Communal Conflicts in West Kalimantan: The Urgency of Multicultural Education

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Abstract

Communal conflicts between ethnic groups in West Kalimantan still leave a post-conflict residue which is problematic to this day. For example, in Sambas, although at present it can be said that the relationship between ethnic Sambas Melayu and Madurese outside Sambas seems to be subsiding, the research findings showed that it is not the real fact in Sambas. Even in the community, there is still a stigma about Sambas as an unsafe area for the Madurese ethnicity. This social fact shows that the efforts of a dialogue forum to reconcile the two ethnicities only succeeded in resolving conflicts on the surface, but it failed to resolve the core of the conflict, namely stereotyping. Although it is not as complicated as in Sambas, inter-ethnic stereotypes are also a problem for two other post-conflict areas, namely Sanggau Ledo and Pontianak. Because education is considered to have a strategic role in building multicultural awareness and correcting stereotypes, in this context, multicultural education is considered relevant to be developed in schools in West Kalimantan. It is the focus of this study. This study is the result of qualitative research, whose data is obtained by the authors from observations, interviews, and documentation. The informants in this study were people in post-conflict areas in West Kalimantan, namely in Sanggau Ledo, Sambas, and Pontianak with ethnic backgrounds of Malay, Dayak, and Madura. In this study, the authors used an interactive data analysis method which included data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion/verification proposed by Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña.

Keywords: communal conflicts, multicultural education, stereotyping

A. Introduction

West Kalimantan Province often conflicts not only because of its multicultural conditions from an ethnic perspective but also because this area has experienced 'bloody' ethnic conflicts. As happened in the late 1990s and early 2001 (De Jonge & Nooteboom, 2006; Kivimäki, 2012; Tanasaldy, 2009). In inter-ethnic conflicts that occurred in West Kalimantan, for example, in Sanggau Ledo (1996-1997), Sambas (1999), and Pontianak (2001), besides causing thousands of casualties, it also damaged hundreds of houses and public facilities and many refugees (Cahyono et al., 2008; De Jonge & Nooteboom, 2006; Klinken, 2007, 2008; Nordholt & Klinken, 2014).

The inter-ethnic conflicts that occurred in West Kalimantan in the late 1990s to early 2001 have left scars on some of the people of West Kalimantan who are still living in the shadows of past conflicts. For example, the Sambas community, although the relationship between tribes that fought in Sambas in 1999 was more eased, the aftermath of the conflict was still felt, and the development of negative stereotypes among the Sambas Malay people towards one ethnic group, namely Madura. It can be said that this is the "sandstone" for the Madurese ethnic group to return from their refuge and live side by side in the Sambas Malay community. Even today, there is a perception about the stigma of Sambas as an unsafe area for one of these ethnic groups (Cahyono et al., 2008).

The facts that the authors found showed that these various dialogue forums to facilitate inter-ethnic peace are not effective. The dialogue forums that have been done have only succeeded in resolving conflicts on the surface, while the core of the conflict itself, namely 'negative stereotyping' has not been lost in society. Although it is not as problematic as in Sambas, in other post-conflict areas in West Kalimantan, such as Sanggau Ledo and Pontianak, negative stereotyping is still a crucial issue of inter-ethnic relations.

In West Kalimantan, these negative stereotypes of inter-ethnic relations certainly do not appear in themselves, but they are closely related to many factors such as kinship problems, primordial problems, economic problems, and social mobility (Alqadrie, 2010; Bertrand, 2004; Cahyono et al., 2008; Klinken, 2007; Nordholt & Klinken, 2014; Saad, 2003; Sihbudi, Nurhasim, & Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia, 2001; Tanasaldy, 2009). This can occur because of negative stereotyping that appears as a suggestion of the way a person or group of people from a certain ethnicity categorizes a person or a group of people from another ethnicity who match the norms that exist in the group and may also be inspired by the knowledge and ideology that is disseminated by a group. So, when we discuss how negative stereotypes can occur, there are at least three possibilities. Those are: first, negative stereotypes can be formed as a reflection of someone's direct observation of a group's behavior; second, the negative stereotype can be a reflection of someone's expectations and the breadth of knowledge about how a person or group of people thinks about a person or group of people outside the group; third, negative stereotypes can be a combination of someone's observation, expectation, and knowledge about a group (Brown & Turner, 2004).

Stereotypes are very likely to be formed from the educational experience a person gets from their social environment, where a person grows and develops in various cultures,

experiences inter-ethnic communication, and is educated with all (Samovar, Porter, & Daniel, 2010). It means, when someone looks biologically the same as other people, then they will grow and develop with different socio-cultural situations and conditions. Furthermore, they become different from each other, including their stereotyping of a group. This is because the experience of a person and or group of people is shaped by the circumstances and social conditions that surround them. Like *tabula rasa,* the analogy of John Locke, that the human's mind at birth is a "blank paper" without rules for processing data. Data added and rules for processing are only formed by the experience of sensory devices (Locke, 2007).

Thus, education is considered to have a strategic role in building positive stereotypes between one person and another which is built with multicultural awareness. Therefore, in this context, multicultural education is considered relevant to build multicultural awareness, which is then expected to improve someone's stereotypes against others. Thus through multicultural education, it is hoped that it can minimize the possibility of someone constructing negative stereotypes of others and triggering conflict.

As far as the literature reviews that the researchers have done, there have been many studies on the importance of multicultural education related to efforts to minimize conflict (Banks & Banks, 2004; Mahfud, 2008; Mercer, 1989; Tilaar, 2004). It also is in the context of West Kalimantan (Marhayani, Kariadi, & Yanti, 2017; Nakaya, 2018; Ngardi, 2019). So, the research conducted by the researchers is only a complement to the previous researches. However, there is a new side to this study, especially because the researchers found the fact that there are still post-conflict residues in the form of negative stereotypes in inter-ethnic relations, and this should be a signal about the importance of multicultural education for schools in West Kalimantan.

B. Literature Review

As a social being, an individual will meet other individuals, then interact, communicate and socialize. The individual who socializes influences the attitudes of others in existing situations, and other individuals may be involved; thus, he identifies himself in the situation, responds implicitly, and manages his explicit reaction in his way (Mead, 2018).

The negative stereotype is one of the factors causing conflict, such as the inter-ethnic conflicts that occurred in the late 1990s and early 2001 in West Kalimantan, which in this context, the formation of negative stereotype that triggers conflict can be understood from the context of the self-categorization theory. Based on this theory, personal and cultural experiences, which are dimensions of a person's personality are related to grouping a person into a group, so that stereotypes reflect the relationship between personality traits or characteristics and their division into social categories (Brown & Turner, 2004).

All categorizations are based on the interaction among stimulus data and knowledge, added with the observer's motives, goals, and needs (Brown & Turner, 2004). Simply, the stereotypes forming process is determined by the existence of individual categorization. In the categorization, there is a fitness concept as the important consideration for an individual in forming stereotypes. This fit concept is considered to be the core of the self-

categorization theory, which in this theory reveals that individuals have several categorizations that then become prominent or are considered significant, crystallizing into some prototypes, where these categorizations are appropriate of fit with their social context (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009).

There are two kinds of fit concepts in this categorization process. Those are comparative fit and normative fit (Brown & Turner, 2004). Comparative fit relates to the problem of the comparative relationship between stimuli as distributors of the meta-contrasting principle. It means that the formed categories should satisfy mechanisms comparison differences between groups. Meanwhile, normative fit relates to a person's background knowledge and theory to suit the data. So the role of data is important in the formation of the content, where the content reflects the actual comparison and contextual aspects of simulated reality. However, the role of the perceiver is also very significant, because the categorization and search for similarities and differences are guided by the needs, motives, and goals. When one compares differences between groups, it must make sense in terms of the knowledge and logic used in the stereotypes, so that comparative and normative suitability prevails in their interactions to determine the content of the stereotypes.

Regarding communal conflicts with ethnic backgrounds that occurred in West Kalimantan, such as those in the late 1990s and early 2001 in Sanggau Ledo, Sambas, and Pontianak, were triggered by negative stereotypes in inter-ethnic relations. In stereotyping that triggers conflict, there is a categorization process involving comparative fit and normative fit. Based on this, some themes and labels are included in the category of comparative fit and normative fit. Themes and labels in the comparative fit category are needs that have different labels in them: goals that are labeled disparaging and joking, and motives seemed useful, give a sense of pride, and benefit those who label them. Whereas for normative fit, there is a background theme that has a personality label. That is knowledge which has an interaction label, and social context, which is labeled as a social education environment. This can be illustrated in a graph, as follows:
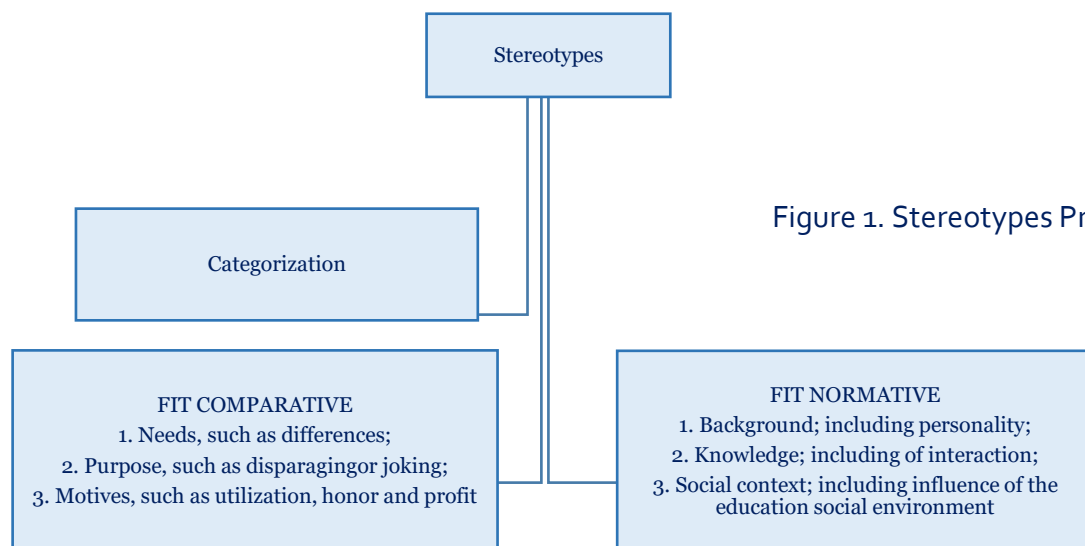

Figure 1. Stereotypes Process

Therefore, the way a person categorizes other people, both in terms of the process and content of the stereotypes, is influenced by the self-categorization formed in each of these stereotypes, which involves comparative fit and normative fit (Brown & Turner, 2004). Ryszard Kapuscinski explains how the limited knowledge of a person or group of people about "other people" can lead to negative stereotypes towards other people. He gave an example of how the condition of before and after the Enlightenment was, the European view of non-European societies was different. Before the Enlightenment, non-European societies were stereotyped as completely different from their point of view as terrifying monsters. Then, in the era of the Enlightenment, when humanism spread as the ideology of European society, many of them began to agree with and change their stereotypes of non-European societies as human beings. However, that did not mean it was equal. Stereotyping is only changed, from those who previously did not consider non-European communities as human beings to a group of people who could be enslaved, colonized, weak, poor, and backward (Kapuscinski, 2008).

The social environment of education in this context contributes to the formation of positive or negative stereotypes in inter-ethnic relations. It is easy to understand that a social education environment is a place where inter-ethnic interactions occur continuously, and in this area, there is also a process of inter-ethnic communication. Samovar, Porter, and Daniel explained how the possibility of negative stereotypes comes from someone's experiences about the education social environment, where a person grows and develops in a diverse culture, experiences inter-ethnic communication, and is educated with all (Samovar et al., 2010).

There are at least four theories in the formation of stereotypes in the education social environment: the first is *bottom-up*. This level is also called information-rich, which considers that people generate stereotypes from a group of information and facts, or it can be assumed that the differentiation between groups is very clear because there is a lot of information so that it becomes the basis of formation of stereotypes, without making or using assumptions about group differentiation. Thus, it can be said that the most direct reason for stereotyping, and perhaps the most commonly understood, for presenting this process. When these stereotypes afflict members of their group, self-enhancement takes place (where a person tends to prefer positive social identities over negative ones), and judgments emerge as a form of evaluation. This is in line with the principles of social identity theory that when someone sees the same or equal thing, the group will tend to see their group positively in an arena of difference. In stereotypes that are formed in a bottom-up manner, information and data are obtained by a person through the process of learning or experiencing, where people are introduced to some information, which in turn this information is used as the basis of the stereotypes that are made, of course, based on group's interests. This is in line with the principles of comparative fit and meta-contrast, which is later elaborated in self-categorization theory, which generally assumes that the better and clearer the group differences are, the more they will be used as a basis for stereotyping. The second is *a bit of "bottom-up"*. Stereotypes that are formed through *a bit of "bottom-up"* do not require much information for a stereotype. Little information,

although unclear, can form the basis for the formation of stereotypes. It should be noted that in this context, the content of the stereotype is likely to be informed by what a person knows, such as from his or her group, and is evaluatively likely to be distinguished from the attributes of other comparators from outside the group. The third is *a bit of "top down" in* which there is sufficient information to construct or suspect a person or group. It means even though there are very little information and knowledge, a person can produce stereotypes based on these pieces to differentiate others (such as where he comes from or his family background). Fourth is *neither up nor down*. In this context, stereotypes are produced without clear and real data or information about what distinguishes a person or other ethnic group from a person or group (Spears, 2004).

This is what lies behind the urgency of multicultural education for the community, especially for those in conflict-prone or post-conflict areas. The reason for the urgency of education in conflict prevention is based on the assumption that education has the potential to build awareness of multiculturalism, correct stereotypes, support peace programs, and disarms post-conflict 'gray experiences' (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; World Bank, 2005).

Based on the experience of communal conflicts with ethnic backgrounds in the world and including several regions in Indonesia, this stereotype has triggered conflict and is also the cause of the importance of the educational environment, especially schools to provide multicultural education. Multicultural education is important to actualize to prevent and minimize conflict, especially conflicts caused by stereotypes between ethnic groups. Through actualized multicultural education in schools, it is hoped that attitudes and mindsets will be more open in understanding and appreciating diversity (Arifin, 1970; Prawitasari, 2018).

C. Research Methodology

This study begins with the result of qualitative research, which is obtained from observation, interviews, and documentation. For a qualitative research model that emphasizes the relevance of topics and rich information about a particular case, this type of research uses nonprobability or nonrandom samples, which this research does not determine a specific sample size where the research will be conducted.

Because as Cresswell assumes, the idea behind qualitative research is the selection of participants (informants) or documents/visuals with a specific purpose that best help the researchers in understanding the research problem and question. In line with the reference of nonprobability or nonrandom samples, the selection of informants in this study uses the purposive type. It means the researchers can determine who the informants are as long as the informants have abundant and in-depth information related to the problem of this research, and also as long as the informants meet the criteria (Creswell, 2009).

Informants of this study are West Kalimantan people, especially those in Sanggau Ledo, Sambas, and Pontianak, who have Malay, Dayak, and Madura ethnic backgrounds. In this study, researchers used interactive data analysis methods, including data condensation, data presentation, and conclusion/verification proposed by Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014).

D. Findings and Discussion

1. Stereotypes in inter-ethnic relations in post-conflicts West Kalimantan

There are at least three possibilities of how negative stereotypes in inter-ethnic relations in West Kalimantan can be formed: first, the negative stereotype is formed as a reflection of someone's direct observation of a group's behavior; second, the negative stereotype can be a reflection of someone's expectations and the breadth of someone's knowledge about how a group behaves; and third, a formation of negative stereotype can be a combination of someone's observation, expectations, and knowledge about a group (Brown & Turner, 2004).

This stereotype is formed from observations, expectations, and knowledge about a group. Someone receives social information in the form of categories, which is obtained through a fit process which can be in the form of comparative fit and normative fit. The category content is described by the prototype, and if the prototype defines itself (for example, the prototype within the group, and not the prototype from the outside group) then someone is likely to internalize the prototype so that the prototype acts as a basis for self-perception, social judgment, attitudes, beliefs, behavior, and others (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009).

Interacting experience with other ethnic groups is then generalized by certain ethnic groups as the basis for their self-perceptions, social assessments, attitudes, beliefs, and behavior towards other ethnic groups, and vice versa. But in this context, they not only found group differences and stereotypical content based on their own experiences, but they also studied differences from outside themselves and from various social sources.

In cases of inter-ethnic communal conflicts in West Kalimantan, several criminal cases committed by ethnic immigrants, such as attempted theft, ill-treatment, and even murder, as inventoried by Munawar M. Saad later became a source of stereotypes that triggered inter-ethnic conflicts in the late 1990s and early 2001 (Saad, 2003). This negative stereotype becomes a kind of collective knowledge that is like "embers in the husks", triggering conflict (Patebang & Sutrisno, 2000). After 20 years of the post-conflict period, in reality, these stereotypes are still left in the collective memory of the local community, in this case, Malay and Dayak, towards one ethnic group, namely Madurese.

The most obvious example is in Sambas before and after the inter-ethnic conflict in 1999. Before the conflicts, the negative stereotypes of the ethnic Sambas Malay towards Madura were the trigger for conflict between them, while their negative stereotypical conflicts also became an obstacle to their reconciliation with the Madurese ethnicity. The researchers' interviews with some local informants who come from the ethnic Malay Sambas ethnic background also showed evidence that they still cannot accept the presence of the Madurese in Sambas (Interview in Sambas, August-September 2020).

To commemorate the tragedy of the inter-ethnic conflict in Sambas in 1999, the Sambas people deliberately built a monument which they called 'Blood Ketupat Monument'. This monument was built in Parit Setia Village, Jawai District, Sambas. The Blood Ketupat Monument in Parit Setia Village is problematic, because every form of memory, both individual and conflict, is an attempt to reconstruct what happened in the

past. The most important component of memory is narrative. Of course, the narrative shows a combination of information and facts. So, you can imagine what the consequences would be if the post-conflict Sambas traumatic experience was passed down from generation to generation later in the form of negative stereotypes within their ethnic groups. The researchers' interviews with some local informants with the ethnic background of the ethnic Malay Sambas showed this tendency (Interview in Sambas, August-September 2020).

The facts that the researchers found provide a signal that various dialogue forums to facilitate inter-ethnic peace have not been effective in building a peaceful atmosphere in post-conflict areas in West Kalimantan, for example, in Sambas. The dialogue forums that have been done, have only succeeded in resolving conflicts on the surface, while the core of the conflict itself, namely 'negative stereotyping', has not been solved in society. Thus, in post-conflict areas in West Kalimantan, this negative stereotype is still a crucial issue in inter-ethnic relations. Although not as problematic as in Sambas, in other post-conflict areas in West Kalimantan such as Sanggau Ledo and Pontianak, this negative stereotyping also often becomes a problem in inter-ethnic relations.

2. The Urgency of Multicultural Education in Schools

The educational social environment in this context contributes to the formation of positive or negative stereotypes in inter-ethnic relations. It is easy to understand that an educational social environment is a place where inter-ethnic interactions occur continuously, and in this area, there is also a process of inter-ethnic communication. Samovar, Porter, and Daniel explained how the possibility of negative stereotypes comes from someone's experiences about the education social environment, where a person grows and develops in a diverse culture, experiences inter-ethnic communication, and is educated with all (Samovar et al., 2010).

From the research findings in the field, it can be seen how there are a handful of ethnic Malay families in West Kalimantan who do not want to marry with or marry off their descendants from Madurese ethnic families. This is due only to negative stereotypes in their ethnic group who view the Madurese as an angry, desperate, fighting-loving ethnic group. On the other hand, the stereotype of Madurese in some Malays is also more problematic, as a shy ethnic group who do not want to take risks (Information obtained for example, from the researchers' interviews with several informants, in Sanggau Ledo, Sambas, and Pontianak for research purposes).

Such ethnic stereotypes are formed from someone's experience in his educational social environment. It means when someone looks biologically the same as someone, then they grow and develop with different socio-cultural situations and conditions, they become different from one another, including their stereotypes about a group. This is because the experience of a person and or a group of people is formed by the circumstances and social conditions that surround it, as *a tabula rasa*, John Locke's analogy, that the (human's) mind at birth is a "blank paper", without rules for processing data. Data is added, and rules for processing are only formed by the experience of the sensory device (Locke, 2007). The educational social environment gives important experiences for someone and his character,

including the way they look at other people, they have a stereotype, and others (Kurniawan, 2013, 2017).

This is in line with the theory previously stated above that there are at least four possibilities that can form stereotypes: the first is *bottom-up*. This level is also called information-rich, which considers that people generate stereotypes from a group of information and facts, or it can be assumed that the differentiation between groups is very clear because there is a lot of information so that it becomes the basis of formation of stereotypes, without making or using assumptions about group differentiation. Thus, it can be said that the most direct reason for stereotyping, and perhaps the most commonly understood, for presenting this process. When these stereotypes afflict members of their group, self-enhancement takes place (where a person tends to prefer positive social identities over negative ones), and judgments emerge as a form of evaluation. This is in line with the principles of social identity theory that when someone sees the same or equal thing, the group will tend to see their group positively in an arena of difference. In stereotypes that are formed in a bottom-up manner, information and data are obtained by a person through the process of learning or experiencing, where people are introduced to some information, which in turn this information is used as the basis of the stereotypes that are made, of course, based on group's interests. This is in line with the principles of comparative fit and meta-contrast, which is later elaborated in self-categorization theory, which generally assumes that the better and clearer the group differences are, the more they will be used as a basis for stereotyping. The second is *a bit of "bottom-up"*. Stereotypes that are formed through *a bit of "bottom-up"* do not require much information for a stereotype. Little information, although unclear, can form the basis for the formation of stereotypes. It should be noted that in this context, the content of the stereotype is likely to be informed by what a person knows, such as from his or her group, and is evaluatively likely to be distinguished from the attributes of other comparators from outside the group. The third is *a bit of "top down" in* which there is sufficient information to construct or suspect a person or group. It means even though there are very little information and knowledge, a person can produce stereotypes based on these pieces to differentiate others (such as where he comes from or his family background). Fourth is *neither up nor down*. In this context, stereotypes are produced without clear and real data or information about what distinguishes a person or other ethnic group from a person or group (Spears, 2004).

As previously explained, the categorization process is very important for stereotypes and emphasizes the role of fit in this process (Brown & Turner, 2004). From the overall description based on the information the researchers got from informants both in Sanggau Ledo, Sambas, and Pontianak, it is related to stereotypes, showing how the fit concept is very much considered by individuals. This can be seen from the extent to which comparative suitability is required for ethnic groups as a measure of differentiation. In the experience of inter-ethnic communal conflicts in Sanggau Ledo, Sambas and Pontianak, the problem may be very well likely because a person or group of people born from a certain ethnicity feels different from someone who comes from another ethnicity.

In the example of inter-ethnic communal conflicts that occurred in Sanggau Ledo, Sambas and Pontianak, Dayak and Malay as indigenous peoples, for example, felt different from the Madurese in many ways. Apart from the reasons above, this is also due to a strong urge to maintain their identity as an indigenous tribe on the Borneo Island. For some of them, Borneo Island is an area that is now inhabited by a variety of people with various ethnic backgrounds; this should not diminish respect for their existence as indigenous tribes on the Borneo Island. The difference between indigenous and immigrant tribes, amid heterogeneous communities that are considered indigenous (for example Dayak and Malay in West Kalimantan), can benefit as a Dayak or Malay as indigenous people whose rights are respected by the tribal immigrant. The emergence of Dayak or Malay ethnic identity by prioritizing differences towards ethnic immigrants, including for example, the Madurese, according to the researchers, is a consequence of the problem complexity and ethnic identity in the multiethnic community model in West Kalimantan. Likewise compared with, for example, other cases of communal conflict in Indonesia, such as what happened in the late 1990s in Situbondo, Tasik Malaya, Jakarta, and North Maluku (Bertrand, 2004; Haryanto, 1998; Purdey, 2006).

In the process of forming stereotypes, the character also influences, and this is also formed from social and culture in a certain socio-cultural environment. (Kurniawan 2013) For example, in a family, a child is an accomplished imitator who supervises any learning resources he gets from his parents and makes it an example for himself, and then becomes his character. Likewise, when a child goes to school, and then socializes in the community, of course, the education social environment affects the formation of his stereotypes (Wibowo, 2012).

Based on the experience of communal conflicts with ethnic backgrounds in several areas in West Kalimantan in the late 1990s and early 2001, this stereotype has triggered conflict and has also become the cause of the importance of the socio-educational environment, especially schools, to implement multicultural education. Multicultural education is important to actualize to prevent and minimize conflicts, especially conflicts that are caused by stereotypical problems between ethnic groups. Through actualized multicultural education in schools, it is hoped that the attitudes and mindsets of students who attend school are more open in understanding and appreciating diversity. This is needed when they are in the midst of society.

However, the series of interethnic communal cases that have occurred in West Kalimantan seem to show how the actualization of multicultural education in general in this province has not been successful, and it is full of problems; not to say that it was failed. Melita Prawitasari, for example, details several indicators of the failure of multicultural education in its actualization: first, teachers in schools are still unfamiliar with the multicultural education model, which requires them to recognize heterogeneous student cultures; second, teachers in schools do not master the outline of the structure of the material being taught and are unable to adapt it to the students' ethnic culture; and third, the low ability of teachers to prepare instruments that can stimulate students' interest,

memory, and reintroduction into their respective cultural assets in the context of learning experiences that accept cultural heterogeneity (Prawitasari, 2018).

This is under the assumption of H.A.R Tilaar who emphasizes multicultural education as an education model that does not require the growth of fanaticism or ethnic fundamentalism. Multicultural education also presupposes the establishment of positive stereotypes in multicultural interindividual relationships. Likewise, multicultural education also means not wanting xenophobia (hatred of foreign goods or people) (Tilaar, 2004). Or in other words, multicultural education must be able to create models of students who can learn to live together in heterogeneous conditions (Arifin, 1970).

According to James A. Banks, there are several important aspects of multicultural education, referring to its actualization in America. First is the integration of education into the curriculum (content integration), which is an effort to integrate multicultural education into the curriculum and where or in what part the integrated curriculum is placed. The curriculum here is related to the problem of how the educational approach and the materials provided reduce negative stereotypes or prejudices in certain ethnic-racial behaviors and treatments. Second is the construction of knowledge that students learn the history of social development and its treatment, as well as reactions to other ethnic groups. For example, historical material contains positive and negative things, which are considered important for students to know to understand the condition of their society. The third is reducing prejudice. As is well known, this social prejudice consciously or unconsciously has been formed since childhood. Therefore, it is important, in the social environment of children's education, in association with others - which stereotypes manifest in the form of positive and negative prejudice - this needs to be considered. In intensive intergroup relations, prejudice can be eliminated, and close cooperation and mutual respect can be fostered. Ceremonies to commemorate heroes regardless of religion and color are ways to instill a positive attitude towards certain religious and ethnic groups. These values are included in the curriculum without changing the curriculum structure itself. Finally, the knowledge possessed by students is then transformed into action, for example, in commemorating the holidays of each ethnic group in the school or community social environment. Fourth is the pedagogy of equality between humans (pedagogy of equity). In this context, students at school are given the understanding that marginalized ethnic groups are generally caused by unfair attitudes in society. Therefore, it is necessary to have a pedagogy that takes into account the poor who do not get the same opportunities as compared to the group of children from the upper-middle class. Likewise, according to Banks, there is a link between children's intelligence and social life. Children from poor communities usually have stunted intelligence development. Therefore, it is necessary to pay attention to the socio-economic improvement of students, most of whom come from marginalized ethnic groups. The fifth is empowering school culture. The four approaches from the Bank all lead to the empowerment of school culture. If a multicultural education approach is applied, naturally a strong school culture will emerge in dealing with social problems in society. Schools at this level must be the driving force in changing the social order that is imbalanced due to poverty or the exclusion of mainstream culture from certain cultures (Banks & Banks, 2004).

According to Ayami Nakaya, what Banks stated, showed how textbooks and teachers who apply the multicultural education model can integrate multicultural content and can help students to understand prejudice construction, authentical culture, social discrimination, and equity between ethnic groups. It means that students are directed to be able to develop positive stereotypes in their relations as part of a heterogeneous society. However, according to Nakaya, multicultural education concept aiming to solve the conflicts which are stated by Banks should be developed based on the relevant situation with the students' social identity needs (Nakaya, 2018) likewise in the context in West Kalimantan.

Tilaar also argued that Banks' opinion about multicultural education should be customized with the condition and need of society in Indonesia. According to Tilaar, in designing and actualizing the multicultural education model in Indonesia, it needs to refer to the principles as follows: first is "rights to culture" and local cultural identity. Multicultural education in Indonesia should be directed at the realization of civil society in global cultural power. The second is Indonesian culture. Indonesian culture is *weltanschauung* which means it should be followed by everyone and every Indonesian multicultural identity. As *weltanschauung,* it becomes an assessment needed in the process of building multicultural awareness. The third is normative multicultural. The purpose of normative multicultural education is to create Indonesian culture that is owned by the nation-state but does not make the concept of normative multicultural education a necessity by eliminating local cultural diversity. Fourth, multicultural education as a social reconstruction one of the problems arising from regional development, ethnic identity, the right to individual culture, and the ethnicity of the nation in Indonesia, has caused disharmony in heterogeneous nation life. Thus, multicultural education doesn't need any ethnic fanaticism because every community has been able to know and respect diversity. Multicultural education, according to Tilaar also doesn't need xenophobia as stated earlier. The fifth, multicultural approach in West Kalimantan needs a new pedagogy. It is because the traditional pedagogy limits the educational process in public spaces, namely schools, which is a requirement of intellectualism, so a new pedagogy is needed. Meanwhile, the needed pedagogy, according to Tilaar is such as pedagogy of empowerment and human equity in diverse cultures (pedagogy of equity). The pedagogy of empowerment first means that a person recognizes someone's own culture, and then that culture is used to develop a culture within the Indonesian nation-state. In this effort, a pedagogy of equity among individuals, among ethnic groups, and does not discriminate between ethnicity and religious origin is needed. Sixth, multicultural education aims to create a vision and national ethics of Indonesia in the future. In the Decrees of the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia in 2001 numbers VI and VII concerning the future vision of Indonesia and the life of the nation are relevant to the concept of multicultural education. Related to this, according to Tilaar, it is necessary to pay attention to reviving character education, especially at the basic education level (Tilaar, 2004).

The six principles stated by Tilaar above should be used as a reference in designing and actualizing the school multicultural education model in West Kalimantan. Why is

multicultural education important for us to realize? This is because the condition of West Kalimantan is a heterogeneous area in terms of ethnicity. Indonesia is very vulnerable to conflict. The experience of communal conflicts with ethnic backgrounds in several areas in West Kalimantan in the late 1990s and early 2001 is very valuable, how stereotypes can become a big problem because they always trigger conflict. After the conflict, stereotype problems are no less problematic, as in the Sambas case. The image of conflict due to the problem of stereotyping should be the reason for the importance of the socio-educational environment, especially schools, to implement a multicultural education model. Multicultural education is very relevant in producing students who later live in heterogeneous societies, able to appreciate differences, and live in harmony.

Those six principles stated by Tilaar above should be a reference in designing and actualizing cultural education models in schools in West Kalimantan. Why is multicultural education important to be created? It is because the condition of West Kalimantan is a heterogeneous area of ethnicity. Indonesia is vulnerable to conflict. The experience of communal conflicts with ethnic backgrounds in several areas in West Kalimantan in the late 1990s and early 2001 is very valuable, how stereotypes can become a big problem because they always trigger conflict. After the conflict, stereotype problems were also problematic, as in the Sambas case. The image of conflict due to the stereotyping problem should be a reason for the importance of education social environment, especially in the schools to apply multicultural education model. Multicultural education is very relevant in producing students who later live in heterogeneous societies, able to appreciate differences, and live in harmony (Arifin, 1970; Prawitasari, 2018).

F. Conclusion

Recognizing the condition of West Kalimantan as heterogeneous and prone to inter-ethnic conflicts has made multicultural education find its relevance. This multicultural education is important to actualize to prevent and minimize conflicts, especially conflicts caused by problems of inter-ethnic stereotyping. Through actualized multicultural education in schools, it is hoped that attitudes and mindsets will be more open in understanding and appreciating diversity, and minimizing potential conflicts. Moreover, based on the researchers' research, this negative stereotype is still a serious problem in post-conflict ethnic relations in West Kalimantan. As what happened in Sambas, how in areas that experienced inter-ethnic conflict in 1999, still experience problems in reconciliation. Even though dialogue forums for reconciliation have been held repeatedly, in fact, they only resolve conflicts on the surface and fail to uproot the conflict in society. At present, it is clear that there is still a growing stigma about Sambas as an unsafe area for one of the ethnic groups, that is Madura. Although not as problematic as in Sambas, in other post-conflict areas in West Kalimantan such as Sanggau Ledo and Pontianak, this negative stereotyping also often becomes a problem in interethnic relations in these areas.

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