

多様性にある一致：東京のインドネシア人海外教育施設における文化共存主義

Unity in Diversity: Cultural Pluralism at an Overseas Indonesian School in Tokyo

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ABSTRACT

インドネシアの国家哲学であるパンチャシラは、多様な宗教的環境の中で政治的文脈に派生したもので(ヘフナー, 2000年), 国家の教育指導要領の基盤となっている(セミアワン&ナタウィジャジャ, 2000年). 本調査は, イスラム教信者及び非信者の生徒が学んでいる東京にあるインドネシア人海外子女教育施設での学校生活において, パンチャシラはどのような意味をもっているかを調査したものである. 比較教育学の授業の学生が提出したレポートからの観察データを用い, その学校への見学の「厚い記述」を書き上げた上, その学校での宗教教育の顕著性を裏付けるため, 描写された話題の頻度と長さの分析も行い, 教育宗教分離論と共存主義について論じた.

1. Introduction: The Necessity of the *Pancasila*

Post-colonial nations have relied on education to meet the challenge of producing both national unity and distinctiveness (Green, 1997). Indonesia, with a rich history of Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity, and now a 90% Muslim population (Gimon, 1996-2001) shares this challenge. The national motto is “unity in diversity,” but the cultural setting is considerably diverse. In this light, Dewantara’s educational concepts of nationalism and independence, with strong Javanese cultural nuances, have been popular among Indonesian educators (Semiawan & Natawidjaja, 2000).

Contrary to commonly held notions about Islam, many Indonesian adherents have been very amenable to democracy and pluralism, though not secularization (Hefner, 2000). Moreover, Bowen (1993) discusses the diversity in Islamic knowledge among members of a single rural community. While recent trends suggest growing isomorphism, there is reason to believe that this uniformity is in large part a reaction toward loss of cultural identity and self-esteem as a predominantly Muslim country in a globalizing world (Liu & Cochrane, 2002).

The national ideology that provides Indonesian’s vision for pluralism is called the *Pancasila*, and it incorporates the five notions of monotheism, civility, unity, democracy and social justice (Table 1). From outside Indonesia, one could criticize the *Pancasila*’s monotheistic hegemony. Alternatively, one could appreciate the “limited religious freedom” it facilitates (Miyazaki, 2002). As a document, it has politically warded off fundamentalist attempts, such as the “Jakarta

Charter,” to incorporate Islamic law (Hefner, 2000). The ideology’s evolution has been an inevitable result of Indonesia’s demographic configuration, which includes considerable numbers of people of various persuasions: a majority of Muslims of traditional, modernist and fundamentalist shades, Catholic and Protestant Christians, Javanese mystics, animists, Communists, Hindus and Buddhists. Hefner (2000) points out that, while there has been extensive political manipulation on the part of Indonesia’s political leaders, there has also been a notable discourse on democracy and pluralism.

Table 1.
Pancasila

1 st Sila	Belief in the One Supreme God
2 nd Sila	Just and Civilized Humanity
3 rd Sila	The Unity of Indonesia
4 th Sila	Democracy Led by the Wisdom of Deliberations among Representatives
5 th Sila	Social Justice for the Whole of the People of Indonesia

That political manipulation of religion produces cultural oppression is plain. Some Chinese have seen conversion to Islam as a way to shed one’s foreign identity (Suryadinata, 2000), implying the historic difficulty racial and religious minorities have faced. Economic advantages are implicit in conversion, however, when Islamic “proportionalism” (Hefner, 2000) demands that across religions equal numbers of adherents be represented in every social stratum.

Apart from socioeconomic interpretations, however, one wonders whether there is something particular to Islam that demands public attention in Muslim-dominated societies. Friday worship, daily prayers, Ramadan, dietary laws and a wide range of other laws

dictate many aspects of believers' lifestyles, naturally impacting society. Another question, however, is how fair secularist Northern societies have been to Muslim minorities there.

Haar (1948, p. 27) implied that *adat* law in Indonesia has traditionally accommodated Muslims, although he belittled the extent of this accommodation. Conversely, in what ways does a predominantly Muslim social group, such as a school, accommodate its non-Muslims? This study examines efforts to maintain a diverse, yet united, Indonesian identity in students at a predominantly Muslim overseas Indonesian school in Tokyo. I will discuss the school's endeavors, drawing from observation data collected by students in a university level comparative education class.

2. Methodology

I took the students in my comparative education class to visit Tokyo Indonesian School (TIS) as a classroom-external learning activity.¹⁾ We visited TIS after their classes had let out on a school day, divided into three groups guided by the principal, the vice principal and a Japanese staff member. We observed classrooms, other school facilities and students' after-school activities, and we watched a videotape of TIS students in their classes, taking copious notes of what we saw. My students submitted reports based on their observations, and I chose thirteen from which to glean observations for this study.²⁾ I combined students' observations with my own and grouped them into categories that emerged from the data. Using spreadsheet software, I placed categorized observations in rows, lined in columns by observer. Finally, I

edited them into paragraphs using word processing software, taking care not to delete redundant observations until the final writing stage, so as to avoid losing details. I also analyzed topics by their frequency and length of coverage within student contributions.

3. Our Observations

3. 1. The Institution

The Indonesian Embassy in Tokyo established the Tokyo Indonesian School on April 21st, 1962. The school is legally recognized in Japan as a private, foreign school, and it is the only Indonesian school in Japan. Other overseas Indonesian schools are located in Bangkok, Singapore, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Moscow and some six other locations.

There were 82 students from kindergarten through the twelfth grade. Each class had no more than 10 students, except kindergarten, which had 11. All current students were Indonesian nationals from Java, mostly Jakarta. About eighty percent of students were Muslim; others were Christian and Hindu. No Buddhist³⁾ students were currently in attendance. Students in every grade wore uniforms during school hours, although some were in jerseys during after-school activities. The uniform code was simple and included white dress shirts, navy blue blazers with red neckties for boys and bow ties for girls, dark pants for boys, and navy blue skirts for girls (longer than what is typical for Japanese uniforms).

Parents are generally expatriates, and their occupations include Indonesian embassy workers, graduate students at Japanese institutions, and those in the private sector in Japanese or Indonesian companies. Parents volunteer actively for cooking and serving

school lunch and helping in extra-curricular activities. The school counselor and school nurse are also parent volunteers.

The school's 22 teachers include two Japanese teachers, who teach Japanese language and art. Ten teach fulltime, the rest part-time. The Indonesian Ministry of Education sends fulltime instructors who have received teacher training at Indonesian universities and possess Indonesian teaching licenses. Teachers are selected for their ability to teach two or three subjects as well as their art or sports ability. Part-time teachers are university graduates with teaching certificates and are hired locally in Japan. Most part-time teachers are diplomats' spouses.

The Indonesian Embassy in Japan, which is located close to the school, operates it. The embassy owns the school building and equipment, and it employs teachers and staff. The Indonesian Ministry of Education appoints the principal for a four-year term. As principal, he also serves as Vice Ambassador of Indonesia.

The school is located in central Tokyo, where real estate costs are high, and its Board of Education, parents and corporate donations finance it. Tuition is charged on a sliding scale, based on four set levels of family income.⁴⁾ Parents also contribute books to the school library, and the school raises money from Indonesian companies in Japan. Parents and members of the Indonesian expatriate community also make donations to the school. Moreover, money is raised at school events.

3. 2. The School Building

The school building is a 3-story structure situated on the slope of a hilly, urban residential neighborhood. On the wall outside the entrance sits large gold *garuda* (eagle), the symbol of Indonesia, accompanied by the

words "*Balai Indonesia*," meaning "Indonesian People's Meeting Place." Average school buildings in Indonesia are similar, we were told, but this one is much better equipped, although modest by Japanese standards. The school building consisted of two sections: one includes a cafeteria on the 1st floor and a gym above it; the other includes a computer and language lab, a teachers' room, an in-school store, a musical instrument room, a costume room, a library, a principal's office, classrooms, biology and physics labs, and a clinic and counseling room.

Connected to the cafeteria are three rooms: a modest kitchen, where PTA members prepare 400-yen buffet lunches for students, an alcove housing traditional Indonesian instruments, such as the *gamelan*⁵⁾ and an *angklung*⁶⁾, and a prayer room where Muslim students and teachers pray in the mornings. Above the cafeteria is a gym, the size of two volleyball courts, used as an auditorium for special school and embassy events and ceremonies. It also serves as a mosque on Fridays for Muslims in the community.

Framed on the front wall of classrooms, the teachers' room, and the principal's office is the *Pancasila* (Table 1 above). All classrooms are of a modest size and have 4 to 11 wooden desks and chairs for the children, which are set neatly in one or two rows facing a whiteboard placed at the front of the room, with a larger blackboard standing behind it. A teacher's desk is placed in the front facing the children's desks. Folding partitions divide most classrooms in two.

The kindergarten classroom was decorated colorfully with paper chains and pictures painted by the children. Along the windows were 4 model houses of faith, one for each recognized religion of Indonesia: a Muslim

mosque, a Christian church (representing both Catholicism and Protestantism); a Hindu temple, and a Buddhist tope, or *stupa*.

The school is equipped with science labs for biology, chemistry, and physics — each one small and filled with experimental apparatus — as well as a computer lab and a language lab for English. Doorplates outside classrooms and laboratories are written in Indonesian, Japanese and English. For example, the chemistry lab is labeled “LAB KIMIA” [化学実験室] (*kagaku jikkenshitsu*) and “CHEMISTRY LAB”.

A small library, where students come during recess and after school, holds books and magazines written mostly in Indonesian, with some in English and Japanese. A large portion is comprised of textbooks, as students obtain their textbooks there.

The teachers’ room has several desks and functions as an administrative area for teachers. Indonesia’s national curriculum, taught at TIS, is posted on a wall. A trophy case displays numerous trophies gained in Indonesian sports and art competitions on Independence Day (August 17th). The principal’s office has a reception room connected to it. Both rooms have a sofa, as well as three standard items for Indonesian public offices: portraits of the president and vice president, the *Pancasila*, and a *garuda*. The reception room is filled with ethnic sculptures, paintings, and dolls wearing various ethnic costumes, representing cultures from each Indonesian province.

The health and counseling areas are combined in one small room. In the back of the room are a bed, a scale and a height measure. In the front is a long desk for counseling. Parent volunteers take turns as school nurse, and the counselor is a parent volunteer with psychological training. The principal also serves as counselor.

The school keeps a small costume room, in which many traditional ethnic costumes and accessories are stocked for use at performances at school festivals and on exchange visits to other schools, etc. Costumes are donated or purchased and represent ethnic groups from around Indonesia. Requests can be made to the school for dresses it did not yet have. There is also an instrumental room containing non-traditional instruments: a drum set and other rock-and-roll instruments for extracurricular activities.

A commissary carries Southeast Asian dry goods — mainly Indonesian foods, but also Chinese, Thai, Malay and Japanese foods — for school families, mosque-goers, and the Indonesian community in Tokyo. There is chili sauce, herbal jelly, coconut milk, canned foods and drinks, Japanese children’s sweets, and Indonesian sweets and seasonings, as well as stationery items. The store is also stocked with meat packed in accordance with *halal* (Muslim law). In addition, the school commissary buys ingredients for school lunches. Students can also buy snacks there to eat during recess.

3.3. The Curriculum

The school follows the Indonesian national curriculum and school year, Monday to Friday from mid-July to mid-June. Three terms are broken by two-week vacations and no long summer vacation. There are 6 years of elementary, 3 of lower secondary, and 3 of high school. Students are not failed, and cases of underachievement are handled by retesting and other means. Classes are very small, and there is one per grade, ranging from 4 to 11 students, and averaging 5 or 6. Yet, according to the assistant principal, grades are not combined.

Each week starts with a Monday morning assembly in the gymnasium. Students recite a pledge, as is done in schools in Indonesia, to be “good students, good citizens, and loyal to the country.” The Indonesian flag is displayed, and the assembly sings the national anthem and recites the *Pancasila*. Friday mornings, students gather for 10 minutes of calisthenics accompanied by recorded music. This practice, known in Japan as “*rajio taiso*” (radio exercises), was introduced to Indonesian schools by Japanese teachers during the occupation and, according to the principal, has crystallized in Indonesia’s schools.

School subjects include national and foreign language, mathematics, science, physical education, speech, civics and social studies. Classes are forty-five minutes long. Music and dance is extra-curricular.

The school provides a rich language environment, and students become fluent in several languages. *Bahasa Indonesia*, the official language of Indonesia, is the medium of instruction and students study Indonesian in every grade. All students enter TIS with Indonesian speaking ability, and students with limited proficiency are given extra lessons.

From 1st through 9th grade students study Japanese as a second language once weekly with Japanese teachers. The Indonesian curriculum permits extra programs to meet regional needs (Semiawan & Natawidjaja, 2000, p. 402). At TIS, Japanese classes constituted such a program. High school students may take supplementary Japanese lessons after school.

From 3rd grade students study English as a second language twice a week with Indonesian teachers. The number of classes per week increases in middle school. Language laboratory facilities, equipped with microphones,

headsets and tape players, are available for English study, and students use them to prepare for tests such as the TOEFL. These facilities are not used for Japanese, which is taught by native speakers.

The school’s math and science curriculum seemed thorough. Middle elementary students study math ten periods per week. Science laboratories include biology, chemistry, and physics, and we observed students using them during their after-school time. Computer science is taught three years in high school.

Physical education is held thrice weekly and incorporates traditional Indonesian martial arts, basketball, football, volleyball and ping pong. In speech classes, students practice traditional Balinese storytelling and speeches and perform these on videotape outside at a local park.

There is a civics-type class in *Pancasila*, where students learn the five integrated principles of Indonesian life and society, as defined by the national ideology. In terms of classroom discipline, misbehaving students wash dishes or complete extra homework, although students and teachers generally clean classes and public areas together on an everyday basis.

Computer science, sociology and government science classes are introduced in high school. Twelfth grade students study Indonesian law. Seniors are also divided into arts and science tracks. After graduation most students return to Indonesia with their parents for university. Others enter Australian or American universities. A small number enter Japanese universities and specialized schools.

3. 4. Extracurricular Activities

The kindergarten class runs until twelve noon, and first and second graders get out in

the early afternoon, before the older students. After class, children go home or play at the school, which they are all welcome to do. After-school activities are not compulsory, but most students remain and participate. According to the principal, they generally prefer remaining at school with friends in a home-like atmosphere to going home, where they may have nothing to do. Houses are small, and many children have two working parents.

At school students freely use science labs, play football on the playing field outside or badminton and tennis inside the gym. Japanese lessons are offered after school once a week, and club activities are held from four to five p.m. daily, including music, dancing and traditional Indonesian martial arts.

Traditional Indonesian instruments and dancing are popular club activities. Girls in Grades 3 to 6 meet once a week in the gym for dance lessons. During our visit, they performed dances and music of different Indonesian regions such as Java, Sulawesi and Bali. Junior and senior high girls practiced Balinese dancing in the first floor cafeteria, instructed by a female teacher and accompanied by a *gamelan* orchestra consisting of mostly male peers following two male teachers. According to the principal, the students themselves had formed this club. The dancers were positioned around their instructor according to their experience. The instructor stood in the middle. Taller girls — with presumably more experience — were positioned closer to the teacher, where younger dancers could observe them from their positions in the outside circle. Dancers faced different directions throughout the duration of their dances, thus seeing the teacher at different times. This positioning provided those on the outside (the least experienced) the best

view of the instructor. “They learn by imitating,” explained the principal. The instructor also roved and got in front of, or behind, particular students to instruct them during the dance.

Most boys in the *gamelan* orchestra still wore uniforms, although a few had changed into tee shirts and two had removed their ties. One of the girls explained that students can choose their activity and join their chosen group, but every time the girls had proposed a role change, the boys had summarily refused.

TIS gives its students opportunities to mix with Japanese and other students an average of once a month through annual exchange visits with six Japanese and two international sister-schools, including elementary, middle, and high schools. Once each month TIS students visit, or receive, visitors from a sister school and exchange performances of dances, music, and games. They also practice playing instruments together with their sister school counterparts. Traditional Indonesian dances with *gamelan* and *angklung* accompaniment are introduced to Japanese students, who, in turn, teach TIS students *shuji* (Japanese calligraphy) and Japanese dances. Sister school programs also include teacher exchanges to present about each other’s cultures.

Evening Indonesian language classes are offered by the embassy at the school twice weekly for the general public, according to a Japanese staff member, who herself learned and, now teaches, Indonesian at these classes.

Students take field trips the first Saturday of every month to places of interest in Tokyo and submit reports. Recent destinations included: the Tokyo Stock Exchange, the national Diet building, a motor show, the Yakult beverage plant, and various museums. The principal felt that TIS students were fortunate to be in

Japan and learn about new and advanced technology.

3. 5. Religious Teaching and Practice

Students study religion starting from Kindergarten. Children in Indonesia learn about religion and religious differences from kindergarten age, the vice principal explained, and are taught the importance of peaceful coexistence. The religion course teaches students about the five religions sanctioned in Indonesia and symbolized by the model houses of faith displayed in the kindergarten room, emphasizing respect for each student's religion, and living according to one's own religion in daily life. The largest religious group was Muslims (80% of the students).⁷⁾ The principal did not mention there being any students of non-sanctioned religious groups (e.g. atheists, agnostics, Javanese mystics, etc.).

Manifestations of religious practice were ubiquitous in daily life and observable in clothing and diet during our visit. Many girls wore white cloths over their heads in addition to uniforms, covering all but their faces, even in the chemistry lab as they performed their experiments with white coats on. Girls with head coverings comprised clearly less than a majority, however, and Muslim practices differ. The principal explained it is a family decision whether girls wear head coverings. Some families have their girls wear these veils from childhood, whereas others wait until the girl is married, and Islam does not dictate this per se. Religious practice is also accommodated in the school's food service, with mothers taking care that Muslim students observe Islamic rules regarding diet. During Ramadan, the Muslim month of fasting, school lunch is not offered.

Besides lessons in religious diversity, children are taught their own religions, divided

into religious groupings — Islam, Hinduism or Christianity⁸⁾ — by teachers of the respective faiths. These sessions are not limited to objective learning about religious teachings, but students are led to engage in religious activity, such as gender-separated Muslim prayer and co-educational Christian praise and worship. Student leaders in their respective religious groups read scriptures in front of fellow peer believers. When asked whether children were permitted to join in the religious activities of other religious groups, the principal responded that they could not, because “people would become suspicious.”

These weekly religious sessions occur during the time in the school week when Muslim males are required to pray: Fridays from noon until 2 p.m. Some change in the prayer room from uniforms into Muslim garb to prepare for this time. Muslim girls and all non-Muslims are exempt from this activity, but, although this time slot is inconsequential to students of different faiths or gender, the school accommodates Muslim boys by using this time for their own religious activities. Additionally, separate activities are available in the library for other students, mainly Muslim girls.

Friday afternoon, a carpet is laid and Muslim prayer is held in the gymnasium, not only for Muslim students, but also for Muslim parents, teachers, and the greater Muslim community near the school and in the Tokyo area, including the faithful from the Bangladesh Embassy nearby. About 200 people attend, making the school's gym the second largest mosque in Tokyo. Likewise, a ceremony is held in the gym at the end of Ramadan, drawing 5000 people, including Muslims of other nationalities from the larger vicinity.

4. Analysis: Observation Frequencies and Lengths

Table 2 shows topics receiving the top five observation count rankings. My students wrote about their chosen topics and, therefore, a high observation count may indicate an obvious choice. However, while “students” and “the institution” may be obvious choices, for example, there may be relatively little to say about these topics. Table 3 shows the top seven topics, ranked by total word count of combined observations. It also gives the number of observations gleaned per topic as well as the average length of observa-

tion. Unlike observation counts, word counts reveal how stimulating a topic was.

By far the best-covered topic concerned religious issues, both in terms of observation frequency and total word count. Observers were deeply impressed with the school’s overt attention to religious activity. Although religion is not without expression in northern hemisphere schools, the full-participatory nature of these activities was striking.

5. Discussion: A Muslim Form of Pluralism

Regarding religious issues, some observers were generally open to *Pancasila*-inspired

Table 2.
Topics Ranked by Observation Count (Top 5 Ranks)

Topic	Observation Count ¹	Observation Ct. Rank
Religious Issues	16	1
Students	14	2
Financing	12	3
The Institution	12	3
Exchange Programs	11	4
Commissary	11	4
Teachers	11	4
Parents	11	4
Building & Environment	11	4
Classrooms	10	5
Courses	10	5
Curriculum	10	5
The Library	10	5

Table 3.
Topics Ranked by Word Count (Top 7)²

Topic	Word Ct. ³	Word # Rank	Obsvt'n Count	Obsvt'n # Rank	Av. Length ⁴	Length Rank
Religious Issues	944	1	16	1	59	2
Music & Dance	655	2	9	6	72.8	1
Exchange Programs	466	3	11	4	42.4	5
Commissary	442	4	11	4	40.2	7
Classrooms	426	5	10	5	42.6	4
Teachers	395	6	11	4	35.9	8
Costume Room	352	7	8	7	44	3

¹ The maximum number of observations (16) included all 13 of my students’ observations, my own observation and notes collaborated by two students, as well as another category of observations in which a student compared the school with the education she had received.

² In total 44 topics were covered, with 41 possible word count rankings and 14 possible observation count rankings.

³ Number of words in text combined by category from all reports.

⁴ Average length in number of words per observation by category (word count divided by observation count).

notions of diversity, while others raised thoughtful criticisms against compelling citizens to adhere to one of five recognized faiths. More sharply, some criticized that religiously charging social discourse from early childhood contributes to persecution of the “other,” as manifested so cruelly in Indonesia’s history of massacres.

These points deserve serious reflection. Yet, I would also like to reconsider whether secularist alternatives, posed largely in the developed West,⁹ and privatizing religion (Hefner, 2000), are superior? When educators from the Muslim world complain about the secularization that invariably accompanies implementation of Western ideas, and the resulting anti-Western anger (Riaz, 2000), it seems partially justified. It may behoove educators in the North and the West to consider whether spiritual discourse should be or, indeed, is banned from all *our* public spaces and whether plural democracy demands such a moratorium.

The recent surge in Islamic fundamentalism (Liu & Cochrane, 2002) is a mandate for creative global compromises. We are being asked to allow religious expression in public spaces. Ironically, we may learn well from a delicate democracy such as Indonesia – a microcosm, vast though it is, of what certainly will continue to be a global discourse on pluralism.

Notes

1) I would like to recognize the following students in my AY2002 “Fundamentals of Comparative and International Education” class for their kind cooperation in allowing me to use observations from their reports in this study: Ayako

Akimoto, Anita Allen, Kalene Ewing, Miwa Fukao, Noriko Matsuda, Asuka Morioka, Go Nakamura, Sayo Okumura, Shinsaku Sekine, Kaoru Shimomura, Kanako Uehara, Guanjun Xu, and Atsuko Yanagisawa.

- 2) I based this choice was based on three factors: electronic submission (facilitating data management), uniqueness of observations (enriching the scope of data) and quality of report (improving the reliability of data). All contributing students consented to do so.
- 3) The legally recognized religions of Indonesia include Islam, Christianity (Catholic and Protestant), Hinduism and Buddhism.
- 4) According to a member of the school’s staff, this is common practice in schools in Indonesia.
- 5) For a concise description of gamelan instruments, visit the Joglosemar web site at: <http://www.joglosemar.co.id/gamelan.html>
- 6) For a concise description of the angklung, visit the NIU World Music Instrument Collection at: <http://www.engineering.usu.edu/ece/faculty/wheeler/NIU/Angklung.htm>
- 7) Hefner (2000) cites an 88% Muslim population in Indonesia, and he also documents an under-representation of Muslims in positions of wealth and influence, which may partially explain the relatively lower Muslim representation in this embassy-operated expatriate school.
- 8) No Buddhist students were currently enrolled.
- 9) For a good discussion of the American case, see Duke (2002).

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