3. The way the Religion Teacher/Vice Headmaster perceives the Nuaulu belief

For this section it is important to note that the background of the Religion Teacher/Vice Headmaster is Islamic. The Religion Teacher/Vice Headmaster of the school indicated that he is aware that the Nuaulu pupils use Hinduism merely for their registration, since they must register with one of the six official religions. He mentioned that Hinduism is not actually the religion of the Nuaulu pupils. Not all Nuaulu pupils at the school are registered as Hindu however, some are registered as Christian or Islamic. This research has not come across Nuaulu pupils that are registered as Islamic. As for a registration as Christian, this is because there is a Christian school nearby which some Nuaulu pupils attended for their primary education. At this school, one must register as Christian and once changing school, the registration of the old school remains for the new school. Parents 2 have two daughters that are registered at school as Christian, due to the above reasons. It must be noted that their daughters do not follow Christianity, but rather follow only the Nuaulu religion. They thus register as a Christian for the same reason as others register as a Hindu. As described by Parents 2 however, the school seems to view it differently when Nuaulu pupils register as a Christian than when they registers as a Hindu:

The Christian one who is not religion teacher approached them and asked, if you are really Christian, why don’t you go to the church? You live in Nuaulu village, do you go to church and everything? . . . Because they were registered Christian so they are still considered Christian at school. . . . according to her explanation the teacher knows already that they are not Nuaulu {translator means Christian} anymore, but at school they are still considered . . . Christian. . . . They know that they are Nuaulu, but it is like for tradition. For religion they consider these girls as Christian. (Lines 239-241, 247, 250-252, 258, 259)

The Religion Teacher/Vice Headmaster mentioned the following about the Nuaulu pupils that are registered as Christian:

. . . they follow the [Nuaulu] rituals, and it is because they have no rights, like they don't feel comfortable to say to the parents that they don't want to follow the rituals and everything.
(Lines 344-346)

Later in the interview however, the Religion Teacher/Vice Headmaster said that he is actually not sure about how they apply the Christian religion. He mentioned that he is aware of the fact that the Nuaulu pupils are registered this way because their primary education required this.

Furthermore, some participants were asked if they think the school perceives their beliefs as a religion or as a tradition. Though pupils 4 and 6 indicated that they are not sure about this, pupil 1 and pupil 5 replied that the school seems to perceive their beliefs as a tradition rather than as a religion. Pupil 1 argued that for him this is a common thing. Both pupils 1 and 5 mentioned that since the school does not understand their beliefs, it is not a problem for them that their beliefs are not perceived as a religion. They mentioned that this misunderstanding is caused by comparing the Nuaulu beliefs to other religions. Whereas other religions have set worship days, the Nuaulu have rituals that do not frequently occur which according to pupils 1 and 5 may make it seem like a tradition.

Pupil 4 was asked what religion is mentioned on her report book. She said that when she entered SMP, the religion indicated on her report book, and that of many others, was 'Animism Hindu'. Her parents complained about this to the school, and said that their religion is different from Animism and Hindu, and that instead the school should put *suku Nuaulu* on her report book, meaning Nuaulu tribe religion. The school agreed and let the Nuaulu pupils change it by themselves.

When the Religion Teacher/Vice Headmaster was asked in his interview, how he perceives the Nuaulu beliefs, he replied that the Nuaulu have cultural traditions rather than a religion. He is convinced that the Nuaulu people will agree with him on this. He mentioned that all Indonesian people have traditions and besides that their recognized religion. Hence, the Nuaulu have no religion, only a tradition. The Religion Teacher/Vice Headmaster was asked to explain the difference between a tradition and a religion. He explained that a religion according to him has a religious building for worship, has values, provides freedom and has a holy book. As for the Nuaulu belief, he argues that they do not have a place to worship, only the great house, which is part of tradition and not part of religion. Also, the Nuaulu do not have a holy book. Finally, he gives the example that Nuaulu girls have to stay in the *Posune* during their menstruation, banning them from freedom, rather than providing them with freedom like religion does.

The King of Nuanea mentioned in his interview that he thinks the Nuaulu belief should be recognized by the government as a religion. In response to this, he was asked how he finds it to be recognized as a tradition instead. The King replied the following:

For them, by acknowledging them just as a set of values and traditions, it means they don't put their religion as high as other religions, they put it like very low. They think that, by doing that, the government does not care about their religion. But if they can put it as high as other religions, it means that can acknowledge it and it will be great for them. Because they believe in god as well, just the same as other religions, who believe in god. (Lines 221-226)

Although the above quote applies to the categorization of the government, the feeling he has about it is assumed to be similar when the school categorizes their beliefs as a tradition instead of a religion.

4.4. Relationship among pupils

It must be noted that all participants indicated that they enjoy going to school. The pupils in SMP Negeri 6 Amahai are either Nuaulu or Muslim, coming mainly from Nuanea and Banda village. The school mentioned to have some Christian and Muslim Nuaulu pupils. This research has not come across Muslim Nuaulu pupils. Interviews with Christian Nuaulu pupils showed however that the registration as Christian was due to registration requirements at their primary school and not related to following that religion.

The interviews show that the relationship between the Nuaulu students is very strong. The participants frequently mentioned that they are obviously close friends with all other Nuaulu classmates. Regarding the relationship among the Nuaulu pupils and pupils of other religions, it is important to know that it was initially a fear for many Nuaulu people that their children would be introduced to other religions. Many were afraid that this exposure to other religions would make them loose their own religion and therefore decided to ban their children from going to school. It seems that now this kind of thinking has changed. Parents of the Nuaulu pupils indicated in the interviews that it is not a problem and even normal for their children to become friends with people of other religions. The interviews with the pupils also showed that the Nuaulu pupils and the Islamic pupils generally mix and become friends. Several pupils indicated that they feel that the Islamic pupils respect and accept their religion. They sometimes, though not very often, see them outside of school in order to work on projects together or to play together. Also, after harvest time Nuanea village shares fruits with other villages, including the villages of some of their Islamic classmates. It did appear from the answers that although it seemed obvious for the participants to be friends with all Nuaulu

pupils, they usually were close friends with only a couple of their Islamic classmates, not with all of them.

Three out of six interviewed pupils, all from another year, indicated that they faced some difficulties with the Islamic pupils however. Pupil 5 of class 9 mentioned that although he has three close Muslim friends in his class, he found out that some other Islamic classmates have jealousy towards him because he is very close to the teachers. This is something he did not notice among his Nuaulu classmates.

Pupil 4 of class 8 mentioned that during SD, she had the same classmates as she has now. These Islamic classmates insulted them at SD by saying that the Nuaulu religion is unclear and making the comment 'what kind of religion is that'. The Nuaulu pupils at the time replied by saying that they never insult the Islamic religion and therefore they should also not insult their religion. Pupil 4 said that they never did this again at SMP because the teacher asked to let them know if something happens, he said that the students should not be mocking others by their religion and that he will handle it if it does happen.

Pupil 1 of class 7 mentioned that he thinks a few Islamic classmates do not like him because he has a different religion than them. "It is not a lot of them, but they directly say that I don't want to make friend with you because you don't have religion" (Pupil 1, lines 56, 57). A few Islamic pupils said that their parents do not allow them to make friends with the Nuaulu pupils. He mentioned that the same was said to some of his other Nuaulu classmates. The school is aware of the issue since the head of the student association is a Nuaulu student and told the teachers about it. The teacher told the students to not differ people by their religion. After this warning of the teacher, some pupils changed their attitude towards the Nuaulu students, some did not. Pupil 1 mentioned that it does not matter for them because they all have a lot of Nuaulu friends.

4.5. Speaking about religion at school

When asked if the pupils speak about religion at school outside of the religion class, the male pupils responded during the focus group that they never do and have no intention to talk or ask about it. They said however, that maybe this will be different for the girls, maybe they do discuss it. When in turn asking the female pupils, they said that they did not feel comfortable to answer this focus group question. As mentioned in many personal interviews, the respondents are afraid to give wrong information about their religion and also they do not have the authority to discuss their religion deeply. Since the secretary of the village was

present during the focus group, it is assumed that they were afraid he would judge what they share at school about religion as wrong or too deep.

The pupils gave more extensive answers to the question during personal interviews. As for discussing religion among pupils, pupil 1 indicated that he does not discuss religious values with his Islamic classmates, though they do sometimes discuss traditions. Pupil 2 indicated that she talks a lot about religion with her Islamic classmates, she explains them about the rituals and they explain her about the Quran. Pupil 3 said he never speaks about religion at school. Pupil 4 answered that she does sometimes talk about religion with her Islamic classmates, though only with the ones that are her close friends. Pupil 5 mentioned that outside of religion class he generally does not speak about religion, though he did speak about rituals such as the Maku Maku dancing ritual. The Islamic classmates do not consider this dance to be religion but rather a tradition, hence it is not a problem for the Islamic pupils to show interest in the ritual. About five out of twelve pupils even came to see the ritual and complimented them about it. Finally, pupil 6 argued that she speaks about Islam outside of the religion class at school, but never about the Nuauulu religion. The reason for this is that she feels that at her age she cannot fully understand the religion, therefore she is afraid to make mistakes. Since they are registered as Hindu, she mentioned that sometimes her Islamic classmates ask her if she goes to the temple during Hindu national holidays.

As for speaking about religion outside of the religion class with teachers, all pupils indicated that they never do this. Pupil 3 prefers not to discuss religion with teachers, “it is good for me not to talk about my religion because I am going to school to learn, to study” (Lines 162-163).

4.6. Nuauulu language at school

The Religion Teacher/Vice Headmaster, mentioned that it is normal for the Nuauulu pupils to use their traditional language at school. He mentioned that some non-Nuauulu pupils even pick up a few words of their traditional language, and speak it to them. He also mentioned however that some of his colleagues consider the Nuauulu pupils to not be very intelligent, because they use their local language.

The interviews showed that it is indeed normal for many pupils to speak the traditional language at school. For some however, teachers or classmates have asked them not to speak in the traditional language.

Pupil 1 mentioned that he uses the traditional Nuauulu language at school only during the break time and not in class since some teachers and non-Nuauulu classmates have asked

him not to use it. He said during the interview “you shouldn’t ask me not to do that, because I am talking to my people” (Pupil 1, lines 136, 137). The pupil said about the above quote that this is what crosses his mind when teachers or classmates ask him not to use the traditional language, he keeps this thought for himself however and never responds directly to the request. He does talk with his Nuaulu friends about it and tells them that he disagrees. The pupil mentioned that for him using the traditional language is a way to express himself as Nuaulu.

Pupil 2 said that she occasionally uses the language. She said that some people complain about it when she uses the traditional language, she however did not feel comfortable to mention in the interview what people say to her. She did mention that some people expect that they are talking about them, and therefore do not like it when the traditional language is used. Even though they never speak about them, she tries not to use the traditional language anymore in order to respect her classmates. She said that when she uses the traditional language, it is out of habit. Using the traditional language is for her part of being Nuaulu. Her parents, parents 2, argued that the traditional language is part of the Nuaulu religion, and since their daughter is allowed to use it at school they feel that she is free to express her religion at school. It is assumed here that pupil 2 has not shared with her parents that some people complain to her about using the traditional language.

Pupil 3 mentioned in the interview that he does not use the traditional language at school. He says that this is not because people have asked him not to use it, he just prefers to use Bahasa Indonesia when he is at school.

As for pupil 5, he said in the interview that he was asked by teachers not to use the traditional language at school which he respects, “So, for him it’s an institution of the government so we shouldn’t disrespect it and we shouldn’t talk in our language at school” (lines 134, 135).

Finally, pupil 6 said that she sometimes speaks the traditional language at school. She always ensures not to talk about the people that are not able to understand the language. Her non-Nuaulu classmates frequently ask them what they are talking about and some ask them not to use it since it may be about them. About the reaction of the teachers she said the following:

The teachers even not allow them to use their own language at school, because they think like, how if they curse someone in their language? No one will know. So it is better to not use their own language in school, the teacher said. (Lines 66-69)

This requirement is however merely a spoken policy, not a written one. When asked how she thought about it she mentioned that it is better to use Bahasa Indonesia at school and other languages outside of school.

4.7. Rituals

All pupils and parents that have been interviewed, indicated that in the case of Nuauulu rituals, the school gives them free days. This is not only the case when the pupils themselves participate in rituals, but also when they want to be present at rituals of family members. Usually the parents go to the school to ask for the free days for the rituals. Though the school asks for their reason to have days off, all participants argued that when explaining that it is for a ritual, the school gives them space and the approval to take days off. No difficulties regarding this matter have been mentioned during the interviews. This is in line with what the Religion Teacher/Vice Headmaster of the school argued in his interview:

For the school it [taking days off for a ritual] is not something that makes the students not good at school or something, but they took it as very valuable things that they can learn about, more about the tradition. (Religion Teacher/Vice Headmaster, lines 134-136)

Sometimes, especially during the year of examinations and graduation, the school does ask the pupils to limit their free days to 15 days, this was mentioned by parent 4 and parent 6. Parent 6 mentioned that “for him that’s okay because it’s actually helpful, since they give the opportunity for the, for his children to get their time for doing their tradition” (Lines 74, 75). When Parent 6 was asked how long the ritual would have been if the school would not give limitations, he replied that it depends on the parents but that it may be one or two months.

When asked if the pupils were behind at school after their rituals, pupil 2 and 6 both answered that the teachers were very helpful. After the Pinamou ritual, the teachers of pupil 2 asked her to come to class during the break time, so that they could teach her about the chapters she missed. When pupil 6 returned to school after her Pinamou ritual, the teachers asked her classmates to help her with her school work. Pupil 4 mentioned that the Pinamou ritual did not get her behind with schoolwork, due to her own initiative. She mentioned that she found out through her friends which chapters had been discussed in class, she then studied them by herself. All other interviewed pupils did not take many days off for a ritual and therefore this question was not asked to them.

4.8. Religion classes

The school has two religion teachers and provides two hours of religion class per week, per grade. According to the Religion Teacher/Vice Headmaster, both Christian and Islamic religion classes are provided, the Muslim Nuaulu pupils attend the Islamic religion class and the Christian Nuaulu pupils attend the Christian classes. According to all pupils however, only Islamic religion classes are provided. During this research there has not been contact with Nuaulu pupils that are registered as Muslim. Pupil 2 however, is registered to the school as a Christian, though during the interview she seems to use the words Christian and Catholic interchangeably since she may not be aware that Indonesia recognizes Christianity and Catholicism as two different official religions. In contradiction to the Religion Teacher/Vice Headmaster, she mentioned that there is no Catholic/Christian religion class and that she is therefore allowed to attend the Islamic class in which the same rules apply to her as to the other Nuaulu pupils that are registered as Hindu. Her parents mentioned that they find it confusing how the religion classes are handled for their daughters.

During the focus group the Nuaulu pupils were asked to name all subjects they follow. Notable is that the group forgot to mention the religion class. The pupils mentioned that they forgot to mention this subject because they never attend it. Later during the focus group however, they mentioned that they do sometimes join the religion class when the topic is about the basic values of religion. When the classes are about the Quran, the pupils generally do not join. Pupil 5 mentioned that the Nuaulu pupils find it very boring to attend classes about the Quran, but that they all find it very interesting to learn about the basic values of religion. They explained that the teachers tell them the topic of the class beforehand, and allow them to choose if they want to join or not. Please note that this is not the case for their Islamic classmates, they must always join the classes. Another reason to attend the class was mentioned by pupil 4, who said that attending the classes about the basic values of religion may positively influence his score. Pupil 2 does not believe attendance will affect her grade, a reason for her to attend the religion class is that if no one else is leaving the classroom, neither will she. The Religion Teacher/Vice Headmaster added that sometimes pupils join the classes not because they want to join, but rather because their Muslim friends ask them to join them in the classroom.

The Religion Teacher/Vice Headmaster said during the interview that the Nuaulu pupils do not take any exams as part of the religion class. The interviews with the pupils as well as the focus group however, showed that the pupils are allowed to choose if they would like to participate or not. This is not the case for the Islamic classmates. What pupils choose is

mixed, though the majority indicated that they do take some exams in order to get a good grade. Pupil 2 chooses not to take any exams and argued that she does not attend any exams considering that she can still get a high score of 80 or 90 out of 100 based on a good attitude. According to pupil 4, nowadays all Nuaulu pupils attend the exam as result of the teacher's advise.

. . . at least they have the intention to follow the exam. That is all they are asking. . . . They are allowed to follow the examination. Sometimes they don't want to, but then twice the religion teacher told them . . . you better take the exam because there are a lot of questions that you might can answer some of it. (Lines 234, 235, 238-242)

When asked about the difficulty of the exams, almost all participants that took the exams replied that they are able to answer some questions, though the questions about the Quran or the questions in Arabic are too difficult for them and therefore the teacher allows them to skip it. Pupil 3 had a score of 80 out of 100 for his exam, this is the highest score among all Nuaulu pupils and higher than many Islamic pupils. The pupil mentioned that he thinks he has a higher score because the Islamic classmates seem to take the exam for granted and the Nuaulu classmates are insecure about the exam and therefore sometimes delete their answer considering it may be wrong. He himself really has the intention to fulfil the test and never deletes any answers, he feels comfortable to answer all questions that he knows.

The Religion Teacher/Vice Headmaster is responsible for the religion class grading of all pupils. He explains that their grade for the religion class is based on how active they are at school, if they have good grades in other subjects, if they dress politely and if they act politely to other people. This is based on the mission of Joko Widodo, as stated in the newest curriculum, Indonesia must start a mental revolution in which attitudes are included in the grading and the focus must no longer be only on knowledge. It is thus essential that the Religion Teacher/Vice Headmaster knows the pupils one by one so that he can observe their behaviour. He mentions that he sometimes gives the minimum score just so that they can pass the course, but that he sometimes also gives them a high score if their attitude is good. Over the years, he has given several Nuaulu pupils the maximum score of 100, due to their very good attitude. The reason for him to give someone who does not follow Islam, a maximum score for the Islamic religion class is the following:

. . . the definition literally by word 'agama' in Indonesia, it means put everything in order, being polite and everything. So, not in chaos, so the definition of 'agama' literally by word. So, according to him, the religion asks them to be in order, not put everything in chaos. So

how if the students of Nuaulu they are very very very polite in everything, meaning they do what religion asks them, even if they have no religion. . . . sometimes he thought like, maybe if they were born Christian or Muslim, they will be even [more] obey than others. Because they act very polite, they do all the things that they have to do, something like that. So that is the reason. So it is just because he is born, that that student is born in that family with that religion, that is why he should be like that and he doesn't understand anything about religion. But then, if they act like that, it will be very possible for them to get a ten of ten. (The Religion Teacher/Vice Headmaster, lines 539-544, 546-551)

Sometimes teachers as well as the parents of the Islamic pupils complain about this and question why people with no religion can get a better score for the religion class, than people with a religion. He always replies by saying that religion asks people to be very polite and that if the Nuaulu act in accordance to this and thus do what religion asks people to do, how can he give them a lower score? As for the complaining teachers, he is generally able to make them understand it and agree with him. As for the parents of the Islamic pupils, only several parents show their understanding. According to the Religion Teacher/Vice Headmaster, Islamic classmates never complain about it, it is okay for them if a Nuaulu pupil gets a higher score than them.

The focus group and the personal interviews showed that all pupils are aware that besides class attendance and the exam score, several other aspects influence the grade. Most pupils mention that attitude is one of the aspects on which a grade is based, though they are not all aware of what exactly weights in having a good attitude. In the focus groups it was argued that attitude entails how they think and act, how often they go to school and if they take the exam. The Nuaulu pupils do generally think that if an Islamic pupil has the same attitude as them, the Islamic classmate will get a higher final grade due to a higher exam score. During the focus group, some argued that if someone has only a good attitude and someone else only has a good exam score, they will get the same final grade. Others however, thought that the exam aspect of the grade weighs more than the attitude aspect, as can be seen below:

For example she is Muslim and she is Nuaulu girl {points at people in class} and her [Nuaulu] friend getting a lower score but she is having a good attitude, and she [Muslim] gets the higher score but she got bad attitude towards the teacher. They will give them the different score. The Muslim one will get higher than the Nuaulu one, and the Nuaulu one will get lower. . . . They think it's fair enough. Because for them giving the grade based on the attitude they have is actually one of the aspects. (Focus group, lines 225-229, 235, 236)

Furthermore, pupil 2 mentioned that although the maximum score is 100, the Nuaulu pupils are only able to get a score of 70. The interviews showed however that this is not true, since some participants mentioned that they have obtained scores of 80 or 85. Pupil 4 mentioned that in fact sometimes the Nuaulu pupils score higher than the Islamic classmates because their attitude is not good. Pupil 5 got a score of 60 out of 100, his mother mentioned that this low score is likely because the teacher is not from the Nuaulu religion. Considering what is mentioned above, this does not seem to be the case.

The participants were asked what they think of the way the school handles the religion classes for the Nuaulu pupils. Generally all participants expressed that it seems fair to them, many even argue that they feel thankful for how the school is accommodating them in this situation. Pupil 3 mentioned that according to him, the school puts a lot of effort into helping the pupils with their score. Pupil 2 mentioned that she frequently discusses with her friends that they are very thankful to the teacher because they feel that they should actually not receive any grade. The teacher makes it possible for them to pass the course, even though it may be a very standard grade like 70, they are thankful. Her parents mentioned in the interview that they accept it when their daughter has a lower grade for the religion class, because it is not about her own religion.

4.9. School activities related to religion

The Religion Teacher/Vice Headmaster mentioned during his interview that as a school activity, the pupils sometimes clean religious buildings. As examples he said that they had cleaned the mosque, a church, as well as the great house of the Nuaulu, which is located in Nuanea village. The purpose of this activity is to learn how to tolerate classmates of other communities and to learn about other religions. Students of all backgrounds therefore participate in the different cleaning projects. Please note that this is a school project and not part of the religion class.

Notable is that the participants indicated that their classmates never came to their village as part of a school activity. Pupil 4 is the mentor of the student association and mentioned that they do have a cleaning programme, she however indicated that this only applies to cleaning the mosque and that they never cleaned the great house in Nuanea as part of this activity. Whether what the Religion Teacher/Vice Headmaster claimed is false and rather only applies to cleaning the mosque, or whether the cleaning of the great house in Nuanea took place many years ago, is uncertain.

4.10. Regulations

During the focus group, the following was said about the red head piece, called *Karanunu*, worn by Nuaulu men:

. . . at the beginning, . . . the boys. They couldn't go to school, actually they could but, they didn't feel right to go to school with the red cloth over their head. So, sometimes they would take it off before they get to school and put it back when they get out the school. . . . pupil 5, he thinks that it will be more polite if he took it off because he doesn't feel good if he puts the red cloth over his head, but other friends, the Muslim, that doesn't wear their one. Because they have like the black one, black and sometimes white over their head for the Muslim one. But they [the Muslims] took it off before they go to school. So, all of the boys go to school without putting their head cover. But then, after several days, after the anniversary of the school, they allow them to wear their red cloth every Friday, every Thursday and Friday now. (Lines 322-332)

Later during the personal interview, pupil 5 added that he took off his headpiece out of respect for other religions at school. The policy that allows the Nuaulu pupils to wear the head piece on Thursdays and Fridays was introduced one year after he started wearing it. He mentioned that he was very happy when the policy was introduced. When he first wore the headpiece to the school, the Islamic pupils did not mention anything about it. The Religion Teacher/Vice Headmaster said the following about this policy:

The school actually finally took a decision to let the Nuaulu students to use the red head cover, which is actually part of the value they wanted to express to other students. Like, this is Nuaulu students, they have the right to express themselves at school, something like that. So, that's why it is only locally at school. They decided to let them know that they are allowed to use the red head cover every Thursday. (Lines 109-113)

As argued by the Religion Teacher/Vice Headmaster, the government obliges students not to dress with "their own things" (Line 701). The school made an adjustment so that the Nuaulu can express themselves, allowing the males to wear their *Karanunu* on Thursdays and Fridays. Another adjustment the school made to the government policies, to accommodate the Nuaulu, is about the attendance. The government has strict policies in which too much absence can result in not passing the year. For this reason, the school does not mention the absence of the Nuaulu pupils during the religion classes in their report book. "That's why

according to him, the students feel more comfortable . . . some of Nuaulu from other villages came here, just because of the regulations that helped them a lot” (Lines 708-711).

4.11. Possession

During the personal interviews, pupil 4 told a story about possession at the school. To see how a situation like this is handled by the school as well as by the pupils, can be interesting in the analysis of how religions are handled at the school.

Pupil 4 argued that her Islamic and Nuaulu classmates, though mostly Nuaulu, frequently got possessed. It happened a lot in the past year, though towards the end of the year it was not that frequent anymore. The reason for the possession is believed to be that at the time the school got build, they didn’t get permission from the people who own the land. She mentioned that usually it happens to one or two pupils at the same time, though once eight pupils got possessed at the same time, everyone was shouting. A situation description was given during the interview, about the first time that there was possession in her class:

After they finish the school time there was an extra class for religion class. . . . And then, three of them from Nuanea stay with other Muslim students. And, that [Nuaulu] girl started coughing and she bend her head like this, and she is not moving. . . . And when someone approached, she started to grab the hair and everything and she was like screaming and shouting. . . . And, they didn’t know what to do so they called the teacher. But, the situation didn’t change and she started attacking her friends. And one other friend that she attacked at the time start possessed again. . . . So, it was two of them get possessed. And because they cannot taking care of them anymore, then they took them home. But, she wasn’t stop get possessed when, even when she was home. And, they called like smart people like something like that, who can get rid of the spirit and it was done at the time, like after three or four hours after they get home. (Pupil 4, lines 91, 92, 95-99, 101-103, 105-109)

Moreover, since this incident parents sometimes ask their children not to go to school because they fear for possession. She indicated however, that the pupils did not listen to this, and continued to go to school like before. When a situation like this happens, the teacher always tries to reach the parents in order to get them home, while in the meanwhile trying to stop the possession, usually in the Islamic way by praying.

4.12. Discrimination

Whereas no direct cases of discrimination were mentioned by any of the pupils. The Religion Teacher/Vice Headmaster of the school, mentioned the following case of discrimination by the teachers, towards the Nuaulu pupils:

. . . it happens rarely, but sometimes, because the way they [the Nuaulu pupils] look, the curly hair too curly and untied and everything. They look like people from nowhere. And their skin sometimes looks too dark. And they make fun of it, the teachers. Sometimes in front, sometimes not. . . . And then another part is, sometimes they came to school at the rain time, and they don't care about their dirty clothes because of the rain and everything. And, because of some, some other people will very care about how they look [when they] go to school. But for some of them, they don't care about it. And when they arrive to school, yeah because you are Nuaulu then you get go to school like that, it doesn't has a problem. You don't think that you dress up good or not because you are Nuaulu.(Lines 613-617, 622, 628)

The Religion Teacher/Vice Headmaster said that he himself knows what it is like to be discriminated. When he was in other parts of Indonesia in the past, he had experienced discrimination towards him. Hence, he recognizes discrimination easily and is eager to stop it. The way he manages such situations is by asking the discriminated pupils to report to him immediately, after which he will directly talk to the teacher that discriminated. In some cases, he will ask the teacher and pupil to solve it by talking to each other. It was also mentioned by some participants that they should tell the teacher if incidents like this happen.

4.13. Suggestion for a Nuaulu teacher

At the end of the focus group, the pupils were asked if they had something to add. A pupil that comes from SD and is about to attend SMP replied that he would like the government to provide them with a Nuaulu teacher at school. This would enable them to have religion classes about the Nuaulu religion. When asked for the thoughts of other pupils on this matter, generally all pupils seemed to agree. The pupils did argue that they realize it must be difficult to get a Nuaulu teacher. A group of girls started to discuss the matter among themselves, while whispering. This happened even though the translator encouraged them to share their own ideas rather than their ideas as a group. Because the girls did not reply yet if they liked the idea, and were discussing for some time, pupil 2 said that if they discuss this matter for too long, maybe they are not proud to be Nuaulu. Finally, the girls replied what is written below:

They [a group of girls] agree with the previous opinion that it may should, that the government should pay attention on it [and provide Nuaulu teachers to give Nuaulu religion classes]. But, since the ancestor said that this religion shouldn't be covered too deep about others. . . . It shouldn't be in the same class as the Muslim one, but it should be separately in the separate room for example. So, the people who are getting to know about Nuaulu better are just about the people who are really Nuaulu. So, the Muslim one shouldn't know to deep about it. (Lines 384-386, 389-393)

Based on this focus group discussion, during all interviews this topic was also discussed in order to find out if this is a common desire among the Nuaulu. All participants indicated during the personal interviews that they would be thankful if one day they could get classes about the Nuaulu religion, given by a Nuaulu teacher. All pupils were aware that this is currently not an option however. Also, as indicated by parents 2 however, Indonesia does not offer an official study programme to become a Nuaulu Religion Teacher.

It was mentioned to the Religion Teacher/Vice Headmaster during the interview that according to Komnas HAM, SMP Negeri 9 in Rouhua village focuses the local content subject on the Nuaulu religion. He replied that he knows the school and that the pupils there are all Nuaulu. He tried the same for SMP Negeri 6 Amahai, the Headmaster did not give permission however, considering that not all students are Nuaulu, and “a lot of students are Muslim and they think that if they do too much effort to the Nuaulu one, the Muslims, yeah they are going to lose them. Because a lot of SMP around the school” (Lines 777-779).

4.14. Opinion on freedom of the Nuaulu religion at school

All participants were asked what their opinion is on the way the school is handling religion and their own freedom of religion at the school. Also the participants were asked if they had any suggestions. In all interviews the participants either expressed that they see no problems and think the way it is handled is okay, or the participants would express that they think the school handles it very well. Several parents indicated that they do not know a lot about the school of their children, but that they trust the school to make the right decisions and handle it in the right way. No participant has replied to this question that the way the school handles religious diversity is undesirable, or that there is no freedom of religion. Pupil 6 for instance argued that everyone is treated the same and that no distinction is made between Muslim students and Nuaulu students. Similar reactions are seen below:

The way they handle it is good enough because they don't see it by religion. They see it by the attitude, so they don't care if you are Muslim or if you are Nuaulu. If your attitude is good you are a good student. But, if your attitude is not good even though you are Muslim or you are Nuaulu you get the same treat. (Pupil 5, lines 249-252)

So for her, she feels happy. She considers the teachers as very caring about them, about what they have and what they are going through. So for her it's very helpful, she finds it very helpful and like, she thanks god for that, for helping everything in school. (Pupil 2, lines 308-310)

5. CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

5.1. Conclusion

The central question of this research is: *Is there freedom of religion for the Nuaulu pupils at SMP Negeri 6 Amahai? If so, how do the Nuaulu pupils experience and perceive this freedom, and what possible role do the religious diversity management approaches of the school and the Indonesian government play in this?*

To conclude, and answer this research question, it is important to first look at Indonesia's religious diversity management. The state's approach to religious diversity plays a role in the religious diversity management applied by SMP Negeri 6 Amahai, and consequently in the freedom of religion for the Nuaulu pupils. The way in which it plays a role is mainly by making the school reflect the Pancasila in its religious diversity management, which recognizes only six religions. Consequently, the school should recognize the religion of the Islamic pupils as official and the religion of the Nuaulu pupils as unofficial. As a result, the Nuaulu pupils must register with one of the six religions rather than their own, are obliged to follow religious education about one of the recognized religions, receive content in all subjects that relate to religious values retrieved from the recognized religions, and get holidays based on the feasts of the recognized religions.

Whereas the approach as suggested by the Indonesian government would restrict the freedom of religion of the Nuaulu pupils, SMP Negeri 6 Amahai applies an approach that allows some flexibility and therefore provides the Nuaulu with more freedom to express their beliefs, as can be read below. For this reason, it is debatable whether there is freedom of religion for the Nuaulu pupils at SMP Negeri 6 Amahai. Considering that the Nuaulu belief is not recognized by the school as a religion, which is assumed to be the result of Indonesia's public discourse and the Pancasila, there is no direct freedom of religion for the Nuaulu pupils at SMP Negeri 6 Amahai. Indirectly however, as a result of the school's aim to provide freedom of tradition, the Nuaulu pupils do have a relatively high amount of freedom to express their religion. On the one hand, it can be seen as discriminatory that the school does not recognize the Nuaulu beliefs as a religion, but rather as a tradition. On the other hand, considering Indonesia's context, the Nuaulu can more easily express their religion at school due to the school's aim to provide freedom of tradition. Hence, for the school to strive for freedom of tradition is a remarkable approach towards religious diversity. It allows the school to a great extent obey the laws of the government while simultaneously providing freedom to the Nuaulu pupils to express their traditions. Please note this approach has never directly been

mentioned in any of the interviews, but rather shows from thorough analysis. It is assumed that the school has not deliberately chosen this approach and rather solely intended to accommodate the Nuaulu in their tradition, indirectly resulting in a strategic approach that balances to accommodate the state in its policies and the Nuaulu pupils in the expression of their beliefs. Generally all Nuaulu pupils mentioned in the interviews that they experience that the school provides them with freedom to express their religion, they perceive this as positive and expressed their gratitude. Several pupils also mentioned to be thankful that the school does not distinguish between them and the Islamic pupils, focusing on pupils' attitudes instead. Ways in which the school accommodates the Nuaulu pupils in order to give them more freedom to express their traditions are for instance to give Nuaulu the pupils free days for rituals; give them freedom to attend or not attend the Islamic religion classes by grading the Nuaulu students on their attitude instead and not mentioning their absence in their report books; by letting the pupils write their own religion on their report book; and by letting the male pupils wear their Karanunu on Thursdays and Fridays. The school has also clearly stated to all pupils that one must not discriminate people, based on their background.

The Vice Headmaster who is also a Religion Teacher did mention that there is a challenge faced in accommodating the Nuaulu in their tradition, which is to balance it well with regard to the treatment of the Islamic pupils. Since many pupils of the school are Islamic and the competition among the schools is relatively high, the Headmaster is afraid that when accommodating the Nuaulu too much in their tradition, the Islamic pupils may become unsatisfied and consequently enrol at another school. An example was that the Vice Headmaster has suggested the 'local content subject' to entail information about the Nuaulu religion. The Headmaster rejected this idea due to the fear to lose the Islamic pupils. Entailing content about the Nuaulu religion in the 'local content subject' is done by another school at Seram island that is only attended by Nuaulu pupils. All participants argued in their interviews that they would like this to be included at their school as well. They did mention however that this class must be taught by a Nuaulu teacher and may only be attended by Nuaulu pupils and not by Islamic pupils. This is because based on their beliefs, they must not share deep information about their religion with non-Nuaulu people. Another issue the school faces is whether to allow the local Nuaulu language or not. From the interviews it showed that the Nuaulu pupils see their local language as part of their identity and see it as a way to express their religion. The teachers, as well as the Islamic pupils, do not understand their language however and often do not feel comfortable when the Nuaulu use their own language

at school. The interviews showed that there is no clear policy at the school about the use of the Nuaulu language, whereas some teachers allow it, others do not.

5.2. Discussion

As mentioned before, no similar research has yet been conducted. For this reason, this thesis is believed to add knowledge to the research topics of freedom of religion in Indonesian education; the effect of Indonesia's religious diversity management on education; and the religious diversity management approaches applied by schools. It is expected that the findings of this research will be particularly interesting for schools that are in a similar situation as SMP Negeri 6 Amahai, teaching to pupils who follow a non-recognized religion while having to abide by Indonesia's approach towards religious diversity, and in particular the Pancasila. It could be interesting for these schools to see how SMP Negeri 6 Amahai is managing this situation, and serve as an example.

5.3. Limitations

The main limitation to this research is that the researcher does not speak Indonesian. For this reason, limited Indonesian literature is included in this research and a translator had to be involved in data collection. Another limitation is that the views of the Islamic pupils attending SMP Negeri 6 Amahai, have not been included in this research. This was decided in order to focus fully on building trust with the Nuaulu people. When the Nuaulu pupils would know that also the Islamic pupils would be interviewed, it may have distorted the trust or caused tension at the school. Finally, it is considered a limitation that no central theory or model was appropriate to apply to this research, addressing religious diversity management in education in a similar context.

5.4. Recommendations

The recommendations in this research are aimed at the meso level, namely at SMP Negeri 6 Amahai. It can be seen from the analysis on the macro level that the school is highly influenced by the Indonesian government, especially by the Pancasila ideology that recognizes only six religions to be official. Considering this context, it is impossible for SMP Negeri 6 Amahai to enable complete freedom of religion for the Nuaulu pupils. For this to happen, change must come from the government. Considering the religious tensions in Indonesia and the country's complex system and history that contribute to its current religious diversity management however, this change seems very unlikely.

The recommendations in this research focus on how SMP Negeri 6 Amahai can best manage the religious diversity, while abiding by the state's laws. Considering the adjustments the school is making in order to accommodate the Nuaulu pupils in their tradition, and the positive way in which the pupils experience and perceive this, little intervention and change to the current approach is recommended.

Since all participants indicated that they would like to receive education about the Nuaulu religion, as is done at a school in Rouhua, it is recommended for SMP Negeri 6 Amahai to reconsider hiring a Nuaulu teacher that can provide classes about the Nuaulu traditions during the local content classes. It is then recommended to split the class and only offer it to the Nuaulu pupils. This way, the Headmaster does not have to worry about dissatisfying the Islamic students, and the Nuaulu students do not have to worry about sharing deep information about their religion with non-Nuaulu people.

Furthermore, considering that the school does not have clear rules on local language usage, the school is recommended to create a policy that provides clarity. This policy could abolish the currently unclear situation in which some teachers allow it and some do not. This clarity is important, as the Nuaulu consider their local language as an important aspect of their Nuaulu identity and consider it as a way to express their religion. In the case that local content classes on the Nuaulu religion would be provided, the school could decide to allow the local language during this subject as well as during breaks, and require the use of Bahasa Indonesia during all other classes. The use of Bahasa Indonesia during education is also required by Indonesian law.

5.5. Future research

As for future research, it is recommended to apply a similar study, yet focusing on a different case of an Indonesian SMP school that is in a somewhat similar situation as SMP Negeri 6 Amahai. It would be interesting to compare the results and see how other schools manage the situation. This could help schools that face the same situation in managing religious diversity under Indonesian law.

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APPENDIX A: Sub-questions

Macro-level

1. *Religious diversity management by the Indonesian government*
 - 1.1. How is the religious demography of Indonesia?
 - 1.2. How does the Indonesian government manage religious diversity in Indonesia?
 - 1.3. How does Indonesia treat indigenous religions?
 - 1.4. How does the Indonesian government manage religious diversity in education?
2. *Education in Indonesia*
 - 2.1. How does the school system in Indonesia work?
 - 2.2. What is the curriculum that is applied for Indonesia's Junior High Schools?
 - 2.3. What role does religion play at Indonesian Junior High Schools?

Meso-level

2. *Religious diversity management by SMP Negeri 6 Amahai*
 - 2.1. How does SMP Negeri 6 Amahai manage religious diversity in general?
 - 2.2. How does SMP Negeri 6 Amahai handle the religion of the Nuaulu students?
 - 2.3. To what extent is SMP Negeri 6 Amahai influenced by the Indonesian government on how religious diversity should be managed?

Micro-level:

1. *The Nuaulu people*
 - 1.1. Who are the Nuaulu people?
 - 1.2. What is the Nuaulu religion?
 - 1.3. How are the Nuaulu people recognized by the Indonesian government?
 - 1.4. What role does education play for the Nuaulu people?
2. *Freedom of religion at SMP Negeri 6 Amahai*
 - 2.1. How do the Nuaulu pupils and their parents experience the religious diversity management of SMP Negeri 6 Amahai?
 - 2.2. How do the Nuaulu pupils and their parents perceive the religious diversity management of SMP Negeri 6 Amahai?
 - 2.3. Is there freedom of religion at SMP Negeri 6 Amahai?
 - 2.4. How does the (non)existence of freedom of religion at SMP Negeri 6 Amahai show?

APPENDIX B: Overview of interviews

No.	Interviews	Class	Date	Duration
1	Focus group (M,F) 20 SMP pupils	7, 8, 9	June 27	01:15:40
2	Pupil 1 (M)	7	July 1	00:58:34
3	Parent 1 (F)		July 1	00:23:46
4	Pupil 2 (F)	7	June 29	01:16:46
5	Parents 2 (M,F)		June 29	01:18:50
6	Pupil 3 (M)	8	July 1	00:32:14
7	Parent 3 (M)		July 1	00:22:56
8	Pupil 4 (F)	8	July 1	01:21:49
9	Parent 4 (M)		July 2	00:37:33
10	Pupil 5 (M)	9	July 1	00:54:38
11	Parent 5 (F)		June 29	00:52:57
12	Pupil 6 (F)	9	July 1	00:49:43
13	Parent 6 (F)		July 3	00:23:03
14	Religion Teacher/Vice Headmaster (M)	N/A	June 30	02:32:56
15	Nuanea King (M)	N/A	June 30	01:05:51

APPENDIX C: Semi-structured question lists

Semi-structured questions for focus group pupils

- Introduction research
- Introduction pupils
- Can someone please tell us something to the school you go to?
- Where is the school?
- Do you enjoy going to school?
- How many people are in each class?
- How many teachers work at the school?
- What are the backgrounds of the pupils and teachers?
- What are your favourite subjects?
- What are your least favourite subjects?
- Can someone please tell me something about the religion class?
- Are you following the classes? Why?
- What do you think of the religion classes?
- Outside of the religion class, do you ever discuss religion with classmates or teachers?
What do you discuss?
- Can someone tell me how the school handles things related to your rituals?
- Does anyone have experiences related to religion in school, they would like to share?
- How do you think religion is handled in your school?
- Do you have any suggestions on how the school could manage it?
- Do you have any questions or something to add?

Semi-structured interview questions pupils

- Introduction research
- Can you please tell us something about yourself?
- Can you please tell us something about Nuanea?
- Can you please tell us something about your religion?
- Do you enjoy going to school? Why?
- What are your classmates like?
- How close are you to non-Nuaulu students?
- Do you feel that the non-Nuaulu students are taking your religion seriously? Why?
- Do you sometimes discuss religion with classmates? What do you discuss?
- Do you sometimes use the Nuaulu language at school? Why? Reactions?
- What are your teachers like?
- Do you sometimes discuss religion with your teachers? What do you discuss?
- Do you feel that the teachers are taking your religion serious?
- Do you go to the religion classes? How often? Why?
- What was your religion class score?
- Are you satisfied with the score?
- How does your score compare to the score of classmates?
- Does the school ever organise activities that address religion?
- What are your thoughts on the religion classes?
- In general speaking, not only in religion class, to what extent do you feel that you can express your religion?
- Have there been any situations in which according to you the school handled religion in a problematic or positive way? If yes, please describe?
- How is the attitude of the school and classmates towards rituals?
- Overall, what is your opinion on how the school handles religion?
- Do you have any suggestions on how the school handles religion?
- Someone in the focus group suggested to have Nuaulu religion classes with a Nuaulu teacher, what do you think of this idea?
- Is there anything you would like to add to the interview or do you have any questions?

Semi- structured interview questions parents

- Introduction research
- Could you please tell us something about your family?
- Could you please tell us something about the education of your child(ren)?
- Why do you send your children to school?
- What is your plan for the education of your child?
- Can you please tell us something about your religion?
- How involved is your child with the Nuaulu religion?
- What do you do to involve your children with religion?
- Could you please tell us something about your child's school and class?
- Do you think your child is enjoying school?
- How is the relationship of your child with classmates and the teachers?
- Is the school sometimes in contact with you as parents? When?
- Could you please tell us something about the religion classes of your child?
- What do you think of the religion classes of your child?
- In general, not only in the religion classes, to what extent do you think that your child is able to express his or her religion?
- Have you followed education as a child? If yes, do you see any changes in the way the school handled religion then and now?
- Have there been any situations in which according to you the school handled religion in a problematic or positive way? If yes, please describe?
- Do you think that your child ever experienced any problems related to religion at school?
- What do you think of the way the school handles religion.
- Do you have any suggestions on how the school could handle religion?
- The government only recognizes six religions, what are your thoughts on this?
- What effect do you think it will have if a Nuaulu teacher would give Nuaulu religion classes at the school?
- Is there anything you would like to add to this interview or do you have any questions?

Semi- structured interview questions teacher

- Introduction ourselves
- Recording permission
- Introduction teacher
 - o Where does he come from?
- Could you please tell us about your career?
 - o For how long have you been working as a religion teacher?
 - o For how many schools did you work?
 - o Why did you become a religious teacher?
- How many hours a week do you work at the school?
- Which classes (7, 8, 9) do you teach?
- Could you please explain us about the religion classes?
 - o Content/ Curriculum
 - o Exams
- Do know all students personally?
- Do you enjoy your work? Why (not)?
- Your religion classes are about Islam, how is the situation for non-Islamic students regarding the religion classes?
- Could you please tell us something specifically about the Nuaulu students?
- How do the Nuaulu students participate in your classes?
- How do non-Nuaulu classmates view the Nuaulu students according to you?
- Can you please tell us something about the attitude of the Nuaulu students in your classes? Compared to the Muslim students or students of other religions?
- Can you please tell us something about the participation of the Nuaulu students in the exam? Compared to the Muslim students or students of other religions?
- How do you grade students?
 - o What aspects do you consider in the grading of the students?
- What is the average grade for your class of the Nuaulu students compared to the Muslim students and students of other religions? Why?
 - o What do you think of this?
- Are there any difficulties that you face regarding the Nuaulu students and religion classes?
 - o Is there something you do to overcome the difficulties? If so, what?

- Allowed to wear the headpiece?
 - Allowed to speak their local language?
- Are there any difficulties that you face regarding the Islamic students and religion classes?
 - Is there something you do to overcome the difficulties? If so, what?
- Are there any difficulties that you face regarding students of other religions and religion classes?
 - Is there something you do to overcome the difficulties? If so, what?
- Do you ever notice cases of discrimination at school? If so, what, is there anything you do to prevent this?
- How free are you in deciding how to handle the situation of the Nuaulu students and your religion classes?
- Are there school policies or governmental policies regarding the participation of the Nuaulu students in the religion classes?
- Are there governmental or school policies that apply to:
 - Religion
 - Local languages
 - Discrimination
- Does the head of the school or colleagues give you guidance on how to deal with the situation of the Nuaulu students and your classes?
- Is it a topic of discussion among the teachers on how to handle religious situations?
 - General
 - Religious class
- What do you think of the way the school treats the Nuaulu students?
- Do you have any suggestions?
- By law, Nuaulu is not recognized as a religion by itself. What do you think of this?
- Sisdiknas mentions that teachers who teach religion, must embrace the same religion as the students. What do you think of this?
- In SMP Negeri 9 SATAP, the Nuaulu students have content about the Nuaulu religion in their local content course. What do you think of this idea?
- Questions, something to add?

Semi- structured interview questions King Nuanea

- Since when do Nuaulu people go to school?
- What led to the decision for people to follow education?
- By the government, only six religions are recognized. What do you think of this?
- Sometimes I read or hear that some see the Nuaulu religion as traditions and values, not religion. How do you feel about this?