Overcoming Sinophobia in Indonesia with Charles Taylor's Multiculturalism Education Approach

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ABSTRACT : *This research aims to explain how Charles Taylor's multiculturalism education can be used as a strategy to overcome sinophobia in Indonesia. Sinophobia narrative in Indonesia has been present since the Dutch colonial era. Even though the Indonesian constitution emphasizes the importance of tolerance and respecting diversity, sinophobia narrative still thrives at the grassroots level. In order to overcome sinophobia narrative in Indonesia, this research offers Charles Taylor's multiculturalism education approach. This research is philosophical research on actual problems. In this research, there are methodical elements that support the analysys, such as: description, historical continuity and critical reflection. Multiculturalism education is an important key to create a young generation that celebrates diversity that overcome negative stigmas. In multiculturalism education, there are two important aspect: a curriculum based on recognition and the realization of ideal recognition. With multiculturalism education, traces of racial segregation left over from the Dutch East Indies era can be replaced with a celebration of appreciation for diversity.*

KEYWORDS –*Charles Taylor, diversity, education, multiculturalism, sinophobia*

I. INTRODUCTION

The existence of Chinese community cannot be separated from the history of Indonesia. The presence of Chinese community in Indonesia can be traced to the era of Majapahit, where Javanese nobles enjoyed luxury goods brought by Chinese traders[1]. Traders and immigrants from China then married local women and have mixed racial offspring known as Peranakan Chinese[2]. The combination of identity between full-blooded Chinese (*Tionghoa totok*) and local people created a new concept of Peranakan Chinese. Peranakan Chinese had awareness to immerse in local culture, as a result creating cooperation between Chinese and local communities. Chinese people's expertise in business meant that their presence was needed by the colonial government and local administration[3]. This situation encourages the Chinese community to have close ties with both sides to ensure the fulfillment of all sides.

When the Java War broke out, the position of Chinese community was divided between choosing the Dutch and Diponegoro side[4]. The support of several Chinese communities for Prince Diponegoro represent a danger to the stability of Dutch power. In order to weaken another resistance, the Dutch implemented a new policy that separated Chinese villages from local community settlements[5]. Racial segregation and colonial government's policy to provide special treatment for Chinese community created suspicion between Chinese community and local community. The racial segregation implemented by the colonial government created suspicion and hatred that still inherited to this day.

After Indonesia gained its independence, the traces of racial segregation could still be found today. This sentiment causes the Chinese community to be reluctant to get involved in national political affairs. On the other hand, the neutrality of Chinese community is seen as a form of another stereotype of Chinese people being

opportunistic. This condition shows the problem of the complex identity of Chinese people in Indonesia, since the Java War era there are racial proverb about Chinese people identity: *Cina wurung, Londo durung, Jawa tanggung*. This proverb means that Chinese people in Indonesia are no longer part of full-blooded Chinese (*Tionghoa totok*), European society and indigineous society[6]. As a result of this proverb, there are narratives that question the loyalty of Chinese community to the Republic of Indonesia, a narratives that we do not found in other ethnicities group. This condition is part of a phenomenon called sinophobia, sinophobia has the meaning of a manifestation of dislike, hatred, fear or prejudice towards China, Chinese and their culture[7].

This research aims to dismantling the sinophobia narrative that has internalize in Indonesian society. The rise of sinophobia narratives globally is in line with the expansionist policies of the People's Republic of China[8]. The sinophobia narrative was further exacerbated when People's Republic of China became the starting point for the spread of the Covid-19 virus[9]. The sinophobia narattive is not only caused by political reasons, sinophobia was born from racial stereotypes that reduces the complex identity of Chinese community to a group that has no loyalty. When sinophobia combined with extreme nationalism, sinophobia can justify the acts of violence and oppression against Chinese community in Indonesia. In Indonesian history, incidents of violence against Chinese community have repeatedly occured in Indonesia through sinophobia narratives raised by nationalist groups[10].

The historical background of sinophobia narratives in Indonesia shows the dangerous impact of internalization of racism due to the racial segregation policies left behind by the Dutch colonial government. The poison of sinophobia can trigger violence, this situation demands a new refletion on the identity of Indonesian. Indonesian as a nation build with *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (unity in diversity) should be free from racial stereotypes that divide society. This condition encourages us to try to offer a new philosophical perspective on sinophobia narrative in Indonesian society. To be able to overcome suspicion, we try to offer multiculturalism educaton approach offered by Charles Taylor. Through multiculturalism education, we hoped that young generation of Indonesian will no longer trapped by racial stereotypes and hatred.

II.   SINOPHOBIA NARRATIVE IN INDONESIA

The complex history of the Chinese community in Indonesia is an important part of the formation of the identity of the Indonesian nation today. Before Indonesia gained its independence, Chinese people identified themselves more with China[11]. The influence of Chinese nationalism formed awareness in the Peranakan Chinese community to maintain ties to their ancestral land, however, the Peranakan Chinese community had lived in Nusantara for a long time and no longer practiced Chinese culture, at the same time the Peranakan Chinese community was also influenced by local and European culture. The Peranakan Chinese community has become an identity that is different from the full-blooded Chinese, indigenous, European identities[12]. Even though the Peranakan Chinese community faced complex identity issues, the Dutch colonial government and the Republic of Indonesia government still reduced their identity to Chinese people.

The difficulty of separating the identity of the Peranakan Chinese from the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China has caused the Peranakan Chinese to be seen as having loyalty only to an ancestral land they do not recognize. This condition sparked a debate about the suitability of the Chinese community to be considered as part of the Indonesian nation[13]. The suspicion between the indigenous community and the Chinese community which emerged because of the racial segregation policy shows the internalization of racism within the Indonesian nation. During the War of Independence, the presence of the Chinese militia, namely Pao An Tui, became a manifestation of the suspicion and hatred maintained by the two groups. The Pao An Tui militia was formed to protect Chinese community's interests, and they often commit acts of violence against rival groups[14]. For the Republican fighters, the presence of Pao An Tui showed the loyalty of the Chinese people to the Dutch government[15]. This historical context is the trigger for the rise ofsinophobia narrative in Indonesia which continues to question the loyalty of the Chinese community to the Indonesian nation.

The debate about the identity of Chinese people in Indonesia became a deep debate which resulted in reflection on their perspective on Indonesia and how they responded to independence. This issue became more complicated when the Chinese Civil War broke out, which saw fighting between the Kuomintang/Republic of

China and the Communist/People's Republic of China, which also divided the position of Chinese people in Indonesia regarding how they reflected on their ancestral land[16]. The tendency of the Indonesian government and society to reduce the identity of the Chinese community to that of people of Chinese descent shows a failure in understanding the complexity of history. As a result of reducing the complexity of the identity problem of the Chinese community to the issue of loyalty, justification for discriminatory policies from the government was created.

In the early era of independence, Chinese people were still seen as a continuation of foreign capitalism in Indonesia[17]. As a result of this view, Chinese people in Indonesia are seen as a group that is only loyal to capitalist interests. Chinese people in Indonesia are seen as uninvited guests who dominate the economic position, so the government must act decisively to protect the fate of the natives[18]. The sinophobia narrative that flourished at the grassroots was then manifested in populist movements such as the Assat Movement in 1956 which urged the government to protect the economic position of indigenous and called for the expulsion of Chinese people from Indonesia[19]. In 1959, a discriminatory policy was born, namely Presidential Regulation Number 10 of 1959, which limited the economic activities of the Chinese community and led to the expulsion and confiscation of the Chinese community's property[20]. The implementation of discriminatory policies on the Chinese community was criticized as diverting from a larger issue, namely the extent of control by Western countries over the post-independence Indonesian economy[21]. For supporters of Presidential Regulation Number 10 of 1959, the suffering experienced by the Chinese community is a necessary sacrifice for Indonesia's economic reform[22].

The repetition of the sinophobia narrative in Indonesia every year cannot be separated from the events of the 30 September 1965 Movement. The alleged involvement of the People's Republic of China in supporting the coup attempt carried out by the Indonesian Communist Party led to an outbreak of violence in the Chinese community[23]. As a result of these accusations, a narrative emerged that associated Chinese society with communism[24]. The emergence of the New Order regime under Soeharto brought discriminatory policies in the name of assimilation. Soeharto implemented a policy prohibiting the use of Chinese characters and language as a form of eliminating the culture of the Chinese community in Indonesia[25]. Apart from that, the New Order issued regulations on changing Chinese names to Indonesian names. The New Order also changed the term "*Tionghoa*" to "*Cina*", a diction that was often used as an insult for Chinese people[26]. A striking discriminatory policy in the New Order was the implementation of the Republic of Indonesia Citizenship Proof Letter (*Surat Bukti Kewarganegaraan Republik Indonesia*) which was applied as an identity document for the Chinese community[27]. Discriminatory policies in the New Order showed contradictions, on the one hand, discriminatory policies were born from justification of assimilation efforts, but on the other hand, these discriminatory policies increasingly presented the Chinese community as other. The New Order government also attempted to limit the economic activities of the Chinese community, but this effort failed and in the end, the New Order regime took advantage of the economic strength of the Chinese community[28].

As a result of the discriminatory policies implemented by the Old Order and the New Order, the narrative of sinophobia increasingly flourished at the grassroots of Indonesian society. The fall of the New Order in 1998 resulted in unstable national security triggered acts of violence and looting among the Chinese community who were seen as privileged community by the New Order regime[29]. The emergence of the reform era also brought fresh air with the elimination of discriminatory policies in Chinese society. Gradually the government removed discriminatory policies and implemented new policies with an anti-discrimination spirit which enabled the restoration of rights for the Chinese community in the reform era[30]. Even though there are still remnants of discriminatory policies such as the Instruction of the Head of the Special Region of Yogyakarta 1975 which prohibits granting land rights to non-indigenous Indonesian citizens, this policy is still in effect to this day and is justified on the argument of indigenous protection[31]. This policy is contrary to the spirit of reform which resulted in regulations prohibiting the use of the words indigenous and non-indigenous[32].

The reform era that eliminates discriminatory policies still facing serious challenges, namely the proliferation of sinophobia narratives at the grassroots of Indonesian society. The fundamental problem with the sinophobia narrative in Indonesia is the tendency to reduce the complexity of the problem to two options:

loyalists or traitors. The neutrality of Chinese society was also seen as an act that was labeled treasonous. This condition can be found in the development of Indonesian history from the colonialism era to the reform era. In the end, the Chinese were in a completely wrong position as described by Charles Coppel and quoted by Didi Kwartanada[33]:

> "Chinese people are like eating *simalakama* fruit when they think about political activities. If they are involved in opposition circles, they are labeled subversives. If they supported the rulers at that time, they were labeled opportunists. And if they stay away from politics, they are also opportunists because they are said to only be interested in making a profit."

The revival of the sinophobia narrative in the reform era can be found in the 2017 DKI Jakarta gubernatorial election, where a Chinese Christian figure, namely Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, emerged who ran for governor for the second time[34]. The sinophobia narrative emerged after Basuki Tjahaja Purnama conveyed an opinion that was considered insulting to Islamic teachings during the campaign. This incident triggered a wave of protests that used anti-Chinese sentiment and religious sentiment to sue Basuki Tjahaja Purnama on charges of religious blasphemy[35]. Other factors driving the popularity of sinophobia narratives globally are the People's Republic of China's authoritarian political system that represses opposition and minority groups, the Covid-19 pandemic that began in Wuhan, and the economic expansion of the People's Republic of China and the Republic of China[36]. Behind the rise of sinophobia narratives can be found a reductionist logic that continues to be trapped in racial stereotypes of Chinese society. In the end, the Sinophobia narrative is a toxic mix of economic interests, the dominance of cultural imperialism, political hegemony, and racism left over from colonialism[37]. This condition requires the Indonesian people to reflect again on the meaning of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* , respect for diversity will only be possible if the Indonesian people can move away from racial stereotypes which continue to be perpetuated and used as justification for discrimination.

III.   CHARLES TAYLOR'S MULTICULTURALISM EDUCATION

Charles Taylor's multiculturalism was founded on the idea of the need for recognition. Charles Taylor views that a person's identity is partly built by recognition, so a misrecognition or lack of recognition will result in a person being trapped in identity reduction[38]. The need for ideal recognition is the driving force for contemporary political movements. Charles Taylor saw the danger of false recognition which would create and strengthen stereotypes. Taylor uses the example of feminist criticism of patriarchy which strengthens the internalization of the image of women as a group that is inferior to men[39]. Internalization of self-image as an inferior group allows oppression based on identity.

Multiculturalism is a rejection of efforts to homogenize society[40]. Efforts to create uniformity in society reduce diversity and become a major obstacle to the realization of a multicultural society. Historically, these attempts at uniformity were not only based on bad intentions to reject diversity but were also born from the spirit of creating national political identities in newly independent countries[41]. The challenge faced in modern society is the changing demographics of the population which is becoming increasingly diverse with the arrival of immigrants. This condition demands critical reflection on national political identity and diversity. Taylor offers the ideal that mutual recognition will allow us to live together in understanding, this is more ideal than the emergence of suspicion between groups which triggers hatred due to a lack of recognition and appreciation[42].

Charles Taylor's concept of recognition is not without criticism. Amy Gutmann states that Charles Taylor does not fully explain what recognition requires and requires, does recognition require continuous cultural continuity, regardless of cultural relationships that are considered morally valuable for the individual?[43] Comments from Susan Wolf emphasize the importance of recognition by relating it to the context of the United States, where recognition is needed to create respect for others as well as create an understanding of our identity[44]. Charles Taylor also highlighted the growing anti-multiculturalism sentiment in Europe. According to Taylor, this anti-multiculturalism sentiment emerged as a false consciousness which caused European society to tend to blame the phenomenon of immigrant alienation solely on foreign ideology, namely multiculturalism. Taylor saw this as an attempt to avoid admitting political failures in promoting immigrant integration and efforts to fight the discrimination that occurred[45].

In responding to the development of multiculturalism, Charles Taylor discusses the growing Islamophobic sentiment in Canada following the arrival of Muslim immigrants. The debate that occurs is dominated by fear and hatred of Muslim immigrants who are seen as a community that opposes women's empowerment, so it is feared that the presence of Muslim immigrants will bring a setback to the discourse of equality between men and women that has developed in the West[46]. Taylor views this assumption as a form of misrecognition. Taylor highlighted the condition that Muslim immigrants in Quebec generally agree with the principle of women's empowerment, in fact the majority came to Canada because of this principle[47]. This issue shows that there are tensions that can be exploited into narratives of fear and hatred. Taylor points out that this fear assumes that 'they' will change 'us', this assumption will create complicated prerequisites for 'them' to enter into 'our' mindset[48]. Taylor also highlights the implementation of 'multicultural policies' which depart from this assumption, where the government encourages the creation of separate communities for 'those' who cannot possibly adapt to 'our' mindset[49].

Charles Taylor believes that to appreciate someone we must recognize how their identity is shaped by the identity of a particular cultural group[50]. This view is needed because in a multicultural society there are various cultural groups whose members each need complete recognition. Taylor views the need for recognition as not just an obligation that must be fulfilled, recognition is viewed by Taylor as a basic human need[51]. Recognition of identity requires dialogue that creates agreement. The creation of the concept of identity is not the result of critical reflection alone but is part of the dialogue[52]. Taylor refers to Franz Fanon's views regarding the impact of unequal power structures resulting from colonialism which resulted in the formation of a self-image of colonized people who saw themselves as an inferior group[53]. Therefore, ideal recognition is needed as an effort to realize respect for marginalized communities who have been affected by unequal power structures. The idea of recognition is not limited to tolerance for minority groups, but also views minority groups as groups that are as valuable as the majority group[54].

The issue of recognition politics is becoming an increasingly relevant issue in today's political climate. Amy Gutmann distinguishes between procedural recognition and substantive recognition politics: procedural recognition opens the possibility of minority group identities being treated equally despite their minority identity, while substantive recognition politics focuses more on efforts to demand that we receive equal treatment with minority groups[55]. Charles Taylor in his views on recognition tries to offer a critical reflection on how the existing multicultural society was formed to reach its current phase. The politics of recognition offers an important idea that recognizes the historical background experienced by each community. Through historical experience, effective and ethical ways can be found to build the future[56]. To build a future society that respects diversity and is no longer trapped in false claims, an effective method is needed, namely through multiculturalism education for the younger generation.

Multiculturalism education has a very important position as an effort to overcome misrecognition of other groups. The main role of multicultural education is to go beyond reductionism which reduces the long complex history of racism by ignoring individual racial backgrounds[57]. A 'colorblind' approach that does not pay attention to the skin color or race of individuals and groups is seen as ignoring the history of white domination through colonialism. Therefore, multicultural education is seen as an effort to realize respect for human dignity and go beyond mere procedural recognition[58]. Grant emphasized that multicultural education must not be limited to a focus on race, class, and gender, but rather multicultural education must dismantle the unbalance power structures and privilege[59]. Without dismantling power and privilege, multiculturalism education has not yet reached the point of creating awareness of how misrecognition or even the lack of recognition can occur and be perpetuated in the structure of today's society.

Multicultural education encourages the realization of a curriculum that creates a safe space in schools[60]. The importance of multicultural education for society requires meeting the needs of teachers and academic staff who are aware of the meaning and role of multiculturalism. Multicultural education must be achieved by a multicultural curriculum at the level of teacher candidate education, this is important because the position of the teacher is still very important in the classroom. The behavior and habits of teachers directly influence the behavior and habits of their students, so ideally a teacher in multicultural education must have multicultural

awareness [61]. Yılmaz in his research found agreement among teacher candidates who understand that multicultural education will contribute to the growth and development of students who understand and appreciate diversity, do not exclude others, and foster empathy[62].

Charles Taylor who promotes multiculturalism education shows the importance of recognition and how education can go beyond misrecognition or lack of recognition. Lawrence Blum deeply criticized Charles Taylor's idea of multicultural education which faced the complex challenge of an individual's identity while also being part of a group[63]. Lawrence Blum tried to highlight the case experienced by his student, Mohamara, a student who came from a second-generationHaitian American family. Mohamara had a bad experience when he was asked by his teacher to give an opinion from a black person's perspective, this request ignored Mohamara's identity as a Haitian American which is an ethnic group within the large group of persons of color[64]. Mohamara's experience shows his teacher's failure to understand ethnic diversity which cannot be reduced to the black racial group[65], Mohamara's teacher fails to understand that Mohamara's identity as a Haitian American is different from the African American group[66].

The case experienced by Mohamara was further viewed by Lawrence Blum as a form of failure to recognize. When Mohamara's teacher asked Mohamara to give an opinion from a black person's perspective, Blum assessed that the teacher failed to understand the meaning of 'black person's perspective' which tended to simplify Mohamara's identity to that of a black person[67]. Lawrence Blum believes that what the teacher should do is open a discussion space without appointing students to give opinions as spokespersons for a particular racial group. This does not mean prohibiting students from expressing opinions from reflections on their experiences as part of a particular racial group, for Blum the difference is found in students' freedom to express opinions and teacher treatment that simplifies students' identities[68]. Blum highlighted the teacher's actions as treating Mohamara as an inferior, second-class citizen who needed help to voice their opinion[69].

The implementation of multiculturalism education has serious challenges in creating safe spaces in schools. Child noted the tendency of teachers to teach to forget differences and homogenize differences instead of appreciating and learning from diversity [70]. This condition shows that the wrong application of multiculturalism education will only result in conditions that only see the importance of giving tolerance to other groups to be present in class rather than appreciating their contribution and creating a safe space in school[71]. This condition shows the need for multiculturalism education to be able to go beyond diversity slogans and festivals, multiculturalism education must reflect again on how recognition can be realized[72]. The implementation of Charles Taylor's multicultural education must avoid being trapped in a melting pot narrativethat melts diversity into uniformity[73]. Multiculturalism education must lead students to learn about diversity and create awareness of the importance of full recognition and understanding how historical settings influence the reduction of recognition. With multicultural education, respect for human dignity will be achieved which requires recognition of their identity.

IV.   DISCUSSION

To understand the formation of the identity of the Chinese community in Indonesia requires an understanding of the long history of colonialism which shaped the structure of Dutch East Indies society which is now inherited by Indonesia. The colonial policy that established racial segregation to unite the Dutch East Indies population and prevent large-scale rebellions must be understood as the cause of the distance between the Chinese community and the local community[74]. The separation implemented in racial segregation plants the seeds of suspicion between groups which contribute to the emergence of racial stereotypes. Charles Taylor views this condition as causing the emergence of misrecognition which reduces the identity of the Chinese community to the racial stereotypes attached to them[75]. Charles Coppel as quoted by Hari Poerwanto stated the following stereotypes against Chinese people in Indonesia[76]:

> "Chinese people like to be in groups and keep to themselves and live in separate areas. They still adhere to the culture of their ancestors. Their loyalty to the Republic of Indonesia is very doubtful and the worst thing is that the Chinese really hate Indonesia. Chinese people do not wholeheartedly identify themselves as Indonesian. They are only pretending;therefore, their behavior shows an opportunistic

attitude, especially in identifying themselves with the Indonesian nation and state. Their unique opportunistic attitude towards the country and nation is mainly related to their interests. They are not like other Indonesians who have dedication. During the colonial period, the Chinese gained a good position and thus dominated the Indonesian economy, especially with the practice of oppressing the indigenous and inhibiting the growth and development of the indigenous entrepreneurial class. "They are dissatisfied with the majority of native natives and also tend to carry out economic subversion, therefore they are experts at bribing and are skilled smugglers."

Racial stereotypes in Chinese society place Chinese people as the others in Indonesian society. A more complicated position is faced by Peranakan Chinese who are trapped in the stigma of *Chinese wurung, Londo durung, Jawa tanggung*which creates confusion regarding the identity of Peranakan Chinese as part of Indonesian society[77]. The confusion of the Peranakan Chinese community regarding their identity is caused by misrecognition and internalization of racial stereotypes attached to them. The internalization of racial stereotypes has a big influence on the views of Indonesian society which will result in justification for acts of discrimination against the Chinese community. On the other hand, the internalization of racial stereotypes within the Chinese community will result in a rejection of assimilation or integration. This situation is explained by Taylor as the impact of identity reduction due to false recognition or absence of recognition[78].

The main issue in the narrative of Sinophobia in Indonesia centers on the question of the loyalty of the Chinese community to the Dutch East Indies and then to Indonesia. The reduction of the identity of the Chinese community, which is divided into full-blooded Chinese and Peranakan Chinese, which have ethnic diversity, is often considered the same as the policy of the People's Republic of China or the Republic of China. As a result of the formation of a viewpoint that equates the Chinese community with the People's Republic of China or the Republic of China, the loyalty of the Chinese community is questionable, and they should not even be considered part of the Indonesian nation[79]. The fear of disloyal immigrant groups causes the Chinese community to be seen as 'them' who will not be able to fit into the native or 'us' mindset. The dichotomy of 'they' and 'us' is based on the fear of domination by 'their' groups over 'our' groups[80], therefore in the development of Indonesian history we can find discriminatory policies against the Chinese community in the name of protecting 'our' interests. The big challenge faced in Indonesia is that the sinophobia narrative has taken root at the grassroots, so even though discriminatory policies are gradually being removed, we still find traces of racism in the grassroots of Indonesian society[81].

Toovercome sinophobia narrative, critical reflection efforts are needed to dismantle the structure of Indonesian society which still inherits many racist sentiments left over from Dutch colonialism. The unequal power structures that were manifested in racial segregation during the Dutch colonial era formed a mindset that only saw the Chinese community as collaborators and the indigenous community as an oppressed group[82]. This mindset results in the division of society according to the main goal of racial segregation, namely fighting against one another. If this mindset is perpetuated and results in false claims regarding Chinese society, then violence will be justified in the name of eliminating 'those' who want to dominate 'us'. Taylor's multiculturalism emphasizes that the main key to going beyond identity reduction is in reflecting on the historical experiences that shape the identity of each group, historical experiences will offer an effective and ethical way to build the future and replace false recognition with complete recognition[83]. Charles Taylor views that an effective way that can be achieved is through multiculturalism education, through education the development of complete and undiminished recognition can be achieved.

The role of multiculturalism education is to go beyond misrecognition and provide ideal recognition. Multicultural education requires a curriculum that displays historical context to be able to go beyond the reduction of identity due to the influence of colonialism in Indonesia[84]. Multicultural education must be careful not to fall into a 'color blind' approach that ignores race or skin color by inviting students to ignore diversity and immediately push towards the idea of unity. A 'colorblind' approach to the case of sinophobia narratives will present the Chinese community as a group that has failed to assimilate, this approach will position the Chinese community as 'them' who are different from 'us'. Therefore, multiculturalism education requires a historical context to achieve an understanding of the process of searching for the identity of the Chinese community in

Indonesia. With historical context, recognition will be achieved that the identity of the Chinese community in Indonesia cannot be reduced to the actions of a few people or groups, a similar condition that applies to the identity of other ethnic communities in Indonesia.

Recognition of the identity of the Chinese community in Indonesia which is reduced to racial stereotypes requires serious efforts to improve anti-Chinese sentiment at the grassroots of Indonesian society, so an effective effort to go beyond the sinophobia narrative in Indonesia is multiculturalism education. Charles Taylor's multicultural education offers a curriculum idea that is firmly rooted in the importance of recognition[85]. This condition must be considered in implementing multiculturalism education so that the historical context experienced by the Chinese community can be truly appreciated as a collective reflection which is important for discussions in the classroom, but it must also be considered so that the identity of Chinese students is not simplified to the Chinese group in general, the experience of a single Chinese. ethnicity, religion, gender, and sexual orientation must also be respected in the classroom. Multiculturalism education has a big task to create complete recognition, without complete recognition the awards given are just slogans.

Charles Taylor's multiculturalism education demands critical reflection on the idea of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* which is often the slogan at diversity awards in Indonesia. The celebration of diversity and respect for human dignity must not involve eradicating anti-Chinese sentiment and sinophobia narratives in Indonesian society. The realization of multiculturalism in Indonesian education is what is needed to create complete recognition of the Chinese community. As stated by Pramoedya Ananta Toer in *Hoakiau di Indonesia* , the Chinese must be treated as comrades in arms of the Indonesian people in creating the Indonesian nation[86] (Liu, 2015, hal. 179). So ideally we will treat our friends well because we need each other, on that basis multiculturalism education can build a strong foundation for the younger generation to apply respect for diversity without getting caught up in racial stereotypes that divide the nation.

V. CONCLUSION

The rise of sinophobia narrative in Indonesia cannot be separated from the historical context of colonialism which created racial segregation and created suspicion between Chinese community and local community. The problem from sinophobia narrative is the rise of racist attitudes at the grassroots of Indonesian society. The sinophobia narrative led to the discriminatory polices and justification for violence perpetrated against the Chinese community. This condition shows that *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* has not fully embraced in the heart of Indonesian people.

In Charles Taylor's multiculturalism, suspicion and hatred between communities caused by misrecognition or even absence of identity recognition. Misrecognition will promote the stereotype that trigger discrimination and violence. Charles Taylor encourages full and ideal recognition as an effort to overcome the damage of identity reduction caused by misrecognition. To achieve full and ideal recognition, multiculturalism education is urgently needed. Multiculturalism education will promote recognition curriculum and provide historical context to achieve appreciation for diversity.

Charles Taylor's multiculturalism education is an effort that can be used to overcome sinophobia narrative in Indonesia. With full and ideal recognition of the complex identity of Chinese people, multiculturalism education will encourages the creation of mutually respectful understanding. Through multiculturalism education, a safe space will be created in the classroom for respectful dialogue regardless of racial stereotypes. Charles Taylor's multiculturalism education offers a critical reflection on the concept of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* which ideally create recognition for all Indonesian by creating space safe and promoting respect for diversity without being trapped in stereotype-based sentiment.

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