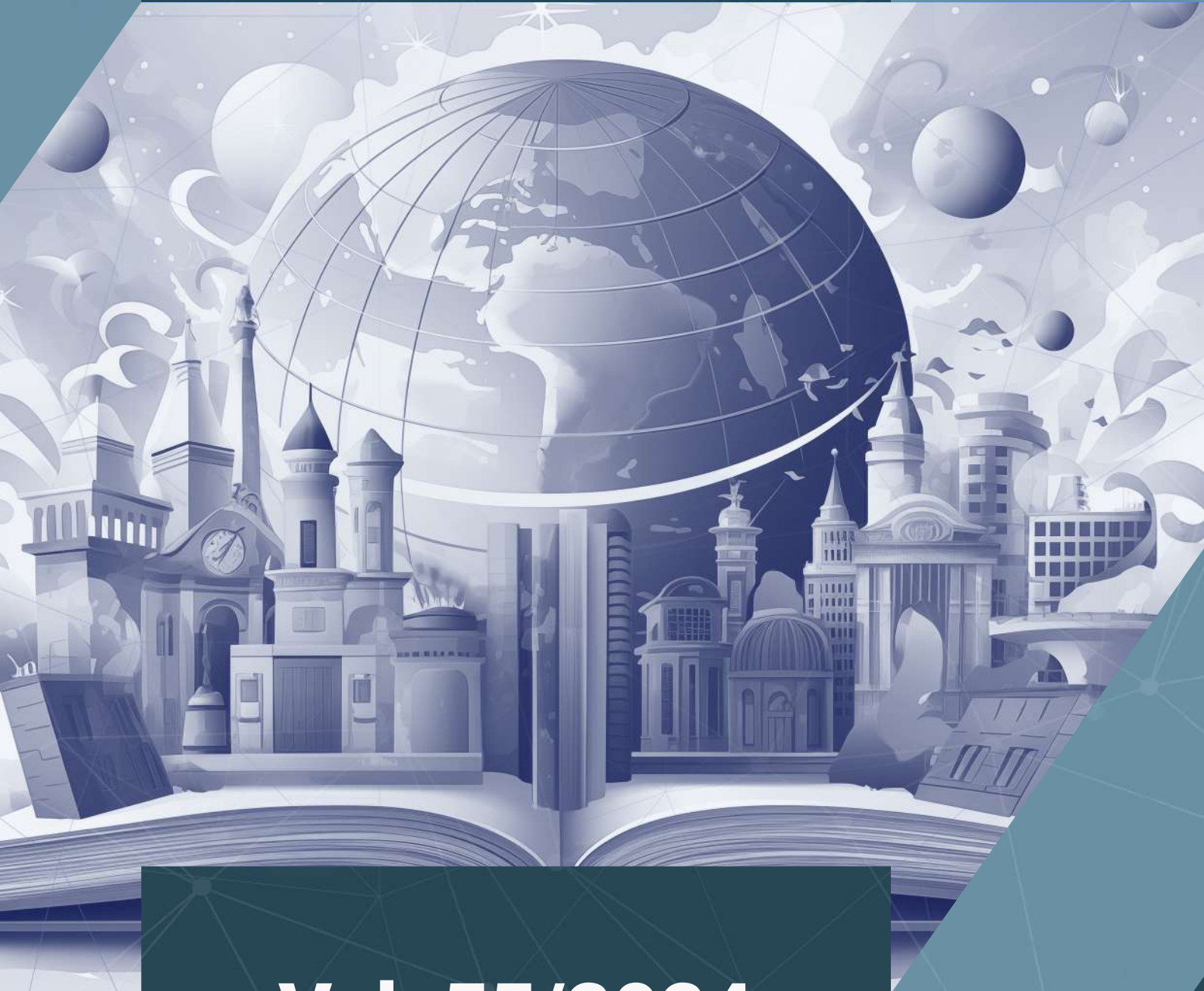




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Multicultural-Based Public Policy: The Experience of Indonesia in Managing Diversity for National Resilience.

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Abstract. Management of societal diversity through multicultural-based public policies is an interesting issue that is developing in the democratic system of the Indonesian nation today. This research aims to analyze multicultural-based public policy in three elements such as managing diversity, democratic politics, and national identity in strengthening Indonesia's national resilience. Through a study of the intertextuality of documents on multicultural issues, this research analyzes library data related to the policy concepts, regulations, and responses of society to the practice of multicultural policies in the public sector. The findings of this research describe several multicultural policies that are difficult to implement in the democratic political system of Indonesia. It often deals with identity politics based on religion. To strengthen national identity, the Indonesian government applies two essential philosophies in all aspects of national life, namely *Pancasila* and *Bhineka Tunggal Ika*. Both contain strong multicultural values as the historical heritage of the Indonesian society which are continuously maintained through the policy of establishing the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency (BPIP). Multicultural-based public policies have strengthened national identity, nationalism attitude, social integration of society that supports the resilience of the Indonesian nation for unity in its diversity to date.

Keywords. Multicultural Approach, Public Policy, Managing Diversity, Pancasila, Bhineka Tunggal Ika.

1. Introduction

Globalization and internationalization of public issues have become an interesting discourse for the practice of multiculturalism in the contemporary era. The Indonesian people have their own experience in managing the diversity of society for the common prosperity of all its citizens. This experience is historically demonstrated by the national consensus in the dictum: *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity) (Hoon, 2017; Utami & Widiadi, 2016).

Nowadays, Indonesia is the fourth most populous country and one of the most culturally and linguistically diverse countries. Indonesia consists of around 1,340 ethnic groups and has 2,500 regional languages (Sekretariat Jenderal MPR RI, 2020). For the Indonesian government,

it is not easy to manage the diversity of society with a high level of pluralism. The challenges in managing diversity are increasingly visible when it comes to religion and humanitarian affairs, such as justice, equality, and peace (Sumadi, 2012).

One of the diversity management of Indonesian society that remains interesting to study is the multicultural policy applied to the public sector, accommodating the interests of all citizens. In the context of religious diversity, the government through the Ministry of Religious Affairs has established several policies to strengthen the harmony of religious community that can be established with local culture (Futaqi & Mashuri, 2021).

Besides religious diversity, ethnic issues also became a consideration for the importance of multicultural policies in the public sphere. The issue of ethnic Chinese is increasingly getting to the fore in the political dynamics of Indonesia. Hoon's analysis (2006) shows that there is a process of democratization that has given rise to the proliferation of identity politics in post-Soeharto Indonesia. This identity politics often brings issues of religion with nuances of ethnocentrism in mobilizing the power of the supporting masses for certain political affiliations.

The above view inspires everyone to see cultural diversity as a potential treasure in building shared prosperity. Diversity is not a burden and an obstacle in the interaction of interreligious and intercultural social life. Cultural pluralism is seen as a social asset that has high value in strengthening community integration and national identity that supports the success of the development of Indonesia (Futaqi, 2019; Matas & Bridges, 2009).

A critical note from Hoon (2017) approves that although Indonesia naturally has diverse cultures, it has not yet become a multicultural society. It seems that multiculturalism is still not practiced in Indonesia, especially in public policy, civil awareness, and minority rights. The plurality of religion, politics, economy, and culture which sociologically is the objective reality of Indonesian society (Molan, 2015). Therefore, it is important to be managed with a multicultural approach and to be put on the public policy agenda of the Indonesian State for sustainable resilience.

Based on the realities previously mentioned, Indonesian society needs a multicultural approach that is built on the principles of justice and equality in managing all diversities. The issue of this study has not yet been sufficiently explored by multiculturalism researchers in the context of managing diversity through multicultural-based public policy in Indonesia. This study contributes to all Indonesian government officials and society to work together in producing multicultural policies that are responsive to the protection of diversity as a basic right of every citizen.

2. Literature review

2.1 The Concept of Multiculturalism in Diversity Studies

In the context of managing diversity, multiculturalism has become a terminology in the discourse of diversity. There are three terms commonly used as concepts to describe a society with regional, racial, religious, linguistic, and cultural diversity. Conceptually, plurality and diversity are terms that only denote the objective reality of the existence of diversity, while multicultural places differences in the same and equal position in the public sphere (Lash & Featherstone, 2002).

Multicultural recognizes that differences do not mean creating a hierarchy, but that these differences are an inevitability of life and, hence do not need to be positioned marginally. Due to cultural differences, people cannot claim to be the superior culture, but they have the same position in the public sphere (Molan, 2015, p.30).

In addition to the term multicultural, there is also the term multiculturalism. According to Parekh, the term multicultural refers to the reality of cultural diversity, while the term

multiculturalism refers to a normative response to this objective reality (Parekh, 2008, p.19-20). From the context of its emergence, the concept of multiculturalism is a response to discriminatory treatment, human rights violations, and injustice against individuals and minority groups (Banks & Banks, 2019; Grant & Sleeter, 2011; Kymlicka, 2012).

As a cultural movement, multiculturalism is an integral slice of the various cultural systems existing in a society. For Blum, multiculturalism is an understanding, appreciation, assessment of one's culture, and curiosity about other ethnic cultures (Blum, 2001, 2014). As a paradigm, multiculturalism has become a contextual ideology in the human reality of modern society until today. Kymlicka interprets multiculturalism as normative; as a set of beliefs, that contains the concept of cultural pluralism called multicultural citizenship (Kymlicka, 2012).

2.2 Managing Diversity in a Pluralistic Society Perspective

Managing diversity is one approach to implementing multiculturalism, viewing multiculturalism as an effort to maximize individual potential in using multiculturalism as added value in implementing public policy. The goal is to accommodate human differences through diversity, multicultural, and heterogeneity practices (Zembylas & Iasonos, 2010). Management of diversity is a term that not only includes practices related to regional differences, race, disability, sexual discrimination, and gender identity but also includes the implementation of policies for managing differences in identity and culture. This approach involves socio-legal and feminist dimensions (Kirton & Greene, 2021).

Diversity management needs to pay attention to the forms of diversity that exist in society (Syed & Ozbilgin, 2019), apart from accommodating differences, to maximize the potential of each different community (Mavin & Girling, 2000). Through multicultural diversity management policies, they get equal opportunities to access public services (Maxwell et al., 2001). The diversity that exists in society is considered as social capital which must be managed for the common good (Futaqi, 2019; Matas & Bridges, 2009). In this context, a leader or public official must be able to recognize each of the various characteristics and manage them to create harmony in community groups that have their advantages.

Managing diversity in a pluralistic society can be implemented through three approaches, i.e.: First, the *Integrationist Approach* as in France. All citizens regardless of ethnicity can enjoy the same treatment, language rights, their culture as individuals, not as collectivities, and do not recognize minority groups as mainstream culture for all citizens. In this approach, there is a separation between private and public spaces. This model intends to maintain the unity of the state and social cohesion of society (Baidhaway, 2014; Budiman, 2007; Hasan, 2016).

Second, the *Differential Approach* is the opposite of the first one, namely the management of citizen diversity based on regional and ethnic origins. Examples of this model are Singapore, Japan, and Germany. Third, the *Accommodationist Approach* is managing the diversity of citizens by adopting identity claims that exist in society as official state policies such as multiculturalism policies in Canada and Australia (Baidhaway, 2014; Budiman, 2007).

2.3 Public Policy in the Perspective of Multiculturalism

In the context of public policy, a multicultural approach has a strategic role in managing the diversity of people in a country so that they receive equal civil rights. Public policy studies are complex ones involving several approaches (Fischer & Miller, 2017; John, 2013), starting from policy formulation, decision-making, policy determination, and implementation (Dye, 2013; John, 2013; Peters & Pierre, 2006). Public policy can be viewed from many perspectives, such as; policy politics (Campbell, 2002; Kraft & Furlong, 2019), policy culture (Muers, 2018; Rao,

2004; Stein, 2004), sociology of policy (Becker et al., 2004; Weiss, 1993; Wilson, 1993), and policy management (Pollitt, 2013; Post & Preston, 2012).

From several perspectives on public policy, multiculturalism takes different forms depending on the situation (Jupp, 2011; Parekh, 2008). Zapata-Barrero (2010) looks at the practice of religious management with a focus on the identity, historical, and structural context of Spanish society that hinders innovation and change.

Ashcroft and Bevir (2018) find that the conceptualization of multiculturalism in political theory is wider than in policy. His analysis covers the relationship between law, policy, and theory of multiculturalism in contemporary England. This shows the importance of the rhetorical contestation of national identity and multiculturalism by highlighting the implicit assumptions about the relationship between culture, identity, and democracy that reinforce these discourses. The impact of this political theory on the globalization of multiculturalism issues in the public sector are trends that contribute to expanding the flow of labor across national boundaries by facilitating the exchange of materials, products, and human resources. (Ospina, 2001; Syed & Ozbilgin, 2019).

3. Methodology

This study is based on a literature study with library data collection methods such as books, journals, mass media articles, and research reports. Researchers read, record, and process research materials (Zed, 2004, p.2-3) into a complete portrait of the literature review conducted. Technically, the researchers mapped the sources of the study that informed the concepts and practices of multicultural-based public policy as the focus of this research.

The researcher identified several state documents that were studied in this research, namely: documents related to managing diversity, democratic political policies, and policies to strengthen national identity.

In this study, the researcher uses an intertextual approach, which refers to the conception of relationality, interrelationships, and interdependence between texts and discourses (**Latif, 2013, p. 51**) about the diversity of Indonesian society. This approach places multicultural policies in the fields of democratic politics and national identity into a unified and interconnected whole in such an integrative way.

4. Result and Discussion

4.1. Multicultural Policy as Democratic Political Practice

The findings of this research indicate that one of the serious challenges to the survival of democracy in Indonesia is the use of religious identity in democratic politics (Romli, 2019). In their study, Fox and Menchik (2011) analyzed unique data sources from 4,289 political campaign advertisements collected from 2009-2011 based on nationalist, religious symbolism, indigenous ethnicity, and regions. Covering 21 of Indonesia's 33 provinces, 44 political parties, and more than 3,500 political candidates at the national, provincial, and local levels.

In the context of public policy in Indonesia, particularly in the fields of religion, the government has established policies that have the character of religious global diversity (SP et al., 2021). Global diversity is an extension of the meaning of the values, principles, and paradigms contained in the philosophy of Pancasila, as a common consensus and a great umbrella for the encounter of all the diversity of humans living in Indonesia.

Although the democratic system in Indonesia is considered the best political system, the democratic space is often infiltrated by various interests that demoralize the democratic system. The case of the election of Jakarta's Governor, Ahok, in 2017 is a form of religious identity

politics that also influences voter behavior (Hamdi, 2017; Mujani, 2020). This incident caused the polarization of the Muslim voter groups and its impact is still being felt today.

The case for the election of Jakarta's Governor illustrates that freedom of expression is not well-adjusted with freedom of justice. As a result, identity politics with religious nuances gets open opportunities under the pretext of political freedom. With this democratic system, every single community should uphold the principles of democracy in addressing religious differences to build a democratic social order. According to Jamaludin (2015, p. 92 & Dhewayani, 2016), all efforts and actions that want to affirm the ethnic, religious, and cultural identity of a community against different communities are contrary to democratic values that provide space for equal freedom of expression for the community.

Through political policies based on democratic values as one of the pillars of a multicultural society, all elements of diversity must grow and develop equally. Various cultural interests are accommodated, identity dominance is minimized and cultural mobilization can take place freely as long as it does not conflict with national identity or the state constitution that has been mutually agreed upon.

This condition confirms that every individual or community can exist to conduct cross-cultural dialogues, cooperate in mutualistic ways, and live peacefully in differences. Accordingly, a national policy based on multiculturalism as an appropriate regulation in managing the diversity of society should be the basis for democratic political policies in Indonesia.

4.2. Multicultural Policy in Strengthening National Identity

The findings of this research confirmed that as a nation with a high level of diversity, Indonesian has a very strong hold on its national identity, which is often referred to as the four pillars of the nation, namely Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. These four pillars are the big umbrella of togetherness that has united the diversity of Indonesian society to this day.

Pancasila is the basic principle, ideology, and theory for embracing diversity (Bell, 2006; Chia, 2021). It contains the foundations and basic values for a multicultural state life (Latif, 2012, 2017a, Leonard, 2021). The 1945 Constitution is also a constitution that provides the basis for multicultural policies that guarantee the right to life and safety of all Indonesian people (Putri, 2017; Sumadi, 2012).

In the socio-religious life in the regions of *Nusantara*, comes the teaching of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika tan hana dharma mangrwa* (diversity but one truth cannot be two) into reality. *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* reflects a worldview, where dharma (truth) is one and its aspects are multiple (Butler, 2016; Santoso, 1975).

By some researchers, philosophically the use of the term four pillars for public education to introduce national insight carried out by the MPR RI has distorted the meaning of Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, NKRI, and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Hastangka et al., 2019). To maximize the implementation of the four pillars of the nation, the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia (MPR RI) has carried out various forms of socialization to several elements of society, such as youth communities, educational institutions, socio-religious communities, and the general public (Butler, 2016).

In addition to strengthening national insight through the socialization of the four pillars, President Joko Widodo also issued Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 7 of 2018 concerning the Pancasila Ideology Development Agency (BPIP). BPIP is an institution that is under and responsible to the President.

The Pancasila Ideology Development Agency institution is tasked with coordinating, synchronizing, controlling, and fostering the Pancasila ideology as a whole through standardization of education or training as policy (Stein, S. J. 2004). Moreover, BPIP provides recommendations based on the results of its study of policies or regulations that are in contradiction with Pancasila to high state institutions, ministries, regional governments, socio-political organizations, and other components of society.

The role of the government as a decision maker and authority holder should be to produce policies with a multicultural perspective by engaging cultural diversity as a supporting pillar of the national identity of Indonesian society. Liliweri (2005, p. 6) emphasized that multiculturalism is a set of central government policies designed so that all local communities can pay attention to the culture of all ethnic groups (Liliweri, 2005) (Liliweri, 2005) (Liliweri, 2005).

4.3 Multicultural Policy as Equal Cultural Recognition

The findings of this research show that managing the cultural diversity of Indonesian society is not as easy as one would like it to be. It is caused by the basic character of diversity itself which is easier to show a different identity than to find parallel similarities. Many clashes, divisions, and conflicts that have befallen in the realms of religion, culture, politics, and economy indicate how difficult it is to manage the diversity of Indonesian society today.

At this stage, the multiculturalism perspective as an approach to managing the diversity of the Indonesian nation is not only limited to recognizing regional, religious, political, and cultural differences as a sociological reality of society but is also a strategy for communicating diversity through interaction between cultures on an equal basis, without mutual hegemony over each other.

As a nation that continues to develop, Indonesia is currently faced with multidimensional challenges. The complex challenges occur in socio-economic, socio-political, socio-cultural, and socio-religious aspects (Ujan, 2011). Through a multicultural approach, the government and the community continue to give serious attention to managing diversity by caring for and preserving multicultural values and principles in all dimensions of social life in a more systematic, pragmatic, integrative, and sustainable manner (Azra, 2007, p. 5-6).

A multicultural society, like in Indonesia, requires two opposed aspects, namely cultural diversity and cultural similarity. These two opposed aspects can be positive and negative energies at the same time. Cultural diversity, if it can be managed properly through fair and equal democratic principles, will support the social integration of the community and strengthen the national identity of Indonesian society. Adeney-Risakotta (2015, p. 15) suggests the importance of facing diversity positively to create unlimited social changes.

Managing the diversity of Indonesian society through multicultural-based public policy aims to create an inclusive, tolerant, democratic, and peaceful interaction in the social life of the community. Multicultural policies in the public sector can prevent tensions and conflicts caused by failure to understand diversity.

As a country following a democratic political system, the government and multicultural society of Indonesia need to actualize a democratic culture in socio-political life. The government should be based on democratic political values and principles, to create unity in diversity for all citizens. The enforcement and habituating of democratic principles become so important to face various identity politics with religious and ethnic nuances.

Orderliness in social life can be created through democratic government policies by placing cultural diversity as a treasure that must be managed for the common welfare of all

Indonesian people. Horizontally, government policies have democratically arranged for all different cultural communities to meet each other on an equal basis. Vertically, the government has tried to manage social interactions between individuals or different communities without any attitude of superiority and domination over one another.

Political recognition of cultural diversity is the basis for making every policy for the progress of the Indonesian nation by considering the existence and contribution of the whole culture of society in strengthening the national identity of the Indonesian nation. Parekh in Budiman does not recommend multiculturalism as a political doctrine, but the practice of multiculturalism is easier to see and understand in the context of a country's political policies (Budiman, 2007).

In the context of managing the cultural diversity of Indonesian society, which can protect the rights of every single citizen and accommodate all humanitarian practices in the life of the nation, the government can use a semi-accommodationist model that combines an integrationist model and an accommodationist model.

All cultural identities of the Indonesian society are recognized and given equal rights to develop as the nation's cultural treasures. Accordingly, diversity management policies do not have to be based on the cultural identity of mainstream groups which easily leads to identity politics that hegemony other minority cultural communities.

In the Indonesian context, the multicultural policy provides recognition of equal status and rights to all cultural differences without dominating one culture over another. In the praxis of multicultural-based national policies, the government not only recognizes the ideal conditions of a diverse society but also provides space to develop their respective identities based on fair policies.

4.4. Multicultural Policy in Empowering Tolerance of Diverse Communities

The findings of this study imply that empowering tolerance has an important role in a multicultural society like Indonesia in fostering mutual respect between different communities (Parekh, 2008). But, one thing to watch out for is not to let this national identity become a cause of conflict between different communities. A slip-up in defining national identity will cause an impact on government policies that may legitimize a certain cultural community and at the same time marginalize another cultural community or minority groups.

In the context of government policy issuing *Peraturan Perundang-undangan* No. 2 of 2017 regarding Community Organizations can be justified in the meaning of tolerance which does not limit freedom of association and opinion which is the antithesis of State ideology. In this context, multicultural education emphasized that the restriction aims to maintain the democratic character of the Indonesian people in accordance with the mutually agreed upon constitutional principle. Exceptions to conventions or doctrines regarding freedom of opinion and information can be justified in cases where there is a violation of national security, sovereignty and dignity of the state (Adji, Kompas, 26 July 2017).

Every action is considered "intolerable" borrowing the term Ricoeur (1996) that if it has violated the boundaries of a collective agreement or national consensus of a nation such as Pancasila, the 1945 Constitution, the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, then tolerance is not a *moral posture* (moral attitude), but rather a civil contract that requires procedures and institutions.

In this context, Yudi Latif's inclusive-multicultural view emphasizes that individual (group) freedom is not unlimited freedom. The freedom of a person (group) can be limited by the protection of public safety, public order, public health, public moral, and protection of rights

and freedom (Latif, 2017b). This is a consequence in social life, where individual freedom is also in contact with the freedom of others.

The same thing was conveyed explicitly by Karl Popper in an inclusive-pluralist manner that, "Unlimited tolerance will lead to a loss of tolerance. If we allow unlimited tolerance even to those who are intolerant and are not ready to defend a tolerant society from the onslaught of intolerance, then tolerant people will be destroyed along with their tolerant attitudes" (Cohen-Almagor, 2005, p.1). In other words, unlimited tolerance will actually destroy tolerance itself. Thus, multicultural policies in the public sector are urgently needed by Indonesian society to provide clear regulations and legal protection for the implementation of dialogue between different cultural and religious communities. Furthermore, multicultural policies will give birth to a system of values and social institutions that can protect all Indonesian citizens and their human dignity from all forms of violence caused by cultural and religious differences

5. Conclusion

Multicultural policies have strengthened the noble values of the community's culture, built peaceful living in diversity, and strengthened the democratic politics and national identity of the Indonesian nation. On the one hand, protecting human rights and human values based on the philosophy of Pancasila and Unity in Diversity (Bhineka Tunggal Ika) remains a reliable heritage in building Indonesia's national resilience. On the other hand, Islamist groups and radical Islamic movement that often plays identity politics are also a concern of the government by promoting the moderate religious model through a policy of strengthening religious moderation for Indonesian people.

The public policy practices in the Indonesian democratic system have accommodated all forms of differences in society to build equality, justice, and harmony while respecting human values, principles, and dignity. The Indonesian government has legally provided equal status to religious and cultural minority groups as proof of respect for the diversity of the Indonesian nation. Besides that, it is important for the Indonesian people to actively participate in all multicultural public policies set by the government in order to maintain peace for all citizens.

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