The Colonialism and Stereotypes Based on Race and Religion: Representation of Papua in Indonesian Elementary Textbook School

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Article Info	Abstract
  	Implementing anti-racist pedagogy in Islamic schools, particularly for Muslim teachers, involves unique challenges. Their behaviour is closely scrutinized, making it crucial to emphasize positive Islamic behaviour, including antiracism efforts, to contribute to a more just society. This research explained the root of racism and equality in Islam. In addition, this research add explanation on how Islamic education has significant role as well as antiracism paedagogy through school text book. School textbooks are effective media for conveying educational messages or values to children. Besides being made as an educational medium, books are also deliberately designed to represent the ideal interests according to their creator, especially books published by the state. The content can undoubtedly describe what is suitable for each country. Through school textbooks, we can look at the state's perspective on ethnicity critically. Based on this, this study will describe the representation of an ethnic group, especially the Papuan ethnic group. This research is not only limited to the study of texts but will try to do interdiscussion with the existing social context. By using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) this research will provide a complete picture of how the text is formed and what discourses are present in the formation of the text. The text in this study consisted of 2 related types, namely picture text and narrative text. In addition, this research is necessary because the findings will provide an overview of the content of school textbooks related to how regional representation is described. This is important to note as one of the instruments to build contemporary Indonesian identity especially in the national and Islamic education sector.

How to Cite:

Introduction

Indonesia has a religiously comprehensive ideology, often called a religious state (Kosim et al., 2023; Moh. Mahfud MD, 2007). Regarding the interplay between religion and the government, Indonesia follows a symbiotic or intersecting approach rather than an intergalactic or secularistic one (Kosim et al., 2023). As a religious state, the government acknowledges and fosters diverse religious practices among its citizens by recognizing religious institutions and funding religious development (Budiyono, 2015; Kosim et al., 2023). The government also encourages religious education to cultivate a religiously inclined populace tolerant of diverse beliefs. This support is demonstrated through various policies regulating religious education for followers of different religions.

Unfortunately, government policies concerning religious education have not consistently met the expectations of followers of various faiths. This issue is particularly noticeable in Islamic education policies. As the dominant religion in Indonesia, comprising 86.93% of the population as of December 31, 2021, these policies have affected Islamic education subjects in public schools and the education systems in madrasas and pesantren (Kosim et al., 2023). Over time, the government's approach to regulating Islamic education has fluctuated, sometimes disregarding Muslim interests and causing discontent and mistrust, while other times addressing their needs and garnering appreciation and support. The complexities of these policies are influenced by numerous factors, and their outcomes have had substantial implications on the three forms of Islamic education.

Indonesia has faced significant social issues due to a string of religious conflicts across the nation, particularly during the post-Suharto political period. Consequently, interfaith tensions have become a substantial concern among Indonesian scholars (Barron et al., 2016). It is generally agreed that interreligious disputes in Indonesia stem from minor problems such as regional, economic, and political divisions, as well as inadequate understanding among religious groups in fostering peaceful coexistence (Wanandi, 2002). Unfortunately, religion, closely tied to these issues, often serves as the primary cause. Even seemingly insignificant matters can involve religion, potentially escalating into widespread violence and strife in various social settings, from urban to suburban areas.

Interfaith strife in Indonesia, notably between Christianity and Islam, sometimes involving other religions (Maksimus, 2020; Smith, 2024), frequently results in numerous victims and causes material and spiritual damage. This is surprising given Indonesia's strong philosophical basis and its motto, "Unity in Diversity, Diversity in Unity," which emphasizes living together as one family despite differing backgrounds in ethnicity and religion (Bazzi et al., 2019; Maksimus, 2020). These conflicts challenge Indonesia to foster a more inclusive and equal society.

In addition, academic researchers emphasize that the absence or inclusion of information in texts reveals underlying ideological biases (Apple, 2012; Sleeter & Grant, 1991). The presence or absence of specific ideas in textbooks is considered a deliberate influence guiding readers toward particular viewpoints. Additionally, scholars assert that textbooks are socially constructed representations of reality, shaped by authors who choose what knowledge to highlight and permit based on its intended purpose (Maksimus, 2020; Park et al., 2021; Smith, 2024).

This systemic issue affects the quality of teaching and learning, distorts academic

assessments' fairness, and diminishes relationships within schools. Manifestations of racism include race representation in school book, opportunity gaps, disparities in disciplinary referrals, school (re)segregation, uneven graduation rates, postgraduate educational and employment outcomes, and a disproportionate number of students of color directed into lower-quality educational experiences. It's crucial to recognize that racism extends beyond measurable outcomes, encompassing the creation of physical, psychological, socioeconomic, cultural, and political conditions that result in exclusion, inequity, and violence at both individual and institutional levels of society.

Islamic Education and Antiracism Paedagogy

Indonesia, as the largest Islamic-majority country in the world, stands at a crucial juncture in addressing the complexities of racial dynamics. In a global landscape where racial tensions persist, there is an opportunity for Indonesia to exemplify a commitment to transcending racism, not merely discarding race as a classification. One of them is through education. Education plays a pivotal role in shaping societal attitudes. Indonesia can leverage its educational institutions to promote inclusivity, teach the history of diverse cultures, and encourage critical thinking about race. By instilling a sense of shared identity and dispelling stereotypes, education can be a powerful catalyst for change.

Moreover, investigating oneself and institutions can lead to changes in the curriculum. When evaluating the curriculum amid broader changes, solidarity should be kept in mind (Wynter-Hoyte et al., 2022). While varying in their approach to teaching Islam, Islamic schools commonly focus on religious knowledge and Quranic teachings (Memon et al., 2021). According to Memon, Alhashmi, and Abdalla (2021), these schools adopt different curricular orientations, such as Appended, Integrated, Grounded, Character, or Civic Engagement Orientations. Each of these orientations presents an opportunity for an anti-racist curriculum by integrating antiracism principles (Guinier, 2004).

For instance, an Appended Orientation can infuse the state curriculum with antiracism, similar to an Integrated Curriculum that already incorporates Islam and can emphasize antiracism. Grounded Orientation can include antiracism as part of the Islamic worldview, opposing racial superiority (Antepli, 2012). Character and Civic Engagement Orientations, emphasizing active engagement with faith, offer potential for anti-racist pedagogy, aligning with the focus on political activism and social change.

Beyond recognizing biases and scrutinizing curriculum and practices, considering teacher training is crucial for implementing anti-racist pedagogy. Many early career teachers hesitate to discuss social justice due to inadequate knowledge. Teachers should view themselves as co-learners to address this discomfort, highlighting the prevalence of race-evasiveness in teacher education programs (Huang et al., 2023)

Anti-racist pedagogy is not exclusive to "White" teachers but is essential for all. White teachers must recognize privilege, while teachers of colour need to confront internalized racism (Wynter-Hoyte et al., 2022). White-passing non-White individuals should acknowledge their privilege and address internalized racism. Institutions must ensure proper teacher training, and organizations like the Muslim Antiracism Collaborative offer relevant workshops. Implementing anti-racist pedagogy in Islamic schools, particularly for Muslim teachers, involves unique challenges. Their behaviour is

closely scrutinized, making it crucial to emphasize positive Islamic behaviour, including antiracism efforts, to contribute to a more just society.

Moreover, challenging standard race taxonomies and associated stereotypes sociologically and psychologically align with the Qur'an's recognition of diversity among peoples and tribes. Morally, resisting the tendency to assign unequal value to ethnic groups while acknowledging distinct gifts and social distinctions is crucial. Fair treatment, if not absolute equality, is a shared expectation.

Indonesia, as an Islamic-majority country, must recall the Prophet Muhammad's condemnation of racist talk, his appointment of individuals from ethnic minorities to prominent positions, and his emphasis on character and piety over racial identity. Engaging in open, honest, and dispassionate conversations about race, its evolution, challenges, and merits can foster communal trust, security, and peace. Meanwhile, The 1975 curriculum based on Darmaningtyas (2004) notes that this was the first curriculum of the New Order, which emphasized the indoctrination of the Pancasila ideology for all levels of education. Through this indoctrination, the government introduced the concept of Pancasila points, which began teaching practice through a rote system. Then, it continued with the 1984 curriculum through the subjects of history education and the National Struggle. The basic idea behind its application is similar to the Pancasila doctrine. Students were required to memorize the story of national heroes whose armed men dominate. This subject did not last long because it was judged to overlap with other subjects. The 1994 curriculum was a combination of the 1975 and 1984 curricula, in which this era was dominated by exact subjects and dwarfed the arts. At that time, the power of the state over education was extreme. The state in many ways regulates the direction of education, from technical to ideological in nature.

In their book, Tilaar & Hapsari (2004) assert that the new order at that time made education a political tool to perpetuate power by monopolizing the education system for specific groups. After the reformation, there was an effort to get out of the New Order's perspective in the education sector. One of the most obvious things is the representation in school textbooks in the 2013 curriculum. The New Order was previously poor in regional representation when it was reformed, especially in the 2013 curriculum, which began to accommodate various regional representations. Various figures from multiple regions appeared in the textbook. Among them, Siti represents Java, Beni (Sumatra, Batak), Lina (Menado), Udin (Sunda, Java), Dayu (Bali), and Edo (Papua). Those names represent different faces. It visually illustrated how regional representation is presented in the 2013 curriculum elementary school textbook.

The representation of Papua, which had never existed in school textbooks, is now starting to appear in the figure of Edo. Java no longer dominates regional representation. This is undoubtedly a good development for diverse Indonesia.

Based on the description above, this study critically describes how the state describes Papua in a textbook. This becomes relevant, considering that Papua in many representations often experiences exclusion and discrimination. Irawan in his research explains that naming, labeling, and stereotyping for ethnicity, and religion appear in textual works. The issue naming refers more to biological characteristics, ultimately giving birth to stereotypes in the shadow of inevitable ethnic domination (Irawan & Udasmoro, 2015).

According to Kusumaryati (2021), in her research, the Indonesian language school

textbooks used in West Papua only a little discuss Papuan culture, and development policies oriented towards the supremacy of Javanese culture and the primitiveness of Papuan culture were one of the practices that caused the domination of certain ethnic groups to rule. Qurrota Ayun also shows the same thing in his research explains that the representation of Papua in children's films tends to be marginal and full of stereotypes and explains how the media tend to place Papua as the other (other). This biased perspective confirms that in many ways Papua is still experiencing discrimination. Purba (2010) emphasized the development of a Javanese-centric in the New Order government. This is illustrated by the transmigration process of the Javanese people to Papua.

Colonial discourse seems to be inseparable in the process of entering Indonesia, especially the Javanese people, into Papua. The emphasis that places people as immature beings matured is very similar to colonial discourse in Africa. A perception that places the 'colonized' culture as 'childish' means that the logic of maturity can only be achieved by 'the colonized' if it is included in the power system of 'the colonizer'. Other research has also proven that decades of colonization and diminishment have left their mark in this easternmost part of Indonesia, called Papua/West Papua. At least two-thirds of the population of Jayapura are non-Papuan migrants, mainly from the islands of Java and Sulawesi, and these settlers are economically dominant. The Papuan lands and seas encroachment by non-Indigenous migrants, concrete, trash, and violence has been increasingly publicized.

Departing from the above conditions, this study seeks to see critically how Papua is in education in Indonesia, especially its representation in elementary school textbooks (SD). It is essential to ask for the noble purpose of education, namely educating the nation's children and emphasizing the importance of respecting others. Education must consider differences in race, ethnicity, religion, and other similar matters fairly and in a civilized manner.

Based on these arguments, seeing the representation of Papua in this study is very important. The school textbook used as the subject of the study is the 2013 curriculum of elementary school books. Choosing the elementary level is not without purpose.

Bandura in reveals that children are great imitators. Children go through their daily experiences by observing and imitating what they observe. School textbooks are something that cannot be separated from children. Shiraishi (1997) also explains the same thing in his book, which emphasizes that school textbooks and children's books in Indonesia are suitable means to study the ideological basis of a regime. Children have little control over what they read. Textbooks in Indonesia are guaranteed "best-sellers" because every student is required to buy and read them every year. In the context of the history of Indonesian education, textbooks are essential. Government-issued schoolbooks are an ideological tool. Borrowing Althusser's term (1971), the state also has what he calls the Ideological State Apparatus (ISA).

The practice of ISA by the state runs massively. It functions secondarily as a subtly and unconsciously, even symbolic, tool of repression (emphasis), one of which is carried out through education, one of the manifestations of which is through school textbooks. Wirasti, (2002), in her research, explains several things related to how the state produces textbooks. Several books for education actors, educators, students, education administrators, and even parents of students from 1972 to 1998 were mostly the state's mouthpieces to convey its political policies characterized by economic expansion and

political repression. The New Order framed a phenomenon comprehensively to produce a very indoctrinating text. This did not change when the reforms rolled out.

The state continues to create textbooks for learning guides and requires schools to use them, especially public schools. Textbooks remain an essential part of learning in schools. The state still has an interest in directing its citizens, both related to cultural values and other matters of an ideological nature. This is not only happening in Indonesia. Aukerman, Grover and Belfatti, in their research in the United States, explain how children's books can represent representations of race, culture and ideology, and there is a possibility of racism being told in the book. Based on the description above, a critical study of textbooks published by the state is an attempt to re-examine the narrative of diversity raised by the state for post-reform Indonesia. Elementary school textbooks were deliberately chosen with the hope that this research could contribute to children's reading that upholds diversity.

Research Method

This study used critical discourse analysis. The definition of Ricoeur in Haryatmoko (2017) explained that discourse has four elements: first, there is a subject who states; second, to whom it is delivered; third, the world or vehicle to be represented; and fourth, temporality or time context. Understanding these elements of Ricoeur's discourse can help explain why discourse is seen as a social praxis, as discourse is already an action. Discourse/text regarding activities, social relations and communication technology can be analyzed. Likewise, books from the elementary school curriculum 2013 are the subject of this study. The book is a social praxis because it involves interpreting social actions and relations, even at the text level.

Theo van Leeuwen (2008) introduced a discourse analysis model to detect and examine how a group or person is marginalized in a discourse. A dominant group has more control over interpreting an event and its meaning. In contrast, another group with a lower position tends to continue as an object of meaning and is described in a minor way. Van Leeuwen's view of word and image in discourse refers to Barthes, who says an image has various interpretation opportunities; therefore, a word must "set/fix" its meaning. There are two categories of representation: inclusion and exclusion (Manne, 2017). In the realm of inclusion, social actors are presented in discourse.

Meanwhile, in exclusion, social actors are removed for a specific purpose. The research focuses on the realm of exclusion and how representation experiences exclusion concerning other subjects.

Technically, van Leeuwen described an analytical framework that can be used practically. The exclusion process is the possibility of not including special people or types of people in representing a group (institution, society, nation, etc.) in which they live and work to which they belong. Here, we see social exclusion symbolically and do not see the presence of some people or types of people who live and work among us. Technically, the practice of exclusion can be described as passive. Apart from being in the context of a sentence, we can also use pacification in the context of an image. We can see this by looking at the relationship between the actors in it. Nominalization: the word nomination eliminates the subject and can change the sentence's meaning when the audience accepts it. While the last replacement of the clause. This pattern can be used to eliminate the actor and as a substitute for the actor. This is done by assuming the

reader knows who the actor is. Because it is considered to know that, for word efficiency, the actor is omitted. The writer may not realize the change, but it makes the actor hidden in the sentence.

Result and Discussion

The Root of Racism in Indonesia and Equality Among Races in Islam

Across world history, the practice of occupying other territories predates Western colonialism, such as the conquest of Constantinople under the Ottoman Turks. However, European colonialism was so prominent and influential because it influenced the economic system and created systemic racism in the colonies. The effects of colonialism are still felt in colonized countries and are taken for granted by their people-even long after their independence. One of them is racism, which separates groups of people based on race or physical differences. In Indonesian history, this racism can be found in the stratification of society in the Dutch East Indies era. Europeans, as colonialists, made their group the first class of people with the greatest privileges in the colony. The second class was filled by a mixed community of Europeans and natives and non-European foreigners, such as Chinese and Middle Easterners. At the bottom were the natives, who had the most limited rights. This social segregation was applied throughout Dutch East Indies society, from occupying government positions to using public facilities.

This racism was so deeply rooted that it became a new culture in the colonies even though Europeans were no longer physically colonizing. The term "pribumi" or "Bumiputera" used to separate indigenous people during the Dutch East Indies has discriminatory implications to this day. This word often justifies the rejection of Indonesians of Chinese descent, even though they have lived in the archipelago for generations. The May 1998 riots, which resulted in many casualties among Chinese Indonesians, are one of the horrific legacies of racism left behind by the Dutch East Indies.

The teachings of racial equality in Islam find their roots in the Qur'an and the exemplary life of Prophet Muhammad. The Qur'an prompts us to contemplate the universal brotherhood of humanity, stating:

> *"O mankind! Verily, We created you from a male and female, and made you into peoples and tribes so that you would come to know one another. Verily, the most noble of you, in God's estimation, is the most conscientious among you. Verily, God is knowing and aware."* (49:13)

On various occasions, Prophet Muhammad confronted racial prejudices expressed by some of his Arab companions. When objections were raised about Bilāl, an Ethiopian, being chosen to call the faithful to prayer, the Prophet ﷺ admonished them, asserting that people are judged by their piety and conscience, not by their ethnicity. He emphasized their common origin from Adam, who created them from the same substance—dirt. In another instance, he rebuked his companions for neglecting Umm Miĥjan, an African woman who diligently maintained the mosque. When Arab women disparaged the Prophet's Jewish wife, Śafiyyah, he reminded them of her esteemed lineage, highlighting the unity of humanity (Ali, 2017).

The Qur'an and the Prophet's example underscore the right of every person to be treated with kindness. Believers are called brothers, with the Qur'an warning against intentional harm to a fellow believer. The obligation to worship God without ascribing partners is coupled with directives to show goodwill to family, neighbours, orphans, the

poor, and enslaved people, emphasizing equality and humility. The Prophet emphasized the importance of good neighbourly relations, comparing believers to a single body where one part's ailment affects the entire community.

Islam strictly prohibits derogatory references or racial slurs. The Qur'an explicitly instructs believers not to mock or attack each other's honour based on gender or ethnicity. Such acts are deemed wicked and unjust, emphasizing the importance of repentance for those who engage in such behaviour. Overall, the teachings of Prophet Muhammad and the al-Qur'an emphasize equality, compassion, and the rejection of racial discrimination within the Muslim community.

The representation of Papua in school textbooks cannot be separated from how the state treats Papua. In the historical context, Papua's position in Indonesia tends to be unstable compared to other regions. This study examines how the state positions Papua in education, especially in representing elementary school textbooks that become teaching materials. The text in critical discourse analysis is not understood rigidly. The texts in this study are considered social praxis. So, linking texts in school books with Papuan history becomes relevant. What appears in the textbook clearly illustrates how the state views Papua as an entity or group. As the dominant entity, the state is clearly more in control of interpreting an event and its meaning for a minor group, such as Papua. Even with this problem, the government strengthened national identity by creating slogans such as NKRI is Dead, Papua is Part of the NKRI, and Pancasila is final and cannot be contested.

However, these efforts divert and cover up social problems in Papua. Here, the government creates offers and beliefs that are as if they are ending the problem. However, this did not have a significant impact, and Papua has long been considered a low position, tends to continue as an object of meaning, and is described in a minor way. This is undoubtedly related to the history of Papua, which experienced colonialism. The internal colonialism that has been happening in Papua has influenced the perspective of Papuans and people outside Papua. Fanon (1986) in his book explains that in the colonial period, a situation caused the colonized population to feel self-inferiority due to differences in treatment and perspective of the colonizers to the colonized. As a party that feels inferior, the desire to imitate, prove and even belong to a white person has been ingrained in the minds of the natives. "For the black man, there is only one destiny. And it is white." Fanon realized that blacks were part of the object of white society, another 'species' different from them.

In addition, Fanon describes the problem of race construction, which explains that the definition of race and ethnicity (whites and blacks) is always the result of historical processes, dominant political structures, and cultural issues. Through the history of colonization, the colonizer (white) carried out a subjective construction of the identity of the colonized black people and themselves. In a broad context, through the historical process, the colonized tried to understand and follow the symbols and identities that the colonizer constructed. Even at a certain level, they also desired to imitate and replace the position or position of the colonizer. In this context, this research realizes that the construction of race represented in a school textbook is a definition of race resulting from historical processes and dominant political constructions. The definition of race that is considered inferior occurs in Papua's relations with other regions in Indonesia. The results of the existing analysis show that Java and several other races' "states" are in

control of interpreting an event. At the same time, Papuan representation is inferior and tends to be described in a minor way.

Papuan Stereotypes

Based on the analysis of several texts, pictures and written narratives show exclusionary practices that are full of stereotypes described in textbooks. Papua, in this section, undergoes Passivation. The Passivation removes the actor's role and places the actor full of stereotypes. The data are selected and categorized in a simple table. The table below provides an overview of some parts of the text in the book that tend to look down on Papuans, especially regarding Edo, who represents Papua in the textbook. The explanation is illustrated below:

Type of Exclusion	Description	Page	Class
Papuan stereotypes	Dirty Papua	37, 91-92	3, 1
	Papua is stronger physically	76-77	3
		23	6
	Papua has negative stereotypes (Not obeying dominant norms), such as firecrackers, waste of water, and waste of electrical energy.	70, 92, 161	3
		163	2
	More prominent in sports, especially physical	23, 80, 105	6

The text passages above represent Papua, which is full of stereotypes. The representation of Papua is full of prejudice and negative connotations. Stereotypes can also be understood as using language as a strategy for exclusion or marginalization of discourse. Concerning representation, stereotyping is a subjective practice of representation (Candraningrum, 2014). Although it does not directly mention it, representation seems to say that Papua is a dirty human being who prioritizes the physical and tends to be different from the dominant norm. This is part of the stereotype attached to Edo. Edo became an example of how to live an unhealthy life. The choice of the Edo figure, whether consciously or not, places Papua in a certain stereotype. Below is an example of such a narrative:

Example of Stereotype in the textbook

The description above confirms that Papua, as an entity, experiences a stigma. It is a special kind of relationship between attributes and stereotypes. Although this is not always the case, there are important attributes that almost all societies discredit. There are three types of stigma, and the first is the 'ugliness' of the body or various physical disorders. Second, individual character defects such as mental disorders, imprisonment, addiction, alcoholism, homosexuality, unemployment, suicide attempts, and radical political behaviour. The last is the stigma of ethnicity, race, nation, and religion, which is a stigma through lineage and creates generalizations (Goffman, 1979). What is illustrated in the school textbook is the stigma of ethnicity and race that is carried out on Papua through representations
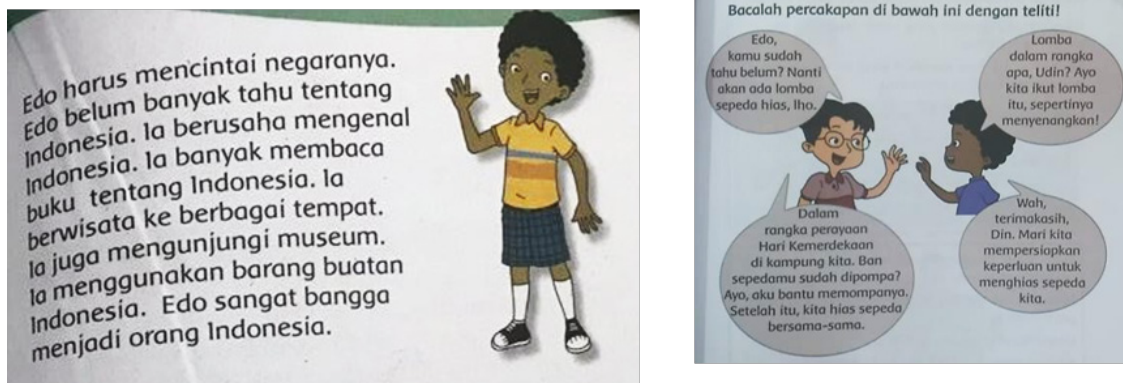
Papuan Nationalism

Apart from the stereotypical representation of Papua, the Papuan view of the state is also full of prejudice. Prejudice in this context can be understood as an attempt to eliminate the group's contribution to the state and nation (nominalization). Several texts describe that Papuans tend to lack the spirit of nationalism. In detail, this is illustrated in the table below:

Type of Exclusion	Description	Page	Class
Papua is less nationalist	Several texts described Edo's knowledge of Indonesia as relatively minimal, including related to the basis of the state, namely the understanding of Pancasila and other related matters.	174-175 39	3 2

The notion of a less nationalist Papua cannot be separated from history. Historically, it is noted that the Round Table Conference (KMB) on December 27, 1949, resulted in the transfer of sovereignty from the Netherlands to Indonesia. However, the KMB also leaves an unresolved problem, namely regarding the status of Papua or West Irian. West Papuans have been struggling for independence since their territory was forcibly transferred from the Netherlands to Indonesia in 1963. In 1965, a pro-independence armed group was formed in Manokwari in the region's western part. Since then, the West Papua Liberation Army has waged a low-level insurgency against the Indonesian central government. To counter this, the state governed West Papua as a military operation zone from 1977 to 1998, the first area in Indonesia to live under such a protracted military occupation. Today, West Papua continues to be the most militarized area in the country, with human rights abuses committed by state forces a daily occurrence (Kusumaryati, 2021). As a result of this, relations between Indonesia and Papua as racial entities often experience tension. Octavian (2012), in his book Military and Globalization, explains that the West Papua issue will be resolved, and further negotiations have been held several times, but the results are always deadlocked. The issue was brought to the UN forums in 1954, 1955, 1957, and 1960. This explains that the issue of Papua joining Indonesia remains a problem. This condition is certainly related to how Papua lacks a

nationalist spirit and a spirit of patriotism.

In addition, in the context of Indonesian and Papuan nationalism written by Made Supriatna, he revealed that the imagination of the Indonesian people towards Papua also inherited the imperialist imagination of Yamin and Sukarno, and his imagination was the imagination of the region, not the imagination of a sense of brotherhood among nations. Indonesians have always felt foreigners have taken away their natural wealth in Papua. Indonesians want their wealth. But not with humans. Indonesians never cared about the fate of Papuans. Kusumaryati (2021) proved that despite being one of the country's wealthiest provinces in terms of resources, Papua has always occupied the lowest ladder of the Indonesian development index. When Papuans express their desire for self-determination, there is always an argument: if Papua is independent, their wealth will be taken by America, Australia or foreigners. Arguments like this arise because of feelings that claim to be superior. Papuans are not able to manage themselves. Indeed, Indonesians feel that their culture is far superior to Papuans (Supriatma, 2018). The illustration above confirms that the perceived lack of nationalism of the Papuan people is related to history. To this day, the state still considers Papua a part that lacks nationalism. The country's perspective is illustrated in the example of the textbook section below:

Example of text related to nationalism

The illustration above clearly confirms that Edo, who represents Papua, does not yet love Indonesia and does not know much about it. This assumption explains that the state's perspective on Papua is full of prejudice. Papua is still in place as a citizen who does not yet have a high sense of nationalism. This assumption is problematic paradigmatically and clearly excludes Papua compared to other tribes or ethnicities in Indonesia.

Underdeveloped Papua

In addition, the assumption of a backward Papua is also reflected in the book. Research that represents underdeveloped Papua has been described in several studies, including the mass media, films and similar media. But what's interesting about the findings in this study is that we find Papuan exclusion in government-issued elementary school textbooks. Schools, which ideally become institutions to instil the importance of the value of diversity, are, in fact, indirectly racist towards certain ethnic groups,

namely Papuans. A racist perspective certainly has profound implications. Racist ways of thinking tend to think that different people deserve to be underestimated. This was emphasized by the Bank, which explained that racism also classifies people into colour categories, namely black, brown, red, and white. However, these biological differences trigger the emergence of social differentiation, which is considered a natural thing and triggers the emergence of racism or the assumption that certain races are inherently superior or inferior to others (P. Banks, 2020). In this section, several texts and images are drawn which position Papua incorrectly.

Type of Exclusion	Description	Page	Class
It is considered that the level of knowledge is minimal and retarded in both players and visual positions	Some texts place Edo asking more questions about many things.	13, 61	3
Not dominant, passive and complementary in role and visual position	In some visuals and texts, it is shown that Edo's position is minor when compared to other characters.	33, 22, 144	1
The losing side	In the Edo competition case, the lost figure is depicted.	52	1

In addition to the perspective of Papua, which is backwards in the representation of text and images, Papua also often experiences the same treatment in real life. Soukotta also emphasized the practice of racism that has been running so far. Racism against Papuans takes many forms, from the absence of teachers and doctors in many areas of Papua to development projects (including roads and bridges) that benefit Indonesian migrants more than indigenous Papuans. Racism is also seen from the depiction of Indonesian military personnel as "humanitarian workers" instead of armed forces to the depiction of Papuans as dangerous "rebels" who bring suffering to the Papuan people themselves. Racism appears in Indonesians who eat raw narratives made by state officials, Indonesians who turn a deaf ear to Papuan voices and call Papuan stories "provocations". Racism is present in the attitude of Indonesians towards Papuans, often based on compassion rather than solidarity. Racism also appears in the labelling of Papuans as "stupid", "drunken", "rude", and "stupid monkeys" who live like Papuan mops that we should laugh at (Soukotta, 2019).

The description above confirms that what is described in the text and images is not much different when it comes to the state's and the public's behaviour towards Papua in their daily lives. The condition of considering Papua as backwards is the result of colonialism that has been going on for so long and has resulted in racist attitudes.

The perception of backward Papuans (to borrow Frantz Fanon's term) is a colonial gaze, the "colonial gaze". This colonization results from the subjective construction of black identity, which does not have a solid and grounded foundation. This condition is exacerbated by the assumption that development is a solution to reduce racism. The development will elevate the dignity of the Papuan people. What happened was the opposite. Papua is exploited on a large scale and still preserves the state's racist attitude towards Papua.

Conclusion

The research above explains that colonialism, which has been going on for a long time, is closely related to racism. Colonized people like Papua often experience racist behaviour. Such behaviour can be direct or through representation. This research illustrates how the racist and stereotypical representation of Papua is depicted in school textbooks. Several findings in the Curriculum 2013 Elementary School book published by the Ministry of Education and Culture explain the state's perspective on Papua. The research conclusions undoubtedly relate to the history and the actual relationship between Papua and the state. Through critical discourse analysis, this research shows several exclusion models depicted in a textbook.

Some of the findings are illustrated in the following conclusions: (1) The representation of Papua in the book is full of stereotypes. Among them are Papua, which is dirty and wasteful of water and electricity and Papua, which is more physical. (2) Papua in the book is described as less nationalistic. This is illustrated in some of the text and images that are represented. (3). Papuan tends to be considered inferior in many ways. This is confirmed in the form of pictures and activities. The results of this study indeed illustrate that multicultural education in schools faces serious problems. Tilaar emphasized that multiculturalism plays an essential role in developing the identity of community groups in a country.

In this condition, the education system and process function as a medium that supports a civilized nation and can appreciate differences or diversity (Muthohirin, 2019; Tilaar & Hapsari, 2004). Through educational institutions, the younger generation can understand the importance of various cultures in educational praxis in building a democratic country. The research findings above are counterproductive to academic values, which function as a strategic medium for instilling multicultural values. The perspective of Papua, which is full of stereotypes and prejudices, is an obstacle to building a democratic Indonesia. Through this research, the government must return to paying attention to multicultural education in a very detailed and practical area, namely school textbooks. Building equal relations between ethnicity, race and religion in the Indonesian context is necessary. Given that diversity is a reality that is owned and must be maintained.

Nevertheless, Indonesia, as an Islamic-majority country, must recall the Prophet Muhammad's condemnation of racist talk, his appointment of individuals from ethnic minorities to prominent positions, and his emphasis on character and piety over racial identity. Engaging in open, honest, and dispassionate conversations about race, its evolution, challenges, and merits can foster communal trust, security, and peace.

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