PROCEEDING
2ND INTERNATIONAL GRADUATE STUDENTS CONFERENCE ON INDONESIA
INDONESIA AND THE NEW CHALLENGES:
Multiculturalism, Identity, and Self Narration

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PREFACE

Contemporary Indonesia is going through a dynamic process of development changes but not without its complexities and multi perspective problems, as witnessed through its population's self reflection. The democratic reforms have become a key springboard for the Indonesian people to struggle for their autonomy, rights, and freedom of expression. Because Indonesia is a multicultural society with the tremendous diversity in term of ethnicities, religions, social classes, political parties and gender orientation, this makes the situation a challenging one that needs to be analyzed systematically. Despite such diversities, the common practice of claiming for the sake of self and a particular group interest has been a dominant discourse in everyday life practice. Moreover, the robust role of media thus strengthens the struggle of different groups, who demands for their recognition in their everyday works of life.

In this multicultural society, the question of identity has become a prominent subject of discussion. Identity is seen as an ongoing human development process, which has challenged the definition of the mainstream view that believes and defends the influence of nature on self. People are also starting to argue for their rights instead of their marginality. In particular, the people with different identities are asking to be recognized as subject in social practice. By that, the self narration is then utilized as an alternative in negotiating position and power. These are the new challenges in the contemporary Indonesia for the government, the practitioners, the academic community and the society at large to debate and reconcile for the betterment of a multi-cultural understanding in a pluralistic society.

The scholars interested in Indonesia coming from different countries, disciplines and areas of research need a space for discussing these issues. Indonesia and the *New Challenges: Multiculturalism, Identity and Self Narration* is chosen as a topic in this *2nd International Graduate Students Conference on Indonesia*. More than hundred graduate students will have the

opportunity to present their paper and discuss their research with their mates from different field of studies. This "space" of discussion is important to share the experience of research and to encourage these students to present their papers in the international conference attended by scholars from different countries.

We hope that this conference will help facilitate graduate students learning and also to stimulate their critical thinking that will be useful to complete their studies successfully.

Steering committees
Prof. Dr. Hartono, DEA, DESS
Prof. Ir. Suryo Purwono, MA.Sc, Ph.D
Dr. Wening Udasmoro, M. Hum., DEA
Dr. Ratna Noviani, M.A.

MESSAGE FROM VICE DIRECTOR OF GRADUATE SCHOOL

The Graduate School Gadjah Mada University is greatly honored to host the 2nd International Graduate Student Conference on Indonesia. The theme of this year's conference is "Indonesia and the New Chalenges: Multiculturalism, Identity and Self Narration". The event has a pivotal role in improving knowledge and linkages for the participant. As one of Indonesia's leading universities, Gadjah Mada University has the responsibility and duty to regularly address outstanding cultural, educational and scientific issues that affect not only the academic community but Indonesian society as a whole.

It is a privilege pleasure to welcome the plenary lectures, participants and distinguished guests of the conference. I wish all of you success and enjoyable time.

In this conference, it is hoped that the presentation sessions and associated discussion will provide a forum venue for both researchers and practitioners alike. These should be good times for those involved to exchange ideas and discuss research advances in a variety of fields. Practitioners need academic support with exploration of new techniques or theories while academics, in turn, require assistance from practitioners for real work application of their work. The relationship between the two groups is symbiotic, and through conference like this one, it is hoped that the groups can work more closely together. Furthermore it is hoped that the conference will provide an opportunity for research findings to be disseminated among the regional nations, providing ideas for future research pathways and preventing reinventions of the wheel.

Finally, I am deeply appreciated to our guest speakers, sponsors and technical committee as well as participants for their contribution. My sincere thanks extend to the organizing committee for their commitment and hard work to make a successful conference.

Prof. Suryo Purwono, PhD
Vice Director of Graduate School
Gadjah Mada University

KEY NOTE SPEECH 1
TRANSLATION AND THE CREATION OF IDENTITIES IN INDONESIA

Harry Aveling

It is an assumption of this Conference that individual and social identities have an important part to play in shaping concepts of the nation. I will speak on the role of language and literature (understood in the broadest sense as texts of cultural significance), in developing personal, communal and national identities. My paper will argue that translation has made a strong input to ideas of identity in Nusantara throughout history, and continues to have an important role to play in today's Indonesia.

I will also give consideration to the role of translation with regard to the variety of local languages and cultures to be found in Indonesia. This diversity is, on the one hand, a national asset, but, on the other hand, also creates the potential for interethnic conflict.

This paper forms part of an ongoing project in which I have been involved: the history of translation in Nusantara (Aveling 2006, Aveling and Yamada 2009).

TRANSLATION AND THE CREATION OF IDENTITIES IN INDONESIA

Harry Aveling

It is the assumption of this Conference that individual and social identities have an important role to play in shaping concepts of the nation. I will speak here on the role of language and literature, understood in the broadest sense as texts of cultural significance, in developing personal, communal and national identities. Towards the end of my paper in particular, I will also give consideration to the variety of local languages and cultures to be found in Indonesia that are, on the one hand, a national asset, but, on the other hand, also create the potential for interethnic conflict as well, and the positive role translation can play in overcoming these divisions.

My paper will therefore argue that translation has made a strong input to ideas of identity in Nusantara throughout history, and continues to have an important role to play in today's Indonesia. This paper forms part of an ongoing project in which I have been involved: the history of translation in Nusantara (Aveling 2006, Aveling and Yamada 2009).

1. A Preliminary Statement on Translation in Indonesia

Let me begin with a new landmark publication: "*Sadur: Sejarah Terjemahan di Indonesia dan Malaysia.*" This book is a recent, large, collection of 65 articles by 59 different authors on the history of translation in Indonesia and Malaysia (Chambert-Loir 2009). The history is indeed a lengthy one. In his Forward, the editor, Henri Chambert-Loir, notes that the earliest record of translation in Nusantara refers to a rendering of the *Wirataparwa* into Javanese on October 14, 996. He then asserts:

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Selama satu milenium itu terjemahan terbagi atas tiga babak, yang sesuai dengan pembabakan sejarah Nusantara pada umumnya, yaitu periode pengaruh India, pengaruh Islam dan pengaruh Eropa. Di antara ketiga babak itu terdapat persamaan yang mencolok, yaitu setiap kali, penerjemahan dari suatu bahasa tertentu mengiringi peminjaman suatu sistim tulis, suatu bahasa dan suatu agama. (Chambert-Loir 2009: 11)

The Indonesian experience in translation has, it is clear, been associated with the establishment of major new cultural paradigms. Historically, the first major states in the region were influenced by Hinduism and Buddhism, from perhaps as early as the fifth century CE. From the thirteenth century onwards, other newer states accepted Islam. Then came the Dutch empire of the East Indies, bringing its own religion, political practices, law codes, technology and economic structures. Finally, the Republic of Indonesia proclaimed itself a free a sovereign state on 17 August 1945. Thanks to translation, each of these periods has seen the development, as Chambert-Loir notes, of new alphabets, new languages and new religions (or worldviews, since Christianity was never widely accepted in the region) – and, hence, of new possibilities for determining the meaning of individual and cultural existence.

Although there are approximately 740 different languages spoken across the Indonesian archipelago, it has been suggested that only eight of these have long standing written literatures: Javanese, Balinese, Sundanese, Malay, Minangkabau, Batak, Macassarese and Buginese (McGlynn 1998: 49). Nevertheless, contact with the major world civilizations of India, the Middle East, and later China and Europe, has involved exposure to a variety of languages, including Sanskrit, Pali, Tamil, Arabic, Persian, Dutch, Chinese, Japanese, English, and Russian. Indonesian translation practices reflect this complex intermingling of influences and can be plotted along two dimensions: the global and the regional. There has been long-standing contact with major international religious, and later secular, literatures and cultures. The global traditions have been further spread by contact between local traditions. The Malay translation of the *Hikayat Amir Hamzah*,

for instance, was itself later translated into Javanese, Sundanese, Buginese, Macassarese and Balinese (Chambert-Loir 2009: 12). Finally, there has also been extensive contact amongst local literary traditions and ethnic cultures – between Bali and Lombok, and Java and the Malay realm, for example.

The translation practices relating to this important text material has extended far beyond the small literate realms of the limited number of written cultures I have mentioned. Literary contact has been expressed through the direct translation of clearly identifiable source texts, and by the translation of currently unidentifiable sources, but it has also come about through borrowing, adaptation, imitation, and the creation of new works based on various precise and imprecise degrees of knowledge of the source texts. Moreover, written manuscripts have served as the basis for more extensive oral recitations and expansions in specific social contexts. These recitations must be further understood as intertextually related to other forms of performance, in particular the *wayang* shadow-puppet theatre and dance, as well to as the plastic arts of bas reliefs, murals, sculpture and temple architecture. Translation has, thus, been an extremely pervasive practice.

2. A Preliminary Theoretical Position

Let me present one theoretical approach that may help us to better understand the relationships between source texts and their different translations. The approach draws on a system of ideas known as Polysystem Theory, originally formulated by Itamar Even-Zohar (1990) to deal with literary translation. Even-Zohar's ideas readily cover other kinds of texts as well.

The theory begins with a broad notion of text. "Text" has been defined as "a sequence of coherent sentences realizing a set of mutually relevant intentions" (Hatim and Munday 2004: 350) – in simpler terms, a limited stretch of languages which hangs together and makes sense to those involved with it. Even-Zohar suggests that a text is "any kind of … semiotic repertoire fully and visibly institutionalised in society" (61, n.6). In Indonesia, institutionalised

texts have been oral, written, and often a combination of both. We know that orality of various kinds was (and is) widespread, while literacy was (and is) often reserved to specialist, educated elite. The variety of oral and written texts in Indonesia include literature and public theatrical displays, certainly, but also reach out to religious and legal texts, as well as the whole "archive of traditional knowledge" (Harun Mat Piah 2002).

Chambert-Loir notes two things about oral texts and their audiences in Indonesia. The first is that an oral text is absorbed (*diresapi*) in a different way from a written text. An oral text cannot be interrupted or repeated if a listener fails to understand the meaning of a particular word or the full significance of a particular scene when it is separated from the wider context of those other scenes that precede and follow it. The second is that oral narrations, in daily life as in theatrical performances, involve large amounts of translation and incomprehension. As Chambert-Loir writes:

> *Terjemahan sebagai bagian dari pertunjukan bukan hal luar biasa, ketidakpahaman juga biasa. Penonton atau pendengar tidak berharap mengerti sesgala sesuatu seperti orang dalam masyarakat Barat. Pengadaan dan penyampaian teks dan tuturan, baik lisan maupun tulisan, berkembang dalam satu lingkungan khas yang berbeda di masing-masing masyarakat dan menentukan cara rang mendekati dan berharap mengertinya.* (Chambert-Loir 2009: 17)

But these statements are, I suggest, only partially true. Chambert-Loir does not note the paradoxical fact that many written texts in Indonesia are intended not for private study but to be read out aloud, for the benefit of oneself and, more importantly, for the benefit of one's listeners. This has significant implications for the nature of translation, both oral and written: "*terjemahan, saduran, jiplakan*" (Jedamski in Chambert-Loir 2009: 674), and *tafsiran*, are all legitimate, and respectable, ways of conveying the meaning of a text to an audience. (The Arabic term "*tarjamah*", in fact, inclines towards "the explanation of a written text, "*tafsir*", as is primary meaning.) Secondly, it is also true that readers do miss certain words or scenes but nevertheless they do often know through long familiarity more or less what is being said and what its significance is – or at least, what its social function is. Translation

reduces incomprehension, not through the explanation of each and every word but through the reinforcement of particular types of socially relevant understanding and, as we shall also see, of authority.

This leads us to the second point I wish to draw from Even-Zohar. Each text belongs to a wider context, which involves the following factors: (a) the *producer* (author); (b) the *consumer* (addressee, reader or listener); (c) the *institution* (context), which includes critics, publishing houses, periodicals, clubs, groups of writers, government bodies, educational institutions, the mass media, and more; (d) the *repertoire* (code), which is "the aggregate of rules and items with which a specific text is produced, and understood"; (e) the *market* (contact, channel), which is "the aggregate of factors involved with the selling and buying of literary products and with the promotion of types of consumption" (38); and, finally: (f) the *product* (message) itself , which is "any performed (or performable) set of signs, i.e., including a given 'behaviour'" (35-43). These six factors are all interconnected. Even-Zohar defines the connections between these factors as forming a "system", and defines a system as "the network of relations that can be hypothesized for a certain set of assumed observables" (27). A multiplicity of texts involves a multiplicity of each of these factors, and the term that Even-Zohar uses to describe these multiple relations is "polysystem".

Translated texts and oral reworkings may hold various positions in the receiving textual polysystem. They may sometimes become central and "the most active system within it" (46). This happens when a polysystem is still being established; when the literature is peripheral within a group of co-related literatures, or weak, or both; and when there are "turning points, crises or vacuums within the target textual system (47-48). Translated texts may also be "peripheral", in which case their function is largely conservative (49). It is also possible that, because translated textual systems are themselves stratified, one section of textual translations "may assume a central position, [while] another may remain quite peripheral" (49).

We can now begin to talk about translation and the shaping of large scale personal and communal identities in Nusantara.

3. Classical South Asian Sacred Texts

From almost the beginning of the Common Era (CE), there is evidence of the presence of powerful kingdoms in Southeast Asia whose major political, social and cultural practices were strongly influenced by South Asian models. This influence comes first through the knowledge of texts in the original Indic languages, for priests and ascetics, and then through translations, for other people – especially nobles.

Sanskrit inscriptions, attesting to a knowledge of Indic literature, and in particular of Indian meters, are widespread from the fourth century, while inscriptions in vernacular languages appear two centuries later. The Mahayana Buddhist kingdom of Srivijaya in South Sumatera has left a small number of metrical inscriptions in Old Malay dating from 684 CE; they too are written in a Southern Indian script and contain many Sanskrit words. The first inscriptions in Old Javanese date from 732 CE and again the presence of Indian words is pervasive. Although there are no remaining written Jataka tales to be found in island Southeast Asia, the stories are included on the wall sculptures of the great eighth century Borobodur, and were presumably common at that time.

Religious professionals maintained ritual texts in their original languages at the center of the various literary systems. Commentaries in both the original language and in translation were, however, also important. A Chinese work of the sixth century, the *Gaoseng zhuan*, tells of a Kashmiri prince who was converted to Buddhism at the beginning of the fifth century and traveled to "Java" to preach his new found faith there. He translated a text of the Mulasarvastivada school into a local language. In a surviving, perhaps eighth century, version of the Buddhist text, the *Sang Hyang Kamahayanikan*, each Sanskrit verse is followed by an Old Javanese paraphrase.

Among the courtly nobility, less ascetic interests prevailed and a different system of translations emerged, based, in theory but often not in practice, on the two Sanskrit epics, the *Ramayana* by Valmiki and the *Mahabharata* by Vyasa, because of the variety of languages involved in transmission.

Of these two epics, the *Ramayana* was the more prominent and numerous versions are found throughout Mainland Southeast Asia. An exemplary Old Javanese *Ramayana,* displaying a large variety of Indian meters, was probably written before 930 CE. It seems to be based on a later Southern Indian Sanskrit text of the sixth to seventh centuries, the *Ravana Vadha* (the Death of Rahwana, Rama's enemy). P.J. Zoetmulder suggests that the writer, known as Yogiswara in later Balinese tradition, gave himself a certain amount of liberty to depart from his model, by adding clarifications in certain places and abbreviating others (1974: 229). A hybrid and equally sympathetic focus on Rawana is also characteristic of the Malay *Hikayat Seri Rama,* which has survived only in the Arabic script, uses carefully modified terms to refer to God, and includes the Prophet Adam as a major character. This text may have been derived from Javanese versions used for shadow puppet performances.

On Java, however, the *Mahabharata* tended to overshadow the *Ramayana* in importance. Translations of the major parts of the "Northern" recension into Old Javanese were done before 1000 CE. A prose redaction of the fourth book, the "Wirataparwa", bears a date equivalent to 14 October 996 CE (Supomo in Chambert-Loir 2009: 933); and some other books, although undated, are also dedicated to the same king, Sri Dharmawangsa Teguh Anantawikramottungadewa, who ruled from sometime in the late tenth century to 1016. The translations were almost certainly done by a number of writers, judging by differences in language and style. The introductory verses to the "Wirataparwa" describe the translator's aim as being to "Javanise the work conceived in Vyasa's mind". The story is to be told "in accordance with the truth and exactly as it happened, without ambiguities and without verbosity". These comments were clearly directed against other writers who were inclined towards "embellishments" of their own

making, and "playful liberties". The broad outlines of the original stories were followed, with some shortenings and omissions. Quotations in verse from the original Sanskrit remain scattered throughout the translations, both for their own intrinsic interest and as a way of anchoring the translations within the original source texts (Zoetmulder 1974: 87-88).

An important poetic tradition developed in Old Javanese over the next two centuries, drawing on various stories from the *Mahabharata.* Increasingly these literary works gained a local flavour. As Zoetmulder again notes: "These men and women with Indian names are essentially Javanese, acting like Javanese, thinking like Javanese, and living in a Javanese environment." (1974: 188). These poetic narratives were later preserved, and rewritten in Bali, and also spread to the Malay peninsula and Southern Thailand, together with the more indigenous Javanese love stories of the princely hero Raden Panji. In Malaya, these imported tales had such prestige that texts were occasionally created which purported to be "shifted from the Javanese", even though no original texts have as yet been found (see Robson 1967: 7).

4. Islam in Island Southeast Asia

The coming of Islam to Island Southeast Asia after the beginning of the thirteenth century CE gradually put an end to the formal creation and consumption of Hindu and Buddhist texts in this region, except in Bali, where Javanese texts continued to be reproduced. Hindu-Buddhist identities were replaced by newer Muslim identities, of different types – firstly Syi'a and later Sunni. All surviving texts in Malay, whatever their background, are written in an adaptation of the Arabic script and therefore date from after the coming of Islam to the Peninsula. A new repertoire was influential. There are still many surviving manuscripts based on the stories from the two Indian epics but they have all been modified to give them a superficial Muslim flavour. The *Hikayat Seri Rama*, last copied prior to 1590, for example, begins with references to Allah and the first Prophet, Adam. Other texts became peripheral; they were variously not recopied, allowed to rot, or

sometimes either burned or consigned to use as waste paper for cleansing purposes (Sheikh Nuruddin Ar-Raniri 1992: 29).

Again, the religious arena and the court maintained a symbiotic relationship. Religious texts (the Quran and the *hadith*), together with "explanations", *tafsir*, in indigenous languages, were at the center of the literary system, while adventure stories continued to appeal strongly to the men of the court (and love stories to their women). The earlier Shi'a traditions were later considered to be unorthodox. A. Samad Ahmad notes that "the greater part" of Muslim chronicles in Malay from circa 1300-1600s were "translations or adaptations of Persian stories and most follow Persian writing styles" (A. Samad Said 1987: xix).

A major example is the *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyyah*, which is based on a Persian text written about 1350 and translated into an archaic form of classical Malay shortly thereafter. The text consists of two parts. The first tells of the martyrdom of Hasan and Husein, grandsons of the Prophet but destined never to succeed him as the leaders of Islam. The second part is a quite unhistorical account of the attempt of their half-brother, Muhammad Hannifiyah, to revenge their betrayal. The majority of the Malay text is fluent and idiomatic, although sections lapse into an unidiomatic "translationese", distinguished by its "clumsiness and weird constructions" (Brakel 1975: 44). These latter, however, have a structural purpose, as they are reserved for direct quotations from Arabic and Persian, for paraphrases of Arabic phrases and quotations, and for the finer points of religious law. The two styles are, thus, "complementary", the different forms of writing serve opposing purposes (Brakel 1975: 44). We know from the *Sejarah Melayu* that this text was considered as possible reading by the warriors of Malacca as they waited for the crushing Portuguese attack of 1511.

There are five types of Muslim narratives in traditional Malay literature, all providing models of the way in which the Muslim believer might shape his or her life. Some deal with the life of the Prophet Muhammad, from his archetypal existence (*Hikayat Nur Muhammad*) through to his life and miracles (*Hikayat Isra' and Mikraj*), and his death (*Hikyat Nabi Wafat*). Also included in this

first category are works which deal with members of the Prophet's own family (eg the *Hikayat Nabi Mengajar Anaknya Fatimah*, describing the prophet's instructions on the duties of women, as given to his daughter Fatimah). There are further chronicles about the other great Prophets of Allah, such as Joseph, Moses, Solomon, and Zachariah. A major anthology of these stories is the *Qisas al-Anbiya*. The stories of the "Companions" of the Prophet Muhammad include not only his close disciples (*Hikayat Abu Bakar* and *Hikayat al-Mu'minin Umar*) but also his son-in-law, Ali, and Ali's two sons who were later martyred, Hasan and Husin (e.g.*Hikayat Ali Kahwin*, on the marriage of Ali). This is a strong indication of the importance of Shi'ite influences in early Malayan Islam. Works in the next category, chronicles of the great warriors of Islam, present some of the great commanders of the time of the Prophet (*Hikayat Muhammad Hanifiyah*), but also include Alexander the Great (*Hikayat Iskandar Dzulkarnain*) and the Yamani warrior Saif al-Lizan (*Hikayat Saif al-Lizan*). The devout men and women whose lives are described are variously ascetics and mystics, kings and judges. The *Hikayat Ibrahim ibn Adham* tells of a king who renounces his throne in order to devote himself to a life of prayer; the *Hikayat Raja Jumjumah* tells of an evil king who was restored to life by the Prophet Jesus and henceforth committed himself to constant contemplation.

The *Taj as-Salatin* (Crown of Kings) by Bukhari al-Jauhari was completed in the Achehnese court of Alauddin Riayat Shah in 1603, and provided a model for the life of the king. The first three chapters deal in a pantheistic manner with the nature of mankind, of God, and of the world. The remaining 23 chapters deal, as the colonial scholar, Sir Richard Winstedt, writes, "with such topics as death, the Caliphs and their honourable poverty, just and unjust rulers, Muslim and infidel, viziers, writers, envoys, officials, children, right conduct, intelligence, the science of physiognomy, the qualifications of rulers and their duties to subjects Muslim and infidel, their need to keep faith and be liberal" (Winstedt 1977: 140). The texts described above always allow for the adoption of one or more identities from a vast range of persona, all qualified by the words "legitimately Malay and Muslim". Other legitimate

ethnic identities – Javanese, Buginese, Achehnese, and so, but, importantly always Muslim, were also possible through the spread of primary and secondary translation and textual interpretation.

5. Colonialism, ca. 1800-1942

During the colonial era, the Malay Peninsula, Singapore and North Borneo were governed by the British; Indonesia by the Dutch. The consequent vast changes in social and economic structures, and the attendant human problems and situations, were represented to readers through the spread of printing and mass literacy. The spread of the novel was facilitated by western technology, specifically the printing press introduced by Christian missionaries from the 1700s throughout the region, and the popularization of newspapers in the late 1800s, where the new novels were first serialized. After the mid-nineteenth century, much depended on the growth of an urban, particularly merchant, middle-class that had both the leisure and an appropriate literacy for the creation of a demand for entertaining imaginative works relating to the "real world". Identity is a colonial world could take one of at least two dimensions – imitation of the new European lifestyles, or the rejection of them and the stronger reassertion of older textual religious identities.

5.1 The first European translation activity was related to the propagation of the Christian scriptures and was obviously intended for the purposes of conversion, the complete transformation of identity. In 1612 a merchant named Albert Ruyl translated the Gospel of Matthew into a very flawed High Malay. The text was published in a bilingual Dutch-Malay version in the Netherlands in 1629. The Gospel of Mark was published in 1638, also by Ruyl; Luke and John in 1654 by Jan van Hasel; and the complete New Testament in 1668, by Daniel Brouwerius, whose language was marked by a strong Portuguese influence (using words such as "*Dios*", "*Spirito Sancto*", "*crus*" and "*baptismo*", for example). The first complete version of the Bible was largely the work of Melchior Leydekker, a Dutch pastor in Jakarta from 1678 to 1701.

Leydekker's translation had to fight for publication against another translation, that of Franciscus Velentyn into Low Malay, and was not finally published until 1733. All of these texts were published in the Netherlands, in a Malay set in a romanised (rather than Arabic) script, and were directed towards small audiences of converts, the majority of whom lived either in the Moluccas or in Jakarta. Translations into regional languages did not appear until the nineteenth century: Javanese in 1854, Ngaju Dayak 1858, Sundanese 1891, Toba Batak in 1894 and Karo Batak in 1897. (Indonesian Bible Society 2006)

5.2 However, a much more widespread influence of non-indigenous texts ultimately came from China, providing not for indigenous identities but for a reconfiguring of Chinese identities in a new overseas context. Increasing poverty and political oppression in China led to the widespread dispersal of an overseas Chinese population throughout Southeast Asia during the late eighteenth and nineteenth century. This community was eager for reading material but, as a result of regular local intermarriage patterns, they – and more especially their children – frequently preferred to read translations in indigenous languages. Some of these translations drew on Chinese heroic tales. In Indonesia, it has been estimated that some 759 works of Chinese origin were translated into "Low Malay" between about 1870 and 1950 (Sumardjo 2004: 27). The *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguo yanyi*) was especially popular. *Peranakan* writers also began to write "syair" with a strong emphasis on romance and criminal mystery. These were the texts of a marginal community but as the forerunners of early Indonesian literature, they are also considered today to have a central significance to Indonesian self-awareness as well.

5.3 The impetus for the translation of European literature increased from the mid- nineteenth century, as Dutch colonialism and education became more defined. Here we see the possible emergence of new secular and bourgeois identities. It has been estimated that over 230 works of

European literature were produced in Indonesia during this period. A few were by major authors, such as Tolstoy, Shakespeare, Ibsen, Dickens, Victor Hugo and Guy de Maupassant. The overwhelming majority were more sensational works by popular authors such as Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Edgar Rice Burroughs (Tarzan), Sax Romer (Fu Manchu), and the authors of adventure stories such as Alexandre Dumas, Ridder Haggard and Jules Verne (Sumardjo 2004:. 57). Some of these were published by Balai Pustaka, the Dutch government literary bureau; many more by newspapers and small printers.

In her essay on "Kebijakan Kolonial di Hindia Belanda" (Chambert-Loir 2009), Doris Jedamski cites an extract from a Balai Pustaka catalogue of 1922, which states:

> *Oleh karena soedah ada "Taman Poestaka" itoe dan harga kitab-kitabpoen soedah dimoerahkan, ta' dapat tiada lama-kelamaan bertambah banjak djoega orang jang membatja dan sekian banjak poela jang dibatjanja. Oleh sebab pertamahan kitab-kitab itoe nistjajalah kian banjak orang jang soeka mengarang, ja'ni orang-orang jang telah memoengoet serba djenis pengertian atau 'ilmoe orang Eropah. Kepandaian orang Eropah itoe dipoengoetnja dan dikoempoelkannja baik-baik dalam kepalanja, achirnja disiarkannja dengan bahasa sendiri.*

She concludes from this: "*Dengan kata lain, menerjemahkan dan menyadur merupakan jalan yang penting sekali menuju penjajahan pikiran orang Indonesia*" (Jedamski in Chambert-Loir 2009: 674, quoted by Chambert-Loir in his Preface, 15). Translation was an important means for forming the obedient colonial subject.

6. After the Second World War

6.1 The Japanese Occupation of much of Indonesia and the gradual dismantling of the Dutch colonial empire led to the discovery and translation of new literary sources, as private libraries were quickly dispersed through second-hand booksellers and purchased by aspiring young writers. The "generation of 1945" were heirs to, firstly, the Japanese fighting spirit, and then the militant spirit of the rebel.

Their own experiences of translation gave Indonesian writers the chance to explore different literary styles as they worked to create a "modern" literature. Idrus developed a sparse, cynical approach to the short story, influenced by his exposure to the Dutch writers of the 1930s. The anarchist poet Chairil Anwar studied (and plagiarized) T.S. Eliot, Rilke, and the Dutch poets Slauerhoff and Marsmann. Pramoedya Ananta Toer learned eagerly from his translations of Steinbeck, Tolstoy, Sholokov, Kuprin and Pasternak. Translated texts moved aside to make room for original creative works.

6.2 As the late twentieth century unfolded, the scope of works translated has continued to develop and commercial booksellers have come to play a major role in the circulation of these translations. The Indonesian middle class identity has become merged into the global flow of mass culture. The range of writers translated has expanded to include Brecht, Neruda, Brodsky and Seamus Heaney. The list of a major contemporary publisher, Gramedia, who is overwhelmingly the largest publisher of translations, includes works by Paulo Coelho, Amy Tan, Danielle Steel, John Grisham, Tolkien and Sydney Sheldon. Translation in Indonesia has entered the global marketplace, reflecting Indonesia's own place in the global economy.

A more detailed way to see this shift is through study of the "Index Translationum", an online data basis of published translations throughout the world as advised to UNESCO. The "top 10" original source languages for translation into Indonesian include English (overwhelmingly first on the list), French (third), Dutch (fourth) and German (fifth). Japanese is sixth on the list, but the number of works translated is very small. European authors feature heavily in the list of the authors most translated into Indonesian: Walt Disney (first), Enid Blyton (second), Agatha Christie (third), with Belgian-born author Marcel Marlier and the German adventure writer Karl May further down the list (eighth and ninth respectively). Significantly, the second largest source of translated works is Arabic. Muslim authors feature significantly in the top 10 list of authors translated: Yusuf Al'Qaradawi (fourth),

Maulana Syed Abu-l Ala Maudodi (sixth) and Murtaza Mutahhari (tenth). Translations position Indonesia both as a modern, individualizing society, but also as a Muslim nation, willing to learn from the sources of the religious tradition. (Nothing, more or less, is, of course, translated from Indonesian into Arabic.)

7. Translation and National Unity

Our survey has shown the succession of languages, texts and worldviews produced by translation in Nusantara, which have contributed significantly to the formation of new individual and social identities. This succession can be analyzed in terms of changing systems of producers, consumers, institutions, repertoires, the markets and products. These systems have changed in parallel over time. The products are, of course, the various texts I have mentioned and the many more not included here. (*Sadur* includes articles on translations into Acehnese, Balinese, Batak, Buginese, Macassarese, Sundanese.) Their repertoires have included Indian scriptures and epics; Muslim commentaries and heroic tales; the Christian scriptures; Chinese narratives and exciting "true" contemporary tales; and both popular and serious literary texts. The producers of translations have included monks and ulamas; missionaries; journalists; creative writers and commercial translators employed by contemporary publishing houses. The consumers of translations have correspondingly included other professional religious figures and lay followers; members of medieval courts; immigrant *peranakan* communities; various colonized publics; students, persons interested in literature; and the fans of popular culture. The institutions involved in the promotion and consumption of translated texts include religious institutions, separately and in relation to the court; missionary societies and their congregations; newspapers, publishing houses, bookshops, libraries and schools. If not right at the center of the textual polysystem most of the time, translations have often been close to it. They have allowed for change when older worldviews and their associated societies were becoming weak and needed new directions. The consequence has

been the shaping, nuancing, strengthening and, often, the rejection, of various major identities.

Jedamski's comments above point to one final factor that needs further consideration because it has a relevance that goes far beyond the colonial state: translated texts have ideological meanings (in the widest sense of the term) which potentially support dominant ideologies. The major French philosopher, Michel Foucault, has written: "Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true" (Foucault 1980: 131). Translation at each stage of Indonesian history is part of the "regimes of truth". It has the support of powerful intellectual forces and shapes its recipients as "subjects" – of religion, of the court, of the school, and of the state (Althusser 2004: 48).

Citizens – and here I am referring specifically to Indonesian citizens – have the choice of being passive subjects of those greater forces. Or they may be active participants in the processes of learning, discussing, questioning, refining old ideas and creating new ideas and identities. The availability of extensive translations can shape individuals to become effective citizens by becoming more informed and sympathetic human beings.

Translation, both on a global and local scale, can also shape relations between different ethnic communities in negative or positive directions. A negative impression is made through ignoring other communities, or by presenting stereotypes that reinforce prejudices. In more positive terms, however, strangers are "people who are unknown to us", and rather than being they treated with suspicion and hostility, they may be welcomed, talked with and listened to, in an ethical manner that particularly includes the virtue of hospitality (Smith and Carvill 2000: 58). Islam recognizes the God-given existence of various ethnicities: "We have created you from a male and a female, and made you into

nations and tribes that you might get to know each other" (Al-Hujarat 13). It also encourages hospitality as a sacred duty: "Show kindness," says Al-Nisa 36, to parents and kindred, to orphans and to the destitute, to near and distant neighbours, to those that keep company with you, to the traveler in need …". Here is the basis for a respectful attitude to the necessity for, and value of, translation as a part of the process of forming a united and integrated nation and human community.

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KEY NOTE SPEECH 2
STATE STRUCTURES AND RELIGIOUS IDENTITY IN CONTEMPORARY ASIA: THE CHALLENGES OF PROSELYTIZATION AND PLURALISM

R. Michael Feener
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This paper explores the contours of a complex landscape, mapping diverse views on the possibilities and perils of proselytization in contemporary Asian contexts of diversity within the boundaries of particular nation-states. Proselytizing tests the limits of religious pluralism. It assumes a situation of diversity in which individuals have the potential to change their religious identities and affiliations, while at the same time harboring ultimate goals of overcoming that diversity through the eventual conversion of the rest of society to one's own religion. It also brings into focus the fault lines that emerge between the claims to the right to proselytize, and the simultaneous appeals for protection from proselytization by others that have defined points of friction and rupture within a number of plural societies in modern Asia. Within these entangled discourses, some parties invoke these concepts to preserve their own rights to remain different and distinct, while others do so in claiming their right to be able to share their truths with others. Taking into account the ways in which proselytization both flourishes within and simultaneously challenges the limits of religious pluralism in diverse Asian contexts facilitates a more comprehensive approach to discussions of the complex and changing dynamics of religion in contemporary societies.

KEY NOTE SPEECH 3
STATE STRUCTURES AND RELIGIOUS
INDENTITY IN CONTEMPORARY ASIA:
THE CHALLENGES OF PROSELYTIZATION
AND PLURALISM

Cry Freedom! Men, masculinities and gender relations in the postcolonial world.

Gender relations are one of the basic structures of modern societies. In recent decades the study of men (in gender relations) and masculinities has become a significant field in gender studies. Most of this research has been done in the global metropole (Europe and North America) but a significant amount has now been done in developing countries of the post-colonial world. In this address, I bring this research into relation with the perspective of 'Southern Theory', emphasising the theoretical ideas that emerge from the majority world. I will consider ideas proposed by thinkers such as Ashis Nandy and Franz Fanon, as well as post-colonial feminist thinkers such as Chandra Mohanty and Sonia Montecino. Finally I will consider the relevance of new thinking about masculinities to practical problems such as HIV prevention, educational change, domestic and communal violence.

KEY NOTE SPEECH 5
NATURALIZATION SOCIALLY CONSTRUCTED IDENTITIES: A CASE OF MAKING INDONESIA'S NATIONAL SELF AND CHINESE MINORITY AS ONE OF INDONESIA'S OTHERS

Ariel Haryanto
(Associate Professor of Indonesian Studies,
Australian National University)

In this talk, Ariel will be revisiting some of the basic theoretical issues of the naturalization of socially constructed identities. Empirical reference will be drawn from the case of the making of Indonesia's national Self, and the Chinese minority as one of Indonesia's others. The notion that ethnicity or nationality is socially constructed is not entirely alien in Indonesian intelligentsia circles. Neither has it been received with hostility or anxiety. Unfortunately, the notion remains largely in the abstract, falling short of effectiveness in responding to real challenges in everyday interactions. The abstract idea is tolerated but perhaps little understood and emotionally internalized, or well articulated.

MULTICULTURALISM

HEALING WITH COINING, THE JAVANESE LOCAL WISDOM

Atik Triratnawati

Introduction

It is often heard in our daily life that someone is absent from a meeting or other social rituals like *arisan* (gathering accompanied with drawing lots), religious lecture, paying condolence, thanksgiving, wedding parties, or more formal activities such as school and work because he is suffering from a cold. Everyone will accept being unwell, or catching a cold as an understandable reason. It is unquestionable reason since every Javanese often finds himself/herself in such a situation that one does not need any certificate from the health clinic or practicing doctor to prove the truth. It is simply a widely accepted reason.

Catching a cold has several symptoms which include temperature, cold, pain at the joints, bloated stomach, nausea, cold sweat, vomit, seeing stars, fatigue, fever, headache, and burning muscles (Triratnawati, 2005, Tamtomo, 2005, Ferzacca, 2001, Sanjoto, 1995). To a certain degree, the pain does not prevent the patient from quiting daily routines, but in a more severe case the patient is often forced to stay in bed. Resting is needed to restore the stamina.

For the Javanese, catching a cold is a common health problem requiring no proof from the doctor. The patient usually does not go to the doctor because he is confident with his own treatment. According to the Javanese tradition, *kerokan* (*coin rubbing, coining*) is effective enough to cure a cold. *Kerokan*, which is done by rubbing the skin using a smooth surface object (a coin, spoon handle, jade stone, etc.) and oil or onion, is also a traditional healing method found all over Asia region (Tamtomo, 2005; Sanyoto, 1995). It is a way to heal light illnesses such as burning muscles, temperature, cold. In most cases it heals them, but if it fails, the patient will then go to the doctor (Galanti, 2008: 198).

According to the Javanese point of view any imbalance or disharmony may bring misery, unluck, and illness (Yitno, 1985). The Javanese who put the cause of illness into the *holistic model* or *magico –religious model* (Galanti, 2008) will regard *masuk angin* as a result of imbalanced elements in the body. The imbalance may be of physical, mental, and social element. For rural people, for example farmer and fisherman communities, the physical trigger is seen more dominant. Among the conditions they believe to cause *masuk angin* include fatique, being caught in the rain, or exposure to the burning sun, or a sudden transition from hot to cold or vice versa, being late to have meal, or exposure to strong wind while travelling, staying out at night, cold feet as a result from bare feet, and lack of sleep. Other causes may include mental burdens resulting from problems to make the ends meet, which eventually affects the quality of sleep and makes the body unwell after waking up from sleep. It is quite often that both the physical and mental fatigue come together as the cause of masuk asing. For instance, a family head must work very hard as well as think very hard in order to support his family. This situation brings imbalanced elements in his body.

According to the Javanese cosmology, human has 4 desires, which are anger (*amarah*), greed (*aluamah*), ambition (*sufiyah*), and peace (*mutmainah*) (Radjiman, 2000). Having too powerful negative feelings will cause imbalance that results in illnesses. Therefore, one needs to keep the desires in balance in order to prevent illnesses. Masuk angin has become a cultral as well as health phenomenon which is commonly observed in the Javanese society. It is a concept to describe a state where one feels uncomfortable because of too much air in the body. The air is believed to make the body feel cold or imbalanced as it has the characteristic of cold (Sanyoto, 1995). The Javanese regard *masuk angin* as a health phenomenon because the patient is sick and it is preceded by some symptoms, may be cured, shows some signals of recovery, and may be prevented. It may happen to anyone of all ages and sexes: baby, child, teenage, adult, senior, male, and female. As the result, it is considered to be part of the Javanese's life meaning that everybody has the risk to have it from any activity he is doing.

Masuk angin has no equivalence in the medical terminology. The medic even claims that there is no illness caused by air as the Javanese believe. It is a common mistake among the Javanese due to their innocence (Tamtama, 2005, Azhar dan Trim , 2007). The medics do not consider *masuk angin* as a disease (Mascie-Taylor, 1993, Hardon, *et al*, 1995) but *illness* meaning that illness condition shown by the sufferers is based on their cultural experience. Masuk angin is a concept for Javanese people to describe inconvenient body, and any inconvenient feeling in body is always considered as *masuk angin*. However, the proof whether someone really gets *masuk angin* or not comes from the therapy of kerokan (coining). According to the informants, if the coining does not leave red or blackish red welts on the body part being coined, the illness is not *masuk angin*. The red welt throughout the body indicates the severity level. The red mark is also believed as sign that the body has discharged the air / illness (Galanti, 2008; Tamtama, 2005; Triratnawati, 2005).

Masuk angin decreases the endurance, and then other illnesses such as cough and cold follow. Javanese people believe that the symptoms are only chills, headache, flatulence, sleepiness and sometimes teary eyes. Masuk angin is in fact not followed by cough and cold. If they appear simultaniously with *masuk angin*, they are considered as accompanying illnesses. In principle, however, cough and cold are not part of *masuk angin*. On the other hand, they believe that masuk angin is caused by air entering the body which further makes the body feel uncomfortable. The body feels cold, stiffening, painful at the joints, feverish, and dizzy. These are related to the cold characteristic af air, giving a sensation that something is clogging in the body or that the blood cannot circulate freely.

The Coining Ritual to heal *Masuk angin*

The Javanese think it easy to heal masuk angin since it is not a serious health problem, or something ordinarily happening to their body. They believe that coining wil heal it quickly. Coining is found in other countries outside Indonesia such as Korea, Vietnam, China, Malaysia, Kamboja, Myanmar, (Galanti, 2008; 197)

as a way to heal several health problems like *pain* and *myalgia* (Tamtama, 2005). In those countries, however, people use various objects which include horn, jade, spoon, or coin. (Tamtama, 2005).

Coining is done following some feelings of inconvenience. It is done on several body parts, which include the back, neck, chest, arms, legs, and buttock. It is not recommended on the private parts and eyes. To prevent hurt or burning on the skin some oiling on the body parts is necessary before coining. Then, the coin is scratch gently on the skin in a slanting position up from the neck and down to the back, buttock and arms before moving to chest and legs. The coining is done especially on the part(s) feeling painful. If the whole body feel painful, the coining will be on the whole body. The back is usually the most frequent part to receive coining as it is usually the part that works the hardest when farmers and fishermen are carrying on their tasks.

The knowledge on which body parts are safe or unsafe to be scratched when coining is among the Javanese's local wisdoms. From both the medical point of view and Chinese healing tradition, the body parts recommended in the coining, particularly the back, are the centers of meredian nodes. (Rianto dan Sujono, 2005). Following a slanting pattern when scratching the coin is, therefore, in line with the center of stiffening or loosening nerves. Coining is generally done with somebody else's help, for example a neighbor, relative, or professional healer. Some prefer to ask their own family member, either their child, husband, or wife. One can do it oneself only on the reachable parts, but eventually needs some help to do it on the rests.

Coining is repeated every time one suffers *masuk angin*. The process of healing through coining is like a ritual since it involves preparation for the instruments (coin, oil, and cloth); removing the cloth that covers the body part to allow smooth movements of the coin; coining (from the neck, back, hip, chest, arms, legs, and thigh; cleaning the oil from the skin after coining; and finally dressing up. The coining person is like a healer, or ritual leader. Coining ritual has become such a regular remedy that it is almost like nicotine that makes one addicted or never feel satisfied before

doing it. It makes one who usually does coining never feel well without doing it as Mrs M (52 tahun) admitted:

> "*Kula yen dereng kerokan nggih krasa dereng waras. Ning mengke nak pun dikerok terus saget nyambut gawe malih*".

> Meaning: "I will never get well before coining. I am able to do my activities only after having it".

After the coining, the patient should drink something hot, be it salted water, tea, coffee, or ginger. A hot drink stimulates sweating which enhances the healing process. When one could sleep after coining, the effect is further enhanced because the energy and health will be optimaly restored. Several informants described that they would not take a bath after the coining, for they believe it will widen the pores. They would wait until after waking up from a good sleep and when the energy and wellness had been fully restored. The stages of coining will be repeated when one does another coining. The healing ritual begins, although without enchantments nor prayers, when the patient and the helper start the coining. It follows the order of a healing ritual, and reciting *bismillah* often indicates the start of the ritual. It is a wish that coining really heals one's *masuk angin*.

Coining: a holistic healing treatment

Different from medical treatment performed by the doctor, which mainly emphasizes on the physical aspects, coining is a holistic healing treatment covering physical, mental, social and even cultural aspects. In the context of Javanese society, holistic healing becomes a requirement. This is closely related to the growing awareness that the patient is a complete creature comprised of the soul, body and sense. Therefore, holistic approach is necessary to be carried out in treating the illness (Sutisna, 2008). Holistic characteristics are apparent from the following aspects: (a) Physically, coining maintains the balance of hot and cold elements inside the body, causing the senses of pleasant, light, and comfortable in the body. After the coining process, the body becomes fresh because the blood circulation returns to normal. (b) Mentally, the patient's mind after the coining is more at ease,

resigned, relaxed and he is also able to work well and calmly. (c) Socially, coining brings one person close to another. Through the dialogue when the coining is in progress, intense communication between two or more parties is formed. Moreover, the coining helper often gives advice and prayer so that the patients quickly healed. The touch of the scraper's hands will also speed the recovery due to the affection exists among them. Coining practice preserves Javanese culture. Coining has been practiced by the Javanese for a long time, thus it has become tradition/habit. In fact, coining practice has been introduced to them since they were babies, i.e. coining using red onion to prevent their skins from scratch. Consequently, there are many Javanese people who cannot be separated from this coining practice due to their belief that they will not feel better if they do not practice the coining. Coining itself is regarded as the main healing treatment for catching a cold.

Another reason for coining is that it is easy as well as simple. Anyone, regardless of the sex, can do it. However, male generally preferred being treated than doing it for others even for his wife. Coining is also cheap (Posmo, 2007a), spending almost nothing except the energy. It is practical in that anybody can do it anywhere even at home as long as somebody else is ready to help. It is unlike medical treatment which requires service from a practicing doctor during office hours only. It is effective to heal *masuk angin* (Posmo, 2007b). Within an hour or two after proper coining, the *masuk angin* is gone.

Besides, the Javanese villagers who do not always have money perceive that the healing for *masuk angin* should cost them nothing. Coining as a first aid for *masuk angin* works very well for them. They spend almost nothing as Ms I (38 year old) admitted:

> "*Tiyang desa niku larane masuk angin mawon, ben gampang le nambani. Cara desa niku nggih kerokan mawon, sing ora nganggo ragat. Tiang riki niki mboten mesthi nyekel duit, dadi nek lara nggih diusahake riyin sing mboten ngetokke duit.*"

> Meaning: "*Masuk angin* is the only ilness villagers suffer from, and it should be easy to cure. The rural way to treat it is coining that does not need any cost. We don't always have money, so if we get sick, the first thing to do is seek for treatment that is cost free."

Treatment with coining therapy is the most favorite among the Javanese. It has been an inseparable part from the Javanese tradition. Whenever one is complaining of catching a cold, the others will react immediately by suggesting coining as the solution. They will also offer themselves to do it. Doing it for others embodies the principle of helping the others that rural people are holding. Mrs S (47 tahun) voiced her opinion:.

> "Coining means helping others. If we are now in need, we must pay it back next time when others are in need. Thus, coining is not for pay. It's indeed a simple deed, we must take turn with others."

From the anthropology point of view, the Javanese keep the coining tradition as it serves many functions. It is not only healing *masuk angin*, but also bearing social functions, that is, strengthening their social ties and tolerance which are the values they believe in.

Coining as a local wisdom-based healing

Coining is preserved due to its association with the Javanese tradition and knowledge inherited from the past. It is deeply rooted in the Javanese society and has been a reliable treatment for hundreds year (Sutisna, 2008). The Javanese anchestor are appreciated as the innovator, while the young should bear the responsibility to preserve this tradition and pass it on to the next generation. Preserving old tradition can be done by following the healing practices the Javanese from generation to generation have been doing. The universal values lie in the relationship between the experience pertaining to biological phenomena as well as acceptance toward the cause, treatment, and consequences of an ilness and the culture (Strathern dan Stewart, 1999).

Coining is a potential trait that distinguishes the Javanese from other tribes. It means that the identity of the Javanese can be preserved through this therapy. The Javanese are proud of coining tradition as the original healing method for the Javanese. It turns out that the local knowledge can survive despite the fact that modern treatment continues to degrade the local knowledge

pertaining to health matters. It is the requirement to survive amid the globalization that a society must preserve its local culture. Social changes happen in a fast pace as the world is leaving traditions regarded old fashioned. However, the Javanese, especially those living in rural areas, keep the coining tradition as an inseparable part of their identity.

Conclusion

Local wisdom pertaining to *masuk angin* and coining is not restricted only to the concept and cognition of the Javanese in describing the inconveniences on their body, the cause, treatment and prevention. It also includes how they adopt coining as a means to preserve traditional healing practices. Coining bears the principle of harmony of the body, soul, and social relations, making this holistic healing in line with the principle of traditional healing that brings along the human elements into it.

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TECHNOLOGY FOR THE USE OF COMMUNICATION IN MULTICULTURALISM

Isna Indriati

Introduction

Indonesia is a very diverse country. This is because of many factors. *First*, there are more than 300 ethnic groups speak with more than 250 languages. *Second*, every ethnic is unique by means of its tradition, norms, and values brought inheritance from the ancestor. *Third*, many religious groups; Islam, Protestant, Catholic, Hindu, Buddhist, and other native beliefs, makes Indonesia more colorful in ideas and principles. *Fourth* is the existence of the development of civil rights and affirmative actions among groups in different setting, such as in educational, work, public housing, several service, and health care settings. Consequently, every environment has different ethical attitude, whether it is established by interpersonal members of a group or assimilation of different ideas among them. Various customs and norms of life from a large number of tribes living in Indonesia, then, become meaningful assets of national unity. These four factors bring Indonesia as a multicultural country. However, this diversity urges the need of tolerance. The existence of "Bhineka Tunggal Ika" as the motto of "unity in diversity", still keeps on Indonesian people, though the meaning cannot be described as fully spirit of nationalism.

Culture has broader meaning than what ordinary people known as traditional custom and art, or way of life. Culture is actually something that is shared and can be observed, including tradition or customs. It also engages reasons or rules for behaving that cannot be directly observed (Robinson, 1988: 8-9). Here, culture is seen as social phenomenon in which behaviors and cultural products reflect the notion of ideas. Culture is also defined as complex attributes which involve "knowledge, belief, arts, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society". It can be easily understood that culture is formed by ideas which rely on individual or group beliefs. That belief is on the basis of religion or ideology, which

then, applied in a particular group of people within a society which are different from the rest of that society (Taylor, 1958 as cited in Kottak, 2009: 27).

Culture is formed by patterns of behavior that acquired through interaction symbol which represents the unique achievement of group members. That pattern is in line with both traditional and historical ideas which attach important norm. From this, then, emerges a culture system as a product of action which is used in conditioning elements of culture (Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952: 180) cited in Brislin (1981: 5). The elements of culture are divided into seven categories, namely language, knowledge, social organization, technology and devices, livelihoods, religious, and art (Koentjaraningrat, 1990 as cited in Purwasito, 2003: 98). These seven elements are important parts that describe a unique cultural frame of an ethnic group in which the members share certain beliefs, values, habits, customs, and norms because of their similar background. This makes an ethnic group be special and different from others. As a result, the members of that ethnic group occupy their special differences as their identities or status by which they are loyal to and feeling part of.

The uniqueness of cultural frame is presented by the dynamic life of the members in their effort to preserve and develop their ways of life. This deals with the ways they implement their knowledge, social organization, and technology and devices based on their historical experience and geographic placement. All extend in line with the development of the society in the efforts of fulfilling their needs. For example, knowledge and technology are improved more quickly to facilitate their activities in making benefit of the nature when it is figured out from geographically aspect where a certain ethnic group has settled. Urban people are likely to choose job in business or factory setting, meanwhile rural preference is farming. But, rural people both modern and traditional are also different in getting more information of technology and equipment invention for cultivating land. This picture may be influenced by their perception and attitude towards globalization too.

Culture has three main levels, namely international culture, national culture, and subculture. The lowest level is subculture which derives from its origin in region, ethnic, language, religion, and historical background. This level comprises various ethnics in Indonesia as any other countries with multiethnic. When those subcultures share a common and general customs and belief in wider scope, they become national culture. It refers to the same beliefs, learned behavior patterns and values, and institutions that are shared by the citizens of the same nation. To the extent, international culture describes cultural traditions which extend beyond and across national boundaries. This shows that culture is transmitted through learning, in which people from different nation may share their cultural trait in international scope. Olympiads, such sport and science, are of the international culture example (Kottax, 2009: 43).

Nationally, there are also three main classes which differentiate an ethnic group or social group from others. Firstly, super-culture is cultural modes shaped by global interference. It is reflected through the quality and higher rank of the members. People in this society are consumptive oriented. Secondly, subculture is formed by local differences such as ethnics, traditions, and way of life in terms of methods of fulfilling the needs. This is a sort of Indonesian style though which it can enrich this country by various cultures. As a fundamental effort in keeping the unity of Indonesia, multicultural is nation assets used to increase nationalism among the citizens. Thirdly, micro-culture is a kind of intra group interaction which is based on the similarities of ages. It grows as peer-group that every member has the same view on the way how they must keep the friendship (Purwasito, 2003: 95-102). In this case, every individual in the group endures their attitudes and behavior which have been shaped together.

A society is constructed by a group of individuals who work together because they have the same background, interest and purpose. These people live together in an organized way through which they can make decisions about how to do things and sharing the work that needs to be done. Such society has a certain system of communication as a device to control the relationship among

the members, namely cultural norms. A *classroom*, for instance, is a kind of a society in small scope in which the members, the students, are classified by ages, and or the same level of ability. They stand together on the same purpose, to learn. However, they have different attitudes because they come from different family background, which actually have different view on purpose of schooling. Varied view, often, bring a little debate. Such little and unimportant debate may rise a conflict inter-member. This is only an illustration. Nevertheless, this little point may give great impact on multicultural communication in wider and varied context.

In line with this categorization, Indonesia goes to real paradigm that its culture changes. Some groups are in the track of globalization, some others are strict on their custom, and the rest go with their original system. This displays an illustration that a rich country with many different perspectives on cultures and beliefs often find difficulties in intergroup communication although the people actually have their cultural trait, whether it is in the scope of inter-ethnics or inter-nations. Frankly, it is to say that a little group like *classroom* which consists of several persons often face problem of communication, then, what happen in larger society must be larger problem must be taken into account. Such problem have encountered by Indonesia, especially our government, deals with multiculturalism.

Ironically speaking, what should we do as "a little man" in this "giant world"? A little man in a giant world seems no importance. But, as people said that a thousand will not be a thousand without a rupiah or a kilogram is not a kilogram if there is no a gram. It means that how little a person is, s/he has an important role in a society. If a man has brilliant ideas for the improvement of the society s/he will be a little giant man but full of contribution. An Indonesian proverb says "sedikit sedikit lama lama jadi bukit". It implies that every great success comes from little but lot ongoing efforts. A great country is built by a man who lying his expectation together with others. Further, the way how to deal with multicultural problem is lying on the way how people interpret their differences, especially in ideas and belief.

Recognizing the problem on inter group communication, it is necessary to know the actual meaning of communication and its function in pluralistic setting. Communication holds main role of all social interaction in order to develop culture. It involves people as the source and receiver of the message transaction through certain channel which enable arousing of effect and feedback. Samovar and Porter as cited in Purwasito (2003: 114) stated four main characteristics of effective communication. First, it runs dynamically and continuously, though it will change its pattern, content or channel in other time. Second, communication is interactive process which includes more than two people or groups. Third, communication is irreversible. It means that the effect of sent message cannot be changed if such message is essentially wrong. Fourth, it happens in both physical and social context. However, a good communication is greatly influenced by people understanding on cultural background. Misunderstanding frequently happens because people or speakers are lack of cultural knowledge of other people. Shortly, in pluralistic setting, people should know that cultural background varies and affects more on people behavior.

There are some reasons for the difficulties in communicating with other people from different cultures. The actual unfamiliar behavior of people, as one of the product of culture, with whom a person interacts becomes the main cause. Unfamiliar can be in terms of physical characteristic such as different skin, language or ethnic heritage. On the other hand, it deals with mental characteristics including people behavior, ideas or values, which all can be revealed through his/her attitudes. Why cannot people get along with each other no matter what their background? High probable answer is that people hardly get comfortable with others. The same behavior which is considered desirable to people from one to another culture may not be "proper" or "the right way". Often, certain good behavior in one culture/group may distasteful to people from other. Difference ideas or views may become the main cause. In-group distinction is not far out-group. This distinction, then, allows an individual find his/her self identity as who s/he is.

Both in-group and out-group distinction are determined by some factors. First, history or background shows well established norm or relationship that refers to the cause of group or culture existence. This may be easily to adjust or follow, in order to minimize negative effect of being surprised. Second, individual factor refers to personality traits in the efforts of understanding others. Third, group factor involves a developed activities and affective ties concerned with each group feeling. Fourth, situational is rather difficult to conceptualize. It relies on individual experience on "culture shock", in which s/he faces a very contrast, unfavorable and inevitable circumstances. Fifth, task factor influences the way of group members prepare, perform and complete their work in contributing something for the group. Sixth, the last factor is organizational. It deals with the administrative management of the group including the effort to get recognized from other group through which the group existence is respected. These factors clarifies the uniqueness each group and culture which lead outsiders how to behave properly (Brislin, 1981: 11-14).

Dealing with problems of effective communication in multicultural setting, every individual should recognize that s/he lives in multicultural society. Also, s/he should know that there are some factors make each group different. Unknown and inexperience individual often accepts the distinction as intolerance attitudes toward his/her own. In Indonesia setting, problem of communication may cause intra-group tension. This has proved by some action such as East Timor radicalism and efforts to secede from Indonesia, ethnic war in West and Central Kalimantan, and action of Aceh people in claiming their preference on Islamic law rather than civil one. All these indicate that our society is in the fragile period which mostly caused by the weaknesses of our democracy practice. The freedom of choosing and expressing different ideas is done in wrong way. Such attitude is far away from Indonesian philosophy, Pancasila, which is actually basic principle of nationalism. However, people who followed that violence less realize that those actions were very dangerous and raises bad effect on nationalism.

Thus, the need of communication basically depends on how far people need to come to a large society network, know other relatives (fellow countryman), and build nationalism to improve the beloved country. Additionally, this paradigm, when nationalism is going down, and threat of pluralism existed long ago and are likely to continue in the future, multicultural must not be a discourse. All elements including government, socialites, education practitioners, ethnographer and anthropologist recite the need of multicultural education. Sugiharto (2009) proposed an idea of multicultural education as one effort to minimize the increasing rate of violence against minority groups and the rise of radicalism among both youth and adults, such happened frequently in educational setting. However, this must be preceded by constructing teachers' world view of multiculturalism itself. This needs to support highly in an effort to neutralize growing radicalism in the country and to encourage a sense of completeness among young generation.

Considering that communication in multicultural society is important to avoid misconception and misunderstanding, this paper is intended to investigate the need of effective communication deals with the technology invention and education. The data collected through questionnaire and observation, then, are analyzed and organized by combining some comments from anthropologist deal with multiculturalism. This is expected that people, especially the youth, recognize the uniqueness among others, so that they are able to grow their self-sympathy and empathy since teenagers. Thus, in the future they are able to communicate with other people from different culture in Indonesia, even in the world.

Discussion

The existence of various ethnics and of course cultures is definitely inclusiveness of Indonesia. From the data collected, it can be figured out that it is rarely found individual or group conflict because of ethnicity or tradition. The root of conflict is mostly caused by the economical and political reason. Conflict

on ideas may switch violence because some people feel injustice on resource distribution, economical development, and discrimination on educational services. This relies on Kuper's idea (2006 in Kottax, 2009: 151) that elements of culture are potentially source of the conflict. The more sense people express their devalued identity, the more conflict rises. However, those negative effects of cultural changes can be minimized through socialization by utilizing some media, printed or electronic, and education. Other response on resettlement program which bring newcomers from different ethnic to indigenous region of certain ethnic is not a big problem, because the minority, newcomers, must adapt the existed custom. It means that assimilation is not an essential requirement for colonists.

Regarding that most people have appreciated the existence of differences among ethnics and group, multicultural aspect can contribute great advantages for national growth, particularly in economic side related to natural resources, and art and tourism. Therefore, it requires meaningful attempt to nurture people's awareness to preserve this wealth. Socialization and education on multiculturalism emerges then to grow knowledge of multicultural perspectives and global issues, which impact on raising open, respectful, compassionate attitude to difference. Involvement of the society as the owner, creator or preserver of original culture is necessary.

Effective Communication in Multicultural Society

Communication will effectively work if it involves people with information or message brought to deliver. There are some principles which are important to take into account. Firstly, culture is learned although it is kind of symbol. Secondly, culture is full of knowledge. Therefore, it gives meaning to reality. Thirdly, culture is closely related to nature, then, it is shared and integrated. Obviously, culture shows a system of shared beliefs, values, customs, and behaviors that members of group/society use them to cope with the world and with other member from the same or different group. This is transmitted from generation to generation

through learning, not genetically (Kottax, 2009, 28-33; Bates and Plog, 1990: 18-22). Nevertheless, controlled genetic comprises lower percentages in forming behavior than training or experiences provided by community. Considering that people live in cultural diversity background, these principles are necessary to establish an effective communication, through which people can or convey their intended meaning. Apparently, it relies on the way of transferring information openly and respectfully.

The choice of appropriate way is basically underlying on the purpose and the need of communication. Effective communication has proved in Indonesian communities, both rural and urban, by adaptation or assimilation since the migration process from one to another place, in terms of transmigration, urbanization or touring of duty. This practice has brought big impact on living. By knowing other cultures, certain patterned system, people or groups can learn, imitate and then adapt that to modify or enrich the existing pattern. Essentially, it is a sort way to develop living. For instance, how to cultivate land effectively, do agriculture or horticulture. In supporting this, Kottax (2009, 33-34) recommends that individual or group may recognize the adaptive features as something good for particular individuals, on the other hand, it may dangerous for the environment. This deals with the use of air conditioner and automobile which individually benefits, yet contribute global warming. Thus, the need of effective multicultural communication is really to avoid or decrease the raising opinion that newcomers or will not threaten the existed culture and to improve better living. All must be adjusted with the condition.

Communication can be done in two ways, direct and indirect. Both need media and or medium to transfer message as information required. Language is a part of culture, but essentially it is a primary means for communication. Language can be learned as a tool to express ideas, elaborate images, and share experiences. The process of learning it then is known as enculturation. Although language is only a slice of multiculturalism, it has big role in social interaction. Languages, both spoken and written forms, are the products of culture which can be directly observed. Besides, it is

directly used to transmit message. Thus, communication involves individual skills on using language including speaking, listening, and observing through which an individual make use of his/her senses of sound, look, taste or feel to understand others.

Technology for Communication

In line with the necessity of language even gestures or facial expression with its universal meaning in direct interaction, people really need other media than language to communicate their diversity, mainly ideas. But, how does media and technology cope with multiculturalism problem? Formerly, it is necessary to bear in our mind that multiculturalism covers wide range of possibility. In Indonesian context, multiculturalism is considered as evidence of unity in diversity, so called Bhineka Tunggal Ika. However, it may come to a debate on distinctive views, opinion, values on social relationship which some may be irresolvable. Indeed, these distinctions are natural. Taylor (1958 cited in Kottax 2009: 27-28) states that people do not acquire culture, which involves knowledge, beliefs, arts, custom, and many other capabilities and behavior, through biological inheritance but by growing up in a particular society where they learn specific cultural tradition. This process, so called enculturation, shapes people mind set and plan of action in that society.

Recognizing that idea which is formed based on cultural learning are different among individuals, appropriate media usage are needed to familiarize them in order to avoid a raising tension. Being seen from its importance, technology do not limit on the recent and latest one, such as internet. Whatever properties that people invented for life usage, they are called technology. Both conventional and modern have the same function as far as they are really needed to facilitate people working. Based on the interaction models, direct or indirect, there are two kinds of communication media. First is printed media, such as books, magazines, and newspaper. Second is electronic media, including television, radio, film, and internet, the newest one. It is possible, for instance, to have tele-conference for live discussion on parti-

cular issues among students, citizens and government in different places. Both printed and electronic have its strengths and weaknesses, particularly for cultural side. Therefore, all can be maximized in the usage of multicultural communication by considering the condition and background of the people as speakers or hearers.

First, books and magazines, as printed media, are appropriate to describe particular cultures from particular places. For example, a local government of a province requires tourism, art and culture ministry to write a book consists of description of that region geographically and culturally. Specifically, it includes customs, traditions, arts, laws, and livelihoods. Such book will give detail and clear information if it is completed with history and some change during the recent years. Thus, continually revision makes the book illustrates all the accurate events in that region. The more respectable publishing book is one that supported by other institutions such National Board Statistics and Demography. *Newspaper* is also benefit at providing area for people express their objectives and opinion in written form though the process may be through journalist work.

Second, electronic media like radio and television remains alternatives solution for communicating different ideas to others. Interactive dialogs are commonly performed in television in order to lead people come up with the real condition. In line with the development of technology innovation, making use of Internet is rapidly developed nowadays. Similar to the books, Internet also provides a feature which can present texts and pictures, even videos, which illustrate culture in certain place or region more alive. *Web-sites or web-blogs* are important electronic media in which an institution publishes important information about culture and its development in line with change and globalization. As those in magazines or newspaper, Internet can be used as a medium for indirect communication in which people may have dialog by posting some comments concerning with the recent issues on culture or topic being figured out.

Upon these interactions through books, magazines, newspaper, radio, television even Internet, people and institution who

feel obliged to respond many comments from others have to take an action to reform multicultural perception. Such respond needs to bring into account because people need important confirmation and further explanation on real accomplishment, particularly government because it affects on constructing positive image of a nation. In this case, dialog is better way as long as all related sides are involved. It is far different from direct comments delivered through actions of demonstration, clash, damaging or defacing building and other apparatus. Such vandalism is so far being reflected Indonesian moral principle, Pancasila.

Actually, establishing Civics in schooling as compulsory subject leads students discuss about nation, and nationalism with basic principle of Pancasila and basic law UUD 1945. Further, this subject provides information on the way government works under many kinds of laws which basically underlying on UUD 1945 and people rights and duties as the citizen. However, those do not show great impact on students' behavior improvement. Other subject may present other culture such Bahasa Indonesia, yet it has less explanation. Therefore, dealing with technology usage, there are many ways to introduce and enhance nationalism in multiculturalism in educational setting. Indonesia, actually, has a good media to develop nationalism in young generation, namely *Taman Mini Indonesia Indah*. There is a miniature of Indonesian's spreading islands. Besides, many traditional houses represent the building, cultural tradition, art, and enclosed history from which those traditional develop. However, most people all over Indonesia cannot benefit that means because of distance and fund problem. Moreover, it is rarely found an Indonesian encyclopedia in schools, offices, even houses.

Responding such condition, where most people cannot access various cultures in their nation, when radio, television, magazines or newspaper mostly highlight on advertisement, *Internet* brings significant advantages as a medium of exploring national issues on multicultural. It is supported by Weller's statement (2002) that Internet is one form of educational technology. The benefit is laid on the use of computer and interactivity matter as impact on learning. At the aim of introducing and developing multicultural

understanding in order to build up positive attitudes toward differences, *schools' site or schools' blog* may offer an interesting link to communicate among students in different setting; place, level of advancement, and custom. Every school site or blog have their own profile with many kinds of school activities, both intra-curricular and extra-curricular. Articles on important issues are posting to get some comments from other schools.

In that case, a school does not only introduce its profile means school's custom and tradition but also ideas. From such interaction, indirect one through Internet, students share their idea n knowledge. Shortly, they have learned and shared their culture. When they have known much information on each school culture, it expected that when they have direct interaction, face-to-face interaction, there will be no clash over the different argument or behavior. As well, totally effort in understanding other indirectly is different to that directly. This can be utilized for not only school setting but also organizations in society, moreover government and citizens.

The idea of implementing Internet as a medium for multicul-tural communication seems to be difficult, or impossible. There-fore, all will be different if such effort is linked to educational side, in which educators play their role to create a supporting atmosphere for learning. And, although multiculturalism does not really appear in many schools, it possible to begin with because students may have great expectation to be success people and may going everywhere finding many people from different cultural background. Language is only one parameter to know that there is a distinction. Thus, adaptation on particular society where a person stands, or lives is one prerequisite.

Education, Nationalism and Self Identities

Nationalism has deep meaning for people in the past because of their struggle over the independence. Nowadays, it is far diffe-rent. Some people, mostly youth, have argued that nationalism is only a symbol of citizenship, where people were born, then dwell, and live in this country Indonesia. They adjust Merdeka, as slogan

of nationalist movement, implies political independence. Most people ask for a concrete form of "Merdeka", in which freedom must be defined as freedom from poverty, ignorance, political repression, and abuse of human rights. However, great efforts to achieve all are obviously needed. And logically, it needs a period of time through which both center and local government reinforce their work in better organization. This different perspective of meaning raises many different assumptions and opinions which later stimulate conflicts. It is reflected by some crucial events of argument fighting, conflict and clashes among groups which are mostly caused by the claim of some groups over the equality right.

Why should people have such behavior in modern society in which all differences can be socialized through discussion? Why do people think that demonstration is one of best way to ask for being considered by others, especially institution and government? Meanwhile, most people know that it does not solve certain problem directly. They, the protester, do not get their claim soon either. Social phenomenon on inter-groups or ethnics conflicts is not recent anymore. In the last era, awareness on cultural diversity is considered as the main source of Indonesian growth. In the new era, it slumps down because discussion on SARA-ethnic, religion, race, and inter-relation group is considered to be taboo. In this case, government covers up the diversity for the sake of sovereignty, far from symbolization of Bhineka Tunggal Ika. However, reform era immediately changes as identity revolution in which those SARA's come up and show their power to be recognized as one of Indonesian development base. From this, government then applies autonomy management that yet does not guarantee the practice of democracy is in right way. There is still a potential difference which triggers a clash. Vandalism among groups that support different parties falls into brutal behaviors. The strongly effect is ethnocentrism. This loses high values of certain ethnics or groups.

Connecting with those realities, *multicultural awareness* needs to be improved. Culture should be perceived that it is learned although it is inheritance acquired. Individual identity is formed not only by the ancestry through biological factor but also

psychological and physiological requirements. The rest two are provided by the society where an individual live. They include the need for food, water, clothes, shelter, and feeling of acceptance by the community. It is simply illustrated by Bates and Plog (1990:19) that whatever a child learns such as walk, speak, feed from his/her parents, read, write, count in schooling then behave as a friend, woman or man in community, are experiences in order to shape his/her behaviors, attitudes, even expectation towards life. Perez (2009) as cited in Kottax (2009: 16) supports this by stating that individual identity may change when s/he comes to another place with different custom. An individual will face different experiences, more "cultural shock", in new situations which never heard before. Although an individual may be viewed as foreigner, however s/he will share and then adjust to do contextual behavior. This may influence an individual's action because of majority's effect. The process of adjusting other group custom is so called learning. As one of enculturation process, it eventually raises personal tolerance to the distinction.

In line with this process, education has its main role in engendering that important awareness among students, also people, particularly in multicultural setting. Self identity is important thing to describe and express an individual experience in familial or societal relationship as a mental entity. It is such self orientation by which a person deeply understands his/herself, including ethnic, physical and mental characteristics. Customs, dispositions, and traits are formed underlying the similarities concepts of those caused by the descent and geographical factor.

In educational setting, diversity on self-identity becomes important assets in forming multicultural awareness. Those diffe-rences are established to be base of cultural socialization through which education provides a way to maintain human relationship dynamically, preserve cultures of ethnics or groups even religion. Schools and cultures turn into main facilities for cultural assimi-lation. In this case, education is not a means for cultural integration in which people should be in the similar ways of thinking, ex-pressing idea, and accomplishing work or expectation.

Assimilation does not fully mean that a minority groups or ethnics must cover or hide the existence custom, but they adopt patterns or norms of majority's culture. Assimilation is actually not inevitable. The adjustment may happen naturally when different ethnics are in contact. Barth (1968 cited in Kottax, 2009:149) stated that ethnics groups can interact with others over generations without assimilation and they can live peaceful in coexistence. For example, many students all over Indonesia are struggle for SMA Nusantara or Pondok Gontor. Therefore, they who come into such diverse condition should have a specific trait to interact with others. And, of course that trait is learned. Shortly, education both formal and informal facilitates everyone to be cultured. When an individual has been able to tolerate and understand other, s/he has known her/his capability as civilized people. Either, s/he knows the real meaning of nationalism.

Conclusion

Considering the current social condition in Indonesia, strategic steps must be taken in managing multiculturalism. As educated people, at least we know meaning of "Burung Garuda" holds a ribbon says "Bhineka Tunggal Ika" with "Pancasila" on its chest. It symbolizes Indonesian dynamic life within cultural diversity of ethnics, religions, race, and inter-groups relationship. This shows us that harmony is reached on the basis of five principles covered in Pancasila which mainly focus on tolerance attitudes towards different religions and social strata, nationalism, democracy, and equality of socio-economic development. It is doubtful that every student fully understands the whole meaning, although Civics has covered the materials on nationalism, laws and those impacts on society and related issues on them.

However, it is not adequate enough to engender students' awareness of diversity, proved by actions on vandalisms both in education settings and societies. Intensives dialog must be conducted regularly, for example, schools, universities, and other education institutions should have a regular time table for teachers and headmaster to discuss important thing related to school

program and students' improvement including problem encountered. In the society, there are usually kinds of association like youth, mothers association, and religious one. Besides, recent issues, education will integrate three main aspects in all subject matters. They are *character building, gender equality, and entrepreneurship*. This has been proven by the establishing International Standard Schools which obviously introduce global and multicultural citizenship in the curriculum in order to equip students with knowledge and skills for their active engagement in a diverse and globalized population. The teachers, as educators, must firstly improve their knowledge on multiculturalism deeply, and the parents as well.

Dealing with these purposes, education needs sophisticated knowledge and technology. It is really difficult effort regarding that Indonesian is a developed country. Yet, if there is no challenge and strong power to try and treat our education with such technology as the Internet, Indonesia will go slowly. Internet is high valuable as a means for communication and education as well in line with its capability in presenting many kind of hypertext completing with virtual facilities such as conference board in which many people from all over the world can make use of it to be connected with other in distance place and time.

In learning practice, Collins and Moonen (2001) propose flexible application through the Internet. Flexible can be in location, program and activities, types of interaction, forms of communication, and learning materials. This gives a space for related institution to take important steps to integrate multicultural not only in schooling but also wider scope, community. Many cultural history, tradition, and arts may compile into one cultural site so that people will be easily access and learn other people custom, behavior, so that they will be able to adjust everything when they interact to each other in face-to-face communication. Through this media, both in education and demographic, government can also socialize every steps deals with Indonesian development. For example, local government state a clear policy on resettlement and economic which there is no compartment area for immigrant from indigenous, and offer

similar opportunities to have better living in that area. Therefore there will be no resentment about equality, mainly because of property right.

Finally, as the form of democracy in which there are house of representatives, social and political dialogues should be considered as the most meaningful forum or mechanism for a regional dialogue in Indonesia. Then the Indonesian government – in the central or in the province and district – should take a chance to work together and open their mind that decentralization is obviously in the context of sharing and developing their community in all aspect of life, particularly in term of power and resources in the plural society, Indonesia. Final expectation is that all people, whoever whatever they are, wherever they live, upon which they held a brief for, have equal right and obligation. Thus, all must understand the meaning, the spirit of independence "Merdeka", that to develop country is both government and citizens' responsibility.

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MULTICULTURAL IN EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

M Syarif Sumantri

Introduction

In general, multicultural education is a concept that was created with the aim to create equal educational opportunities for all students of different racial, ethnic, social class and cultural groups. One important goal of the concept of multicultural education is to help all students to acquire knowledge, attitudes and skills needed in carrying out these roles as effectively as possible in a pluralistic and democratic society, needed to interact, negotiation, and communication with citizens of diverse groups in order to create an immoral society that runs for the common good.

In its implementation, according to the Sudrajat (2008: 1) paradigm of multicultural education are required to adhere to the following principles: (1) multicultural education should offer a diverse curriculum that represents their views and perspectives of many people; (2) multicultural education should be based on the assumption that no single interpretation of historical truth; (3) The curriculum is achieved in accordance with comparative analysis with emphasis on the point of view of different cultures; (4) multicultural education should support the principle of principal-in combating stereotypical view of race, culture and religion. Multicultural education reflects a balance between understanding the similarities and differences in culture encourages individuals to maintain and expand cultural horizons and their own culture.

Furthermore relation to early childhood education that is importance of early childhood education has become the international attention. In a meeting of the World Education Forum in Dakar Senegal in 2000 produced six agreements as a framework of action education for all and one egg is to expand and improve the overall care and early childhood education, especially for children who are very vulnerable and less fortunate, Indonesia as one member of the forum is bound to implement this commitment.

International attention to the urgency of early childhood education, reinforced by various recent study of the brain. By the time the baby was born she had provided God with a complete brain structure, but only reached maturity after outside the womb. Newborn babies have more than 100 billion neurons and about one trillion glial cells which function as adhesive and synap (the branches of neurons) which will form trillion connections between neurons that exceeded needs. Synap will work until the age of 5-6 years. A large number of connections that affect the formation of the brain's ability throughout his life.

The growth of brain tissue affected by the experience gained of children in the early years of his life, particularly pleasant experience. In this development phase will have a tremendous potential in developing language skills, mathematics, thinking skills, and the formation of emotional stability. There are four main considerations the importance of early childhood education, namely: (1) prepare qualified manpower, (2) encourage the acceleration of economic turnover and low social costs because of high labor productivity and durability, (3) improving equity in public life, (4) helping parents and children.

Early childhood education is not merely serve to provide learning experiences to children, but more importantly serves to optimize brain development. Early childhood education should also cover the whole process of psychosocial stimulation and is not limited to the learning process that occurs in educational institutions. That is, early childhood education can take place anywhere and anytime as well as human interaction that occurred in the family, peers, and of social relations in accordance with the conditions and developments . The state problem can be defined is how to deploy multi-cultural education in early childhood.

Discussion

Early Childhood Education (ECD) is an attempt to empower all the potential of early childhood in order to grow and develop optimally, and integrated so it can be a basis for further education. As for the meaning of education is an effort to empower all learners

potential is optimized and integrated to be used for the benefit of living together in improving the quality of devotion to the One God. Implementation of education can not be released to do with upbringing and development. Care is for children avoid the dangers that threaten the physical safety and his soul while development work is undertaken for every child's potential to reach optimum levels of development and integrated. Organization of early childhood education also can not be released to do with health care and other social services.

By law, the meaning of early childhood is children aged 0-6 years, while the academic meaning of early childhood usually aged 0-8 years. Among the early childhood, there is normal growth and development, there is a drifting away from the normal criteria (children with special needs), and some are at risk for facing any problem in the future, especially the academic problems (children at risk). The three groups of children need to receive educational services in accordance with the characteristics and needs of each.

Organization of early childhood education can be done in the family, in TPA (Child Care), in KB (Play Group), in kindergarten (kindergarten), at BKB (BKB), or in integrated health. Wherever organized early childhood education, is needed integrative approach that includes educational services, medical, social, and psychological. All forms and types of education services should always be based upon a foundation of philosophical, religious, scientific knowledge (scientific knowledge) and juridical basis. Without these four educational foundation is not clear directions and achieving the goal will not be effective and efficient.

Early childhood education can not only be based on the theoretical foundation of child development in general but also to consider the various characteristics of individual children. Children with special needs should obtain special education services in other word risk children should get preventive and curative services for the risk of problems later on can be avoided. All forms of education services should integrate all types of peers in an atmosphere of learning and playing an inclusive relation to such matters then all teachers (educators) need the knowledge and skills of early childhood elementary special education (special

education) and be able to develop educational programs that are based or needs individual child (individualized education programs) and related to multicultural education.

Education is generally interpreted as an attempt has been made a conscious, planned and is responsible for presenting an interactional process by using methods and tools to help children develop a range of potentials in humans manifests itself as a whole. In the context of a general meaning, the education provided to children must be done knowingly with the intent that the act of educating is given to children is not an accident or an act which necessarily exist. An action to educate if action is done with full awareness. Therefore, the act of education will be an action that is planned and accounted for.

Another limitation indicates the meaning of education as a cultural transformation that is the delivery, transfer or inheritance of all forms of content and process of the culture of educators on students. In this concept, Fagerlind and Saha in Arif Rohman, (2009: 7) defines education as "the process by which the cultural and normative heritage of a society is transmitted from generation to generation" thus defined education as the process of transferring cultural heritage and community norms from one generation to the next. Culture itself is generally given an explanation as a whole the result of thought, feeling and will of man as well as in managing the environment.

Wade and Tavris defines culture as a program and set mutually acceptable rules and regulate the conduct of a person in a particular society or community as well as a set of values, beliefs and practices accepted by society.

Education as a process of cultural transfer course will cover a variety of rules, values, beliefs and habits agreed upon, used and accepted by society. Ki Hajar Dewantara further provides a humanist view that emphasizes the importance of education preservation of human existence, in the sense of helping people more humane, more civilized, as full human develop. This view tends to emphasize education as a civilizing process and efforts to make students as a civilized human being so that they can build a civilization itself, society and nation.

This cultural transformation is done through a variety of educational interaction between children and children and between children and teachers. As the transformation of culture, education should contain a lot of programs that became the embodiment of human culture, both locally, nationally and globally. This program can provide perspective and awareness of cultural diversity with a variety of outcomes and characteristics on students. As implication of these meaningfulness and cultural diversity becomes the epicenter of it emerged the concept of multicultural education. Education like this shows the process of multicultural education is not just a material or substance which is necessary and must be taught to children but to the educational process itself. Multicultural education includes educational content and processes associated with cross-ethnic understanding, culture, customs, race and gender issues.

Multicultural education can be a process of preparing and happy human being at a peak of consciousness that created life Man "tribes and nations to know each other, understand each other and love one another" (Surah Al Hujarat: 13). Cues that paragraph and a portrait that essentially factual, the Lord God Almighty, has created human beings in the form of diversity that is unique, perhaps not even seen a human being even identical twins shows the characteristics, attitudes and behavior of the same.

Multicultural education is a form of educational process that emphasizes the multicultural as the centre. This concept is also often referred to as a form of cross-cultural education (cross-cultural Educations). Kartini Kartono (1992: 22) explains that the cross-cultural education as a process of transferring the various cultural characteristics from one generation to the next. This view gives a signal that education and dissemination can accommodate cultural diversity in students as a generation heir or successor of a particular cultural design. Every community, tribe or nation has a cultural basis of approved implemented and built together. Therefore, from a variety of communities, tribes and nations will produce a variety of different cultures. Similarly, the Indonesian community and other communities in the world are born with a heritage that differ from one another.

Gibson gives the definition of multicultural education as a process conducted through a variety of ways individuals develop perceptions, appraisal and acquisition of various systems of different cultures (Hernandez, 2001: 5), in this definition, multicultural education includes an individual activity in perceiving a particular cultural system . This perception is the initial formation of one's cognitive structure and as a basis to give consideration or assessment of a culture. The result of the process of perceiving and assessing a culture will become part of an individual belonging to the cultural aspects with different characteristics and values. Thus, through multicultural education activities are very likely occurrence of cultural transformation in the learner. In the process of transformation of cultural, educational atmosphere to accommodate any of the following: (1) Every child should get the same opportunity to achieve full potential; (2) Each child must be prepared to participate in intercultural activities in public life; (3) Teachers must be prepared to facilitate effective learning for each student child care how similar or different cultural background than their; (4) Schools actively participate in ending all forms of pressure that can stop the various forms of barriers through awareness activities and social processes; (5) Education must consider a child-centered learning fully and openly.

Under the conditions of cultural transformation through education can be classified into three forms of transformation: (1) transformation, (2) transformation of the school, (3) transformation of society. Transformation includes the process of moving the entire self-existence (educators and learners), including the possibility of prejudice, subjectivity, and many wrong assumptions about yourself. In social interaction, individuals can transform perceptions, attitudes and actions of various social phenomena. In the aspect of transforming the school covers the process of moving the various actions undertaken pedagogical school of students.

The process encompasses several important concepts such as process educate student-centered, multicultural curriculum, inclusive education materials and media, school and classroom climate that supports and assessment and ongoing evaluation. In the aspect of social transformation became one of the key goals of

multicultural education contribute to social transformation that is more progressive and proactive as well as implement and maintain a balance and social justice. Various forms of social phenomena must be transformed into a multicultural educational aspects continuously.

As a tool of cultural transformation, education can bring a variety of messages or ideas through a range of programs and the learning process (Banks and Banks, 1999: 3) suggests that multicultural education includes three basic ideas associated with "an idea or concept for an educational reform movement and a process ". The first aspect to consider in multicultural education is the notion that culture can be designed as a form of educational programs. The design of multi-cultural education should accommodate different cultural characteristics naturally take place in social life in society. In a second aspect, the consideration of multicultural education must begin in an activity that leads to the re-establishment values education. This opinion indicates that the multi-cultural education should lead to the discovery of the formation of attitudes, behaviors and cultural values that become the essence of educational activity itself. These changes can include things such as status or social class of children, economic background, habits or customs and various cultural groups. Thinking Third, multicultural education is a process that continues over time and in a natural situation. This understanding provides cues that multicultural education must be made in the process and the environmental situation is normal and natural.

However, it does not mean that multicultural education is not only designed in the design of good learning and planned but need careful consideration and analysis of the content, form and what cultural processes to be effective in understanding children. The process of multi-cultural education in a practical perspective can be implemented through multi-cultural learning activities. This is in accordance with Seels and Richey opinion that the learning associated with learning in a controlled and planned (Richey, 1994: 4).

In general, multicultural education aims to provide prosos situation and culture with all its contents and its form is normal

and natural in their students in various educational environments. Samovar and Porter showed three multi-cultural learning objectives are: (1) provide an understanding of cultural in nature, (2) help understand the personal relationship between students and students and students with teachers and (3) provide a critical situation of family-oriented culture in education (Samovar and Porter, 2004: 237), thus it was explained that multicultural education as follows: (1) Multi-cultural learning is designed and implemented in a context and a reasonable and natural environment in accordance with the level of development and social situation facing students; (2) Multicultural learning should be able to help students develop healthy relationships and proper social against fellow peers, and adults; (3) Multicultural learning taught in the form of a process that is close to the lives of children and use a variety of contexts is known in the lives of children.

Santrock (1996: 348) explains that multicultural education as education that respects and includes a variety of perspectives from different cultural groups. Conception emphasizes that the content and process of multicultural education needs to provide understanding and learning in their students about the diversity that occurs between them and to help children understand things from a different cultural perspective. Bennett explains that multicultural education as a learning process approach is based on the beliefs and values of democracy and provide a variety of cultures that occurred in the community who many-kind and the world of mutual dependence (Bennett, 1996: 11). This understanding becomes the basis for the development of multicultural education, especially the understanding that multicultural education can be done by integrating cultural diversity in learning activities as an approach. It also gives direction in a multicultural learning that emphasizes the cultivation of democratic values and an understanding of the reality of multicultural students.

According Samatov and Poter, (2004: 237) in implementing the multicultural education requires effort and commitment of educators through the preparation of curriculum design and teaching strategies that accommodate and develop multi-cultural education component. Design a curriculum that accommodates

multi-cultural education will be the basis and reference for educators to implement and promote multi-cultural learning that suit their needs and stages of child development. William and Getano (1985) as quoted Roopnaire and Johnson (2002: 287) suggests considering the multicultural curriculum planning 4 components: (1) children culturally relevant needs, experiences, interests, questions,, feelings and behavior, (2) Families beliefs, concerns , and desires for Their Children, (3) community event, Massages, and expectations permeate That children environment and (4) teacher knowledge, beliefs, values, and interests have a Formative effect on the curriculum and on teaching practice.

In early childhood multicultural education needs to consider aspects related to: (1) Culture students in accordance with the needs, experiences, interests, questions, feelings and various their behavior; (2) Attention, beliefs and desires of the child's family; (3) Expectations, the messages and social events that are in the child's environment; (4) The values of trust, knowledge and interests of teachers.

Education is a conscious effort, planned and systematic through the interactional process between teachers and students to help students become people who was culture. Multi-cultural education is one effort to build the interactional process for students to recognize, understand and find a variety of cultural understanding. Interactional process between teachers and students in understanding various aspects of multicultural learning activities can be realized through multicultural. Multi-cultural learning is that teachers do business on a regular basis and planned through various interactional processes that provide opportunities on students discover and understand the concept of multi-cultural. Interactional process is orderly and planned to involve the element of purpose, materials, media and learning resources are appropriate and can accommodate multi-cultural understanding.

Conclusion

Based on the above discussion it can be concluded several things into consideration in developing a multi-cultural education in early childhood is: (1) Required multicultural understanding in early childhood through habituation activity events are patterned to form certain concepts, such as the introduction of physical characteristics, cultural, social, according to the characteristics of early childhood development; (2) In the formal education needs to be included multicultural themes in the planning and early childhood learning; (3) Methods, media and assessment that is used to insert the substance of the multicultural; (4) Steps multicultural learning in early childhood need to consider the scope: (a) integration, (b) development of knowledge, (c) prejudice reduction, (d) empowering school culture and (e) mental health education; (5) It should be specifically developed emotional social stimulation such as tolerance, cooperation, mutual respect, empathy and pride in her work itself is also another people.

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MULTICULTURAL-BASED
ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING:
One Way of Maintaining Nation Identity

Siti Sudartini

Introduction

In line with the demand of inter-nation communication, the need to have a common language widely spoken in all over the world is unavoidable. This has made English becoming the first international language, for it has the greatest number of speakers in all over the world. Tanaka mentions that although there is no exact statistics exist concerning the number of people using English worldwide, as a rough approximation, it is said that more than one billion people—according to some, nearly two billion people—use English in one way or another, of which four hundred millions use it as their native language, while the remaining six hundred millions or more use the language as a second or foreign language (Tanaka, 2006: 36, 47). Therefore, the need to have cultural awareness-cultural understanding among those involving the English language teaching is unavoidable.

The concept of 'cultural awareness'—understanding of different cultures—has been emphasized as an essential part of English learning and teaching. In fact, the phrase 'cross-cultural communication' is on the lips of English teachers. Every teacher believes that learning a second language necessarily accompanies understanding a different culture (Nieto, 2002; Goldstein, 2003). It is generally agreed so far that language cannot be separated from culture. Following Linton (1945) via Rajend Mesthrie, Joan Swann, Ana Deumer and William L. Leap, culture can be defined as in the technical sociological anthropological sense the culture of a society refers to, 'the way of life of its members; the collection of ideas and habits which they learn, share and transmit from generation to generation'. Culture in this sense is a 'design for living', which defines appropriate or acceptable ways and forms of behavior within particular societies (Mesthrie, Joan Swann, Ana

Deumer and William L. Leap, 2009: 28). While language can be considered as a cultural activity and, at the same time, an instrument for organizing other cultural domains (Sharifian and Palmer, 2007: 1).

The fact that teaching a foreign language cannot be effectively carried out without giving understanding of its culture has lead to a very hard job for those involving the practice of the English language teaching. Educators may unintentionally have been inserting western culture in their classrooms, while learners may have been learning western culture while learning the language. This condition may lead to the decrease of the future generations' understanding towards their own culture. They may have been internalizing the foreign culture in their life, and becoming strangers of their own culture. This will not be beneficial for the sustainability of the country. This particular study, however, focuses on three main issues concerning the practice of English language teaching in relation to maintaining the nation identity. Those are; (1) identifying the common mainstream of English Language Teaching practice in Indonesia, particularly in the domain of accompanied culture, (2) identifying the notion of multicultural education, (3) and to what extent this multicultural education takes parts in maintaining the nation identity.

Discussion
The Practice of English Language Teaching in Indonesia

The current practice of English Language teaching has been focused on preparing the students to be able to communicate effectively by using the language. English teachers have done their job very well in motivating their students to learn and use the languages. They always try to use various interesting activities to present the context of the given language items being discussed. Some of them even give the explanation on certain language items accompanied by the context of culture in which those items used. This fact is very common in the practice of foreign language classrooms. What may be becoming the main concern is on whether the presentation of this foreign culture is accompanied

by the explanation of our own culture. This remains an important question in the current practice of English Language teaching in this country.

What the teachers commonly do in their teaching is merely fulfilling the objectives of the teaching and learning goals as stated in the current curriculum. Most teachers are busy with finding suitable and relevant materials without having critical analysis on the cultural biases that may be covered within the source materials. What commonly come in their minds is finding the materials which are in line with the objectives of the teaching and learning activities as mentioned in the curriculum. It is generally agreed so far that the practice of English Language teaching of English will not be effective without discussing its culture. Most educators will agree that teaching the language will be impossible without teaching the culture. Every sentence, expression, word needs to be put in the context of culture of the language. In other words we may say that an English teacher could act as a cultural agent as well. Every English teacher needs to realize this, if not they will not only be the cultural agents but also be the agents of the new form of imperialism. Teachers need to consider the fact that their students come from different cultural background, have different levels of proficiency, speak their own first language, and also may have different social and economic background. Therefore, they need to have a critical analysis on the materials as well as the learning resources to be given to the students in terms of western cultural content.

Unfortunately, some or even most English teachers do not have such awareness and sensitivity regarding issues of cultural content in English language teaching practice. A brief study conducted prior to the writing of this paper, on some online English resources provided by scholars of English language teaching in this country has provided some examples of western cultural content even in textbooks written by Indonesian scholars either in the form of pictorial or textual image used by the writers. *Firstly*, some writers seem to be more convenient to use western image rather than the local or national image. The examples of using the western image in the English textbook could be easily found in

some of the '*bse*' (online textbooks provided by Pusat Perbukuan Department Pendidikan Nasional) books. Take for example an electronic English book written by Joko Priyana, Riandi and Anita Mumpuni entitled *SCAFFOLDING: English for Junior High School Students Grade VII.*

Secondly, the western cultural content within the English textbook has also taken the form of using texts discussing the western topic. A brief observation on the English textbooks provided by the *Pusat Perbukuan Departemen Pendidikan Nasional* may become good examples. In one of the books, there is one chapter on topic descriptive texts. The writers use 8 texts describing interesting places in the world which are predominantly talking about the descriptions of some interesting places found in other countries rather than this country. There is only one text describing one of interesting places in Indonesia. The same thing happen on topic narrative texts, the writers prefer using short stories or western fairy tale rather than using those easily found in our culture (Widiati, et al, 58-69).

The current ELT practice may lead the students to have better understanding on foreign culture rather that their own culture or even in the extreme way could lead them to make the foreign culture as theirs own culture and make them internalize the norms as well as foreign cultural values in their daily lives. Some of our young students may have deep understanding on the foreign culture rather than mastering the language. What may be the most important impact of the current ELT practice is the loss of our own culture since our young generations are no longer have clear understanding of it. Our own valuable cultural norms and values will be left behind by its descendents as they like to have and behave by using the foreign cultural norms and values. They may even forget their cultural identity. All individuals engaged in the foreign language teaching and learning process need to anticipate this by having the cultural awareness of the foreign culture and start having discussion on the national culture while explaining the foreign culture in their classrooms.

The Notion of Multicultural Education

Educators need to have awareness and sensitivity regarding issues of cultural diversity between English and the local languages as well as the national language, bahasa Indonesia. Teachers need to consider the fact that their students come from different cultural background, have different levels of proficiency, speak their own first language, and also may have different social and economic background. One of the best solutions to overcome this may be by improving the educators' interest in incorporating multicultural approaches into educational settings. The multicultural education may be an alternative way of improving the cultural awareness (the concept has been emphasized as an essential part of English learning and teaching) in the practice of English language teaching (Tanaka, 2006: 37). Sinagatullin (2003: 83) defines multicultural education as an idea stating that all students, regardless of their gender, ethnicity, race, culture, social class, religion, or exceptionality, should have an equal opportunity to learn at school. He also states that one of the major goals of multicultural education is to help students acquire attitudes, knowledge, and skills needed to successfully function within their own microculture, mainstream culture, and the global community (Ibid, 114).

This definition provides clear understanding on the main concept of multicultural education that the need for multicultural education may not only conventionally associated with societies containing ethnic, racial, and linguistic diversity, but also with differences in ability, social class, gender, religion, or residence (rural versus urban). In fact, this basic principle is in line with the notion of education as well as the function of education mentioned in our Act on National Educational System. It is the diversity in term of culture that becoming the main consideration within this intercultural education. Grant and Lei provides three reasons why culture matters in education. They mention that in the theoretical conceptions of intercultural education, "culture" is mentioned as relevant at one or more of the following different levels (Grant and Lei, 2001: 10-11) : (1) The cultural and social backgrounds of students, teachers, and parents should be taken into account in

order to understand their attitudes, actions, and learning problems as well as personal and social needs; (2) The international and multicultural character of society as a consequence of migration and other phenomena related to globalization should be included as topics in order to change the cultural contents of the curricula; (3) The cultural contents of education should be revised altogether in the name of a universalist idea of education, free from any form of ethnocentrism, so the contents include different perspectives and educate for pluralism and relativism.

Concerning the notion of culture within the intercultural education, they suggest four main elements for an education respectful of sociocultural and linguistic diversity (Ibid, 13). Those are: (1) Subjective and objective support of the identity of socio-cultural and linguistic minority students; (2) Constructing curriculum contents implying and reflecting the positive value of the plurality of cultures and languages; (3) Building communi-cative, action-oriented skills; (4) Accepting socio-cultural diversity and the plurality of ideas as a challenge for democracy. Having a clear understanding on the definition as well as the main concepts of the multicultural perspective on education will not be much beneficial without considering other individuals and institutions involved in the overall success of the national educational system. This perspective towards the practice of education requires much improvement on the overall components of education, including the curriculum, the educators, learners, and all aspects of edu-cation. This idea is in line with one of the definitions of multi-cultural education mentioned by Banks and Banks (2001: xii) in the *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education* that:

> Multicultural education is a field of study designed to increase educational equity for all students that incorporates, for this purpose, content, concepts, principles, theories, and paradigms from history, the social and behavioral sciences, and particularly from ethnic studies and women studies.

The dimensions of multicultural education, developed by Banks and Banks described in the *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education,* provide the conceptual framework for the multicultural education involving variety of dimensions. They

are: *content integration, the knowledge construction process, prejudice reduction, an equity pedagogy,* and *an empowering school culture and social structure.* To implement multicultural education effectively, teachers and administrators must attend to each of the five dimensions of multicultural education. They should use content from diverse groups when teaching concepts and skills, help students to understand how knowledge in the various disciplines is constructed, help students to develop positive intergroup attitudes and behaviors, and modify their teaching strategies so that students from different racial, cultural, language, and social-class groups will experience equal educational opportunities.

The total environment and culture of the school must also be trans formed so that students from diverse groups will experience equal status in the culture and life of the school. Although the five dimensions of multicultural education are highly interrelated, each requires deliberate attention and focus. The national focus on basic skills and testing is diverting attention from the broad liberal education that students need to live and function effectively in a multicultural nation and world. It is essential that all students acquire basic literacy and numeracy skills. However, as Mary Dilg documents in this informative and needed book, students also need the knowledge, skills, and values that will enable them to live, interact, and make decisions with fellow citizens from different racial, ethnic, cultural, language, and religious groups. Students also need to acquire the knowledge and skills that will enable them to understand and to come to grips with their own ethnic and cultural identities (Dilg, 2003: ix). Dilg reveals how difficult this essential process can be for the adolescents she describes in this book with the eye of an insightful anthropologist and the heart of a compassionate teacher. She not only makes it clear that teachers need to facilitate the identity quests of adolescents, she also uses vivid examples to illustrate how she engages her students in powerful discussions to help them clarify their racial, ethnic, and cultural affiliations.

In terms of the individuals directly involve in the teaching and learning process, the multicultural education perspective also requires better quality of human resources to conduct the teaching

and learning processes, namely the educators, particularly language teachers. This particular perspective on education requires teachers with multiculturally competent in the corresponding subject area (Signatullin, 145-150). Multicultural competency includes, but is not limited to, competency in culture and related issues and socio-historical, socio-geographical, sociological, and technological competency. A teacher competent in culture studies is expected to know that cultural peculiarities of some minority students often prevent them from progressing equally with the mainstream part of the group, so that they are considered slow learners or even mentally retarded in this social system; whereas in other social systems-for example, in home and ethnic community environments-these children may be considered normal or even gifted. Sociohistorical competency requires that the social studies teacher know about different ethnic and cultural groups' historical developments and historical heritages, their indigenous customs and habits, folk pedagogy heritages, and modes of interethnic interaction. The teacher's multicultural competency may also include at least three components: attitudes, knowledge, and skills.

Multicultural Education and Maintaining Nation Identity

In line with the notion of multicultural education, the practice of foreign language teaching, particularly English language teaching in this country needs to have much attention in terms of the internalization other culture. Brown via Richards and Renandya (2002: 12) claims that *Whenever you teach a language, you also teach a complex system of cultural customs, values, and ways of thinking, feeling, and acting.* It is generally agreed so far that education plays the most significant roles in the development of a nation. Education may be regarded as an investment in human capital formation that lays the foundation for future economic growth and development of the country. This statement, is particularly, in line with the notion of education that has been defined as:

> ....conscious and well planned effort in creating a learning environment and learning process so that learners will be able to

develop their full potential for acquiring spiritual and religious strengths, develop self-control, personality, intelligence, morals and noble character and skills that one needs for him/herself, for the community, for the nation, and for the State. National education means education based on *Pancasila* and the 1945 Constitution, and is rooted in the religious values, national cultures of Indonesia, and one that is responsive to the needs of the ever-changing era (Act of the Republic of Indonesia on National Education System, Chapter 1 Article 1).

This definition has been becoming the main guidance of conducting all of the teaching and learning processes in this country, not to mention the English language teaching in this country. One thing needs to be borne in the minds of is the fact that interpersonal interaction in the context of multiculturalism requires one to abide by two practical lessons: 'Don't take anything for granted' and 'Accept the differences'. These two lessons are easy to agree with in theory and difficult to put into practice in this country. The lesson 'Don't take anything for granted' implies that we need to follow our common sense in our daily life, as a result, it sounds comfortable to say, 'People are different, and we have to accept them'. In practice, accepting differences may lead to the changing of our semantic world.

This will not be beneficial in terms of maintaining our nation identity. Students or learners may have a new perspective towards their own culture. Some of them may consider the "new culture" is better than the "previous one". Therefore, the multicultural approach in the practice of English language teaching will be crucial as one alternative way in maintaining our own culture. Teachers need to have a clear explanation on the proposition of "Accept the differences". It must be clearly defined as understanding that there is other culture having different norms and values from one's own culture. Teachers need to make sure that this lesson will not lead to the belief that the new culture is better than one's own culture. Teachers need to have an alternative way conducting the process of teaching and learning in their classrooms.

Therefore, the need to have a multicultural-based language teaching is unavoidable. The underlying reason of applying the approach towards language teaching, is the fact that teachers need to integrate the spirit of multicultural education for the sake of maintaining the nation identity. They must be aware of the internalization of foreign culture in the practice of foreign language teaching. They need to be more careful in explaining materials containing cultural content in order to not to make their students having a new semantic frame of their own culture. Teachers also need to wherever possible, promote the local content to the students by integrating the local cultural aspects or local wisdom during their teaching and learning process. This will be important in maintaining the students' understanding towards their own culture.

In terms of publishers as well as book writers, they may also need to take into consideration this multicultural-based approach towards language teaching whenever they arrange the materials. They need, wherever possible, to cover the local as well as the national cultural topics. Finally by applying this multicultural perspective in the practice of English Language Teaching, the learners will hopefully acquire attitudes, knowledge, and skills needed to successfully function within their own micro-culture, mainstream culture, and the global community.

Conclusions

The main concern of this paper is on having a critical study on the practice of English Language Teaching (ELT), which unintentionally tends to have a great potential of creating questions in terms of culture. The main culturally defined question is the existence of western cultural internalization in the practice of ELT classroom without being accompanied by the educators' awareness on it. This has merely a negative impact on those involved in the teaching and learning activities in terms of their cultural awareness, particularly the students.

One of the best solutions to overcome this may be by improving the educators' interest in incorporating multicultural

approaches into educational settings. The multicultural education may be an alternative way of improving the cultural awareness in the practice of English language teaching. This multicultural-based language teaching is important in maintaining the students' understanding towards their own culture and in avoiding their having a new semantic frame towards their own culture. These two points will be crucial as an initiating step of maintaining the nation identity in the terms of awakening the people awareness of the national culture.

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IDENTITY

GENDER AND VOTING BEHAVIOR:
Poltitical Psychology Analysis for Voting Behavior in Indonesia

Fathul Lubabin Nuqul

Introduction

Today, several places in Indonesia have been conducted local government election. From those places rise a unique phenomenon that is women participation to be local government leader candidates (Governor, vice governor, regent, or vice regent). By applying direct vote for local government leader election, it makes the candidates follow "the taste" of voter. It is not easy to understand the behavior, feel, and vote of the voters. The traditional way such as giving donation to the voter is not effective nowadays. One way that can be applied is making voter's need assessment. The gender equilibrium hopefully can represent the need of the voters.

Judith Squires (1999) stated that women has been very long time and widely humiliate from many kinds of politics activity and stopped to define their activity as inline part of politics. It is usual that some women think that they do not want to enter the political world because they feel that politics is not their world. Moreover, a lot of women also feel inferior and incapable to join in political world. The opinion regarding to the women participation in political world grows several problems in the national life. Eventhough women's participation is one of indication of democracy development in certain country. Gender equality concept in political world in Indonesia finally can be implemented through affirmative action. It stated in the general election law no.12 verse 65 by the year of 2003 that 30% is women quota in political world.

Regarding to the women participation in the political world, there is a unique phenomenon especially for women competition in the local government leader election. Until in the middle of 2007, it is notified that about 82 women joined in 232 places in

59

provinces and cities in Indonesia. From those, 26 women (30,76%) participated to be the local government head, and the others 57 (69,24%) participated to be vice leader. Eight of them were elected to be local government leader and the other 11 were vice leader (Arifin 2008). Unsuccessfully women in several local government elections raise some questions regarding to the capacity of the women to be a leader that represents the trust and interest to the women leader. Besides, is this unsuccessfully women to be a leader phenomenon also strengthened social value which tends to be patriarchy?, so it is important to conduct the comprehensive study especially from the voters psychology and their voting behavior.

Theoretically, voting behavior can be defined as the decision of voters to give their vote to the certain candidates both for legislative and executive. In politics studies there are two approaches in order to analyze voting behavior, namely (1) Columbia faction which applied sociological approach. According to this approach sex, social class, race, ethnic, religion, and ideology, or even hometown affect the voting behavior; (2) Michigan faction which is known as psychological approach. According to this approach quality personal of the candidate, government performance, issues developed by the candidate and loyalty to the party affect the voters. Besides, the voter value also affects the vote.

Several researches showed that there was a difference about voting behavior between the men and women. Women are more conservative in giving the vote than the men (Inglehart & Norris, 2000). Studlar, McAllister. & Hayes (1998) found that there was a big gap between 1964 until 1992 about women voters. It is stated that women voted Democratic Party 10% more than men. According to the researcher, the result of this observation showed that there were some differences considering the way to vote between men and women. The voting pattern between men and women is different because women tend to have different views in the certain issues such as poverty, gender equality, abortion, and death penalty (Studlar, et al, 1998). The complete explanation about gender equality must consider biological capacity, social environment of men and women, and interaction between biology

and culture. Four general perspectives about the origin of gender pattern are based on biological factor, socialization, social role, and social situation.

Biology

The gender equality is affected by biological factor. There are physical differences between the growth of muscles and height, it terms of baby sitting and breast feeding. Woman has ability in pregnancy and giving birth. Since the earlier time, woman naturally is considered to have a role and duty in managing household. While the man who has bigger and stronger muscle has the duty to hunt and fulfill the daily needs for family (Budiman, 1985). This classification has been developed since several centuries ago because it came from the structure of the society in every human culture (Bem, 1981).

Socialization

Social perspective focuses on the way of people to learn about gender and get the service based on the gender since they are in childhood. The most important idea here is the society has a different perspective and expectation to man and woman. For example, during the children growth the society learns the gender through strengthen and modeling process. According to socialization perspective, various social experiences from girls and boys will cause the gender discrimination in attitude, interest, expertise, and personality, even from time to time.

Social Role

Adult life is constructed based on various roles such as member of family, worker and member of society. The important thing is that there are so many important role defined differently for man and woman. In the working area, occupational role such as nurse, typist, and kindergarten or elementary school teacher is usually for woman, while sport teacher, medical, and engineer are for man. In the business organization, the woman job is often positioned as the lower status job. (E.Taylor, Shelley, et al. 2009)

Social traditional role affects woman and man behavior in several aspects. These differences make job differentiation based on gender. Woman must work at home doing housework while man must work to get some money in order to fulfill daily needs. Role also affects the expertise and interest appears in childhood and will be developed in adult. The effect of gender role based can be widened to another situation. The individual role is learned from family, religion, or even working experience, it is stated that men has higher status than woman. When somebody meets new comer, sex is used for recognizing the character. For example, man is often assumed as leader and woman as the follower (Eagly, 1987 in E.Taylor, Shelley, et all. 2009). According to social role theory, the differentiate behavior of man and woman can be happened because they have different social and status role in society. People usually adapt to the norms associated with specific role and good behavior. (E.Taylor, Shelley,et all. 2009).

In patriarchy system, it is still assumed that concept man and woman differentiation are based on biological fact, woman has lower status than man. Regarding to this matter, Mac Kinnon (1979) stated that "the biological sex difference has been both exaggerated and to justify different treatment". So, the role will only be focused on the behavior and characteristics of each sex. Farley (Bem, 1981) explained that the kind of role problems is one of society conditioning to the boys and girls, whereas the boys are learned to be independent, initiative, duty oriented, rational, and analytical, While the girls are learned to be sympathetic, non-competitive, dependent, and helpful. Those standards are continually used as the reference for the normal behavior. According to Mac Kinnon (1979), man role push them to be aggressive, strong, domineering, and also competitive in every aspects. On the other hand, social condition shows that woman tends to be softer and more passive and also follows what the man want.

Research about man and woman stereotype was conducted by Broverman dan Rosenkrantz (Deaux, 1984) resulted that there was warm and expressive for woman characteristics and competitive and rational were man characteristics. Based on the explanation about the difference between woman and man

characteristics, it can be concluded that there are several aspects that can be categorized into man and woman characteristics. Those are behavior and characteristics aspect. Feminine behavior aspect is kind of woman role such as managing household and children sitting, while feminine character aspects are warm, emotional, and passive. Masculine behavior aspect are active, aggressive, initiative, and able to fulfill the daily needs, while the character aspects are rational, competitive, dominant, independent, and full of confident. Regarding to the value and voting behavior it is interesting to know the reason of voter in order to choose the leader. Through this research, the researchers try to investigate the reason of voter to choose local government leader by using simulation especially for several things regarding to gender.

Research Method

This research involves 90 respondences consist of 30 students from Islamic State University in Malang (15 men and 15 women), 30 students from State University in Malang (15 men and 15 women), and also 30 students from Polytechnic in Malang (15 men and 15 women). To get the necessary data, scenario simulator which consists of a case about the governor's candidate election who has different gender and stronger vision and mission, in this case, respondences as voter are given some alternative answer such as vote for womencandidates, vote for men candidates or not vote at all. This simulator is divided into two parts, the first part is using subject identity and the second part contains the case. Each answer for the alternatives is required to give the reason, so some thoughts about researched phenomenom can be identified from some reason that respondeces given. Data analysis is using qualititative thematic descriptive analysis.

Research Result and Discussion

The variation result in the each group based on questionnaire and scenarion which is given to each reseach subject can be seen in this table:

Table 1
Selection distribution

NO	University	Gender	Vote for woman	Vote for man	Not choose at all
1	Islamic State University	Woman	2	11	2
		Man	1	13	1
2	State University	Woman	8	5	2
		Man	-	13	2
3	Polytechnic	Woman	1	14	-
		Man	-	12	3
Total			12	68	10
			90 orang		

From those research can be known generally that respondeces who decide to vote for male as the leader is 68 people or 75,56%, and who decide to vote for female as the leader is "only" 12 people or 13,33%. The abstain respondeces is 10 people or 11,11%. From the questionnaire can be known that voters behavour in vote for female or male is relatively equal, because although they have the different gender role but their understanding of the gender role concept between man and woman are the same.

That result also shows that women behaviour in vote has a tendency to vote for man as a leader. It is because women sure and believe that men are deserve and proper to be a leader, it can be seen from some respondences reason. Like it is said in *dalil Arrijalu Qawwamuna 'Alannisa* which considered as a guidance for muslim that men is "more" than women, so men is more suitable and proper to be a leader. In the other, they also believed in some reason that all *nabi* (prophet) are men and the succesfully in leading their *umatnya* (man) This alternative answers are given by PTAIN students. Beside of that, competence reason is also said by the respondenced that:

> "Dari segi fisik dan psikis pria lebih pantas dalam memimpin, contohnya : pria lebih terkontrol emosinya, sedangkan wanita memiliki masa-masa yang sullit untuk mengontrol emosi atau aspek perilaku (misalnya pada masa menstruasi"

"from physically and pshycologycal aspect, men are more suitable in leading a community, for the example: men have an ability to control their emotion, in the other side, women have some difficulties in control their emotion or behevior aspects (in menstruation condition"

There is something interesting about PTN students especially women, most of the respondences are from law faculty and they have a tendency to vote for women as a leader, with a reason that women are also have a strong ability as men have, women can get themselves and also become more sensitive to their society, it is because women rely on her feeling. Beside of that, the reason to vote for women also based on desire to reach gender equality, for example by saying *"Women should not be always positioned above the men".* Nevertheless, some of State University students also vote for men as a leader with a reason that men's competence is better than women.

It is different with respondenced fromPoltek students, onle one of them vote for women as a leader, and the others have a tendency to vote for men. Many of the respondences said that they choose men because considered for having a better cognitive ability, for the example a respondence said that:

"Pria lebih terlihat berwibawa dari pada perempuan, laki-laki juga cenderung lebih tegas dan menggunakan logika"

"Men are stronger and wiser than women. men also have a tendency to be more bearing and using logic"

The others vote for men because women are considered as not having an ability in controlling their emotion:

"Sebagai pemimpin diperlukan ketegasan dan control emosi, terdapat fakta bahwa wanita memilki sisi negatif, yakni control emosi yang kurang stabil (mudah terpengaruh situasi) dari situ dapat disimpulkan kekurangakurasian keputusan yang diambil".

"As a leader, strenght and controlling emotion are needed; there is a fact that women have negative side that is unsatble in controlling emtion (easier to be infulenced by the situation). From that reason can be concluded that there is a possibility in being inaccurate to make a decision".

The reasons that are said by the respondences in this research show that women are more conservtive than men in decide their choice (Inglehart & Norris, 2000). Except for some State Universities students especially women which is more progressive and brave in their choice. Value is an important point which influence respondences' choices. Bilksy & Schwartz (1996) said that value which is held by someone will be pictured from their choices in the socialization. Even Feather (1994) also said that value is related with justice that someone feel. As it is stated before that patriarchal gender roles' values have influenced individual point of view that men is more superior than women, especially in the public business. It can be seen that Islamic state university students have a tendency to prioritized religious value than the other respondences.

These values are gained from social structure of the society. In this research, the researchers, Ulfaizah (2006) conclude that social interaction of the society influential in the political participation of the society. That influence come from the interaction in the family, work field, social organization, religious figures who also play as political figure which will give some influences in the society's choices in the *pemilu*. The differences between men and women are also based on formation of the impression which is built by mass media Karakowsky & Siegel (1999). External factor dominancely influence political behaviour, especially in the determination of the voting behaviour.

Conclusion

From the result, it shows that there is no different tendency in the regional election. The voting reason is influenced by some society values. The influence of the background eduction is also take a part in influencing the values. Implication from this research is the uderstanding about voting behaviour and psychology factors ,which are underlying, is needed to understand the political behaviour. There is an special characteritics in Indonesia's political behavour which is related with gender. Indonesia's value related to gender role is also different. Patriarchal culture is dominant in

the society gender role. Nevertheless, scientifically this research still can be developed by seeing some socio-cultural differences, for the example city and village area. Political behaviour, especially which influenced students' choice, in this research, is more critical and absolutely different with villagers political behaviour which more depends on patron that they believe.

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GLOBALIZATION IN MOSLEM FASHION AS THE FORM OF NEO-COLONIALISM

Firly Annisa

Introduction

The magazine is a media that is often associated with lifestyle. In Indonesia, several magazines, such as the Paras and Perkawinan, make Moslem fashion as a part of the construction of lifestyle that can describe social class in society. Paras and Perkawinan are Moslem magazines published in Indonesia, which displays the values of acculturation of East and West displayed through the bridal fashion, but still using the label "Islamic". In media (magazine) "Islamic" refers to the East, while the modern refers to West. Here is an interesting case that shows how a magazine constructs a discourse about modern Indonesian Moslem women in order to become parts of what magazine calls as the modern and global, in which Eastern values and West Values "melt" through fashion[1].

Targeted consumers, Moslems, are another issue of interest when the body, identity, religion and culture are redefined in a given product brand. In Indonesia, the Moslem consumption is closely linked with the consequence of rapid globalization growing together with a total consumption of various products labeled Islamic. A discourse called modern Moslem is often offered as a trendy lifestyle choice. If connected with local values, Moslem dresses labeled "Islamic" cannot stop at the use value and exchange value, but it will be more than that. Globalization does not only have acculturation, but also "raises" local values into global values. Similarly, the global values can also be more "down" into local values because they are embraced and obeyed by the local people of a country.

The media and producers also use the forms of worship to God as a measure of loyalty to the Moslem community in religious ritual. Yet, another perspective can be used to observe how bridal fashion makes Moslems able to see the culture, especially what is

happening on the social, economic, political and postcolonial dimensions, as explained by Ania Loomba (2000:9) that "The new global order does not depend on direct rule since this new world order allows the penetration of the economics and culture (in varying degrees) though most of the country is politically against another country". Fashion displayed in the media can be used as a discourse indicating value, class, religion and ethnic / racial / ethnic specific in a society. Clothing and fashion can also communicate a message about the ideology, culture, resistance and form of post neo-colonization of a nation.

Indonesia's Islamic fashion boom is actually started to be presented when the media provide "space" more to Moslems to represent their representation in mass media. Moreover, it also relates closely to the fact that the capital owners can take profit more easily from media organization founded after the collapse of the Soeharto's regime. Thus, the existence of Islamic media started to flourish in the early 2000s. Islamic magazines for women in particular are even significant enough to compete with secular other woman magazines that had already existed in the map of magazine distribution. Alia, Noor, Paras, and Perkawinan are brands of Islamic woman magazines presented in the early 20th century. Paras magazine, published since 2002, competes with other woman magazines that have already been established in the distribution channels such as Femina and Kartini's.

Indonesian Moslem woman market actually reflects an "attack" constructed by the Moslem woman magazines acquiring the meaning of religion as a "sacred" and "clean". But at the same time, they actually try to manipulate by treating religion as a moneymaking machine, and bring a profit that cannot be separated from the commodity. Fumbled the issue of religion, Topics of both faith in God and Moslems discussing fashion appear on Islamic woman magazines in order to distinguish it from other secular woman magazines.

Thus, modern lifestyle constructed by Moslem woman magazines has always been touted for market segmentation. Though it is "westernized" stylish modern, it is still Shari's and Islamic as the promise in every Moslem woman magazines. It

means that both modern stylish and contemporary personality remain "Islam" into the themes that are always constructed by media with various representations of objects given as the sign for ready consumption.

Discussion
How Media redefine "Indonesia" and "Java"

If we analyze further, it will be known that how Moslem wedding dress represented in a magazine is always dominated with Java culture, and then generalized as the culture of Indonesia labeled as the East. It is what we call as a media construction. We known that Javanese has been "colonizing" the Indonesian people with various cultural dominance, that's why, it can also be viewed as part of neo-colonialism. New Order intervened in managing people, for example in a wedding procession, with the call as a "tradition" of the nation at least clearly illustrated in a book called Java by John Pamberton (2003:277) who states that "It is not too surprising that the marriage has become the center of attention of the New Order of "tradition". Outside of its colonial heritage as a unique scene to show the cultural identity of "Java", in Central Java the implementation (as in other places) shows the existence of such a domestication way as events that recognize the forces of procreation to domesticate them for the sake of social regeneration". It means that the dominance of Java in cultural discourse like "Adi Luhung" delivers Javanese hegemony over the other tribes in Indonesia. However, until now placing Java as the most represented tribes Indonesia is something that is difficult to deny this unconsciousness.

Therefore, when the media talk about bridal fashion with the title "When East Meet West", the Eastern representations that appear in the magazine is a fashion kebaya, which is a Javanese traditional clothes. It means that East Is East is a meaningful discourse in the Indonesian media since it actually does not refer to Java only? Kebaya which is known as the fashion tribe of Javanese represent Indonesia as a whole. Media become agents who create the legitimacy of the existence of Indonesian in a

Moslem fashion magazine though the representatives of the East in those fashion media actually refer to the primordial Java only. Java which I mean here refers to the tribal or ethnic geographically located in Indonesia which is also occupying the island of Java named. And, it also refers to the orientation of the dominance of tribal values as the "creation" of New Order in 1966-1998 led by Suharto.

As bridal fashion, the sense of images in the media can only be seen impartially since only certain tribes became a discourse representation of the media who posed as the East? Thus, what happens now is who colonizes whom? Java colonizes the entire tribe in Indonesia, except Java itself? As shown in figure 1 and 2 below. Media presents Java as a representation that the so-called East as well as friends from the West. Java, in this case, is symbolized with kebaya outfit which can be mixed with hijab, while the West is symbolized with bucket and veils.

Figure 1.
Image of female's bridal fashion

The ideological discourse of the media is very visible here. The dominance of the media itself can also be connected with the power relations that exist. As we know the dominance of the existence of both print and electronic media in Indonesia is concentrated in Java, especially in the circles of power located in the state capital of Jakarta. Centered power domination in Jakarta covering various lines of social life, economy, and politics has shown that the state wants much from the media to geographically plug its hegemony on.

Therefore, we can conclude that the rule of New Order for more than 30 years has affected how media construct the values of Java as an ideology. Similarly, according to Althusser in Durham and Kellner (2006:80), ideology may mean values that are believed by the state or the ruler as the status quo and can be "forced" through the Ideology of State Apparatus (ISA) and/or Repressive State Apparatus (RSA). Thus, the ISA delivered by President Soeharto is reflected on the history of a marriage procession as a sign of the authority establishing culture domination (Pamberton, 2003:2007), as a result, it is considered as "Almost natural, domesticated structure formed in such actions supporting a common form of domesticated Java constructed by New Order. This cultural domestication can always be recognized through such practices as examples of "traditional rituals" held by an Indonesian who is more "beautiful".

Moreover, through Gramsci called hegemony in Barker (2004:62), it is also known that " a historic bloc faction of the ruling class run social authority and leadership over subordinate classes through a combination of strength with the approval of" the media contributes to perpetuate power by participating in the process of hegemonic of the dominant ideology. Similarly, (re)production of representations of Java as the most modern tribe is considered as the great and deserved one to enjoy primordial in the media. Therefore the issue of race, ethnicity and tribalism in Indonesia itself is never really resolved because media centered on the island of Java will never be separated from the realm of power and influence of Javanese culture that always haunt the construction process of a message in it. Thus, there is a constant bias in media

that highlights certain tribes and will automatically close the representation of another tribe.

Global and Local Moslem Fashion

The media also often feature modern terminology, like West. In the Moslem fashion, the special issues addressing the question of bridal fashion, as shown in Figure 1, can explain how fashion refers to the so-called local and global. Media even can also show how local values can coexist and even merge into unitary fashion wedding dress mentioned part of global modernity.

A unitary system of symbols presented here can be understood as a discourse of the text presenting what the trend is and how it is regarded as a role model by Moslem woman magazine readers. As the discourse of fashion images in magazines, Paras bridal shows Javanese Moslem wedding dress. But, the magazine claims that there's something there that looks modern, namely the use of Veil, the long head cover complementing the presence of the headscarf as a cover of women's hair. The use of modern image term here is reinforced by the phrase:

> "The appeal of endless *kebaya* needs to be explored. Through a combination of typical traditional and modern fashion elements of this country, it will improve the look of your wedding Day. "

The mass media try to look the audience as a kind, similar logics. Globalization can be interpreted in a mass of individuals who have lost their self identity. Individuals stand up and move to follow the same patterns, unified by a massive culture of globalization. Although the mass consisted of individuals who come together, but they are actually "individuals without much individuality" (Appadurai, 1996). Therefore, the meaning of the mass itself focuses on the circumstances of the similar tendency in order to see how homogeneous the mass media is.

For example, Paras in its rubrics of globalization tries to manage fashion as a uniformity called modern Moslem bride who refers to contemporary values. Since globalization leads people to think, act, apply, and even look similarly, this uniformity can

be anything like the ideas, thoughts, and even cultural identity. Globalization is also often associated with the closest relationship to the (neo) colonialism and (neo) imperialism.

> The term globalization is often deployed as a cover concept for the new world economy, but as Herbert Schiller argues, its continuities with the old world system of market capitalism should not be ignored. In fact, globalization is a contested term with some identifying it with new forms of imperialism, and seeing it as predominantly negative, while others equate it with modernization and the proliferation of novel products, cultural forms, and identities" Durham dan Kellner (2006:xxxi).

If analyzed with the post-colonialism perspectives, further-more, it can also be known that the existence of bride dresses combined with western values is considered as the worship of the East towards the West claimed as the superior, grand and modern culture, as a result, the East must adapt western values in their Moslem bride fashion. In other hand, the processes of negotiation between global and local culture can also become a new spirit to create a new identity. It is aimed to make local culture becomes more modern and innovative, and can also be globally accepted because of following the trend of fashion. For instance, it can be seen in Paras magazine No. 50/V/November 2007 where there is an example of the modern fashion representation claimed as parts of negotiation process between religion-its hijab, "terms of traditional and *East*" due to the existence of kebaya, and terms of "modern-*West*" due to the existence of *Veil*, *bucket*, and long tail as the new accessory of kebaya.

The use of the titles in this article, moreover, also explains how the traditional values try to melt in the unity of fashion. It can be seen through the meaning of certain symbols arranged in language that represents the unity of purpose of the media. Thus the process of hybridity between "West" and "East" can clearly be seen how media try to melt those values into one. The terms of East and West used refers to what is called the Edward Said (1978) that the East refers to the countries located on the continent of Africa and Asia, while the West refers to the countries located on the continent of Europe and America. Similarly, Paras and

Perkawinan magazines in this case uses the term of "East" referring to the Indonesia (read: Javanese). However, it does not only reflect separation issue due to the geographical factors since it can also reflect the issues of culture and identity that can work in harmony as constructed by media. Therefore, that Paras and Perkawinan magazines are classified as Indonesian magazines affects how those media see the West and the East certainly from the perspective of the East where those media are geographically located.

As a result, in media we can see how local and global values melt into a new value that seems as a harmonious unity. Brides previously wore Moslem outfits dominated with Indonesian kebaya, and then they use a new concept of the wedding dress reflecting Western values. The "westernized" Moslem bride dress even became a trend at the end of 2007 when the Indonesian designers started using the ball gowns substituting the existence of batik fabrics in bridal fashion.

Indeed, Indonesian people have been exhausted with over 350 years of colonialism, but it unfortunately still affects the way Indonesian people think and act because of the existence of "dialogue" among them. However, no all Western values derived from the colonizers has still truly enjoyed in this nation since there is a gap to "negotiate" with Western powers since it is hard to deny. For instance, we can enjoy Telo or Kebumen Pizza Fried Chicken as parts of negotiation though at the same time we also celebrate the hegemony of the West.

The concepts of "colonize" and "colonizer" can actually be defined as how they look at each other. The colonizer will never really on the absolute control of the occupiers because there is still a gap that allows them to mutually learn from each other. There is even a likely relationship between East and West shown in those magazines as mutual "enjoyment". East meets to the locality of Indonesian-Javanese culture "lifted" and juxtaposed together with the West. The unity of clothing can then be accepted by the religion (Islam) with the spirit glocalization (refers to Globalisation and Localization). In the context of fashion, for instance, there are Western values are translated with a bucket of

flowers, veils usually used by the West when the bride married in church, or "tail" attached on kebaya.

Using the concept of Homi K. Mimicry Bhabha (1994) in view of Western values adapted by the Eastern, it can be known that the imitation process is not perfectly adapted in the Moslem fashion. It can be seen through how the veils, which are usually used to cover the bride's head and face in the West, turns into a hijab head covering. Meanwhile, bucket used shows that there is an entirely new section in the Javanese wedding procession inserted with the unity symbol of modernity taken from the western values. It also can be seen while western brides used the long "tail" on their ball gowns, Javanese or Indonesian brides try to imitate those symbols by substituting it with veil as the long tail on their dresses.

In other words, Moslem bride dress as a fashion that continues to grow in Indonesia comes in a unique design that is interesting to be analyzed with the post-colonial approach. As noted by Rowe and Scheeling (in Durham and Kellner, 2006:662), hybridity is "the Ways in which forms change from existing practices and recombine with new forms in new practices". Wedding dress designs displayed in Moslem Indonesia Islamic magazines show the existence of "dialogue" between the Western values and the Eastern ones. It indicates that there is a reciprocal relationship between the so-called "invaders" of the West and the "colonized" the East. And, the "Third space" allowing them to have a meeting place is mediated by the media, so media can be seen as the place where the existence of so-called Leela Gandhi (2001:175), communication, negotiation and subsequent translations is. Thus, it means that Moslem woman magazines are where the mediation of the eastern values and the western values in fashion takes place which then lead to the birth of a new identity. For instance, the concepts of Syar'i and Islamic have been inserted in "marriage" by Islamic woman magazines that could previously be almost unimaginable.

Figure 2.
Image of two female's bridal fashion

Figure 3.
One of bridal fashion images

In addition, how the media see what is called as traditional and modern things will greatly influence how the media produce the message of culture and fashion in the context of hybridity. For instance, it can be seen in the booklet, "Perkawinan" that presents the bride dresses. In 42 pages of fashion-page articles titled "The Glamour of East meets West", as seen in Picture 3 and 4, it is known that the acculturation occurs between the eastern values representing the traditional Indonesian culture and the western values representing the modern one.

Therefore, it may be concluded that how media reproduce and apply the terms of "East" and "West" in fashion media can be seen through how the tag line of Moslem bride given refers more to the traditional East and modern West. Local fashion designers also become agents who reproduce the values of global consumption that are full of flavor combined with the superior values between East and West as a form of hybridity. In my point of view, it is media creating and spreading western values as culture that must be accepted and imitated since fashion is a part of identity melting with hijab and then creating the new identity of high class. Moslem bridal fashion designers, moreover, also become perpetrators of it affecting the media to create a new culture as the reading and production of new identities. It means that the media has made Islamic values and western values be side by side with the eastern values (read: local) though they also give the restricted context of syari 'and Islamic. However, those restrictions still create a new concept of the East, namely Islam, which can easily be mediated through the rubrics of fashion magazines considered as the "third space" where it can meet the West which is identical with the religion outside of Islam.

End Note

[1] This terminology is used to explain the condition of imitating western values or the condition of pretending to be like western people, but the imitating process is not perfect enough, as a result, it still creates the gap between the reality and the imagination.

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FIGHTER/VICTIM:
Problem of Double Identity in the Struggle for Justice and Human Rights

Jiwon Suh

Introduction

"I don't agree with your statement that wives of the disappeared are those most suffered from conflicts… apparently, those who got disappeared suffered more!" (A Comment by a discussant at a session by titled "Human Right in Post Conflict States" in International Studies Association Annual convention in New Orleans 2010).

"I am a fighter [*pejuang*], and a victim too, because I spent six years in jail without reason… But I don't agree with them [human rights NGOs like KontraS] who say victims need to be protected, victims have rights. *Ibu*, *anak*, they are victims. However, A.M. Fatwa and I are warriors, not victims. But you can call me a victim…In fact, I feel a bit uncomfortable when I say I am a victim [*agak malu bilang korban*]. But my wife and children are clearly victims…" (Interview, April 29, 2010).

In this paper, I will explore the nature of political victimhood in the struggle pursuing justice (and reconciliation) on state-sponsored violence. In particular, I focus on the role of fighters-cum-victims, i.e. those who became victims of state violence *precisely because of* their political activities. The main argument here is that those fighters-cum-victims, those who fell under arbitrary abuses of state power because they were targeted by the state for some reason – therefore, no incidental causalities – can contribute to the struggle for justice in significant ways, if they overcome the problem of their double identity. Their contribution comes primarily from two sources: first, their former identity as a political "fighter," and second, their skills accumulated from the former activities. In the case study of activist kidnappings in 1997-1998 in Indonesia, it will be shown that these two related sources worked at different stages of struggle for justice.

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Before I proceed to the case study, some of conceptual and theoretical issues must be addressed. First of all, who are political victims, and what do I mean by political victimhood as an identity? In this paper, I define "political victims" as those sacrificed by or suffered from extraordinary political violence both in consequence and in intention, such as wars, internal armed conflicts, and arbitrary abuses of state power, directly or indirectly (Huyse, 2003). When one decides to shoot at protestors to torture political activists, it is hardly true that she or he cannot see the consequence of such actions. The term "extraordinary" distinguishes the situations in concern from normal practices of, for example, police abuses on petty criminals.

In her research of the role of the state in recognition of victimhood, Wilke asks whether victimhood is identity or status, and answers her question by exploring the dimension between subjective identities and objective recognition of victim status. "…the category of victimhood seems to veer between identity and status. Some people identify themselves as victims, and some people are recognized as victims. These categories of victimhood are overlapping but not congruent" (Wilke, 2007). Huyse uses the word "victim identification" in an administrative or legal sense, thus making it close to Wilke's "objective recognition of victim status." The difference between identity and status is indeed important, because some kinds of victims, such as dead victims and those who are not aware of their victimhood, cannot have victim identities.

However, contrary to Wilke, I do not use "victim identity" as a completely subjective dimension, a self-recognition of one's suffering from unjust violence: i.e., "a sense of injustice." It involves more than an awareness of injustice and suffering. It requires one to accept the meaning attached to the term by social and political contexts, as we can see from Mr.A's oscillation between identities as quoted in the beginning. Although he is well aware of his suffering and of an opinion that his suffering was unjust, he refuses to identify himself as a victim - because, according to his understanding, he does not see the meanings attached to "victims" in contemporary Indonesian society to be

fitting for himself. In other words, it requires a certain intersubjective dimension, because political victims are typically a member of victims' communities. For a victim identity to be socially meaningful, the subjective dimension must be supported by groups of the similars in the broadest sense.

The problem of double identity as a fighter and a victim comes from two dimensions, of martyrdom and of innocence. Typically, the former problem stems from one's hesitance to accept a "weak" self as a victim. The term "survivor" (penyintas) is a device to detach such connotation, but it is rarely used in everyday language. In contrary to a "strong" self as a fighter, courageously opposing the arbitrary power. Discussing the variously overlapped identities, Elster shows that those who have double identities as "resisters" and victims often refuses the latter one. He quotes a German Communist Paul Merker, who argued that Antifascist fighters cannot claim material compensation unlike victims of genocide, because the former made voluntary sacrifices. Instead, their compensation lay in "every successful battle and final victory and the erection of a democratic power" (Elster, 2004: 113).

In this line of argument, martyrdom – or heroism, to sarcastic eyes? – and victimhood are two incompatible categories. The fighters-cum-victims are clearly different from those who suffered because of racial or religious attributes they did not choose. They chose to fight, somehow expecting tragic consequences of such resistance to themselves. As Elster puts it, "Regimes that maintain themselves by violence are unlikely to abstain from using it against those who oppose them (Ibid).

If Mr. A and Merker silently establishes a hierarchy between strong and heroic martyrs and helpless victims, the problem of innocence reverses the order. The argument might go like this: the more innocent victims are, the more "legitimacy" they can claim in the struggles for justice. The impressive success by the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo in Argentina nationally and internationally, followed by the emergence of similar family organizations in every corner of the world, speaks for the power of innocent victims, especially the female family members of the direct victims. First of all, the suffering of innocent civilians who

have no political backgrounds, combined with their gender and identity as mothers, invokes strong sense of sympathy to the public. Moreover, the situation that mothers (or wives) shout for justice is likely to mean that the direct victims are not in a position to speak for themselves. They might be already dead or disappeared, thus putting their family members on the upper stratum of an implicit hierarchy of sufferings.

Does the problem of double identity disqualify the former fighters as an agent of struggles for justice? I believe not. Fighter/victims can contribute to such struggles with the doubleness of their identities. For sure, they do not need to be the sole agent of the struggles; they might be along with other types of actors, such as family members, advocacy NGOs, and other social forces. However, their double identities give them particular roles to play, roles not substitutable by other actors. In the following sections, I will show their identities and roles with the case study of activist kidnappings of 1997-1998 in Indonesia.

Activist kidnapping of 1997-1998: The Case in the Indonesian Context

The advocacy movements against grave "human rights abuses" by the state apparatuses have been active since the early 1990s, when the Santa Cruz massacre in Dili (November 1991) led to international uproar on the brutality of the Armed Forces. The writer calls state violence "human right abuses" thereafter, as contemporary Indonesian language puts it. Since then, cases of extrajudicial killings had been revealed by the social groups and often investigated by the Army itself or the newly established National Commission of Human Rights (Komnas-HAM). The advocacy activities and the official and semi-official measures on state violence in the 1990s were different from those in the post-reformasi period in several ways.

First, they dealt with contemporary abuses of human rights by a case-by-case approach, rather than on a comprehensive approach encompassing the decades of the authoritarian rule. The nature of the approach shows both the urgency to prevent further

abuses by the state and the circumscribed space for action given to defenders of human rights under the authoritarian New Order regime. Second, it is hard to say that there was a self-identified victims' movements as we have seen since the *reformasi*. The victims of publicized human rights abuses, such as the Liquisa killings in East Timor (1994), the Timika killings in West Irian (1995), and Nipah dam incident in Madura, East Java (1993) lived in the regions far off from the capital, Jakarta, and from one another, thus it was practically impossible for them to make coordinated actions to pressure the government for justice (see Human Right Watch Asia for the situation in the 1990s, 1994). For sure, there was a more important factor that the nature of regime deterred victims to form groups and make political demands. It was usually the specialized human rights national and international NGOs, as well as the religious authorities, who take up the role of demanding justice for human rights violations by the state.

The transitional period in 1998 saw a changed context for the activities against serious human rights abuses. What happened in Jakarta in May 1998 – the Trisakti shooting and the ensuing riot – left a deep scar on Indonesian society. These incidents might be called as "transitional" violence in that it triggered the regime transition and gained a heavy symbolic meaning in society. Along with the series of kidnapping of political activists in early 1998, these violent incidents ignited public anger over the repressive practices of the military. The three sets of cases – activist kidnappings, the Trisakti shooting, and the May riot – had characteristics different from the earlier incidents in the 1990s. They occurred in Jakarta – or, in the case of activist kidnappings, the victims and their families were free to move around compared to the villagers in the earlier period – and, in the newly opened political space of *reformasi*, they could organize themselves relatively free from fear.

For instance, an umbrella group of the May riot victims was organized with the help of a humanitarian NGO, *Tim Relawan untuk Kemanusiaa*n (TRK; Volunteer Team for Humanity) in the immediate aftermath of the incident (Thufail, 2007: 175). The IKOHI (Ikatan Keluarga Orang Hilang Indonesia; Association of Families

of Disappeared Persons), the organization of family members of disappearances, followed in September 1998. Now the IKOHI grew up to encompass the victims of major human rights abuses in Indonesia, and the *Paguyuban Mei* is also one of its communities. Another network of victims of human right abuses, the JSKK (Jaringan Solidaritas Korban untuk Keadilan-Network of Victims' Solidarity for Justice) includes a family member of the Semanggi incident. Now the victims' movements in Indonesia, working closely with NGO groups, is a visible part of the human rights scene. They form communities of victims, whose members range from the ex-*tapol*s in the 1960s, family members of the Tanjung Priok victims, and to more recent Semanggi shootings in 1998 and 1999.

It should be noted that the demands of struggles for justice in 1998 were not entirely different from those of the 1990s: resolving "contemporary abuses of human rights by a case-by-case approach." Neither the NGO activists nor the victims themselves had something like a comprehensive plan to develop victims' communities in the next ten years. Instead, their demands were thorough investigation and accountability measures as soon as possible. The time span between the incidents and achievement of such goals was not expected to be very long.

In the next twelve years, however, the dynamics of struggles was transformed. Although the cases went through some investigation and some accountability measures, the victims and their allies found such measures unsatisfactory. Once being organized, they did not simply give up their demands. Some individuals gave up their efforts, and perhaps others are now investing less in their activities. Still, such facts do not make this statement invalid. Comprehensive measures to resolve the past abuses, notably the Ad-hoc Human Rights Court and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, have been discussed, adopted officially, and implemented to a certain extent. To trace the case of activist kidnappings in 1997-1998 will shed light on the process of transformation, as well as on our question of double-identities of fighter/victims.

Chronology of the Events

The case of kidnappings [*penculikan paksa*], "missing persons" [*orang hilang*], or more formally enforced disappearances [*penghilangan (secara) paksa*] of political activists in 1997-1998 emerged publicly with the press reports on the kidnapping of the SMID [Solidaritas Mahasiswa Indonesia untuk Demokrasi] leader, Andi Arief, in late March, 1998. The activists themselves, especially those in the PRD (Partai Rakyat Demokratik)-SMID circle, had been already aware that some of their friends are "disappearing" in earlier months, and asked human rights activists for help such as sheltering at the office of YLBHI. On a separate occasion, Ibu Tuti Koto, mother of the disappeared person Yani Afri, contacted the legal aid agencies to find her son.

On their side, the human rights activists in the legal aid circle have been collecting data from the field on the abuses by the regime since the political crisis in 1996. They had a concern that the phenomena of "missing persons" in the Latin American style might be prevailing in Indonesia. The group of such human rights activists, KIP-HAM, transformed itself into KontraS (Komisi untuk Orang Hilang dan Korban Tindak Kekerasan; The Commission for "The Disappeared" and Victims of Violence) on March 20, 1998, with support of other existing legal aid-human rights organizations. Born in the last days of the Suharto regime, KontraS – also an acronym of contra-Suharto – continued public activities such as revelation of kidnappings using released victims' testimonies and demanding further investigation with families of those who have not come back yet. Separately from the KontraS, Pius Lustrilanang, a political activist who supported Megawati and Amien Rais, provided his testimonies to the public upon his release in April 1998, a month before the fall of Suharto, and played a similar role throughout the year.

Already being the center of public attention before the fall of Suharto, the case led to several investigation teams and accountability measures, repeating the "Santa Cruz" pattern of the early nineties (Media Indonesia, July 15, 1998; Suara Merdeka, July 15, 1998). On May 8, 1998, the internal fact-finding team of the armed

forces (TPF-ABRI), established by the commander Wiranto to make an inquiry into "missing persons," met Komnas-HAM to discuss the matter (Kompas, May 9, 1998). The TPF-ABRI continued to examine scores of people – both victims and soldiers – until mid-July, when they suddenly arrested seven soldiers of the Special Forces, Kopassus, as suspects (Jakarta Post, July 15, 1998; Media Indonesia, July 15, 1998).

On the next day, it was reported that "the seven suspects' testimony might lead to the interrogation of former Kopassus commanders" including Prabowo Subianto, although evidence was not made public as before and commander Wiranto soon corroborated on this (Jakarta Post, July 16, 1998). A body for internal disciplinary measures, the Military Honour Council (Dewan Kehormatan Perwira), was established in a month, leading to the quick recommendation that Prabowo and Muchdi PR should be subjected to administrative sanctions or brought to the military court (Kompas, August 15, 1998). Late in August, Prabowo was discharged from the military, while another two high-ranking officers, Muchdi PR and Chairawan, were demoted. The possibility of bringing them to the military court was never realized.

Instead, eleven low-ranking Kopassus members, who had been detained since July, were brought to the military court and sentenced to 12-22 months, variously. They were charged for kidnapping of nine activists who came back home, and no further information on the thirteen disappeared ones was revealed from the trials; in other words, they were far from "truth trials." Lately, the KontraS revealed that the convicted officers, who were supposed to be dishonorably discharged from the military, were actually promoted and still serving in the forces (KontraS, 2009: 71). In spite of all these, it can be appreciated that the activist kidnapping involved "naming and shaming" of the most high-ranking general.

The case was revived by the Komnas-HAM, when the independent official body established a team of study on the enforced disappearances (*Tim Pengkajian Penghilangan Orang secara Paksa*) on September 23, 2003, as a preliminary step to the legal process of bringing cases of gross human rights violations of the past to

the Ad-Hoc Human Rights Court (Buletin IKOHI, December 5, 2009). In early 2005, the case was once combined with the May riot in another study team, *Tim Penyelidik Penghilangan Orang secara Paksa Peristiwa Kerusuhan Mei 1998 dan Penculikan Aktivis oleh Tim Mawar* (TPOSP), but later it was decided to form the follow-up inquiry team exclusively on the kidnapping case. The inquiry team was active from October 2005 to March 2006; on November 18, 2006, the plenary session of the Komnas-HAM decided that there are indications of elements of gross human rights violations, thus submitting the case to the Attorney General's Office (AGO).

On February 27, 2007, the DPR established a special committee on the case, as a step to proceed to the Human Rights Court. The DPR recommendation of the establishment of an ad-hoc court is a necessary procedure applied to cases going back to the era before the Law on Human Rights Court, which was enacted in November 2000. The position of KontraS and IKOHI, however, was that the DPR does not need to form a special committee for that matter. Instead, the Parliament should bring such recommendation somehow automatically to the President.

After two years, before the end of the term of DPR 2004-2009, the special committee submitted four points of recommendations to the General Session on September 28, 2009, which was approved by the Session. Although the recommendations have not been followed-up since then, the decision of the Parliament on the activist kidnapping was exceptional, because no other cases have reached the step so far, save the post-referendum violence in East Timor (1999) and the Tanjung Priok shooting (1984), which were handled as a sort of package as a response to the international pressure on East Timor. The DPR had a similar special committee on the Trisakti and Semanggi shootings, but it was not exactly the procedure stipulated in the Law on Human Rights Court. The DPR move *preceded* the pro-justicia investigation of the Komnas-HAM, not *followed* it. Moreover, the DPR decided the incidents were "ordinary" human rights violations, rather than gross human rights violations.

The Role of Fighter/Victims:
(1) Public Testimonies

What made the activist kidnappings one of the most high-profile cases among the numerous human rights abuses by the regime? A number of factors possibly contributed to the public attention and the ensuing discharge of high-ranking officers; the increased public attention to human rights issues in the transitional period in general, the willingness of the army leadership to show that the military is serious about the human rights issues, the quick response of human rights activists and their skills of data-collecting, public relations, and coordinating actions of victims and their family members and also internal rivalry might have influenced the process. In this section, I argue that the courageous testimonies of those victims who came back from the cell were crucial in raising the profile of the case.

The importance of Pius's testimonies in terms of timing was already mentioned in the section above. Having come out in April when Suharto was still in power, his testimonies made the human rights abuses one of the important issues of the reformasi movement. It should also be remembered that the fact-finding mission of the military was established before Suharto's fall, possibly to counter the public anger in the sensitive political situation. After the meeting with the press and the Komnas-HAM, he fled to overseas and provided public testimonies to the international audience, until he came back to Jakarta in July 1998, filling the newspaper pages again. In addition, his detailed information on the situation in the cell helped establishing the link between the kidnappings in 1998 and earlier "disappearances" in the previous year.

Other victims lined up to provide public testimonies. On June 4, Rahardjo Waluyo Jati held a press conference at KontraS, offering description of torture and interrogation, such as being forced to sleep on ice (Kompas, June 15, 1998). The next week, three student activists who were kidnapped together – Aan Rusdianto, Mugianto and Nezar Patria – followed Jati in a testimony at YLBHI office (Media Indonesia, June 9, 1998; Merdeka, June 9, 1998). Later in

the same month, another student activist, Faisol Reza, who was kidnapped gave public testimony to the journalists as well, describing severe beating he was subjected to (Jawa Pos, June 27, 28, 29, 1998). The series of public testimonies by these student activists seem to have contributed to the intensified inquiry into the case by the fact-finding team of the military in the following month, leading to the DKP and the military trial. Their testimonies also provided information on persons who are still missing; the evidence collected by the congruent testimonies from multiple sources might be one of the reasons why the case is now ranked first in the waiting list of human rights trials on the past abuses.

To fully appraise the weight of these public testimonies, it should be remembered that these activists were young, mostly in their 20s, and the trauma from torture was still fresh in their mind. In addition, the torturers threatened them to not reveal the details of information. The military and police in Indonesia are still strong, and it was even more so in June 1998. There was no guarantee that they would be free from repeated harassment. In fact, the three student activists who testified together said they were not ready to give the details for such reasons, and they had full rights to do that. Even without the details of brutality, their very presence in the public scene was crucial in putting the military under pressure with increased public attention to the case. Unless their identity as fighters encouraged and motivated them to participate in testimonies inside and outside the country such as Mugiyanto in Geneva 1998 among others, Rahardjo Waluya Jati in Hong Kong 1999 and Nezar Patria in Australia 2000 also campaigned outside the country by revealing the case to the international audience, along with parents of the disappeared, in a move to reveal the injustice, to discredit the regime, and last but not least, to find clues on whereabouts of their comrades by further pressing the government.

The victims were not alone in these moves. Other human rights activists coordinated the schedule of the press conferences, accompanied them, offering the analysis of the events in terms of international human rights norms, etc. Also, family members of the disappeared activists were very vocal in demanding thorough

investigation of the kidnapping. Perhaps the parents who are looking for their missing children might have been more "successful" in terms of "public relations," for the same reason why Argentine mothers impressed the world in the first place. However, another function of the testimonies, providing evidence, cannot be substituted by parents or human rights lawyers. For sure, the nature of the incident, and the very fact that victims themselves were back alive, was an advantage in this measure, contrary to shootings, for example. Still, a quick comparison with a series of incident which occurred in the same period, the gang rape of ethnic Chinese women during the May riot, shows us the value of the testimonies by these victims. Looking into the rape cases, the investigators and journalists had come across difficulties in every step of the process to recruit witnesses. Even medical doctors who were asked to testify as expert witnesses refused, apparently not willing to take the risk (Tempo, October 6, 1998).

(2) Facilitating "Victims' Movements"

The backgrounds of the nine kidnapped victims as political activists were conducive to their roles in public testimonies in 1998. It also meant, however, that they had other political agenda and consideration of their careers. For several years, all nine victims continued their political activities following to their backgrounds before kidnapping and the changing political situations, and some of them are still active in established political parties such as the Partai Demokrat (PD; Democratic Party) and Gerindra, "Prabowo's party." On the other hand, at some points, others began to cultivate their careers as human rights activists, thus facilitating victims' movements in Indonesia.

One of them is Mugiyanto, now a chair of the IKOHI for three consecutive terms. IKOHI was officially formed in September 1998, at the height of the advocacy for the activist kidnapping case by the KontraS and victims' families. Pak Rahardjo Utomo, father of Petrus Bima Anugerah, the kidnapped SMID activist who has not come back since the kidnapping, was the first chair of the IKOHI. Visiting conferences of the United Nations Working Group on

Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances and Asian Federation Against Involuntary Disappearances by Pak Utomo and Mugiyanto was one of the earliest activities. In the earlier period, however, IKOHI did not have independent resources and depended on KontraS for that matter, until Mugiyanto volunteered to work as a full-time staff for the IKOHI in 2001 (Personal Communication, March 24, 2010).

The first Congress of the IKOHI was held in 2002, followed by two more nation-wide meeings in 2006 and 2009. Now the IKOHI transformed itself into a federation with member organizations in provinces such as Aceh and Sulawesi. The organization now covers not only the activist kidnappings in 1997-1998, but also various cases such as the May riot in 1998, Tanjung Priok killings in 1984, and illegal detention of alleged Communists in the aftermath of the 1965 incident. It has its own programs, such as psychosocial help to traumatized victims, and independent resources including full-time staffs as well. A family member of one of the disappeared on September 12, 1984, the night of Tanjung Priok shooting, is a public secretary of the IKOHI.

There are other organizations working for victim empowerment and organization, such as the JSKK in Jakarta and the Syarikat network covering victims of the 1965 incident. The human rights NGOs working on human rights and transitional justice issues, such as KontraS and ELSAM (Institute for Policy Research and Advocacy), have also made attempts to listen to victims' perspectives, represent their voices, etc (For ELSAM, see Fadjar, 2007). Still, the role of IKOHI as a bridge of various groups of victims is crucial in encouraging victims to speak for themselves and to keep their eyes on resolving the past tragedies, in particular in this period many of the NGOs moved their major focus to current issues not directly related to transitional justice issues.

The development of the IKOHI would have not been possible without the efforts to promoting the organization to represent victims of violence. As the resource mobilization theory puts, grievances do not create social movements in themselves. The role of committed entrepreneurs who mobilize resources, both tangible (money and facilities) and intangible (organizational skills, legal

skills, etc.) ones is equally central and even necessary in initiating and sustaining social movements (Jenkins, 1983). A number of victims and their families without activist backgrounds beforehand is now a fighter in their own rights, with great willingness to resolve their cases. In terms of mobilizing resources, however, victims with activist backgrounds are in a better position. They already learned how to organize people and to plan protests from their experiences as student, labor, and party activists; compared to the elderly and/or poor victims of violence, they also have better office-work-related skills such as applying for funding, managing documents and cultivating international networks. Therefore, they are in a good position to develop and sustain victims' movement. Mugiyanto is not alone in transformation from a fighter/victim into a survivor/fighter. Aan Rusdianto, another victim of kidnapping, has been active in IKOHI and People's Empowerment Consortium (PEC), an NGO dedicated to transitional justice with a focus on the 1965 incident. Rahardja Waluyo Jati, another kidnapped activist, is now a director of the Voice of Human Rights media; he was active in developing IKOHI too, as well as a few other activists from the PRD/SMID circle.

In turn, such efforts might have not been possible without the process of getting the new identity as victims of human rights abuses on the kidnapped activists' side. The members of the PRD and the SMID were "classic" radicals, interested in organizing the workers, peasants, the urban poor, etc. They did not have knowledge on human rights issues before the incident, and the reason why they approached human rights workers were for survival in the first place. However, in the process of interaction with human rights workers such as Munir and continued struggles for justice, they came to have a new frame to interpret what happened to them – "enforced disappearances" as the international human rights law defines – and new identity as a victim, or more correctly a proud survivor, of violence. Combined with comradeship to kidnapped victims who are still missing and sympathy to their parents who now became fighters themselves, this new identity enabled their active engagement in human rights advocacy and empowerment of victims.

Recently, in the last week of September this year, family members of the disappeared activists, along with activists from IKOHI and KontraS, waged demonstration across the street from Presidential Palace in Central Jakarta, to demand a meeting with the President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and fulfillment of the DPR recommendations from 2009, in particular finding out whereabouts of thirteen missing persons (Kompas, September 27, 2010). Before using the tent for the planned overnight stay, right after the sunset, more than thirty activists were arrested by the police. In the meeting with the representative from the Presidential police, Ibu Tuti Koto, mother of Yani Afri who has been missing since 1997, said she was "behind the scenes" (Personal Communication, September 29, 2010).

The demonstration was followed by the birthday ceremony of IKOHI, where families of the disappeared, NGO activists and the chairman of Komnas-HAM discussed further strategies to make a progress on the kidnapping case, in the presence of victims from various groups. The achievement on the issue has been far from being successful. The thirteen missing activists have not come back, no further information has been provided by the authorities, and the state has not officially acknowledged the wrongs. Having developed into sustained victims' movements in a way not expected in 1998, IKOHI and its allies are still struggling to reach the goal of justice.

Conclusion

In this paper, I explored the question of political victimhood by posing a problem of double identity derived from commonly used propositions. One is the problem of martyrdom, a tendency to underline the heroic nature of victims who had had "fighter" backgrounds before. The fighter/victims resisted the arbitrary regime in spite of their implicit or explicit awareness that consequences of their actions might lead to sacrifice of themselves. Moreover, the connotation attached to such "fighters" means they are strong figures, not helpless victims. Victim identity is for somebody else, who lost their lives or other precious things without such strongmindedness; their victimhood must be denied.

The second problem, problem of innocence, is the other side of the coin. Innocent civilians are the priority of protection. Sympathies are easily given to families of victims, most frequently female ones, rather than to youths who actually attempted to overthrow the regime. The backgrounds of victims, as well as the nature of the incident, matter to the studies of victimhood. While what I am arguing is not that victims with "fighter" backgrounds are any more or less important than other victims in any sense, I maintain that exploring the problem of potentially conflicting identities – or more generally, different types of victimhood – is crucial in understanding the process of transitional justice. The beginning of transitional justice mechanisms as we know today was exactly about missing activists, potential dangers to the regime, in Latin America.

The case of activist kidnappings in 1997-1998 was a break-through of human rights advocacy, along with other incidents of "transitional violence" in 1998. The timing of public disclosure, April 1998, was excellent, leading the way to discrediting the regime and the military. The major actors in this early period includes the KontraS, now a leading NGO in the field, which began as a coalition of NGOs to resolve the disappearances, and families of missing persons, who devoted themselves to finding whereabouts of their loved ones. The role of direct victims who came back from the cells was no less important, because they courageously testified to the public about their agonies, in spite of ongoing trauma and possiblity of recurring dangers.

I argue that their identity as political activists was important in this decision, because it provided them motives to testify, such as political agenda against the regime and the military and loyalty to their missing friends. In the following years, some of them have facilitated the development of victims' movements with their transformed identities as victims and, at the same time, fighters for human rights, as well as their skills taken over from former political activities. They could successfully fashion the new identity as survivor/activists with the help of the universal frame of human rights. Further examination on the process of fashioning their new identity may lead to interesting new questions on political victimhood.

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PERFORMING QASIDAH, TRANSFORMING NATION:
The Institutionalization of Islamic Music, its Dynamic Development, and the Implications for Gender in Indonesia

Latifah

Introduction

As Wallach (2008: 4) emphasized, popular culture, particularly popular music, can be a significant arena of cultural struggle. An enormous amount of inequity in social structure, such as that relating to class and gender, can therefore be traced in studies of popular music. Wallach (2008: 5) cites Richard Middleton, who argues that the social structure is implanted in music because the genre of music itself consists of "the regulation of vocabulary, types of syntactic unit, formal organization, characteristic themes, modes of address (who speaks to whom and after what fashion), and structures of feeling".

If we see popular culture – music, art, film etc — as the expression of the attitudes and experience of ordinary people, then Huntington (1996: 91) argues that it can provide an informal perspective on the world. He further suggests that structures of power can be revealed in music as a cultural form since "culture almost always follows power". In other words, music exposes social constructions embedded in cultural practices, including social structure. Certainly, it is a fallacy of deterministic Marxism to consider that a structure of relations will automatically determine people's actions; as Connell (2007: 55) emphasized, any structure of relations definitely characterizes "possibilities and consequences". As a result, popular culture has been an arena of contestation of forces in forming local identities, including gender identity.

In regard to Elizabeth Wilson's argument (1987), as quoted by Connell (2007: 66), popular culture is a site of gender arrangement through the use of gender symbolism. It constructs what are considered appropriate and inappropriate behaviors according

to the priorities of the gender regime, including those shaped by religion. This is particularly relevant to Indonesia, where music is seen as an appropriate way of teaching and promoting the values and expectations for the *ummat*, the Muslim community. In this context, religious music performances represent the interconnection of religion, arts, and gender although there are different levels of bonding among them.

Deeper relationships among gender and performing arts are seen in *qasidah* because of Islamic views on arts and gender; for example a *hadith* transmitted by the 10th century scholar Ath Thabari states that it is not permissible to teach women to sing (Omar, 1964: 13). On the other hand, another *hadith* allows singing and dancing, under certain circumstances, not only exclusively among male or female, but also among female and male (Omar, 1960: 30). This research attempts to answer the following questions: How does the gender content of *qasidah* relate to Islamic attitudes towards the performing arts? How are women represented in *qasidah* performance? How does the audience respond to gender relations as revealed in *qasidah*, both in performance and the lyrical texts?

This study has a significant meaning in Southeast Asian studies for three reasons: (1) Considering Indonesia's status as a predominantly Muslim country, the study of Indonesian Islamic popular culture will encourage an awareness of the divergence of Islam throughout the world and counter a single, Middle-East centered image of Islam; (2) assessment of Islamic popular culture in Indonesia is needed to obtain a deeper perceptive about religious resurgence which has been a global phenomenon since the 1970s. As a hybrid culture, *qasidah* can be regarded as an effort to negotiate the global religious order which exerts such influence on gender relationships. In this sense, the study will give particular attention to the emic perspective of believers, which represent their ideas of a pious life and their daily practices as individuals and as members of a religious community; (3) By looking closely at the dynamic of individual and community involved in religious movements through Islamic popular culture and its set of connections with national politics, this research will contribute signifi-

cantly to the development of a history of Southeast Asia by encouraging comparisons about the relationship between religious music, state goals and social change.

Scope and Methods

It is difficult to provide a single definition of *qasidah* since every area in Indonesia has its own variation. However, Bambang Hambali, the current chief of Lasqi (Lembaga Seni *Qasidah* Indonesia) DKI Jaya (the Greater Jakarta Special Capital region) branch provides an explanation about the origin of *qasidah*, which he views as a type of *rebana* performance rooted in Betawi (a sub-culture specifically associated with Jakarta) culture. Based on his information, *qasidah* is a subordinate of *rebana* types. Actually, *rebana* refers to a percussion instrument, a single headed drum with a drumhead made of goat hide (*membranophon*). There is also a *rebana* with metal discs called a tambourine. Usually there are different sizes of *rebana* in a group (from the smallest to the largest —*rebana ketimpring, rebana hadroh, rebana maukhid, rebana burdah, and rebana biang*) which thus create a combination of sounds when they are hit one after another. Sometimes the differentiation of *rebana* shapes can be related to the content and function of performance, for example *rebana ketimpring* or *kerincingan* which is composed of three side of metal discs and drumhead with diameter 20-30 cm. *Rebana ketimpring* is called *rebana ngarak* when performed in wedding ceremonies to accompany songs taken from special texts known as "diba" or "diwan hadroh". In addition, it is called *rebana maulid* when used to accompany songs about Prophet Muhammad's life history taken from the text "Syaraful Anam" (The Birth of the Pride of All Creatures).

Figure 4.
A set of *Rebana*

Moreover, *rebana* differentiation also implies various styles of performance, which are sometimes related to gender, for example the larger *rebana* are usually played by men. *Qasidah* has developed from *Rebana Dor* and it has become the most popular form of *rebana* because of the attractiveness and dynamism of its performance. Unlike other kinds of *rebana* that are played only by males, it is also played by females, which one respondent noted is considered more appealing to audiences. Female *qasidah* performances can also be considered more interesting since the small and medium size of *rebana* women use enable them to move more freely in a particular configuration.

Figure 5.
Bass *rebana hadrah* played by men who sit cross –legged,
considered appropriate for males

However, *qasidah* singing is not merely accompanied by *rebana*. In modern types of *qasidah*, it is also accompanied by some other instruments such as guitars, violins, and keyboards even though it is *ikhtilaf* (there is no agreement about the issue among Islamic scholars). This paper will therefore include both types of *qasidah*, the modern and traditional. Although *rebana*, which is also called *terbang*, is used in Seni Shalawatan Katolik, Catholic Praising Performing Arts, in Yogyakarta, the Catholic use of *Rebana* will be excluded from this discussion. There is no difference between the instruments in Muslim and Catholic praise songs, but the difference lies in the lyrics, for instance, the Catholics would praise Jesus and Mary, and the rhythm is slower and softer (http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2008/12/25/00473021).

The qualitative research was conducted by gathering data, both primary and secondary data. The primary data was collected by interviewing several figures who were involved in *qasidah* for years as a leader, trainer, or player. Besides field research, interviews were primarily carried out by long distance telephone calls. In addition, performance data was taken from recordings of performances displayed in Youtube.com (ethnography approach of internet) and documents of Lasqi (Lembaga Seni *Qasidah* Indonesia). Lasqi was established in the 1970s by DR. H. Tutty Alawiyah AS, who had helped popularize *qasidah* since 1963 via women's religious meetings, and subsequently radio and televi-

sion. From 1972 during the New Order, Lasqi worked together with Musabaqah Tilawatil Quran (MTQ), the state organization for sponsoring the recitation of the Qur'an (http://www.tokoh-indonesia.com/ensiklopedi/t/tutty-alawiyah/index.shtml).

The secondary data was gathered by collecting *qasidah* representations in books and mass media. Finally, the research was shaped by feminist content analysis, in which I examine cultural texts: lyrics and performances of *qasidah*, as a cultural artifact (Reinharz, 1992: 144-163). My positionality is also important in this study, since I was a *qasidah* player in secondary school, but not a professional performer. Another important personal experience which influences my reflection on *qasidah* is my family's close connection with *qasidah* since my mother was a leader of the Nurul Makmur *qasidah* group and my father was a leader of the regional organization of *qasidah*, Lasqi Depok Branch, for about two decades, 1980-2000s.

The discussion will be developed by looking at three layers of *qasidah* as a performing art. The first is the narrative level, which consists of an analytical view of gender issues based on the lyrics of *qasidah* songs. The second is the act of performance and performance protocol, including the regulation of onstage behavior and performance, according to *syariah*. In addition, the persona of the performer will be discussed. The last is the response of audiences as seen in their commentaries on *qasidah* performances in Youtube.com and interviews. In addition, the evaluation of audience responses is conducted by linking it to other cultural texts, inter-textually, both in terms of continuities and changes.

The History of *Qasidah*

The significance of popular culture, in this case popular music, in the construction of a gender regime is supported by Prabasmoro's (2006) analysis of the representation of sex and female sexuality in the contemporary global culture. Prabosmoro argued that popular culture, as part of a myth, contributes to the construction and control of women's sexuality by turning something that is cultural and historic into something "natural". As mentioned

previously, the nature of genre music is influenced by its gendered location. The nature of a musical genre is much more influenced by the history of music in its social context.

The history of Islamic music can be traced back by reference to Al Farabi's (950 CE) theory in *al-Musiqa al-Kabir,* as mentioned by Poetra (2004: 49-50). Since the time of the Prophet Muhammad (622 CE), Islam has been enriched by many songs praising God and his messenger (Rasul). One of oldest *nasyd* is "Shalawat Badar," which was performed by the Anshar (i.e. the helpers or converts from Medina) group in company with a *rebana* ensemble to welcome Muhammad and his companions to Medina at the time of the *hijra* (emigration from Mecca to Medina). Farabi categorized the Arabic religious and spiritually praising song as *nasyd* (Poetra, 2004: 49). Furthermore, Barendregt (2006: 10) explains the root of *nasyid* as the Arabic word *annasyi*, which means "(singer of) a religious song". However, along with its development in Arabic society, *nasyd* functions have been extended to include songs for various events, such as harvesting or war, not only the praise of God.

As Islam spread in Indonesia, praise songs started to appear in 13th CE through contacts with the Middle East (Putra, 2004: 51) As it was acculturated, Islamic music had a great role in the Islamic mission, for example, the legendary Walis of Java—Sunan Giri, Sunan Ampel, and Sunan Bonang used gamelan and local symbols in their missionizing (Spiller, 2004: 58). In the era of sovereign kingdoms, the court became the center of Islamic music, but in the years after the proclamation of independence in 1945, the center of Islamic music moved from the mosque and *pesantren* to urban sites. The nature of this transmission is debatable, but it has been argued that in the modern era of Indonesian independence and especially after the alleged communist coup of 1965 people were hungry for religious teaching, which the state used as a buffer against 'evil' communism. Religious education, supported by the state, along with religious arts, was also encouraged both inside and outside the state's bureaucratic and educational institutions. Indeed, religious education has long been a part of Indonesian culture and consciousness, since religion is embedded in Indone-

sian's culture and in the movement for independence (Mujib-burahman, 2006). Nonetheless, it was actually under the New Order regime (1965-98) that *qasidah* was introduced as Indonesian Islamic art to the whole bureaucracy and was initiated and nurtured in the state's educational institutions.

Islamic music functions as a means of proselytism or mission (*dakwah*) in increasing people's faith through entertainment. Moreover, it also has a purpose of strengthening the spirit to fight the 'enemy,' as indicated by *shalawat Badar*. After Indonesia attained independence (1950s), Islamic music functioned as an expression of gratitude by people to God for the blessing of freedom. In this period, we see the spread of *gambus*, which used percussions-particularly *rebana*- as well as stringed, wind instrument, violin, and accordion. The center was no longer merely the mosque, but also schools and houses.

Islamic music still continued to grow in the New Order Era (1965-1998). Based on Poetra, this relates to the difficult economy and social situation. Some prominent figures in that period are Rafiqoh Darto Wahab, Nanang Qosim, Juariah, and orkes gambus El-Fata, who became well-known through television, radio and the distribution of cheap cassettes. Simultaneously, however, the more westernized and modern environment of urban areas seems to have contributed at least indirectly to a decline of Islamic music. By contrast, Islamic music continued to flourish in the countryside where the people were marginalized by development programs. Thus, Islamic music, particularly *qasidah*, has been identified as low class music, similar to the case of *dangdut*. Prominent Indonesian music groups such as Bimbo which was well known for its popular music, were looked down on when they began to perform *qasidah* (Sumarsono, 1998: 21).

Bimbo was already identified as a phenomenon of social transformation in Indonesian Islamic society. Originally Bimbo was not a *qasidah* group, but it developed in this direction following Islamic resurgence in Bandung in the 1970s and was particularly popular among youth (Rosyad, 1995). As quoted by Sumarsono, Fachry Ali commented on the social mobility of Indonesian Islamic society in that period. Islamic society, rooted

in the village, tried to cross the line by establishing an urban orientation through changing instruments, choice of music, and overall presentation. With this social transformation, Bimbo progressed by performing an urban sense of music (pop) with rural musical style. Bimbo became an identity symbol of the social integration of *santri* (religious class of society), whose roots are in the village, as they moved into urban settings.

Salam and Budi (2005) observed that the hierarchy concept in art between modern (city) and traditional (village) was eliminated in the early 2000s since dangdut and *nasyid* (popularized by Malaysian Islamic accapela groups) successfully penetrated the city market. Barendregt (2006) argues that the success of *nasyid* as a new style of Islamic popular culture was partly because they imitate western appearance, particular the style of boy-band music which emphasize the visual outlook and its "fandom,"[1] the building of fans through popular competitions in the mode of "American Idol".

Figure 6.
Urban Image of Bimbo's cover 80s to 2000s

However, the "westernized" Islamic popular culture of *nasyid* does not mean the loss of Islamic norms regarding performance.

As Barendregt observed, female groups are still a minority in the growth of *nasyid*, in contrast to *qasidah* since the tradition of *nasyid* has tended to regard the female voice as *aurat* (part of body that is forbidden to expose to people outside of the family because it is assumed it can encourage sexual desire).

Research by Browne (2000) and Weintraub (2010) analyses the role of *dangdut* in gender construction. In reference to previous studies of Dangdut by Pioquinto (1993; 1995), Browne questioned whether *dangdut* performances have the power to challenge or to strengthen gender construction. Regarding female sexuality in the stage, Browne also discussed whether the *dangdut* singer represents the emancipation or the exploitation of women. Heryanto (2008: 10) analyses the phenomenon of Inul Daratista, a villager who gained the spotlight in a relatively short time and triggered considerable controversy because of her "sensational" performances, as an expression of political contestation of pop culture. This issue is linked to the concept of social embodiment as Connell (2007: 47) mentioned that the body can simultaneously be regarded as a "canvas", an object and agent of social practice.

As mentioned before, the influence from the Middle East meant that both *qasidah* and *gambus* were commonly identified as Islamic music. However, Berg made a contrast between *gambus* and *qasidah*. The difference was mainly located in their function. She argues that, unlike *qasidah*, the main function of modern *gambus* is not *dakwah*, but entertainment and social function. Even though *gambus* lyrics often include Arabic, they do not mainly function as a medium for worshipping God because of the secular content of the songs. Berg's distinction between *qasidah* and *gambus* also highlighted the main character of *qasidah* as "musik dakwah Islami." Berg formulates the relationship of music and dakwah as follows:

> *Dakwah* is the act of teaching about Islam and it is a powerful and legitimizing word in Islamic communities as performing *dakwah* is considered to be an act of worship to God. The text and religious message, or *dakwah*, are what make these musical styles powerful and important in popular music expression in Indonesian as well as make these musical styles important players in the commercial Indonesian music industry (Berg, 2007: 526).

Beside the messages of the song, the performance also becomes a significant characteristic of *qasidah* as written in *Ummat,* February 19, 1996, as cited by Sumarsono (1998: 20) . *Qasidah,* it is said, is "a kind of religious music which is performed respectfully and quietly so the audience will be able to find themselves in a calm mental space". That notion of *qasidah* was particularly directed to the legendary *qasidah* group, Bimbo. For the purpose of touching people's hearts, Bimbo challenged the convention of the *qasidah,* which at that time was performed by Arabic songs accompanied by *rebana*. Bimbo was criticized because they used the piano, which is identified as a non-Islamic instrument by some Muslim leaders, who reject such use. However, many modern *Qasidah* groups (commonly known as Qasidah gambus or Orkes Melayu [Malay Orchestra]), such as Nasyida Ria of Semarang (founded in 1970s), Nida Ria, and etcetera, had previously used those modern instruments. More importantly, Bimbo's effort to create and urban image of *qasidah* can be related to the spirit of Islamic resurgence among urban dwellers in the 1980s as Huntington pointed out (1996: 101): " … the religious revival is an urban phenomenon and appeals to people who are modern-oriented, well-educated, and pursue careers in the professions, government, and commerce."

Rahmat (2005: 82) describes various expressions of Islamic resurgence: implementing Islamic law, replacing western law products, Arabic language and symbolic usage, the broadening of Islamic education, practicing Islamic teaching related to social behavior, the emergence of religious activities, opposition by Islamic groups to secular government, and the development of Muslim solidarity among Muslim society and Muslim countries. On the one hand, the Islamic resurgence provided a favorable atmosphere for *qasidah* to become more popular at various social levels. On the other hand, it also tightened the regulations for performing, particularly for females. Moreover, in the spirit of Islamic resurgence, in the New Order Era, religion and state collaborated to emphasize a patriarchal perspective on gender and sexuality, such as reinforcing female domesticity (Heryanto, 2008: 39; Robinson, 2009: 68). Despite this fact, as Effendy (2008:

24) argued, the relation between *fatwa* (policy made by religious authority) and female performers is not uncontested. Female performers actively built strategies as negotiation efforts in a manner familiar to those who study the politics of marginality.

Early in Indonesian *qasidah* history, the significant female role cannot be overlooked, recalling the relatively important role of women as musicians in traditional Southeast Asian ritual. As noted by Zulkarnain (2004: xviii), in the middle of the 1960s, Nur Aisyah Djamil from North Sumatra established the first *qasidah* group which she named "nasyid", the acronym of her name. Thus, Zulkarnain believes that this is the beginning of *nasyid* Indonesia. Another significant phenomenon of female roles in *qasidah* is Nasyida Ria, a popular *qasidah* modern group consists of nine women from Semarang, Central Java. The group, which was established in 1975, is well known for its social critique as well as its Islamic teaching content, particularly in its album entitled *Keadilan* (justice), launched in 1994. Moreover, it is worth noting a prominent figure in *qasidah* development Tuti Alawiyah, a former leader of Asyafiiyah pesantren, who played a great role in setting up Lasqi.

Institutionalized *Qasidah*

Even though *qasidah* has been identified as rural music, particularly associated with village-based *santri* (student of pesantren) because of its social function the development of *qasidah* is now centered on urban culture. Information received from Bambang Hambali revealed that Jakarta had an initiative to organize *qasidah* in its area by establishing Lasqi DKI Jaya (Special Autonomous Capital City District) in September 20, 1970. The top down approach and control can be seen in its intention of establishing Lasqi in order to regulate the artistic perception of *qasidah rebana* systematically. The structure of the organization has been conducted from a small unit of *kelurahan* (ward), *kecamatan* (subdistrict), *walikota* (mayor), and *provinsi* (province). Jakarta's position as a cultural center was strengthened when the Lasqi management and regulation function spread to other areas, such

as West Java, Central Java, Sumatera, and Kalimantan. Jakarta provided guidance for other area organizations and artistic development through the forming of a national managerial unit, Dewan Pimpinan Pusat (The Board of Central Leadership) with Husein Hanafi as the first leader.

The process of guiding and controlling *qasidah* was conducted by regular national and regional practitioner training and leader meetings. The national festival has been a parameter of dynamic growth, since it has meant that artistic and Islamic values related to the performance criteria have been standardized by the national committee. The *qasidah* festival was first held in the Istiqlal mosque, Jakarta, in 1969, two years after *qasidah* groups in Jakarta had been recognized. Since 1995, the national festival is held in a different province every year. Despite this national oversight, Umar Said, a national judge and trainer, claimed that the creativity based on local characteristics will not be limited as long as it is in line with Lasqi standards. Besides regulation of artistic standards, the national committee also decided which songs will be played in the competition. This way, the central board has a mechanism to socialize national agenda systematically from the center to the periphery. In many cases national and local governments gave support to the organization financially and 'politically' (i.e. bureaucratically), in return for which government developmental programs were effectively transmitted to the public.

Like other other art forms such as *wayang* and theater, *qasidah* has been regarded as a potential tool in nation building. This is in tune with the national agenda of Lasqi, as seen in the Lasqi mission, which is "to increase the archipelago vision (*wawasan nusantara*) or nationalistic viewpoint". This goal was reiterated by the Lasqi leader in 2003 during the tenth national *qasidah* festival in Kalimantan. At the Kalimantan festival Amien Rais, the parliamentary leader, shifted the focus slightly to the local level. He publicly said that the country must protect the national culture as well as local languages, as mentioned in the amendments to the National Constitution made during his tenure. By developing *qasidah*, he said, ordinary people could participate in state development projects in ways appropriate to their ability. This

continuing support to Lasqi shows the government's cultural politics. Indeed, the government role in popularizing Islam had been carried out long before the establishment of ICMI (Indonesian association of Islamic intellectuals) to gain Muslim support.

The symbiotic relationship between government and Lasqi was a result of the Jakarta board's approach to government over a long process, through public hearings so that their existence was recognized and supported. They also actively built a close relationship with government institutions, particularly cultural, religious, and educational agencies. The result was the official recognition of Lasqi by SK No. 562 March 11, 1985 by Suprapto, Jakarta Governor. Up to now, thirty provinces have joined Lasqi, including those provinces where Islam is minority, such as Maluku. Umar Said observed that since the autonomy era, local government support has greatly increased in comparison with support from the Jakarta government. Personally, as a national trainer who travels a lot from one area to other area around Indonesia, he enjoys local government services that finance his travelling and training. In addition, a big budget, like that for the national festival held in Maluku in 2008, has become a major means of implementing of local government support to Lasqi even though the governor and majority of people are not Muslim. In return, combined with the quality of its *qasidah* performance, a Maluku cultural group was selected to represent Indonesia in an international art festival in Turkey in 2009.

Aceh's experience related to Lasqi shows that in the period of greater autonomy after 1998, which has a special meaning after Aceh became known as Nanggro Aceh Darussalam (NAD) province, provides another example of a local relationship to the national board. Even though *qasidah* has a long tradition in Aceh since it was a center of international trading routes which enabled the rapid penetration of global influences, particularly from Arabia and India, Aceh only joined Lasqi in 2003. The establishment of the Lasqi Aceh branch was a result of a meeting of several related government agencies held by Aidi Kamal, a special secretary of NAD Governor, at May 6, 2003. Aidi Kamal believed that the Lasqi branch in Aceh was able to grow rapidly since it already strong base of *qasidah* as people's art in villages.

However, on the other hand, in 2009 M. Yahya, leader of the Bintang Kejora group complained that financial support is not always distributed equally. As recognized by Teuku Afibudin, an Acehnese *qasidah* senior trainer, the more significant influence of Lasqi can be seen in the changing of training method by which performers are grouped in line with the national categories of *qasidah* competition, such as children, teenager, female, and vocalist. In addition, he also accepted basic guidance from the national board and developed it according to local characteristics. As the result, in 2005 the NAD *qasidah* group won the championship at the national festival in Jakarta.

The desire of Lasqi Aceh to cooperate with the national Lasqi organization was encouraged by the government, which was anxious to build bridges to post-resistance Aceh. This collaboration was apparent in the joint celebrations of Agricultural Day in August 2009 and the campaign of International Anti-narcotics, alcohol, psychotropic drugs in Banda Aceh. This was a result of cooperation between at least three government agencies, the Lasqi national board and the Lasqi Aceh branch. The double position of the Lasqi manager as a public officer has a great role in making cooperation successful; for example, besides functioning as a secretary of the Lasqi Aceh branch, Aidi Kamal is also a special secretary of the governor of NAD. In addition, the governor's wife is also one of the Lasqi leaders in NAD. Furthermore, the secretary's office, which is two stories high and located in a strategic place, is a fine building, well-equipped with musical instruments and other performing facilities and shows the rapid development of Lasqi Aceh branch. The growing relationship of the *qasidah* community in NAD and the central board of Lasqi in Jakarta during the autonomy era shows that intuitionally the cultural interaction is increasing in line with the loosening of political tension between the Acehnese themselves and the central government. This was particularly evident after the tsunami of December 2004, as the extent the of tragedy fostered the need for greater trust and cooperation

Besides the external influence of Lasqi's national guidance, after the tsunami *qasidah* in Aceh was fostered by a more open

society that displayed a growing trend towards collaboration between *qasidah* and modern instruments by mixing groups of female and male performers, previously the target of protest from religious figures. Consequently, young people are more interested in *qasidah* since the performance has become more attractive. In addition, young male performers have become more confident in negotiating the established stereotype of male performers on stage. Nonetheless, gender is still an important issue because it relates to NAD restrictions connected to *syariah* (comprehensive body of Islamic law derived from Al Qur'an and *hadith*). For example, the Islamic religious board (MUI) issued a *fatwa* (opinion on a point of Islamic law or dogma) that prohibits men and women performing together except as backing vocal. This means that even though the mixing of male and female performers on stage is allowed, a space between them must still be maintained and they cannot play the same role, for example as dancers.

Figure 7.
Performance of a Mixed Acehnese *Qasidah* Group
on Local Television

The Literal Messages of *Qasidah*

As mentioned before, the gender implications of *qasidah* are related to its characteristics and its functions in society. Together with its place in the genre of religious music, its lyrics are one of *qasidah*'s most important elements. Through the lyrics, religious values are internalized by its adherents. *Qasidah* also functions as a pious expression, as seen in praise songs. The mission of *qasidah* is clearly stated in the LASQI march:

> **MARS LASQI**
> Lembaga seni *qasidah* Indonesia
> Seni budaya Islam
> 20 September tujuh puluh
> lahirlah LASQI jaya
>
> Lestarikanlah seni *qasidah*
> Itu program-lembaga,
> Lomba seni *qasidah*
> Bersyi'ar lah dakwah Islam
>
> Muslimin dan muslimat, mari kita wujudkan
> Kesatuan dan persatuan, berazas Pancasila
>
> (Organization of Indonesian *qasidah* arts
> Islamic cultural art
> September 20, [nineteen] seventy
> LASQI was born
>
> Everlasting *qasidah*
> This is the organizational program
> The festival of *qasidah*
> Sublime Islamic missionizing
>
> Muslim men and women, let's create
> Unity based on Pancasila)

As mentioned before, *qasidah* does not only have religious purposes. It is also intended for entertainment and social criticism, for example a song entitled "Perdamaian" ('peace') as popularized by Nasyida Ria group. However, whatever the purpose, a gender arrangement is evident in the q*asidah* lyrics:

JILBAB PUTIH

Berkibar jilbabmu
Di setiap waktu
Di sepanjang jalan
Kulihat kamu
Gebyar jilbabmu meredam nafsu
Busanamu menyejukkan kalbu

Pesona jilbabmu
Anggun di wajahmu
Sekilas senyummu
Menambah ayu
Karena jilbabmu aku terpaku
Cermin taqwa iman didadamu

Ref :
Jilbab-jilbab putih lambing kesucian
Lembut hati penuh kasih teguh pendirian
Jilbab-jilbab putih bagaikan cahaya
Yang bersinar di tengah malam gelap gulita

Di balik jilbabmu
Ada jiwa taqwa
Di balik senyummu
Tersimpan masa depan cerah

White *Jilbab*

Flutter your *jilbab*
Every time
Everywhere
I saw you
Your fluttering *jilbab* reduces lust
Your clothing softens the heart

The charm of your *jilbab*
Enhances your face
A glimpse of your smile
You become lovelier
Because of your *jilbab*, I am glued
The reflection of the piety and faith in your heart

Refrain:

White *jilbab* the symbol of purity
Soft and tenderness strong in principle

> White *jilbab* as alight
> Lightened up in the darkness of the night
>
> Beyond your *jilbab*
> There is a faithful soul
> Beyond your smile
> aAbrighter future is hidden

As Connell (2007: 66) implied, language is the most significant source of symbolic gender relations. This song, which was popularized by Nasyida Ria, a female modern *qasidah* group, reflects gender relations where the power discourse operates by setting up the image of an ideal woman from a patriarchal point of view. The lyrics are loaded with images of purity that regard woman as a sexual object who must be controlled, as is evident in the sentence "your fluttering *jilbab* reduces lust". However, I am not trying to say that a woman wearing *jilbab* is suppressed. The problem here is that the use of *jilbab* as a metaphor for a pure woman is emphasizing the patriarchal construction over female sexuality. In patriarchal society, virginity is exaggerated as a separation between "a good woman" and "bad woman" and fundamentally informs the male understanding of female sexuality (Prabasmoro, 2006: 318).

Nonetheless, it could also be argued that the text does invoke male desire, although phrased in aesthetic rather than erotic terms. The male gaze is highlighted by the phrases "I saw you," which accentuates the position of the woman as an object. Although the narrator, in this case the singer, is a woman, it does not mean the song is free from the patriarchal point of view, or from the obvious stereotypes of women as depicted in the words "softening the heart," "Elegant in your face, a glimpse of your smile, you become more lovely", and "soft and tenderness". In short, "*Jilbab* Putih" demonstrates the tendency to regard the female body as an object of patriarchal value. In addition, since *jilbab* is used to exercise patriarchal value, religion also becomes an element in Indonesia's gender regime (the way in which the state and society configures and arranges gender relations). In the name of religion, female identity is constructed by males because males are the holders of religious authority.

PKK (Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (Family Welfare Movement)

Rumah tangga bahagia keluarga sejahtera
Itu PKK dalam programnya
Membentuk keluarga yang sejahtera
Anak sehat rumah bersih indah lingkungannya
Anak cukup dua saja mudah mendidiknya
Oooo............semoga Allah meridhoinya

PKK

A happy household, a prosperous family
That's the PKK program
To establish a prosperous family
A healthy children, a clean and vigorous neighborhood
Two children is enough, easy to educate them
Oooo………may Allah give the blessings

In Indonesian thinking, the ideal woman is a reflection of the condition of the family, which is socially constructed as a female domain. Like "*Jilbab* Putih", "PKK" is still talking about the ideal woman, but it does not problematize the physical appearance of woman and the center attention is not merely the woman as object. The title suggests the relationship between this song and the New Order era's developmentalism project, in which PKK (The Family Welfare Movement) became a central part of the government apparatus, especially in internalizing women's domestication based on the Marriage Law of Constitution No. 1/1974 article 34. The law explicitly domesticates women by stating that a wife's obligation is to manage all household matters as well as she can.

In addition, Julia Suryakusuma (1996: 99-101) argues that during the New Order the sexuality of Indonesian women is constructed through *ibuism* 'motherhood', not only in the personal framework, but in the framework of the nation state as well, notably through the Dharma Wanita, the national women's organization established by the Suharto government. Dharma Wanita constructed women's roles as wives, mothers, or both. These roles were spelt out in the Panca Dharma Wanita, which stated that a wife should support her husband's career, deliver children, take care

of children, be a good wife, and be a protector of society. Thus, women have a responsibility to take care of national morality by maintaining the values established by the gender regime.

In addition, the song also emphasizes the social significance of KB (Keluarga Berencana, family planning) which was accorded considerable prominence in the developmentalism of the New Order era. The program proved highly successful in reducing the population boom, but it was also criticized because it relied heavily on coercing women into acceptance of contraception. In a manner similar to "*Jilbab* Putih," this song makes obvious use of religion to legitimize the state's project in regard to control over people. It is seen from the last line "Oooo………may Allah give the blessing".

Janda

Baru sekarang oh aku rasakan
Tak punyai kasih rasanya kesepian
Tak ada tempat mencurahkan rasa rinduku oh
Serta kasih saying
Barulah satu bulan diriku ditinggalkan
Aku sudah tak tahan izinkan kesepian
Ya Allah, Ya Tuhan hindari godaan setan
Baru sekarang aku rasakan tak punyai kasih rasanya kesepian

Sedangku menyayangi
Sedangku mengasihi
Kekasihku tercinta, kini telah tiada
Ku hanya manusia, tiada berdaya
Dialah yang kuasa, segala-galanya
Mungkinkah diriku dekat dikau
Menjadi janda, semoga kudapat gantinya seperti dia

Widow

Just now I felt
I have no love, feeling lonely
There is no place to express my longing oh
And affection
Just one month ago you left me
I can't stand the loneliness
Ya Allah, Ya God, please protect me satan's seduction

Just now I feel I don't have a love, I am lonely
When I give my compassion
When I give my love
My love is gone now
I am only a human, powerless
He is the most powerful, everything
Is it possible for me to be near you
Being a widow I hope I can find someone like you

Recent research by University of Indonesia Sociologist, Dr *Widjanjanti* Mulyono Santoso reported in *Jawa Pos* (July 11, 2007), indicates that the widow still carries negative images in Indonesia because the complete family focused on a husband and wife is considered to be a cornerstone of the society. As Zulinarni (2004) points out, the pressure is much greater on a young woman who is considered less able to endure loneliness and is still sexually active. Moreover, a widow from a lower social class will be subject to more social pressure and disapproval than one from the upper class, since public opinion is still reluctant to acknowledge the social fact of women as the heads of families. Besides social class, age also influences the social response to widows. A young widow will be subject to more pressure and stereotyping than an older one because of the fear that young widows will not able to control their sexual desire and will take other women's husbands.

This stigma is emphasized on the *qasidah* song entitled "Widow" translated above. Rather than empowering women by increasing their internal strength, the song depicts a woman's weakness when facing life alone. The song emphasizes women's weak personality, suggesting that she has a low confidence to maximize her potential as a human being; "I am only a human, powerless". She cannot trust her own ability to give meaning to her life, but always depends on something or someone outside herself to achieve happiness. This view of women's mental weakness reinforces prejudices about women's sexual proclivities and highlights the stigma of woman as seductress, the "Mara evil"[2]. The expression "I can't stand the loneliness Ya Allah, Ya God, please protect me from evil seduction" raises her position as "the Mara evil", the doer of seduction, not the victim. Barendregt (2006) states that there is contradictory view of female power: women

are often seen as fragile and an object of male desire; simultaneously, however, they are also considered to be powerful generators of male desire. The depiction of women's feelings in this song contrasts with the life stories of women as documented in Widjanjanti's study. As in the previous song, the gap between the women's experiences and their representation in *qasidah* lyrics raises the question of whose voice is represented even though the singer is a woman.

The singer's role in representing the message embedded in the song is influenced by its gender arrangement. As Sadili, a former trainer in my parents' *qasidah* group, mentioned, there is unwritten song distinction based on gender. "It is not appropriate for a song praising a pious woman to be sung by a woman. It should be sung by a man," said Sadili. This suggest that the construction of gender roles for women is determined by men. By contrast, there are not many songs sung by women in which the lyrics address male conduct. Most *qasidah* songs which address gender relationships focus on a woman's grievances because of her relationship with a man. In addition, a female singer usually cannot determine her own song because it was chosen by the group leadership, which is dominated by men. However, one could also argue that the distinction of song-based gender enable *qasidah* to act as a medium of communication and negotiation between genders. The problem is whether women have the bargaining power to present a female perspective in *qasidah* songs.

Together with an increased female role in the Lasqi managerial board, changes in female representation can be examined by looking closely at a song entitled "Halimah", written by Euis Sri Mulyani, a recent General Secretary of the Lasqi National committee who is also an officer of the Ministry of Religious Affairs:

Halimah

Oh Halimah oh Halimah
Gadis manis mojang desa
Ramah bertutur kata
Taat pula beribadah

Dia pandai mengaji
Pandai pula menyanyi
Cantik dan berprestasi, namun tetap rendah hati
Bercita-cita tinggi
Jadi ilmuwan sejati
Kini Halimah tinggalkan kampong halaman
Menuntut ilmu di ibukota
Tinggalkan kampung halaman
Menuntut ilmu di ibukota
Demi masa depan mengejar cita-citanya
Membangun desa kelahirannya
Semoga Allah mengabulkan harapannya.

Halimah

Oh Halimah oh Halimah
A sweet village girl
Friendly in manner
Piously worshiping God
Also excellent in reciting Al quran
And good in singing
Beautiful, high achiever, but also humble
Has high aspirations
Of becoming a real intellectual
Now Halimah has left her hometown
To study in capital city
For a brighter future to achieve her dream
And develop her hometown
May Allah fulfill her wish

The song includes a common stereotype of a woman embedded in the idea of an idealized female image. On the one hand, an ideal woman should br good looking and be a good performer in singing and Qur'an recitation. She should also be sweet and pure as reflected in idiom *gadis manis mojang desa*, that can interpreted as referring to an innocent girl. On the other hand, the song also challenges the value placed on domesticity which is commonly identified as characteristic of the ideal Muslim woman. It suggests that a woman should look beyond herself and her family. Women should have the courage to set up high expectation for themselves for society's sake, a goal in keeping with a tradition of female agency in Southeast Asia. Self transformation entails

bridging the gap between modernity and conservative values, and between city and village. In addition, the capital city (i.e. Jakarta) is still considered to be the land of opportunity, an indication of the perception of social gap between urban and rural, which is itself the result of lack of local development.

Performer and Persona

The gap between women's perspectives and the message delivered in *qasidah* songs as described above raises questions about the significance of the narrator, in this case the performer, and the message delivered, particularly because of *qasidah*'s character as religious music and because preaching is its primary purpose. The persona is one of the important elements in the act of preaching, since the persona is part of the message. That is why some prominent Indonesian preachers are abandoned by their followers when their way of life is considered unacceptable by most people, such as the polygamy of the formerly popular preacher Abdullah Gymnasiar (Aa Gym) from Dauruttahid Pesantren. As described by Kathryn Robinson (2009: 180), his appeal and high profit business declined drastically after his second marriage in 2006. "Who is talking what," "how to" deliver the message is also a very important consideration in *dakwah*. Moreover, Islam also has strict behavioral guidelines particularly with regard to gender relationships and related symbolism. The interviews I conducted indicate that the representation of gender relationships in *qasidah* is influenced by both cultural under-standings and power relations.

The notion of gender symbolism in *qasidah* can be observed from the criteria of *qasidah* festivals. Based on my interview with Sadili and my mother, Nana Laelana, a former judge and leader of *qasidah* groups, there are three main criteria of assessment in *qasidah* festivals: instrumental, vocal, and performance, which include makeup, attire, blocking (the precise movement and positioning of actors on a stage), and variation in movement. Gender arrangement determines the differentiation between female and male performances, for example, as Sadili mentioned,

men's groups are more flexibility in performing movement variations. Most of the reasons are related to women's attire, which limits their mobility. Nevertheless, they are also related to acceptable and unacceptable notions of Islamic conduct. For example, even though, a female group wears trousers, which enable women to move freely, it does not mean they are allowed, to squat as male groups do.

Although female qasidah groups have higher status than, for instance, female gamelan groups in Bali, power relationships still influence women's self representation in performance (Bakan, 1999: 253-256). As in the case of choice of songs, female performers still find it difficult to express themselves because many elements of performance, such as movement, blocking, makeup, and attire are determined by others. The trainer, together with the group leader, has the authority to determine almost all aspects of the performance. Widodo, the leader of Cahaya Putri (Light of Women), explained that he usually arranges everything related to his group's performance and that the group accepts his decision.

Unfortunately, most group leaders and trainers are male. Sadili thought this was related to their motivation and the level of participation of individuals involved in *qasidah*. In his view, women usually practice *qasidah* only as a leisure time activity, and their participation is also limited by their domestic duties. They tend to focus only on learning their own part and cannot play other instruments, for example. On the other hand, male performers are normally more enthusiastic about learning other parts beside their own and are keen to develop creativity to enhance their prospects of becoming trainers and reaping financial rewards.

Furthermore, there are many kinds of *qasidah* modern performances. Some groups, like Southul Fata (see http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HsLbcKJGdjI&feature=related), continue the "old fashioned" style just like Nasyida Ria, a well-established female group of *qasidah modern*. The lead singer's bodily and facial expressions are very limited. The makeup of performers should not be overdone. However, this does not mean that the performance is free from the objectification of females by the male gaze. As seen in "Wajah Ayu" 'Pretty Face" performed by the

group, the message of the song said that all part of woman's body are dedicated to her husband. Delivered in a sweet, gentle, and polite manner, this style is intended to evoke the image of the refined character of the ideal wife.

These performances are quite different from those of groups rooted in the *dangdut* tradition such as Sera (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SmJx_gUjTLE&feature=related). Sera is a famous *dangdut* group from East Java. They are known for having a very erotic female singer (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6Qa391d76oE&feature=related). Recently, they have also become known for *qasidah* performances, and although this could be interpreted as resistance to conservative Islam their change in style appears to be primarily for commercial reasons. Sera's singers appear to be less constrained in their performances. They move their hips and hands along with the song, and their physical appearances are more eye-catching. The negative stereotype of the widow which is embedded implicitly in "Janda" lyrics – i.e, that a widow is a potential seducer – is highlighted in their performance. Rather than expressing her sorrow and loneliness after the death of her spouse, the singer's bodily movement exhibits female sexual appeal, such as swaying her hips and shoulders and wiggling her behind back and forth. In addition, the long dress the singer wears does not eliminate her erotic movements because it is very tight.

However, limitations in movement, attire, and makeup do not always decrease the degree to which the female performer's body is objectified. The function of the female performer as decoration is obvious in the performance of the Pondok Pesantren Walisongo Rebana Group (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kPs1Ux5gMqI&feature=related). Here female performers do not have significant roles, either as musicians or singers, and seem merely to complement the male vocal lead. In addition, according to the cover information, male domination can be assumed since the leading vocalist, Ma'ruf Islamudin, is also the leader of the group. Another interesting fact is that he wrote his songs by himself, which is rarely true of female singers.

Based on their observation on spiritual cultural performing in Lamongan, East Java, Chamim, Hidayat, et al (2003: 44-46), point to commercialization tendencies as local arts necessarily adjust to social changes resulting from industrialization. They explain this tendency as a characteristic of religious and cultural performances that are also functioning as entertainment in a commercializing environment. However, they differentiate between local arts: *seni tanggapan* (commercial) and non-*tanggapan* (uncommercial), so that popularity is not necessarily related to commercial success . Besides their religious significance, non-commercial local arts, such as *barzanjen* (a song praising the Prophet Muhammad) have community bases such as the mosque or *pesantren* (Islamic residential school) so the performance also functions as a symbol of social bonds.

Audience Reception

In conjunction with varieties performance styles of *qasidah*, there is a wide range of audience receptions, which are greatly influenced by social class. Thus, any description of the audience reception should take into account the social category of the audience. This can be composed of groups and individuals with differing levels of religious interest and can be either homogenous (such as a group of *santri*) or quite varied . Besides, the focal point of audience reception includes the contestation between modernity and tradition, lyrics, and performance. Every layer of audience reception shows that gender arrangement becomes one of the norms in evaluation, as seen in following Youtube.com commentary [in Javanese]:

> *Suwarane apik, lagune apik, seni katane pun apik, nging mbok ya ora usah ngetokke wong wedok jogetan kabeh wong lagune Islami ana video jogetan wong wedok bokonge megal-megol dadi ora Islami. Walaupun nganggo kerudhung brukutan kabeh. Salah kaprah lho mas!*

> The vocal is good, the song is nice, the lyrics is also fine, but it should not performed by a swaying female singer. The Islamic song which is sung by female who wiggles her behind back and forth is no longer Islamic, even though she covers all her body. It is an established mistake.

The comment above shows that the evaluation of female performers is the main reason some people disapprove of *qasidah*. In other words, female performance is becoming a focus of attention, particularly when it is related to female sexuality. The male gaze is becoming the normative institution which defines what is accepted and not acceptable. Referring to the concept of "vagina dentata", as elucidated by Prabasmoro (2006: 292-3), the female body and its internal desire are regarded as a threatening "monster". The female body is described as a gate to temptation, infused with sensual enchantment as described in an old Arabic poem cited by K.H. Hussein Muhammad (2008: 21)*"Inna al Nisa Syayathin Khuliqna Lana. Na'udzu Billah min Syarr al Syayathin.* (Women are devils who are created for us. And we must ask for God's protection against these devils).

The female body is thus seen as a potential threat to male existence and to theier spiritual life. A Javanese man should be aware of the threatening influence of money, female, and the desire for power. However, in fact the impact of this norm will affect not males but females, who should be controlled. The female is always prejudiced by her sexuality because of the male fear of female seduction. Vagina dentata is the symbol of a male fear towards a female "otherness" which is in fact created by him. Therefore, female sexuality should be controlled to save male existence.

Nor does a positive evaluation of female *qasidah* singers necessarily empower women as agents. The Palapa *Qasidah* Group which is also well known for its *dangdut* performances, received many positive and negative comments. Most of the commentaries referred to the female singer, "Vivi.... apapun pakaiannya kau tetap terlihat cantik dan sexy...." 'Vivi… however you dress, you still look beautiful and sexy…." This comment underscores the female performer's image as an object of male gaze. She is not evaluated for her technical vocal ability or her capability to produce music, but primarily for her sexual appeal.

Female performers as the focus of the audience viewpoint also became evident in an interview with two graduate students from a Javanese *pesantren* background and one female graduate student from Aceh. Some commentators on popular music have claimed

that people do not listen closely to the text, but this is not necessarily the case. For example, both Javanese respondents referred to Nasyida Ria as their favorite group because of its performance and the social content in its lyrics, even though its social criticism never directly referenced the government.

My respondents looked back with nostalgia, comparing Nasyida Ria favorably to the majority of current *qasidah* groups, even though the latter may appear more sophisticated. In the view of these respondents, Nasyida Ria has a stronger identity because of the characteristics of the lyrics as well as the quality of its performance. In their evaluation, current *qasidah* group stress performance rather than the content of the songs. They remarked that social criticism in lyrical content has decreased, and that *syariah* concerns related to social norms of conduct dominated the songs. Another difference that they observed is that clothing has changed to become more "Islamic", in the past, *kebaya* (A long-sleeved blouse worn over the *kain* or sarong) was common attire for female performers as seen in the illustration below. Overall, the three respondents agreed that female performers are more attractive and professional. Even though Lasqi and religious figures regulate their manner on stage, it does not limit the attraction because of the performers themselves and the creativity of their trainers.

Figure 8.
Transformation of Nasyida Ria Performance The first Nasyid Ria album is from the 1980s, the second from the 1990s and the third is contemporary (http://dennysak.multiply.com/ journal?&page_start=160)

Figure 9.
Female Traditional *Rebana* in the 1980s with Kebaya

Figure 10.
Female *Qasidah* Group, Aceh Branch in the 2000s

In this context, it is worth noting that there are also creative responses to *qasidah* songs. As mentioned above, the female perspective remains problematic. Responding to this issue, Rahima, of the Center of Education and Information on Islam and Women's Rights, promoted a movement called Sholawat Kesetaraan (Equal Praising) in Java. The *shalawat*, "songs of praise to

the Prophet Muhammad," which are often identified with a tradition of violence and male dominance, are transformed into a medium for spreading the concept of gender equality. Rahima's movement uses local instruments and languages to establish universal human values, such as gender justice, because they believe that the essence of Islam is equality before God:

> Oh God, Give always your blessings and salvation to the Prophet Muhammad, to his companion and to those who acknowledge the oneness of God.
> Allah created them (human being), male and female, from equal and and single self. Then, He fashioned from both of them and female being
> In truth, prosperity has never existed,
> Without hard work from both men and women
> In truth, justice will never happen in our lifetime,
> Unless all of us can try to make it real

The participation of people in building gender equity as implied in the lyrics reflected the process of promoting Sholawat Kesetaraaan. AD. Kusumaningtyas, the Documentation and Information Coordinator of Rahima, said that the movement begun in 2001 in Jember (East Java) with the training of female Islamic leaders on gender equity issues. These discussions recommended the urgency of emphasizing female agency in the arts and employing cultural media to counter the gender images disseminated in mainstream media. Faqihudin Abdul Kadir wrote the lyrics after discussions with KH.Husein Muhammad, KH.Muhyiddin Abdusshomad, Nyai Hj.Ruqoyyah Ma'shum, and other participants in the forum. In addition, some of them created their own Shalawat Kesetaraan that were suitable for their community.

Swara Rahima has continued to promote Sholawat Kesetaraaan in its advocacy activities. Like Lasqi, they also hold festivals for teenage and *majelis ta'lim* (female groups who recite and study Al Quran). Moreover, Swara Rahima collaborated with NUSAE, a UIN Syarif Hidayatullah student band to introduce the Shalawat Kesetaraan to a wider audience, particularly young people (Term of Reference Launching CD Shalawat and Public Discussion 2010).

Unfortunately, even though they share similar Islamic cultural interests, it seems that Lasqi and Swara Rahima have their own trajectory and have not built a bridge of collaboration to communicate their mission to create a better life for the *Ummah*.

Conclusion

This preliminary research on *qasidah*, particularly on lyric analysis, shows that *qasidah* has significant gender implications. Over the last twenty years *qasidah* has extended from its rural strength to became more popular in urban areas, with an appeal to all ages but particularly to mature women. The preponderance of women in *qasidah* audiences raises important questions about the messages contained in the lyrics of the songs, the life-styles of the performers and the extent to which men control their conduct on and off stage. This paper has shown that there are many different styles of performing *qasidah*. Some groups, more focused on popular performance, display a tendency towards commodification and commercialization of religious performance. Other groups want to counter the global stereotypes of women, and of Muslim women in particular, as lacking agency of their own.

During the New Order the goals of individual groups were complicated because of state's involvement in promoting Islam and in using religious media for its own purposes. The New Order insistence on "proper roles" for women as wives, and mothers meant that *qasidah* became part of the apparatus of the gender arrangement of New Order Era in which the performing arts were not exempt. On the other hand, a focus on female agency in some *qasidah* lyrics and in organization leadership demonstrates that *qasidah* has the capacity to serve as a medium of negotiation between genders. Therefore, further research, particularly on performers, performance and reception is needed to explore the extent to which Islamic arts can be an effective media for the socialization of gender equality.

End Note

[1] Fandom (from the noun *fan* and the affix *-dom*, as in *kingdom*, *freedom*, etc.) is a term used to refer to a subculture composed of fans characterized by a feeling of sympathy and camaraderie with others who share a common interest. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fandom (Accessed at April 14, 2010)

[2] The story of the attempted seduction of the Buddha by three daughters of Mara, the evil one, also penetrated Muslim literature and is well known in contemporary popular culture in Indonesia.

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DISEASE ERADICATION AND *PEMBANGUNAN*:
The Soekarno Era

Vivek Neelakantan

The International Context

The idea that disease control was a means of safeguarding national interest was first articulated in the International Sanitary Conferences beginning 1851(WHO, 1958). The main aim of these conferences was to reach common agreement among nations of Europe on minimum maritime quarantine requirement and the defence of European nations against exotic diseases originating from Asia, particularly British India. From 1909 onwards the *Office International d' Hygiene Publique* was active in the control of communicable diseases. However the vision of realising the control of communicable diseases proved realizable only during World War II (1939-1945), with the discovery of penicillin (a cure against syphilis and yaws) and DDT against malaria. At this point in time, scientists were researching the physiological and psychological factors that affected military performance during war (WHO, 1958: 37). By 1945, scientists worldwide agreed that medicine would provide the means to build a peaceful world. Around 1945, the United Nations (henceforth UN) included health of all peoples of the world as a prelude to establish international security. The Economic and Social Council of the UN had proposed the establishment of the WHO in 1948. The leitmotif of the WHO was to serve as the directing and coordinating authority on issues related to international health (Ibid, 46).

While newly decolonised India, sub-Saharan African nations, and Latin America figure prominently in the historiography of international health of the 1950s, newly decolonised Indonesia has largely escaped the attention of scholars of international health working on the 1950s. Randall Packard argues that malaria eradication programs of the post World War II period worldwide were viewed within international policy circles as a problem of economic and political development as much as a problem of public health (Packard, 1997: 283). Eradication of malaria was

based on the assumption that the key to successful eradication lay in narrow technical interventions such as the use of DDT. Marcos Ceuto argues that malaria eradication merged biological challenges and political opportunities through an incorporation of military metaphors such as 'crusade' in order to enlist conformity of the common people (Ceuto, 2007: 16). Political rhetoric guided the propaganda of malaria eradication in Latin America. Ceuto illustrates that in the post World War II period, rivalry between USA and the Soviet Union had pervaded all aspects of society and culture. International development including public health interventions in developing countries served as an arena of extending either the American or the Soviet sphere of influence in developing countries where the competition for raw materials was intense (Ibid, 19). Sunil Amrith points out that in the post World War II period, the language of health shifted from rights and entitlements to an economic goal of increasing production, particularly in India (Amrith, 2006, 86).

The WHO in the 1950s highlights the polarity between the social medicine approach to international health– which emphasises a cyclical relationship between poverty and ill health– and a magic bullet approach which focuses on narrowly attacking specific causes of disease such as eliminating the source of malaria parasite. Indonesia serves as a testing ground to examine the interplay of the social bullet and magic bullet approaches to public health, particularly with respect to the implementation of the malaria eradication program, tuberculosis control project, yaws eradication program, and the elimination of venereal diseases. For example, while DDT was held within a section of the policy circles as a magic bullet against malaria and manufacture of DDT within Indonesia as a symbol of national self sufficiency, malaria eradication was also viewed as a nucleus for the strengthening of basic health services and a means to reconstruct the *New Indonesian* in accordance with the *pembangunan* ideology. My paper will reveal in the forthcoming sections that the social medicine and magic bullet approaches to public health within an Indonesian context were at times at odds with each other. At other times, typified by the Indonesian state approach to tuberculosis, the magic bullet

approach synchronised well within the framework of social medicine. The interplay between social medicine and the magic bullet approaches to public health would help to explain the limits of technological interventions such as popular reservation to vaccinations.

The 1950s have been largely underrepresented in Indonesian historiography as well. This decade coincided with the Soekarno era of Indonesian history. The 'fifties' been portrayed as a 'lost decade' during the Suharto era as they evoke sensitive questions such as how the identity of the new nation state would be articulated in the post World War II international order (Nordholt, 2004). In the Soeharto era narrative, Indonesian history is divided into the pre colonial golden era, the dark period of colonial rule, the heroic resistance to colonial rule culminating in the Indonesian Revolution of 1945, the period of liberal democracy and the period of guided democracy culminating in the communist assault resulting in the murder of six military generals that led Suharto to power (Ibid, 5). Historians of the New Order Era (Suharto Era, 1967-1998) have therefore overlooked significant institutional dimensions of development of the 1950s such as social change (Ibid, 6).

Malaria Control and *Pembangunan*

In the Soekarno era, malaria was known to have a morbidity rate of 40 per cent (Leimena, 1956: 34). Nearly six to seven per cent of deaths in Indonesia per annum in the 1950s, or 120,000 deaths per year could be attributed to malaria, in the estimate of Johannes Leimena, the then minister of Health. Nearly 30 million people were affected by malaria every year (Ibid). Leimena argued that the 30 million malaria patients represented a great economic loss caused by the disease as a result of absenteeism of people from work. Indonesia could either avoid an economic loss of millions of rupiah or a loss of manpower which had considerable potential value annually (Ibid). The Ministry of Health envisioned the establishment of model Regencies throughout the archipelago which would demonstrate the efficacy of malaria control through

the application of DDT. USAID provided much needed impetus to the malaria eradication campaign in Indonesia from 1955-1959 through supplies of DDT whereas Indonesia would However Leimena was interested in building Indonesia's capacity in the production of DDT, as USAID was uncertain at this point in time, in the late 1950s.

Military metaphors were inserted into the malaria eradication campaign. The Indonesian malaria eradication campaign assumed a quasi military style operation by the early 1960s. Malaria was termed as 'enemy number one' of the Indonesian state as it interfered with the mental and physical development of the Indonesian. In the early 1960s, malaria eradication had not yet commenced on the *outer islands* of the Indonesian archipelago such as Kalimantan and Sumatra. Therefore Indonesia could not realise its objective of tapping the natural resources of the *outer* islands through *transmigrasi* (transmigration of people from populous islands such as Java and Madura to resource rich islands such as Sumatra and Kalimantan). In the absence of malaria eradication *pembangunan daerah* (regional development) remained unfulfilled. Col. Azil Widjajakusuma was the Executive Director of the Malaria Eradication Campaign (KOPEM) in 1963. The Indonesian military viewed malaria eradication as a means of nation building and constituting the *New Indonesian,* who would be healthy and embody the ideals of *Manipol Usdek* (Widjajakusuma, 1963: 43).

The WHO had launched a demonstration project in malaria control in the regencies of Tjilatjap and Semarang in Central Java from1951-56. The aim of this project was to study the effectiveness of DDT on the vector under local conditions, the best time for spraying houses, demonstyrate cost effective malaria control measures, and train auxiliary health personnel in malaria control, according to the Assignment Report prepared for the World Health Organisation Regional Office for Southeast Asia (SEA/MAL/15). Investigations were carried out using a combination of blood and spleen surveys and morbidity surveys and ento-mological methods such as daytime catches of adult mosquitoes and testing susceptibility of mosquitoes to DDT. This demons-tration project was successful in compiling an impressive volume

of malariometric data related to the general distribution of malaria in the province. However the project was unable to meet its target of eradicating malaria as the *A Sundaicus* vector developed resistance to DDT(SEA/MAL/15).

While the spraying of DDT commenced simultaneously in all the regencies of Central Java, the regencies recorded variable results with respect to malaria control(SEA/MAL/15). The Malaria Institute at Djakarta under the Ministry of Health had charted the eradication plan for the province of Central Java using a uniform yardstick with respect to climatic conditions, although the climatic conditions of Central Java varied according to topography. Likewise the distribution pattern of malaria also varied(malaria was endemic to coastal areas and inland areas which cultivated paddy whereas it was absent in the highlands of Central Java). The Malaria Institute allocated the same amount of insecticide, and vehicles to each regency in Central Java. The malaria eradication in Central Java had thus become a quasi military campaign with centralised directives from Djakarta. The provincial government of Central Java had no say in how the eradication campaign was to be implemented.

Tuberculosis Control: Wishful Thinking

Tuberculosis control in the 1950s was directed by the Division of Tuberculosis Control under the Ministry of Health (Samallo, 1956: 3). In the 1950s, Indonesia suffered an acute shortage of doctors. Therefore diagnosing the right variety of tuberculosis became rather challenging. The morbidity caused by tuberculosis in urban areas of Indonesia was around seven per cent. The city of Bandung was chosen as the site of the WHO tuberculosis demonstration project in Indonesia in 1953 as it had a well developed health infrastructure. The Indonesian government planned to expand the tuberculosis project at Bandung on an all Indonesia basis. Administrative rather than technical bottlenecks caused then failure of the tuberculosis control program on archipelago wide basis. The tuberculosis program was administered by the Ministry of Health whereas financial

responsibility for the project lay with the province of West Java. The local government of Bandung was not involved in tuberculosis control. Therefore the tuberculosis control project could not expand throughout the Indonesian archipelago (SEA/TB/5). The Bandung project had observed that socio economic conditions of the people influenced the prevalence of tuberculosis (SEA/TB/5). Unhygienic living conditions and spitting proved congenial in the transmission of tuberculosis. The tuberculosis demonstration project in Bandung was however unable to achieve coordination at the provincial, district, sub district and village level between tuberculosis control and preventive medicine.

Tuberculosis control in Indonesia during the Soekarno era reflected a synthesis of the social medicine and magic bullet approaches to public health. Indonesian began its first mass vaccination program in Bandung against tuberculosis in 1953. The campaign immunised as many newborns as possible with the BCG vaccine (LCG Samallo, 1955: 8). *The Conference for the Control of Tuberculosis in Indonesia* held at Bandung in 1955, by the Ministry of Health envisioned the establishment of tuberculosis centres in the headquarters of each district and the major towns. In 1955, for the first time a tuberculosis centre was inaugurated in Palembang, South Sumatra for promoting the cause of community health. The Tuberculosis Section within the Ministry of Health enlisted the support of the Maternal and Child Welfare Division and Department of Community Nutrition within the Ministry of Health for case finding. The post World War II period recorded a lower tuberculin index (Ibid, 38) among Indonesian infants compared to the 1930s. Chronic hunger and food shortages in Central Java registered a sharp decline with the modernisation of agriculture which could partly account for the fall in tuberculin index (Ibid, 39). However tuberculosis was the second most significant cause of infant mortality in Indonesia after dysentery in the 1950s (Ibid, 42).

The Yaws Campaign

The campaign against yaws in Indonesia coincided with the interest of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) to promote maternal and child health in the late 1940s. The UNICEF had concentrated on the control of yaws as it was treatable following an injection of penicillin. The Indonesian anti yaws campaign formed a part of the trepanematosis control program launched by the Indonesian government in collaboration with the WHO and the UNICEF (Soetopo, 1953: 4). In 1953, Indonesia had developed two methods to treat yaws: the active treatment of yaws cases in polyclinics; Raden Kodijat's method of using field teams to detect yaws. The Trepanematosis Control project Simplified was a simplified version of Raden Kodijat's version of treating yaws. It began as a pilot project in the sub district of Dirjo in Soerabaja (Soetopo and Wasito, 1953: 274). The distribution of yaws in Dirjo sub region was patchy (Ibid, 280). Although Dirjo sub district had a prevalence of 10 per cent , the adjacent district had a relevantly low prevalence rate of 7 per cent (Ibid). The most common forms of transmission of yaws in Indonesia were through household contact, village contact and incidental contact. Raden Kodijat's method of treating yaws was successful in achieving mass detection of yaws patients in Java using teams of *djuru pateks* specially trained for this purpose (Ibid, 285). The operation of yaws control program in Indonesia in the 1950s using *djuru pateks* illustrates that although villagers were aware that yaws was transmitted from the sick to the healthy by contagion they were afraid that arsenical injections may aggravate the disease further.

Conclusions

While disease eradication campaigns in Indonesia can be seen in relation to the nation building ideology, the eradication campaigns were fissured owing to differences between the centre and the provinces over the questions of finance and coordination. These campaigns reflect the blending together of social medicine with the magic bullet approach to public health.

MADURESE ULAMA:
Religious Leaders in Medina's Veranda (*Serambi Medinah*)

Yanwar Pribadi

Introduction
The Emergence of Ulama as Religious Leaders

A strict distinction between the term ulama and kiai does not appear in this thesis. According to Noer, the term kiai might indicate two kinds of persons. The first comprises those whose knowledge of Islam surpasses that of the ordinary men, they typically devote themselves to teaching. The second type is more closely related to *dukun* (healer) who teaches mystical and secret doctrines and practices all kinds of medicine (Noer, 1973: 8). Horikoshi distinguishes the terms kiai and ulama. For Horikoshi the difference lays primarily on the more extensive charisma that a kiai possess. The ulama play more roles in the social system and the social structure of villagers and their ultimate status is legitimized by hereditary factors. Among the people, the kiai is higher than the village ulama and their presence is regarded as a unifying symbol in society since their moral and spiritual leadership is not tied up to the normative structure of village (Horikoshi, 1987: 211-212). The term kiai in Madura also has meaning in leadership and in other realms. At the broader context the term ulama refers to men of Islamic learning and Islamic religious leaders in general. Hence, I use both terms, ulama and kiai interchangeably.

As we may witness, over centuries religious leaders developed their own approach in disseminating ideas in the Indonesian archipelago. During the nineteenth century, *haji* (a title addressed to a person who already completed the performing of pilgrimage in Mecca) played pivotal roles in the spread of Islamic thought in the Netherlands Indies. In that period larger numbers of returning pilgrims increased the numbers of religious leaders in the Netherlands Indies (Kartodirdjo, 1966: 155).

The reformist movement, however, first took root at the turn of the twentieth century. According to Noer, the reformist ideas in general can be divided into two large divisions: the educational and social movement; and the political movement. The reformists were concerned with the nature of Islam in general. They recognized only Quran and Hadits as the basic source of their ideas and thought. Furthermore, they sustained the idea of *ijtihad* (independent-individual interpretation and judgement of Islamic texts) which is still open and rejected the idea of *taqlid* (the acceptance of the authority of the founding imam and or the already established fatwa and practices). They also acknowledged the benefit of scientific Dutch education. The modernists' supporters also adopted the organizational and educational method and ideas of the West, including those of Christian missionaries, as long as these were not in violation of the principles of Islam. Moreover, Van der Kroef states that the ideas stressed a return to Quran as the main source of Islamic belief; contested the folk Islam and traditional eclecticism; announced its wish to bring Islam in line with modern scientific advances and empiricism, and its willingness to examine the great social, political and economic upheavals of the modern world in the light of revealed Islamic truth; and above all urged a dynamic application of individual energy in the furtherance of one's social and economic status in life (Noer, 1973: 30 and 296-308; Kroef, 1958: 33-54). The modernists viewed Quran and Hadith as not only sources for religious ideas and practices, but also for social and political ideas. It was when this certainty of the unity of religion and politics in Islam was expressed, as was reflected in the activities of the Muslim political associations (Noer, 1973: 307-308).

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Madura, to classify haji and kiai in a strict distinction is not effortless. Kuntowijoyo, however, believed that haji and kiai were different in many ways. He took an example of a mutinous kiai of Prajan district in Sampang. This kiai acted not only as a religious teacher, but also as a dukun and a fortune-teller. According to Kuntowijoyo, haji were more orthodox in identifying themselves with universal

Islam. As examples from haji group, he pointed at haji of Sarekat Islam. Moreover, he also stated that kiai belonged to the peasantry and village elites, while haji were merchants and urban citizens. In sum, he considered "power broker" to mobilize people might be kiai, whereas "cultural broker" for Islamic revival were haji (Kuntowijoyo in Abdullah and Siddique, 1988: 108-138). Nonetheless, I find out that even though Kiai Jauhari of Prenduan, Sumenep was a teacher of Tijaniyah *tarekat* (Muslim mystical brotherhood), he associated his pesantren with Arabic-oriented orthodoxy by sending his sons to modern pesantren Gontor and even one of his sons who studied in Mecca, Kiai Tijani became a staff member of World Islamic League. To a `large degree Kiai Jauhari was considered more progressive than most of the other Madurese kiai (Bruinessen in Jonge and Touwen-Bouwsme, 1995: 91-117). Moreover, Kiai Jauhari as both a kiai and a returning haji, along with other religious leaders in Prenduan, established a branch of Hizbullah guerrilla. The group which consisted of *santri* (pupil of Islamic boarding school) and former santri were actively involved in the resistance against the Dutch during the Military Aggression of 1947 (Jonge, 1989: 256). Using Kuntowijoyo`s classification, Kiai Jauhari thus acted as both "power broker" and "cultural broker".

In addition, another example comes from Bangkalan. Kiai Muhammad Kholil of Bangkalan is probably one of the best examples of returning haji who served as a religious teacher as well as a religious leader who spread his influence in the society. He died in or around 1923-1925. Among his fellow students in Mecca, Nawawi and Abdul Karim of Banten and Mahfudh Tarmisi of Tremas, East Java are worthy notified. Before studied in Mecca in the 1860's, he had learned Islamic knowledge in various *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) in Bangkalan and Java. Pesantren Langitan in Tuban; Pesantren Cangaan, Pesantren Darussalam and Pesantren Sidogiri in Pasuruan; and Pesantren Syafi'iyah, in Banyuwangi were among his boarding schools. He was known not only as a *wali* (saint), but also as an expert in Arabic letters, as well as a master in *fikh* (Islamic jurisprudence) and

mystical power. Nowadays, a considerable number of Madurese and Javanese kiai consider him their great teacher because their earlier generations studied in his pesantren (about 200 m from the *alun-alun* of Bangkalan). Among his prominent santri, Kiai Wahab Hasbullah and Kiai Hasyim Asyari who were two of the founders of the Nahdlatul Ulama, studied under his guidance (Dhofier, 1982; Bruinessen, 2001; Bakhri, 2006). Kiai Kholil is still alive in the mind of the Madurese not only who live in Madura, but also outside Madura. To many pilgrims, his grave is considered as the last-visited major places of pilgrimage which spread from Banten in the west side of Java until Madura. At this moment, the mosque and the surrounding area of his grave is under construction.

Therefore, it is not uncomplicated to make such a distinction since a number of kiai in Madura were also relatively orthodox in identifying themselves with Islamic modernism. We may also recognize that a considerable number of kiai in Madura were returning haji. Hence, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Madura, haji—whether or not became or considered as a kiai—emerged as one of the important elements in the society or at least gained stronger religious authority among the population.

Regarding haji, it seems that the number of people who performed this ritual in Madura increased every year. In 1880 there were 896, while in 1885 there were 1.111 and five years later, in 1890 there were 1.364 haji. Haji who were not in charge of a pesantren were highly regarded not because of their capability in religious knowledge, but merely because of their financial ability to afford the expensive journey. In the second half of the nineteenth century, only a few number of farmers had the opportunity to perform pilgrimage, compared to better-educated people such as village secretary. The pattern was altered in the early twentieth century when more farmers and merchants—due to the improved economic conditions—obtained economical benefit that made them possible to go to Mecca (Kuntowijoyo, 2002: 333-335).

Earlier than the haji generation, religious leaders in Madura had established their position in the eighteenth century. Luc Nagtegaal even proposed that already in the seventeenth century, Kiai had developed their own networks separate from those of the aristocracy (Nagtegaal, 1995). For present Madurese, religious leaders mean kiai. However, the term kiai in Madurese tradition is not static throughout time. In the first place, kiai was a title addressed for people who had a special characteristic, either in positive or negative sense. Therefore, a criminal or even a Chinese Muslim merchant could be called a kiai if they derived and inherited a special characteristic compared to commoners. Kiai was also one of the Madurese noble titles (Fattah, 1951: 68-69). The Madurese noblemen, especially the regents, had close relationships with each other in the sense that they had family ties. In Pamekasan, for instance a significant number of the descents of Adikoro (one of the rulers of Pamekasan in the eighteenth century) became ulama in Pamekasan (Sumberanyar, Banyuanyar, Batuampar, and Tattango), Sampang (Prajan) even in some places in Java, such as Bondowoso (Blindungan, Pancagati, and Prajekan), Situbondo (Panjhi, Sukorejo, Asembagus, and Bajulmati) and Probolinggo (Klapasawit, Randupangger, and Kebonsari). Besides tracing the lineage to Adikoro, those ulama were also said as descents of Sunan Giri, Sunan Bonang (two of the Javanese nine saints) and Pangeran Asmorokingking of Mataram (Fattah, 1951: 107-108).

It was probably in the eighteenth century that the ulama founded religious centres, particularly in Madurese rural areas. It is more appropriate saying religious centres rather than pesantren even though in the Madurese legendary history, the term *santri* (a pupil or pupils in a pesantren) is widely used to refer to people who studied under the guidance of a religious teacher during the early generations of the Madurese. (Fattah, 1951: 31; Beuinessen in Marschall, 1994: 121-145). In Madura we know that in the nineteenth century there were statistical reports about the number of santri. In 1865 there were 2.504, in 1866, 9.674 and in 1871 there were 18.106 santri (Kuntowijogyo, 2002: 331).

Pesantren exclusively belonged to kiai or kiai family and were seen as religious centres to educate santri who wished to develop into religious leaders or simply because they were sent by their parents. *Pondok* (lodge) as part of pesantren were built in order to facilitate santri who came from a far place to reside in the pesantren. In Sumenep, based on local tradition, Pesantren Guluk-guluk was established around the second half of the nineteenth century and in Bangkalan and Pamekasan respectively, pesantren Kademangan of the famous Kiai Kholil and Batuampar were also founded at the relatively same time. According to Touwen-Bouwsma, there were two possibilities why religious centres could develop independently out of the rulers. In the first place, unlike the political elite, kiai had to support themselves and perhaps they expanded new places with the help of villagers. In the second place, it seems that the villagers gave them land since these villagers believed that kiai also belonged to the elite group (Touwen-Bouwsma, 1992: 99-129).

The additional economic benefit of some villagers facilitated kiai in financing their pesantren. Kiai and other religious figures, such as *guru ngaji* (teacher of Quran reciting), *imam* (leader of prayer), *juru kunci* (caretaker in a graveyard), *merbot* (gatekeeper of mosque), *modin* (muezzin), and *naib* (sub-district pangulu) particularly those who involved in arranging religious life in villages, including in maintaining pesantren, appeared to boost their position among village inhabitants. They were needed especially during ritualistic festivities, such as *kenduri* on Friday evening to commemorate the deads and or *slametan*, in order to honour Abdul Qadir Jaelani (the founder of Qadiriyah tarekat). Moreover, some kiai, besides showed their capacity as man of learning in Islamic realm, they also performed mystical Islam, such as predicting the future, healing people's illness and giving martial arts lessons. The supernatural powers, drew from mystical Islam were indeed important attributes to develop power and authority relations. The nineteenth century Madura, as well as in other places in the Netherlands Indies witnessed these circumstances.

Meanwhile, under the pressure of the Dutch colonial administration, the local elite were slowly incorporated into the Dutch colonial administration during the nineteenth century. For religious figures and mainly villagers, it means that the elite also allied themselves with the infidel power of the Dutch. As a result, religious leaders, along with villagers had to face disappointments and dissatisfactions since they had viewed the elite as autonomous, ideal and influential leaders. The people then searched for others to give guidance which would bring harmony in life. In fact, the earlier local elite had enjoyed mutual relations with the prominent religious figures since they were not willing to acknowledge the authority of rulers recognised by VOC. They turned to religion in order to preserve their high place in the society. This situation changed in the nineteenth century when they became a mere tool of the colonial bureaucracy. After the East Indies were placed under the authority of Governor-General Herman Willem Daendels in 1808, he reorganized the administration on the orders of King Louis Napoleon, the ruler of the newly established Kingdom of Holland (Atsushi, 2006: 143). Daendels created a centralistic government. All government affairs were arranged from Batavia. The colonial government based the administrative mechanism on a western model, placed sultans and their families under the Dutch colonial government, and converted them into bureaucrats. Daendels' purpose was to run the government under direct rule, so that he could rule the people without the local rulers as intermediary (Kartodirdjo, 1966: 52).

However, people did not like it when their leaders being integrated into the colonial administration. Unlike the local elite, the religious figures, such as kiai succeeded in preserving their independence. Villagers gradually turned to the religious figures. This does not mean that they occupied the fundamental position among the villagers after Daendels came into power. They became central local leaders in religious, spiritual and limited social matters. The decline of the local elite's legal leadership had a direct consequence: this led the ulama to reinforce their position in society. The changing pattern of the local hierarchy due to the

Dutch colonial government in Madura can be seen as the main factor in strengthening the position of the ulama as religious leaders.

Kiai as the Ringleader of People's Power

After the Japanese occupation came to an end, the new state needed to establish. Indonesia appeared into neither as an Islamic state nor as a secular state. A compromise emerged as the result of discussions of the founding fathers. Therefore, the solution was the acceptance of spiritual values as expressed in Pancasila. Throughout time the relationships between the central government and the religious leaders have changed. Every regime has its own policies towards Islamic power. After Suharto's fall, there were three main issues raised by Islamic leaders that influenced the point of view of the Islamic leaders regarding the position of Islam and Muslims in the state. Those issues were related to the interaction between Islam and the state. In the first place, there appeared the historical aspect as the result of Muslim's conviction that they had played a significant role in the formation of the Indonesian identity. Second, there emerged the theological issue that voiced Islam as a set of teaching that should govern all aspects of human life. In the last place, there was the sociological reality that Islam is the ultimate religion for most Indonesians and thus this social majority should also become the political majority (Harris in Antlov and Cederroth, 2004: 61-76). Likewise, the fluctuating relationship between the central administration and local Islamic leaders varies in one place and the others. To depict the situation in Madura not only after 1998, but also during the New Order era as well as to make a limitation, I am concerned with the roles of prominent kiai of NU and the NU itself in relation with the political spheres in Madura.

It is commonly acknowledged that kiai in Madura have a great influence in Madurese society. Kiai are seen as people who have extensive knowledge of Islam that their capability in religious realms goes beyond that of the commoners. They are respected

for their position as the most authoritative source within the Islamic dominion. The high regard given by public creates them as commanding figures, the position which they have achieved for such a long period. It is mostly in villages and districts that the great power of kiai has been felt, not only by villagers but also by village officials. Village authorities not only have been confronted but also have enjoyed the benefit of the kiai's leadership among the people. Without kiai's support, it was less possible to generate the involvement of the villagers in the implementation of development programmes during the New Order era.

Hierarchy appears in the world of Madurese kiai. The Dutch classified kiai into three groups: *guru ngaji* who teached Quranic recital, *guru ngaji kitab* who lectured various subjects in Islamic literature and *guru tarekat* or tariqa leader (Kuntowijoyo, 2002: 333). Mansurnoor (1990: 335) who conducted research in Pamekasan constructed another grouping. The sequence from low to high is *mak kaeh*, *imam* of the village mosque, kiai of a minor pondok and kiai of a larger pondok. Such distinction is indeed useful in identifying the development of religious figures that up to present day forms a dynamic position vis-à-vis the state. However, since one of my main concerns is to deal with the socio-political roles of the ulama in a certain period, I tend to adopt the specific term of kiai who in this respect belong to pesantren whether or not they lead the pesantren itself or are only integrated in the pesantren board and whether or not they have extensive Islamic knowledge, but are highly regarded as public figures. This adoption is generated after I found out that even though the kiai are known as religious leaders, however, within the Madurese society their relations with the people are best described as complex phenomena, involving social, political as well as economical elements. Therefore, I am not only discussing the kiai who belong merely to religious realms, but more than that, I am focusing more on the kiai whose leadership is acknowledged in the socio-political spheres.

The high status addressed to the kiai is also enjoyed by their families. People's regard for the kiai families is central to their victory in winning sympathy as shown in their deeds. Their institutions and personalities have also played significant roles in gaining such victory. The position of kiai in Madura is an ascribed status. Exceptions however occur. A prominent kiai in Sampang who is recognized with his distinctive clothe, Kiai AM is a striking figure for many Madurese. During the Suharto administration, he was known for his strong support to Partai Persatuan Pembangunan (PPP). He is the fourth son of eleven siblings and was born when the Dutch power still occupied his fatherland. His father was a farmer. When he was a teenager, due to the hard times on Madura, he escaped from the island and resided in Java. Looking back at a century earlier, the main problem of the Madurese was already the same as that of the twentieth century: that their land was rather dry. Irrigation was only possible in several places. The number of *sawah* (rice field) and *tegalan* (dry land planted mainly with vegetables and other secondary crops) was not adequate to feed the population properly. As a result, a great number of Madurese had migrated to Java. The greater part of the migrants went to Besuki and Banyuwangi (Goor, 1976: 190-202). For Kiai AM, Java became a place where he gained a more respectable status by becoming a merchant. During the Sukarno regime, he went to Mecca not only for pilgrimage, but also to study there. Like many Madurese kiai who had studied earlier, as soon as he returned to his homeland, he led a pesantren and began to spread his influence.

Kiai AM is not a product of a kiai family. He did not have the privilege as *lorah* (kiai's son) who have enjoyed the honorific title and all the consequences. Although leading a pesantren for ordinary men who do not have kiai lineage is possible, yet they still face difficulties vis-à-vis the dominant position of other kiai, particularly that of Kiai Kholil's descendants in the western part of the island. Moreover, running a pesantren also requires sufficient resources and in Madura, tradition plays important factor as well. Therefore, a beginner like Kiai AM had to face

tremendous pressure in his attempts to win public's opinion. It is true for many villagers and santri and for many Madurese in general, since the status of kiai is a distinguished position.

Kiai's position is not always independent. They are also dependent from their followers. Charismatic factors alone are not enough in preserving their position and popularity. The *umat* (*umma*-members of a religious community) also demand kiai not only possessing extensive Islamic knowledge, but also power and authority in religious realms. As an elite group, they have played important roles, not only in local politics, but also in the national politics. As religious teachers, they need to be aware of the current situation in the society, including that of the political matters. They are considered higher than the commoners. Consequently, they have to be able to make decisions in all aspects of life. This high position leads to a great achievement where their influence often surpasses that of the formal authority.

Kiai AM was first known in the national level in September 1993 when the Nipah dam case in Sampang ruptured. Landowners surrounding the site protested the plan to acquire their property after they were forced to negotiate in a heated circumstance (Interview with a local inhabitant on 23 November 2009 and a local activist on 25 November 2009). The protesters became easy targets for the military power who were allowed to shoot. Kiai AM, together with Sampang residents demanded justice. As a result, the shooting-soldiers who caused four deaths were brought to court and penalised. However, for quite a while, the regent who allowed the armed forces to shoot was still in charge. Only after the case attracted nation-wide public opinion, the *bupati* (the regent) was eventually removed.

The kiai's involvement in the violent case can be seen as a required factor demanded by public. People have a great expectation of their leaders. Not only is that, due to their status, kiai demanded to provide their followers with religious services and advice, including guidance in marriage-divorce and inheritance issues. As a leading public figure, a kiai usually has certain social

expertise in addition to their Islamic knowledge. In this sense, Kiai AM is great orator. He believes that politics is compulsory for Muslims. As a Madurese kiai, his support for Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) is almost unquestionable. The NU from its establishment until present days has provided numerous Madurese kiai with a great network. The traditional network based on kinship and marriage certainly still keeps its importance, nevertheless the NU network is able to transfer the kiai to higher levels. When the NU at its 1984 congress decided to return to its 1926 charter or the 1926 *khittah*. NU chose to withdraw from practical politics. In its khittah of 1926, NU was stated that it would act solely as a religious, social and cultural organization, according to the original intention. In 1984 NU ended its political affiliation with PPP and offered their followers the freedom to vote for the PPP, Golkar or PDI (Vatikiotis, 1993: 124; Raillon, 1993: 197-217; Dijk, 1996: 109-143). Kiai AM criticised it. He also repeatedly stated his opposition against the attempt to secularise the organisation by accepting Pancasila as its sole ideology.

The enforced adoption of Pancasila as the state ideology, not only for the nation but also for its citizens, was the last of the major confrontations between the state and its opposition forces, particularly Muslim groups. All Muslim groups, either in the form of political parties or socio-cultural movements, were forced to accept Pancasila as their sole philosophical base. Most Muslim organizations, such as Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah accepted this ideology without a serious institutional problem, while the PII (Pelajar Islam Indonesia-The Indonesian Muslim Students) openly rejected the idea, and the HMI (Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam-The Muslim Student Association) experienced internal conflict, with one group accepting and the other rejecting it (Ramage, 1995: 38). Subsequently, they had to abandon or downgrade their long-preserved Islamic ideology (Suryadinata, 1989: 104), whereas the early years of the New Order were often labelled "the honeymoon period" between the government and Muslims (Antlov, 2004: 6). In fact, according to Nurcholish Madjid, most Muslim groups concentrated themselves on ritual and social

programs or education, without entering the political arena (Madjid, 1989: 77).

Nonetheless, Kiai AM still believed that the PPP is a party for Muslims. On the one hand, he insisted that it is a big sin for Muslims to vote other than the PPP. On the other hand he refused the idea that Islam had to be implemented in an Islamic country. He also supported a prominent secular figure, Megawati Sukarnoputri during the 1997 general elections. The removal of Megawati from the PDI leadership boosted the popularity of Megawati. As a result, a PPP branch in Central Java supported her. The term "Mega-Bintang" during the campaigns subsequently arose as a powerful symbol of Islam and nationalism. Many pundits believed it was the idea of Kiai AM.

Prominent kiai such as Kiai AM are aware that consultation services can be their magnetism. A village mosque imam, who serves as leader of Friday prayer in a village in Bangkalan where influenced kiai are not present, informs me that he even visits top kiai not only in Bangkalan but also other municipalities in order to seek advice from the kiai. Such guidance including getting *barakah* (blessing) from the kiai, how to lead village ceremonies and religious instruction properly, how to provide village children with a basic belief system and how to gather individuals for *gotong-royong* (volunteerism or mutual aid) services when building religious places. Even though he has been occupied with the above routines and has been aware how to carry out the above issues, his visits to the kiai are still inevitable, as getting barakah be the main goal (.Interview with a village mosque imam on 2 December 2009). Unlike prominent kiai who receive funds from visitors, village mosque imam only collect small contributions from the villagers. Religious knowledge and surely popularity play important parts in determining the amount of funds that a religious leader can get. However, village mosque imam still enjoy social and religious prestige, mainly not only because of their Islamic expertise, but also because of their proficiency with the supernatural world, especially when big kiai are not there.

When an influenced kiai with his pesantren exist in a village, the religious leadership is in the hand of the kiai. A prominent kiai usually keeps the distance between him and villagers since being too close can lead to the loss of his influence. His image as the source of information has to be sustained. Commanding influence over large followers is not an easy task. Therefore, a kiai needs prestige in order to do so. Expertise and self-determining attitude are necessary virtues for a kiai. An admired image thus needs to be created. His followers, certainly his santri can be his messenger to spread his influence among the villagers.

During the 2008 Pilkada (*Pemilihan kepala daerah*-general elections in a province or municipality) of East Java province, Kiai AM was a commanding figure for his support to one of the couples of candidate. Khofifah Indar Parawansa as the only female candidate for governor paired with Mudjiono (under the slogan KAJI) to run in the election were legitimated by the kiai's *fatwa* (a non-binding opinion concerning Islamic law issued by an Islamic teacher/leader) in 2008. The fatwa was issued as a response to his followers and a number of kiai who questioned about the legality to vote for a female candidate. In the fatwa, the kiai declared that a woman has the rights to struggle like a man. He also denied a view that forbids a woman to be a leader. Consequently, he appealed people of Sampang and Bangkalan to vote for the couple. Moreover, he gathered several kiai, *klebun* (village head), public figures and thousand commoners from Sampang and Bangkalan in a wedding feast of his grandchild to rally support from his devotees. Although some of the five pairs of candidate had Islamic background, the concentration centred primarily on two pairs. The other pair was Soekarwo and Saifullah Yusuf (KARSA). The other three pairs were Soenarjo-Ali Maschan Moesa; Soetjipto-Ridwan Hisyam; and Achmadi-Soehartono.

Yusuf was well-known to posses traditional genealogy of NU's leaders. However, on the other side, Parawansa was also a prominent figure in NU. She was a minister during Abdurrahman Wahid presidency. In Bangkalan, Kiai IBK who is a descendant of

the famous Kiai Kholil also gave support for Parawansa. It was also in Bangkalan where a dispute between the descendants of Kiai Kholil occurred. It was reported that Mahkamah Konstitusi (MK-The Constitutional Court) discovered the most systematic, structured and massive violation in Bangkalan and Sampang during the Pilkada (http://www.pemilu-online.com/index.php/en/KPU_Klarifikasi_Pelanggaran_Pilkada_Jatim.html. Accessed on 9 March 2010). Another prominent figure of Kiai Kholil's clan, Kiai FA stood behind Soekarwo and Saifullah Yusuf. The two kiai made use the popularity of their common ancestor to rally support for the competing candidates. It was reported that *carok* occurred in Bangkalan after the election.

One of the most visible features in the long process of the Pilkada was the involvement of the NU's cadres. Their support was a significant contribution for candidates such as Parawansa, Moesa, Yusuf and Achmadi. Such support led to the dissension among the NU's followers. It is interesting to note that although the NU's top figures insisted that the support from several NU's kiai was not an official policy of the organization, however, a considerable number of influenced kiai were actively participated by means of their influence in winning their own contender. The existence of the NU as the biggest Islamic organization in Indonesia, especially in East Java was highly taken into consideration by political parties by the fact that the main political parties had their candidates from NU followers, such as PPP whose contestant was Parawansa, Golkar whose nominee was Moesa, while Partai Demokrat (PD-The Democrat Party) and Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN-The National Mandate Party) gave their support to Yusuf and Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (The National Awakening Party) sponsored Achmadi. Since the NU has attracted major kiai in East Java who are centres of local networks, it is able to rally the voters through such networks. Some prominent kiai know their vast networks very well. For instance, kiai who have belonged to PPP knew precisely that the people of eastern salient of East Java have been the traditional significant suppliers for the victory of PPP during the New Order era, at least until the general elections of 1987. As

a result, KAJI won in the "*Tapal Kuda*" In English it is translated as The Eastern Salient, while in Dutch, it is called *De Oosthoek* in Pasuruan, Probolinggo, Jember, Lumajang and Banyuwangi area where in some municipalities, the Madurese are the majority of the inhabitants. Meanwhile, some progressive kiai in Mojokerto, Jombang, Nganjuk and Kediri under the umbrella of PD and PAN could also maximize their influence by gaining support from the majority of the voters. Consequently, KARSA won in this area.

Kiai AM, like many other kiai who supported their own contestant during the Pilkada were aware that their casualness and open-door attitudes could significantly boosted the fame of the candidates among visitors who happened to visit them. Since visitors come to see kiai whenever a problem arises and certainly when they have funds to pay the visit, during the Pilkada process those kiai applied different policy. The kiai's daily time-table for teaching santris and leading prayers did not become the defining and practical factor in receiving visitors.

Moreover, the prestige of a kiai is collected from the gathering of visitors. Top kiai are aware that they can have a better image of the society by encountering with people not only from their own region, but also from other areas. During the New Order era where access to radio, television, newspapers and magazines only belonged to the minority of the educated people in villages, kiai had much better access compared to the villagers and thus they were able to spread up-to-date topics to their visitors. Via the latest information they possessed, they could create more awareness among the visitors. However, they were also aware that by presenting their independence, kiai could prove that they were responsible only to God. By distancing themselves from the irreligious realm, kiai fruitfully gained the trust from their followers. As long as a kiai is independent, he will enjoy his leadership among his followers. During the Suharto adminis-tration, the independence attitude of a kiai was implemented in the support for PPP as a Muslim party or being neutral, while

support for Golkar was considered a disloyalty to Islam (Interview with Kiai MF on 1 December 2010).

Kiai as the Ultimate Moderate Leader

Another example how kiai preserve their position in the society comes from Bangkalan. Like Kiai AM in Sampang, Kiai NR is also a notable figure not only in Bangkalan, his place of origin, but also in East Java Province. Although he never associates himself with any political party, his influence goes further beyond his pesantren. Like Kiai AM, Kiai NR is also a product of the NU.

Despite his non-involvement in a political party, as shown in Kiai AM's feature, Kiai NR is still an eminent religious leader in the world of Madurese ulama. His great influence in Bassra (Badan Silaturahmi Ulama Pesantren Madura-The Association of Friendship of Madurese Pesantren Ulama) has been demonstrated in numerous facets not only in the religious realms, but also in socio-political spheres. Moreover, his leadership in two pesantren in Bangkalan has also attracted some political parties to recruit him as a leading cadre. Kiai NR was born in the 1950s. Like many other santri, he studied in several pesantren, such as Pesantren Al Khozini in Sidoarjo, East Java. As a child, he spent some years in a number of pesantren in Madura, such as Pesantren Darul Hikmah and Pesantren Al-Hamdaniyah. His higher education was accomplished in two universities, in a private university in Surabaya where he obtained a bachelor degree in law and in a then state-funded university in Bangkalan where he obtained another degree in law. Kiai NR comes from a lower ulama family. His study times in Java were the early stages that would eventually affected his pattern of thought on social and religious issues. In the pesantren tradition, the children of kiai are highly influenced by their parents. The first lessons of Islamic knowledge are taken from their parents. However, in most cases, they are encouraged to obtain more training in famed pesantren following initial teaching in the family. To become a kiai, a santri needs to carry out several steps. In Madura for instance, he has to belong to a

kiai family. A member of a renowned kiai family in Bangkalan told me that a kiai in Madura has to meet three essential requirements in order to be acknowledged in the religious circle in Madura. The requirements are: 1. He has to belong to a kiai family; 2. He has to lead a pesantren; and 3. He has to belong to the NU. If one cannot meet one of the three requirements, he cannot be considered kiai in the vast network of kiai in Madura (Interview on 11 November 2009).

However, not all Madurese and Madurese kiai have been continuously keeping such a view albeit the popular approval of certain kiai families as the only legal inheritors of religious leadership is still noticeable. As Mansurnoor saw, the kiai families of Banyuanyar in Pamekasan have achieved the high status in the society through long history and tradition. Yet each individual in the family is not automatically upgraded to become a prominent figure, although he is given access to such a position. In order to explain this phenomenon, Mansurnoor believes that the ulama should be looked at as an institution in the sense of a cluster of attributes. It consists of the personal holder of the position and an indispensable set of characteristics such as family background, resources, religious centres and a network of followers (Mansurnoor, 1990: 238).

After finishing his religious education, his last mentor will train him to build his own pesantren. Kiai's interventions are obviously seen when they come to a marriage subject and a santri's leadership matter. Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari's interferences can be witnessed when Kiai Manaf Abdulkarim, the founder of Pesantren Lirboyo in Kediri, Kiai Jazuli, the founder of Pesantren Ploso in Kediri and Kiai Zuber, the founder of Pesantren Reksosari in Salatiga were finishing their study in Pesantren Tebuireng in Jombang, under the guidance of the prominent kiai. During their last times in the pesantren, the three santri were appointed senior teachers. They were entrusted to deal with religious and non-religious issues such as tutoring younger santri, placing new santri and even hosting santri's parents who visited their children. When

the kiai was ensured that the capacity of the three santri was improved in order to lead their own new pesantren, he arranged marriages for them. In the early period during their leadership in the newly built pesantren, they were also provided a number of santri from Tebuireng. These santri were initial assets for the young kiai in enlarging their pesantren further (Dhofier, 1982: 59).

Kiai NR's early participation in socio-political issues can be witnessed in some organizations where he became a member. Several of which are Komite Nasional Pemuda Indonesia (KNPI-The National Committee of Indonesian Youth), Ikatan Pelajar Nahdlatul Ulama (IPNU-The Student Association of Nahdlatul Ulama), Gerakan Pemuda Anshor (GP Anshor-The Youth Movement of Anshor) and Majelis Wilayah Cabang Nahdlatul Ulama (MWCNU-The Branch District Assembly of Nahdlatul Ulama). The last three organizations are the NU's offshoots. Kiai NR's contribution in NU has led him to obtain a number of strategic positions within the organization. For instance, he was one of the board members of the NU branch Bangkalan. Currently, he is one of the vice chairmen of the NU branch of East Java. During the period of 2004-2009, he became a member of Dewan Perwakilan Daerah (DPD-The Regional Representative Council) representing East Java province. Kiai NR insists that he formally never belongs to any political party although it is clear for us that he was a member of KNPI, one of Golkar's offshoot organizations.

One of his earliest involvements in the socio-political sphere was due to the plan to build a bridge connecting Java and Madura. A number of Madurese kiai gathered and discussed this issue. The establishment of Bassra was generated by the Madurese kiai's concerns to strengthen the ties between kiai in Madura who lead pesantren. In its development, the non-formal organization has also established itself into a medium for the Madurese kiai to voice their socio-political concerns. One of their early concerns was their rejection of Porkas/SDSB (the state-sponsored lottery) in. During its heyday, SDSB was managed by a foundation run by PT Arthadana Kriya in which several wealthy entrepreneurs with

powerful patrons collaborated there. Numerous elements of the society condemned it as well as the opposition from the Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI-The Council for Indonesian Ulama). The organization is also concerned with "aliran sesat" (religious deviation) as well as other "kemaksiatan" (in violation of God's law). Nevertheless, the strong opposition of Bassra to the plan to build the Suramadu Bridge was its main recognized indicator as a rival for the government.

Bassra consists of kiai who lead pesantren in Madura. The membership spreads all over the island. Kiai Muhammad Cholil AG, one of the charismatic ulama of Madura from the legendary Kiai Kholil Bangkalan dynasty and Kiai Tijani Jauhari of Pesantren Al-Amin Prenduan, Sumenep from the renowned Kiai Chotib of Sumenep family were the architects of Bassra. As a non-formal organization, Bassra does not have fixed members. Any ulama in Madura can join the organization. Kiai NR claims Bassra of having 90 % of ulama in Madura as its supporters (Interview on 1 December 2009). In another interview with a kiai who represented PPP in Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Tingkat II and Tingkat I (DPRD-The Regional People's Representative Council) Bangkalan and East Java respectively, I found out that some kiai are not asked to participate in Bassra because of some reasons. In every municipality, there are two central coordinators and several regional coordinators. Recently, Kiai NR was appointed a central coordinator in Bangkalan. During the rejection of the Suramadu Bridge, he acted as the general secretary as well as its public relation executive.

In its draft of statutes, it is said that Bassra derives its conceptial considerations from the agreement of Madurese ulama in a meeting held in Pesantren Al-Amin Prenduan, Sumenep on 1 November 1992; the Declaration of Madurese Ulama (a proposal from the Sampang branch of Bassra in the mentioned meeting in Sumenep, that later was established as Tafsir Azas Bassra); and an outcome of a meeting in Pesantren Al Hamidy Banyuanyer, Pamekasan in August 2009. Moreover, in the draft Bassra is also

said as a medium of communication, consultation and coordination of pesantren ulama who stand for and above all groups in Islam in a form of an association which does not belong to any organization, political party and group. Bassra does not have member. However, they have Dewan Penasehat (Advisory Council), Dewan Koordinator Pusat (Central Coordinator Council), Dewan Koordinator Daerah (Regional Coordinator Council) and Dewan Perwakilan Bassra (Bassra Representative Council). All councils are represented by the Madurese pesantren ulama. Out of the councils, all people involved in Bassra's activities are identified as participants (Draft Pokok-pokok Pikiran Reorganisasi Bassra is unpublished draft. The draft is in author's possession).

The strong opposition between Bassra and the New Order government regarding the plan to build the bridge connecting Java and Madura was seen by the government as main obstacle for the integration of regional societies in the Indonesian social, political and economic system. For the ulama, it was seen as an attempt to reduce the socio-political influence of the religious leaders in society. However, the process from the first rejection until the consensus was reached was not an easy development. It took a long route and definitely involved many interests.

In 1960s, Professor Sedyatmo, a notable engineer who found Pondasi Cakar Ayam (Chicken's Claw Foundation) raised the idea of bridging Java and Sumatra. The idea then developed into a plan to build a bridge connecting Java and Madura since it was more reasonable to implement. On 14 December 1990, The Development Project of Surabaya-Madura Bridge and The Development Project of Regional Area were installed as national projects through The Presidential Decree No. 55 year 1990 on The Development Project of Surabaya-Madura Bridge. The national project involved several ministers and local officials from the Suharto administration. Until 1997, since the project required a great amount of funds, the long processes were still unimplemented. When Indonesia was affected by the 1997 financial crisis, the project had to be delayed under The Presidential Decree No.

39 year 1997 on the suspend/reconsideration of the development projects of BUMN (Badan Usaha Milik Negara-state-owned enterprise) and private sectors attached to BUMN. After the crisis, the plan to build the bridge re-emerged after the issuance of The Presidential Decree No. 79 year 2003 which stated that the plan to build the bridge could be continued. The construction was started on 20 August 2003 and was opened for public on 10 June 2009. The 5438 metres bridge is the longest in Indonesia as well as the first bridge to cross the Madura strait (http://www.suramadu.com/. Accessed on 15 March 2010).

Since 1991, a great number of the Madurese ulama had argued that the industrialization of Madura would lead to a breakdown for the Madurese. Via Bassra, the ulama urged the government to reconsider the policy to formulate the development of the bridge and the formation of industrialization in Madura in one package. The ulama believed that the policy would lead to a number of breakdowns. Meanwhile, the government insisted that without the industrialization, there would be no bridge. To response the policy, around 100 ulama of Bassra on 25 February 1994 gathered in Pesantren Syaichona Cholil Demangan Bangkalan to discuss the industrialization issue. The meeting was supposed to formulate a final attitude of Bassra on the establishment of industrial area as an extension of the bridge. Before the gathering, Bassra had convened a seminar on the development and industrialization of Madura in Bangkalan. Furthermore, the association had also arranged a meeting with the Minister of Research and Technology, B.J. Habibie in Pamekasan and a visit to Industri Pesawat Terbang Nusantara (Nusantara Aircraft Industry) in Bandung and the industrial area of Batam, Rungkut (Surabaya) and Cilegon (Banten) was made possible as well. Kiai AM expected that if the industrialization would be realized, pesantren should have vital roles in bridging the government's interests on the island and people's expectation about the future of Madura, such as running cooperatives (Surabaya Post, 26 Februari 1996). However, there was no concluding attitude produced in the meeting whether Bassra rejected or accepted the policy. Bassra could only conveyed their

suggestions in the "Sembilan Pokok Pikiran Bassra" (the Nine Main Opinions of Bassra) to Habibie and the related government officials on 18 August 1994. The fundamental issues in the suggestions were:

1. The development and improvement of Madura in a bigger scale is essentially urgent.
2. The development and improvement have to be in line with Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara 1993 (GBHN-Broad Guidelines of State Policy).
3. In order to acquire the achievement of the development and the improvement, there are several elements need to be considered:
   A. The development and the improvement have to be compatible with Islamic, Indonesian and human rights values.
   B. The development and the improvement have to be accommodative in order to be constructive for the Madurese.
   C. The development and the improvement have to actively involve the society, particularly the ulama, from the beginning until the unlimited time.
   D. The development and the improvement have to be implemented gradually.
   E. The human resources have to be organized as early as possible by involving pesantren in Madura.
   F. The equal cooperation between the ulama, the government and the entrepreneurs should be promoted in order to obtain fruitful achievements.
4. In order to help achieve the development, the Madurese ulama are willing:
   A. To enhance the integration of the people and the role of ulama with the intention that the development is not against Islamic values.
   B. To maintain Islamic values, observe the outcomes of the development and

   anticipate its negative effects as early as possible.

5. The expected economic growth in Madura has to be compatible with people-oriented economy.
6. In order to accelerate the process of the development and the improvement, the infrastructures need to be quickly constructed.
7. The development of agribusiness, agro-industry and home industry supported by pesantren cooperatives is the main alternative to start the development and the improvement of Madura.
8. In order to solve the lack of water problem in Madura, the building of dams is not the only solution since reforestation is a more positive option.
9. The development and the improvement of tourism industry in Madura should not be incompatible with the Islamic Madurese norms (Muthmainnah, 1998: 122-125).

The reasons of Bassra to oppose the plan to industrialize Madura can be seen in at least two aspects. Firstly, the ulama were concerned with the position of the Madurese in the development. They feared that the development would not benefit the people and would eventually lead to a failure since the Madurese in general were neither highly educated nor skilled. In the end, the Madurese would only witness the development while outsiders would play essential roles in their homeland. Kiai Badrus Soleh of Pesantren Darul Aitam, Kwanyar in Bangkalan as well as the fraction chairman of PPP in the DPRD Tingkat II Bangkalan stressed the social function of the bridge. It should be able to bridge the gap between the present less developed Madura with the future more developed Madura (Karya Darma, 22 Agustus 1994). The ulama were convinced that before the development would be executed, the education in Madura should be primarily upgraded with the intention that the first reason would not be evident. Bassra emphasized the availability of human resources in Madura, the clarity of the industrialization concept and the assurance from all parties that the development in Madura will be compatible with the condition in society (Karya Darma, 7 September 1994). Secondly, they feared that the industrialization

would lead to the coming out of immoral attitude of the Madurese. They were also concerned that the industrialization would not be Islamic-oriented. Kiai NR feared that the Madurese would not be religious anymore if the industrialization really came into reality. He mentioned that if industrial units would be erected, then they should be compatible with Islamic values. In other words, there should be mosques in factories and that the workers should be provided with sufficient time to pray during their work (Interview on December 2009).

Meanwhile, strong support also came from other factions. Kiai Luthfi Madani stated that the Madurese still need industrialization. However, he asserted that the urgent necessity would be the realization of the bridge (Karya Darma, 7 September 1994). Soelarso, a former governor of East Java believed that in principle the Madurese were relatively flexible. When the ulama already acknowledge crucial things related to socio-religious issues, the people will eventually follow their leaders. If the approach to the ulama is misleading, the result will be disappointed, that the ulama will not encourage their followers to do so (Surya, 14 September 1994). The chairman of Bassra, Kiai Kholil A.G. argued that the bridge is very vital as a means of transportation connecting Java and Madura. A similar statement was released by Kiai Mahfudz Siddiq, another prominent member of Bassra's board who pointed out the bridge as a tool to open Madura as well as to improve the connection between Java and Madura. (Surya, 25 September 1994).

From the above statements, it is obvious that Bassra did not reject the scheme of building the bridge. However, the ulama disagreed if the industrialization would soon follow as part of the deal. They wanted the building of the bridge would not be follow by the industrialization since a number of disadvantages would emerge as the result of the industrialization. Nevertheless, several ulama who were not the element of Bassra accused the association of against the development. Several ulama blamed Bassra for its negative attitude towards the plan by frequently quoting: "Is Madura going to reforestate? Do we want to be forest

men?" ("Apakah Madura mau dihutankan? Apakah kita mau menjadi orang hutan?" (Interview with Kiai NR, 1 December 2009). Moreover, a notable Madurese who was also the governor of East Java in 1967-1978, Mohammad Noer gave a suspicious remark. He believed that Bassra did not represent people`s voice. Accordingly, only the DPRD who had the rights to address their view in the name of the people (Surabaya Post, 9 Septembar 1994). The nine opinions were considered by Habibie as a rejection against the industrialization. Habibie demanded Bassra to make a declaration accepting the industrialization in Madura (Surabaya Post, September, 26 1994). As a response, Kiai Kholil stressed that it was not unproblematic to formulate a statement acknowledging the industrialization in Madura. The kiai referred to the un-responded nine opinions addressed to the minister. The kiai demanded the minister to react to the opinions first before he commanded Bassra to accept the industrialization (Surabaya Post, 27 September 1994).

It seems that the disagreement became a dispute not only between the ulama of Bassra and the government, but also between the former and the non-Bassra ulama. For the government, the development of Madura was very crucial and compatible with the New Order policy. Indonesia was concerned with constructing a viable local economy. In attempting to restore political and economic stability, Suharto embarked on a course of action very different from that followed by the previous regime. The military was given a more prominent role in Indonesian society. Politics were regulated to prevent social disharmony; state employees, peasants and the military were controlled and mobilized through the creation of a government party and managed elections. Western-trained technocrats were brought in to implement ambitious economic development plans; policies favoured by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank, international loans, and money from oil, allowed Indonesia to build a modern infrastructure in the fields of transportation, banking, communications and education. The expectation was to create a modern industrial and

service-based economy. In fact, economic development could be viewed as the main goal of the era and all parts of society were to work towards this objective. The Suharto regime also stressed agricultural self-sufficiency, the betterment of the rural farming population and a reliable inexpensive food supply for the cities. The ideological disputes that had troubled the previous regime died down during the New Order with the promotion of a particular interpretation of *Pancasila* as a state philosophy (Wood, 2005: 89).

On the contrary the ulama who believed that they are the traditional leaders of the people were the only important rivals of the government and thus pose a threat to the Suharto administration (Green, 1978; McVey in Piscatori, 1983: 199-225).

The regime was aware of the power of Islam and tried to restrain it. To a large degree, the government has been victorious from a political point of view since for instance the NU left the political arena in 1984 and became the first Muslim association to declare its loyalty to Pancasila. At first glance the New Order regime seems almost totalitarian in its stress on ideological purity. Nevertheless, in reality the New Order regime lacked an ideology in the sense of a cohesive overall philosophy which can serve as a specific guide to action. Pancasila's very lack of specificity makes it more widely acceptable in the Indonesian context than either Marxism or Islam (Crouch in Budiman, 1994: 116-117).

Kiai NR, in another case, he and and some Bassra's kiai -Kiai Abdullah Sahal, Kiai Imam Buchori Kholil and Kiai Syafik Rofi'i- were accused of being provocateur in the Sanggau Ledo inter-ethnical conflict between the Madurese and the Dayaknese in the end of December 1996 (Gatra, October 27, 2000). The inter-ethnical conflict in West Kalimantan took its root at least in 1968 in Toho, Pontianak municipality. In the 1996-1997 conflict, the trigger was a simple thing: a quarrel in a dangdut music concert between Madurese and Dayaknese youth in the end of December 1996. However, the quarrel then generated a bloodbath. Rumours spread among the Dayaknese since they believed that the

Dayaknese youth were died in the clash. The next day, 30 December 1996 hundreds Dayaknese invaded Sanggau Ledo, a Madurese settlement in Sambas municipality. A mass fight between the local people and the outsiders could not be avoided. The attack generated more turmoil afterwards. Until the end of March 1997, there were 6.000 refugees, 670 destroyed houses in Sambas and 1.078 demolished houses and 4.600 suffered refugees. Meanwhile, there were 3.122 refugees and 225 burned houses in Sanggau. It was General R. Hartono; the Staff Commander of Army who accused some members of the Bassra board for making the conflict became worse. Kiai NR and some members of Bassra board visited West Kalimantan on 9-15 January 1997. Kiai NR insisted that their trip was aimed at calming the critical situation, particularly for the Madurese. A refusal came from Ismail Hassan Metareum, the General Chairman of PPP who denied the involvement of Kiai Abdullah Sahal and Kiai Imam Buchori Kholil -well-known for their association with PPP- as the mastermind of the turmoil (Bisnis Indonesia, February 23, 1997).

Even though Kiai NR never formally belongs to any political party, however, he stated that he was a sympathizer of PPP. For most Madurese kiai, conservative doctrines are unavoidable choices since the pressure of associates and attachment to the kiai network may possibly appear and place kiai in an inescapable place. During the Suharto administration this tendency was noticeable since kiai were concerned with being alienated and isolated from their networks. The reluctance of most kiai to join various state-sponsored associations generated the problems of those organizations from attracting prominent kiai. In a bigger scale, the unwillingness of the well-known kiai to join Golkar was caused by the concern with the possibility of being neglected and secluded not only from their extensive religious networks but also from the society. For most kiai, making allegiance with Golkar was seen as serving the interests of the regime and it was consi-dered as a betrayal to Islam. Even though it was not unusual in many part of Indonesia that prominent kiai and other religious figures maintained a close relationship with Golkar and even

campaigned its political views during the general elections, For instance, Chalid Mawardi, an influential member of the NU opted for Golkar and even K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid was appointed as a member of the People's Assembly representing Golkar, yet, in Madura to state that kiai served as partners of the government is somewhat misleading. Most kiai remained outside the structure of the central power. They were very much aware that such alliance with the government could drive their influence over the people to a disadvantageous situation. Such situation includes the departure of santri from their pesantren and more importantly, losing their religious authority. Kiai NR's non-aligned position during the New Order era was derived from this point of view. Unlike Kiai AM who was champion of PPP, Kiai NR believed that being a kiai means belonging to public. As a public religious figure, he affirmed his support for the regime as well as was aware that secular groups and government-backed public religious figures might criticize him for being based his neutrality on political expediency. Certainly, he consciously recognized the benefits and the disadvantages of his position. In the first place, he was frequently asked to link himself with PPP as well as to join the ruling party. Secondly, he enjoyed the freedom to be acknowledged by the population as well as other kiai and the government who invited him for religious festivities. This, in fact, strengthened his influence over the society and flourished his religious power. In the third place, he inexperienced the delight of the "state-sponsored" kiai who obtained strong position in most state-initiated Islamic organizations, such as Majelis Dakwah Islamiyah that were loaded by civil servants, teachers and a small number of religious leaders.

After the Suharto regime collapsed, the relationships between the central government and the religious leaders have changed. We may have witnessed the vanishing sole authority of the state as well as the diminishing coercive force which are accompanied by the rise of more independent religious leaders. Golkar was weakened and its supporters whose base is religious power had to reorganize their religious authority among their followers. For

Kiai NR who was never officially endorsed by the government, he began to promote his past independent position as a valuable tool in order to maintain and even to acquire strategic position in the newly democratic and decentralized circumstance as well as to gain access to economic resources. During the Konferensi Wilayah NU Jawa Timur (The Regional Conference of NU East Java) on 11-13 October 2002, Kiai NR was a strong candidate to win the chairman position. He was backed up by the supporters from the tapal kuda area considering the fact that the region is known as the ultimate migration area for the Madurese. The migration is a long process. It got an extra push in 1768 when the VOC encouraged people from Sumenep to settle in the unoccupied area of Panarukan (Goor, 1978).

However, the support was not sufficient since eventually the supporters questioned about Imam Nahrowi's endorsement to Kiai NR. Nahrowi was at that time the head of Garda Bangsa of East Java, a paramilitary group affiliated with the PKB who was notorious as Matori Abdul Djalil's supporter in the internal conflict of PKB between Djalil's PKB Batutulis and Alwi Shihab's PKB Kuningan with Abdurrahman Wahid as its central figure. Most *nahdliyin* (NU followers) were against Djalil in the dispute and apparently this hatred also appeared during the conference. They did not want to vote for Kiai NR since Nahrowi's affiliation with the kiai might lead to a failure as was shown in the central-level conflict. As a result, Ali Maschan Moesa, a teacher from IAIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya gained victory with a wide margin in the election. Apparently, the shifting position of Kiai NR after the fall of Suharto led to a disappointment in his effort to gain the leadership, at least within the local NU. The kiai's failure to fulfil his followers' expectation resulted in his unpopularity in the election process. However, this situation also generated another different further impact on the character and life style of Kiai NR as well as on his societal activities as I will discuss in the bellow paragraphs.

In the first direct presidential election of 2004, the incumbent president Megawati Sukarnoputri paired with Hasyim Muzadi,

the general chairman of the NU. On the first round that was held on 5 July 2004, the pair received 26,61 % votes, while Susilo bambang Yudhoyono-Muhammad Jusuf Kall collected 33,57 % votes. The other three pairs obtained less than the two pairs. Since none of the five pairs got 50 % of the votes, consequently, the second round had to be carried out. The second round was held on 20 September 2004. The former cabinet member as well as retired general, Yudhoyono won the election with 60, 62 %, while daughter of Sukarno, the first Indonesian president could only collect 39, 38 %. It is not about the election itself, but the process which was performed by Sukarnoputri-Muzadi's "tim sukses" (the success team), in which Kiai NR was involved that will be discussed below.

During the election, Sukarnoputri became the target of several fatwa forbidding votes for a female presidential candidate. Majelis Mujahidin Indonesia (MMI-The Indonesian Mujahedin Council), a radical Islamic group issued a fatwa against female president. The organization had been already clear on the subject three years before, when Sukarnoputri replaced Abdurrahman Wahid in 2001 (Tempo Interaktif, June 7, 2004 accessed on 19 March 2010). Meanwhile, on 3 June 2004 fifteen old kiai, known as "Kiai Sepuh" gathered in Pesantren Raudlatul Ulum, Pasuruan to issue a fatwa not to vote for a female president. Among the kiai, there were Kiai Abdullah Faqih of Pesantren Langitan, Tuban; Kiai Chotib Umar of Pesantren Raudlatul Ulum Jember; and Kiai Mas Subadar as the host. They argued that women could become leaders of a country only when there were no eligible male candidates as well as argued that it could be made possible only in an emergency condition (Suara Merdeka, June 21, 2004). For Sukarnoputri-Muzadi, the fatwa disseminated in a sensational way by the mass media were heavy blows. Reactions emerged from many parts in the society who argued that some elements of Islamic organizations had begun politicizing religious domains. The fatwa from some kiai of NU was an outcome from a contesting legitimacy not only in contesting scriptural understanding of Quran and hadith but also in a socio-political framework between the sup-

porters of Sukarnoputri-Muzadi and Wiranto-Salahuddin Wahid. The latter is a younger brother of Abdurrahman Wahid. Therefore, it was not surprising that the kiai who sponsored the pair who had Golkar as their political vehicle issued such fatwa since the number of nahdliyin is very significant to acquire in order to win the election.

As elite in NU, Kiai NR had to stand in one of the two options. On 11 August 2004, Muzadi along with 20 kiai, including Kiai NR, Kiai Masduqi Mahfudz of Mergosono, Malang, Kiai Idris Marzuki of Lirboyo, Kiai Zainuddin Jazuli of Ploso, Kediri, Kiai Agoes Ali Masyhuri of Tulangan, Sidoarjo, and Kiai Hisyam Syafaat of Blok Agung, Banyuwangi visited Syeikh Muhammad bin Alawi bin Abbas Al-Maliki Al-Hasani in Medina. The purpose was clear. They searched for theological justification for a female leadership. This *alim* (a singular form of ulama) is highly regarded in Indonesia since many of his students have become prominent figures in Indonesia. Among them, there is Kiai Hanif Muslih of Mranggen, Demak. Moreover, Syeikh Muhammad's father, Syeikh Alawi was a teacher of Kiai Maemun Zubair of Rembang and Kiai Abdullah Faqih of Langitan. Meanwhile, his grandfather, Syeikh Abbas Al-Maliki was a teacher of Kiai Hasyim Asy'ari, one of the NU's founder. Syeikh Muhammad was said to give a favourable wind to his visitors. Based on his advice, the kiai created a justification for their support to Sukarnoputri. However, Kiai Masduqi Mahfudz stated that the visit was purely for *umrah* (a pilgrimage that can be undertaken at any time of the year) reason, not to seek a fatwa (Duta Masyarakat, 23 August 2008 and Gatra, 20 August 2004).

The process to gain legitimacy from abroad was very crucial since Sukarnoputri was not in a favourable position caused by such fatwa. The Islamic political leader is supposed to act legitimately in their use of power as long as they act for God. Such leader is able to act in a pragmatic manner, including seeking accommodation with secular factions if this is believed to give advantage for the groups he stands for (Samson, 1978). Muzadi as

well as Kiai NR possess influence, status and certainly prestige that they are perceived to possess religious knowledge and to represent the socio-political interests of their followers. The visit to Medina is thought to obtain approval from the prestigious and influenced scholar that guarantees popular support from their reliable supporters. Within traditionalist Islam culture, hierarchical religious knowledge is clearly visible. Such know-ledge is regarded higher than that of secular. Even though within the NU culture -at least until its 1984 muktamar when the organization decided to return to its 1926 *khittah* (guidelines)- the vast majority of its followers viewed the NU primarily as a religious association rather than as a political organization, nevertheless, it changed after the fall of Suharto when some influential leaders decided to establish their own political parties which were expected to be the ultimate representatives for the nahdliyin. The majority of the nahdliyin was bewildered when some other prominent leading figures opted for PPP, their old political vehicle. The confusion reappeared during the first direct presidential election of 2004 when Muzadi as the general chairman of NU contested Hamzah Haz who paired with Agum Gumelar, Muhammad Jusuf Kalla with Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Salahuddin Wahid who paired with Wiranto. Hamzah Haz, Muhammad Jusuf Kalla and Salahuddin Wahid have been well known as prominent NU leaders.

The quest for Islamic legitimacy via the so-called justification of an Arabic scholar was fruitless since the confusion about who to elect appeared within the NU followers. The votes were be-lieved to scatter to all candidates, expect it might not be possible for Amien Rais-Siswono Yudo Husodo who was nominated by PAN whose main supporters come from Muhammadiyah, the second biggest Islamic organization after the NU as well as the prime rival of the NU.

Kiai NR's political involvement in the 2004 presidential election marked his newly political orientation. During the Suharto administration, he was known for his alleged neutral attitude by

not formally joining any political party. In Era Reformasi, by representing the NU, he was elected as member of DPD for the period of 2004-2009. Madurese kiai derive their fame and eminence among the Madurese from their extensive network of colleagues, close followers and assistants. They have successfully developed their own network of associates and followers. Although Muhammadiyah and other socio-religious organizations have existed for years in Madura, however, they have never been able to obtain a large number of supporters. The NU remains an important channel for uniting the extensive networks of kiai. Nevertheless, since the networks of kiai are informal and unstable, the continuous maintenance and renewal is required. Kiai NR is not a product of the New Order. Although his socio-political capability was built during that era, however, his choice for being neutral in a political standpoint but remained a sympathizer of the PPP, has brought him into the national level. For the seat in DPD, he gained 1.268.498 votes or 7, 8 % from the total 17.533.390 votes and placed him in the third place after Kiai Mahmud Ali Zain and Kiai Muzib Imron.[1] Kiai NR's participation in the NU, Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI-The Council of Indonesian Ulama) and Bassra is not regarded as an overlapping task. In fact, the personal ties he constructs in those organizations have been important maintenance and renewal for his benefit. Moreover, since kiai regard themselves as guides for the commoners, they are continuously required to adjust to the new situation in order to maintain their position.

Conclusion

Religious leaders in Indonesia respond in various ways to ideological and political developments partially because in each area they relate to localized political situations. In present Indonesia, religious life has not been integrated into the political state. Therefore, it is not surprising to note that a considerable number of religious leaders in Indonesia, at least in the modern

period, are not affiliated with bureaucracy. However, they continue to put into effect important roles in Indonesia.

In Madura, ulama emerged as important religious leaders as well as people's leaders due to the Dutch colonial administration and the integration of the local secular elite into the foreign power. The strong preference of the Madurese that always need leaders—implemented in *bhuppa'-bhabhu'*, *ghuru*, *rato* (parents, teachers-kiai, formal leaders-state) saying, that becomes their philosophical base in their daily life—was manifested in the mutual relationship between the people and the influential leaders who successfully maintained their independence. Kiai have been seen as people's leaders in almost all aspects of the Madurese life.

In the traditional life of Madura, extraordinary people such as kiai are needed to serve as the ultimate mastermind. The rato who were seen as the mere officials of a foreign administration and their successors after the independence who have been perceived as the agent of secular state are not the ideal propagator and the proper guardian of Quran and other written materials. Thus, the intellectual ability to understand these sources has to belong to the right people. In this respect, the Madurese gradually turned to the religious figures and the decline of the local elite leadership led the ulama to strengthen their position in the society.

By keeping distance from the state, the ulama have been successful in maintaining their position in society. They have been aware that the risk of being alienated and isolated not only from their horizontal networks among the religious circle will be wrecked, but also more importantly their high position in society will gradually fade away. For some kiai, utilizing their institutions and personalities is a significant way to gain and preserve such high position. For others, focusing on religious matters is the decisive means to continuously adapt to the changing situation as the altering regimes in Indonesia seems to be very noticeable.

Kiai AM and Kiai NR are only two examples of how the Madurese ulama have played important roles in society. There are many more ulama that have also coloured the life of the

Madurese. Although religiosity is not the only visible characteristic of the Madurese—as Madurese is also notorious for their aggressive and violent attitude—yet religious life is evident in the daily life. The ulama are the ultimate factors to continuously keep the sacred values of the Madurese. If Aceh has been considered as Mecca's veranda, then it is perhaps appropriate to address Madura as Medina's veranda, in line with what many Madurese have frequently promoted.

End Note

[1] Lima Tahun Perjuangan DPD RI Jawa Timur (2004-2009), pp. 16-18.

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Bisnis Indonesia

Duta Masyarakat

Gatra

Karya Darma

Suara Merdeka

Surabaya Post

Surya

Tempo Interaktif

http://www.pemilu-online.com.

http://www.surya.co.id.

http://www.suramadu.com.

LABUHAN MERAPI AND DISASTER RISK REDUCTION: IS THERE A CONNECTION?

Benigno C. Balgos

Introduction

Being located in the typhoon belt and along the Pacific Ring of Fire, Indonesia is one of the countries that regularly experiences disasters. Table 2 shows the Top 10 disasters reported in Indonesia from 1980 to 2008 in terms of the number of people affected, lives claimed, and economic damages. In 2007, I went to Indonesia for the first time to study its language and culture. My one-year stay in the country was financed by the Southeast Asian Studies Regional Exchange Program (SEASREP) Foundation. However, one of the underlying reasons on my interest in understanding the Indonesian society is studying its disasters. Particularly, the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami, which had its epicenter in Banda Aceh propelled me to go to the country.

My one-year stay in the country provided me a ground-level awareness and understanding of the various challenges being faced by Indonesia. Not to mention that I experienced firsthand disaster occurrences in the country (i.e. earthquake and flooding). During my stay, I had an opportunity to volunteer for Oxfam Great Britain who at that time had a project in Mt Merapi, the most active volcano in Indonesia. As a volunteer, I was able to visit several villages in the slope of Mt Merapi (i.e. Selo, Magelang, Turgo) and took part in evacuation simulation activities.

Prior to that experience, I had no idea of Mt Merapi nor even visited it. However, that experience left a mark on me. As a consequence, I am back again in Indonesia for another year. This present engagement is not anymore focused on studying its language but concentrating on Mt Merapi, particularly in the communities' socio-cultural and historical knowledge on disasters. One of the aspects that I am looking at in my current work in the volcano is exploring the various rituals being undertaken by its people. Fortunate enough, last July I was able to witness and take part a yearly ritual ceremony in the area – *Labuhan Merapi.*

Table 2
Top 10 Natural Disasters Reported
Source of data: "EM-DAT: The OFDA/CRED International Disaster Database, Université Catholique de Louvain, Brussels, Bel." Data version: v11.08

Affected People

Disaster	Date	Affected	(no. of people)
Earthquake*	2006	3,177,923	
Wildfire	1994	3,000,000	
Drought	1997	1,065,000	
Flood	2006	618,486	
Flood	1996	556,000	
Earthquake*	2004	532,898	
Flood	2002	500,750	
Epidemic	1986	500,000	
Earthquake*	2007	459,567	
Flood	1983	410,497	

* Including tsunamis

Killed People

Disaster	Date	Killed	(no. of people)
Earthquake*	2004	165,708	
Earthquake*	2006	5,778	
Earthquake*	1992	2,500	
Earthquake*	2005	915	
Earthquake*	2006	802	
Epidemic	1998	777	
Drought	1997	672	
Epidemic	1998	672	
Epidemic	2004	658	
Flood	1981	500	

* Including tsunamis

Economic Damages

Disaster	Date	Cost	(US$ X 1,000)
Wildfire	1997	8,000,000	
Earthquake*	2004	4,451,600	
Earthquake*	2006	3,100,000	
Wildfire	1998	1,300,000	
Flood	2007	971,000	
Earthquake*	2007	500,000	
Flood	1996	434,800	
Flood	2002	350,000	
Earthquake*	1998	200,000	
Earthquake*	2007	200,000	

*Including tsunamis

This paper attempts to find a linkage or relationship between that ritual ceremony and disaster risk reduction (DRR), a comprehensive and an all-encompassing paradigm to build communities' resilience to disasters. Initially, the paper discusses disaster in the context of religion, particularly underscoring the strong link between the two. The paper then describes the *Labuhan Merapi* ritual ceremony highlighting the rationale in performing it. The paper then introduces DRR (principles, strategic goals, priority actions).

To link the two, Priority No. 3 of the Hyogo Framework for Action (HFA) - *use of knowledge, innovation and education to build a culture of safety and resilience at all levels*, were underscored. Specifically, the indispensability of local knowledge/culture (myths and rituals) has been emphasized. The paper concludes by underlining that myths and rituals matter in DRR, and that these are testaments of people's cultural traditions associated with disaster, as Baumwoll (2008) argues. Furthermore, it draws attention to recognize the imperativeness of socio-cultural and historical local knowledge, and not just the technical-based local knowledge that has predominantly ruled out the discourse on local knowledge in disaster preparedness (Dekens, 2007).

Religion and Disasters: A Closer Look

As a Christian and once a student of the Word, I grew up listening and reading disaster tales in the Bible. My favorite disaster account is the Great Flood. The Book of Genesis narrates this story. According to the book, the flood has been the consequence of man's disobedience to God's will. In the said narrative, the Creator sent

an immense flood that wiped-out the generation that time. However, due to God's love towards His creation, He enabled the family of the only righteous man of that time, Noah (the one who made the huge ark), to survive and to start anew again (Genesis chapters 6-8). After the forty days and forty nights of non-stop flooding, a rainbow appeared in the sky as a sign that God will not anymore send flood (Genesis chapter 9). This tale has a similar account in Mesopotamia in which the myth was written in a cuneiform (Grandjean, Rendu, MacName'e, and Scherer, 2008).

Chester, both an academic and an Anglican priest, has written intensively on the topic of *religion and disaster*. Particularly, his works has mainly focused on the role of religion in responding to and understanding earthquakes and volcanic eruptions. Chester has been writing with Duncan who is also a scholar and who's interested in how communities respond to natural hazards. Among the works that they have co-written on *religion and disasters* are: *Geomythology, Theodicy, and the Continuing Relevance of Religious Worldviews on Responses to Volcanic Eruptions (2007b); The Importance of Religion in Shaping Volcanic Risk Perception in Italy (2008); and, Responding to Disasters within the Christian Tradition, with reference to Volcanic Eruptions and Earthquakes (2010).* In the works of the two scholars on *religion* and *disasters,* the concept of *theodicy* has always been emphasized. *Theodicy* (Greek: *theos* – God; and *dike* – justice) is the idea explaining a loving god threatening his people with justice, and the eventual punishing through the presence of evil and suffering (Chester and Duncan, 2010).

My favorite story in the Bible, which I mentioned in the beginning of the paper, is an illustration of *theodicy.* Man's wickedness during those times had grieved God. Consequently, He decided to wipeout His creation from the face of the earth, both man and animals (Genesis Chapter 6). With this, the creation suffered through a disaster – flood. For a long time, *religious* interpretations have become the prevalent explanation to natural hazards. However, the rise of scientific and highly technical explanations of hazards has led to its decrease in popularity and followers. Currently, the scientific community has brand supernatural interpretations of disasters as historical curiosities and emblems of people's backwardness and fallacy (Chester and Duncan, 2010).

Chester and Duncan (2010) explained that the shift from theodicy to technology-based rationalization of natural hazards begun during the administration of President Theodore Roosevelt of the United States of America. They described that this dominant approach has been developed by Gilbert White, an American scholar, who have been doing environmental interventionist policies for Roosevelt. This brand of thinking mirrors the American *pragmatism* as espoused by one of America's celebrated social thinker, John Dewey (Wescoat, 1992; Chester, 2005b; Chester and Duncan, 2010). This dominant approach has put religious interpretations of disasters into the margins.

However, contrary to this way of thinking, Chester (2005), Chester and Duncan (2007), and Chester, et. al., (2008) underscore that viewing disaster from the lenses of religion does not only exist in many societies, but also goes beyond a particular religious tradition (Islam, Christianity, Judaism) and place. Another interesting factor to be noted in linking *religion* and *disasters* is the growing engagement of faith-based non-government organizations in responding to various disaster events. Their active involvement in disaster risk reduction activities further explains the strong relationship between the so-called two different dimensions.

Labuhan Merapi Ritual Ceremony

On the 12th and 13th of July, I participated in a sacred ritual ceremony called *Labuhan Merapi* in Mt Merapi, Indoesia's most active volcano. *Labuhan* is an Indonesia term, which means "throwing" or offering of gifts. This is a yearly event undertaken during the 29th day of Rajab (Islamic calendar). It is being spearheaded by Keraton of Yogyakarta to offer gifts to the *baureksa* or the spirits inhabiting the Merapi volcano to ensure that the said volcano will not erupt. Moreover, this is being carried-out to maintain the balance of power between Parangtritis (southern sea), Kraton (in the middle), and Mt. Merapi (located in the north). As a consequence of the equilibrium - safety, peace, and prosperity is deemed to reign in Yogyakarta.

Figure 11
Representatives from the Keraton and the village leaders lining
up in the yearly Labuhan Merapi ceremony.

The ritual ceremony, which I was able to attend, mirrors the cultural, religious, and belief systems of the dwellers in the slope of Mt Merapi and of the people in Yogyakarta. The religious beliefs of the people in Mt Merapi can be classified into animism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam (Lavigne et.al 2008). Given this, majority of the dwellers perceive the past and future volcanic eruptions as 'acts of gods' or divine in nature. The strong Javanese culture, which gives primordial importance to mystical traditions, spirit cults, ancestor worship, and spiritual healing, has immensely influenced this perception (Triyoga, 1991; Schlehe, 1996, 2010; De Coster, 2002; Dove, 2007; Lavigne et.al 2008).

In fact, my interview with Sulyanto, the village leader of Turgo, reinforces this claim. He explained to me that there are two stories associated with the volcanic eruption: (1) the *awan panas* (lava) is the garbage accumulated in the arranged wedding of the sons and daughters of Kanjeng Ratu Kidul (Princess of South Seas) and the Sultan of Keraton Merapi; and, (2) the *awan panas* is viewed as the going down of the court of Keraton Merapi. The second illustration has been documented in the study of Dove (1986) as well. People in the slopes of Mt Merapi have personified the volcano by calling it *Mbah Merapi*. This patriarchal reverence to the volcano is seen as very positive rather than viewing it as a source of peril (Lavigne et.al 2008). Sulyanto, my key informant, however said that, although

they revere and pay great respect to Mt Merapi, which is a Javanese trait, their worship and prayers are still being given to God.

The yearly event commenced with an opening ceremony in Cangkringan, one of the villages at the slope of Mt. Merapi. Present in the opening activities were *Mbah Marijan* (Mt. Merapi's *Juru Kunci*), community leaders, and representative of the Sultan of Yogyakarta. Prayers, as a means of communication to the spirits were delivered. In addition, the gifts to the spirits have been prayed for in the event. From Cangkringan, the ritual ceremony was continued in the afternoon in Kinahrejo, another village Mt Merapi. Kinahrejo is where the house of the Mt. Merapi's *Juru Kunci* or Gatekeeper is located. When I arrived in the area, I witnessed hundreds of people wearing colorful batiks lining up. Likewise, the offerings, which include fruits, vegetables, cooked rice, steamed chicken, cloths, among others have been prepared for the ritual ceremony.

Figure 12.
An example of the offering during the Labuhan Merapi.

The afternoon event started with nearly an hour of procession towards the house of the *Juru Kunci*. The palace guards and officials, imams (spiritual leaders), community leaders, farmers, children, and the communities were among those who took part in the procession.

Figure 13.
Encounter of the Sultan of Yogyakarta and Kanjeng Ratu Kidul.

Figure 14.
Mbah Marijan in the center. Taken during the Labuhan Merapi.

Upon reaching the *Juru Kunci*'s house, the delegates were greeted with songs accompanied by gamelan music. Shortly afterwards, the *Juru Kunci* and his cohorts welcomed the people with a prayer. The leader of the contingent then paid respect to the *Mbah Marijan* and to the spirits through prayers. The *Juru Kunci*

then accepted the offerings. In the Javanese religion/belief called *kejawen,* there are two important cultural or religious figures or leaders: the Sultan of Yogyakarta and the *Juru Kunci* of the volcano.

It is said that in the April 2006 eruption of Mt Merapi, the *Juru Kunci*, opted not to be evacuated even though the government ordered the people to do so. Although he did not heed the call of the state, he asked the people to follow the evacuation efforts. When he did not evacuate, *Mbah Marijan* is believed to communicate with the spirits, *pepundhen*, for three days to plead to lessen the destruction as a result of the volcanic eruption (Dove, 2006). In my interview with the *Juru Kunci*, he emphasized that one should reduce his/her food and sleep than the usual in order to understand the works of the spirits. *Mbah Marijan*, 84 years old, has been doing these things for years and has been living a simple life as evident in his place of abode.

Figure 15.
The first stop during the 2nd day of ritual ceremony. The Ibu offering gifts in front of a huge stone.

Mbah Marijan, who is believed to have been championing the Javanese culture through his way of life, has earned respect not just in Java but all throughout the archipelago. This is seen in the origin of his visitors who come to his house every Saturday for advice and conversation. In addition, his popularity resulted to his becoming an endorser of an energy drink and a political party during the last elections. Furthermore, popularity of Hamengku

Buwono X, the Sultan of Yogyakarta, has declined due to his modern and rational approach to governance. The latter has been criticized for setting aside traditional culture over business enterprises (Schlehe, 2010), which led to the much more favor and reverence given to *Mbaj Marijan.*

During the ritual ceremony, there were several cultural presentations; however, two things that I would like to emphasize in the paper are: (1) the staging of the story of the First Sultan of Yogyakarta and his encounter with Kanjeng Ratu Kidul and other spiritual characters in the Javanese history, which is deemed as the reason why the yearly *Labuhan Merapi* is being held; and, (2) when after praying for the gifts, the community scrambled to get the offerings. It is believed that the families of those who were able to get something from the offerings will be safe from any form of danger.

On the 2nd day of *Labuhan Merapi,* I together with Indonesian and French researchers went very early in the morning to Kinahrejo. The activity started at 6:30am at the house of the *Juri Kunci*. For Day 2, the main activity was the two-hour procession going up to Mt. Merapi where the gifts will be offered to the spirits living around it. The *Juru Kunci* was not able to go with us due to his age and physical condition; consequently, his son was the one who facilitated the event.

Figure 16.
Samples of the cloths offered during the ceremony.

In the two-hour procession, the key stakeholders carried the gifts to be offered. In addition, while I joined the event wearing a pair of shoes, a number of the participants opted to just walk bare foot. There were two times that we stopped during the procession. These two stops are sacred places in which the offerings were given during the day-two of *Labuhan Merapi*. For the Javanese, since rituals are acts of divine service, they can only be carried out in a certain place and specific time. These divine places, according to Javanese traditions, possess high positive energy since the spirits resides in these locations (Solikhin: 2009). What are noticeable in the two places are big stones, which are believed to be very mystical.

Upon reaching the two places for offerings, incenses were burned as a symbol of inviting the spirits inhabiting the Mt Merapi to accept the gifts being offered by the people. Additionally, the leaders of the ritual brought out the offerings from its covers one by one. Each gift has been prayed for intently. However, it was only in the last destination where the foods have been divided for the public to partake. Although the people did not scramble to get their share of it compared to the first day of the ritual, the people who were able to get his/her portion is ensured of safety and prosperity, based on Javanese beliefs.

Disaster Risk Reduction

Disaster risk reduction (DRR) is defined as "the broad development and application of policies, strategies and practices to minimize vulnerabilities and disaster risks throughout society, through prevention, mitigation, and preparedness" (*UNISDR*). This paradigm towards reducing risk as a consequence of naturals hazards is supported by the Hyogo Framework for Action (HFA), a 10-year DRR strategy adopted by 168 countries during the World Conference on Disaster Reduction in Kobe, Japan in 2005. If previous frameworks and platforms on disaster focus on vulnerability, DRR emphasizes on community resiliency. Furthermore, DRR adheres that the primary reason why people are vulnerable to natural hazards is because of their social condition and the lack of capacity to respond to disasters.

The Hyogo Framework for Action, which is a means to concretize DRR has five (5) priority action points namely: (1) ensure

that disaster risk reduction is a national and local priority with a strong institutional basis for implementation; (2) identify, assess and monitor disaster risks and enhance early warning; (3) use knowledge, innovation and education to build a culture of safety and resilience at all levels; (4) reduce underlying risk factors; and, (5) strengthen disaster preparedness for effective response at all levels. This section of the paper will give more emphasis on priority action number 3, "Use knowledge, innovation and education to build a culture of safety and resilience at all levels."

In it a known fact that experience of Simeulue Island, Aceh Province during the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami has been credited as the reason for the inclusion of local knowledge in DRR. Through the utilization of community-based cultural traditions on the behavior of the sea and the sounds from buffaloes, 80,500 people of the island were able to evacuate and seek refuge to a nearby hill. Consequently, only 7 died in the island compared to the 163,700 death toll in the entire country of Indonesia (Victoria, 2007).

Although local knowledge has finally been recognized in disaster reduction policies, Dekens (2007) argued that only technology-based knowledge that is commonly used and as-sociated with disaster management. With these, other forms of local knowledge in disaster management (i.e. socio-cultural and historical knowledge) are not fully appreciated even though they are imperative as well. Baunwoll (2008) said that people who belong to the hard sciences deem that socio-cultural and historical knowledge on natural hazards are rightful to the backward and less educated communities due to their intangibility.

Velasquez (2008) underscored that even prior to the intro-duction of scientific-based early warning systems; various communities in the world have prepared, operated, acted, and responded to natural hazards relying in their own indigenous beliefs and systems. Recent works that can be consulted to see the significance of local knowledge, particularly socio-cultural and historical knowledge (rituals, myths, traditions, and songs among others) in disaster preparedness are: *Local Knowledge for Disaster Preparedness: A Literature Review* produced by the International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development (2007); and, a thesis entitled, *The Value of Indigenous Knowledge for Disaster Risk Reduction:*

A Unique Assessment Tool for Reducing Community Vulnerability to Natural Disasters submitted to the Webster University (2008).

DRR deems that traditional/indigenous knowledge at the community level is the basis for community resilience. Given this, governments and civil society organizations should get their acts together to build the resiliency of communities vulnerable to natural hazards. As mentioned, one of the things that can be done is through awareness raising or capability building. However, any development project should be culture-sensitive.

Linking the Myths and Rituals to DRR

Religion, which in the context of this paper is in the form of myth and ritual, is significant in DRR for three reasons:

1. Culture shapes people's actions toward natural hazards.

Based on my observations, both from the ritual ceremony and my conversations with the people living in the slope of Mt Merapi, people's belief system greatly influence their notion and response to volcanic eruptions. As earlier pointed out, communities practice the *Labuhan Merapi* ritual ceremony as: (1) an offering to the spirits living inside Mt Merapi; (2) to maintain the balance of power between Parangtritis – Keraton – Mt. Merapi; and, (3) to ask for safety, peace, and prosperity. We can conclude from these that: (1) they revere and pay an enormous respect to the volcano; and, (2) this act of veneration is born out of their cultural beliefs and traditions. The village leader of Turgo revealed that the government just rely on the signs of natural environment in providing early warning information. This revelation validates Schlehe's (1996) claim that the people do not trust the government and modern science. They turn to mythology instead.

However, Lavigne et. al., (2008) argues that cultural belief has been one of the sources of low risk perception on volcanic hazards. Additionally, in a study conducted by De Coster (2002) eight years after the 1994 eruption, the people of Turgo Village still believe that they would not be affected by potential volcanic eruptions. This mindset is an example of low risk perception according to experts. Scholars have pointed out that aside from cultural factors, the low risk perception of the people is a consequence of people's

distance to the crater of Mt Merapi, the lack of visual obstacles, and the lack of knowledge on volcanic process (De Coster, 2002; Dove, 2006; Lavigne et.al 2008).

In DRR, community-based early warning system is deemed to be very important. DRR underscores the promotion of local early warning and belief systems, as they are imperative in building community resiliency to disasters. As a known fact, the dominant approach in understanding natural hazards gives primordial emphasis on technical-based early warning mechanisms. On the other hand, the people of Mt Merapi, particularly those closer to the top of the volcano and near the house of the *Juru Kunci* strongly adhere to their own understanding and signs as a result of their cultural beliefs.

2. Actions performed (rituals) are deemed to keep people safe and reduce their risk to disaster.

In DRR, actions and activities to make vulnerable communities resilient to disasters are being promoted. Various communities in the world that are at-risk with various forms of natural hazards have been doing capability building, search and rescue trainings, and simulation/drills for them to effective respond to disaster. In Mt Merapi, these things have been done as well. In fact, when I was a volunteer of Oxfam Great Britain 2008, I was able to follow simulation activities on search and rescue and evacuation in Selo and Magelang.

On the other hand, the performance of the ritual ceremony can also be seen as an action of the communities in Mt Merapi to make them safe from volcanic eruptions. The *Labuhan Merapi* is regularly undertaken for the people to be protected from any forms of danger or risk. By providing sufficient gifts and performing the century-old ritual, the spirits inhabiting the volcano will not be grieve nor be anger that will result to its eruption.

3. Culture, Attitudes, and Motivations

Finally, as seen in the ritual ceremony and the communities' perception on volcanic eruptions, the dwellers of Mt Merapi foster: (1) shared community values, aspiration, and goals. They have an optimistic sense of the future, obligation/commitment to their community, and harmony towards the goal of their community; (2)

their cultural attitudes and values enables the people of Mt Merapi to adapt and pull through from shocks and stress as a consequence of disasters; (3) feeling of personal and communal responsibility for preparing for disasters and reducing their risk on disasters; and, (4) through their belief and religious system, they posses information, resources and support needed to ensure their safety.

Conclusion

From the experience of the Javanese and the *Labuhan Merapi* ceremony we can conclude that: (1) religion, which has been shown through myths and rituals are as imperative as technology-based local knowledge as they provide a unique and tested strategy for mitigation and adaptation; and, (2) the case of *Labuhan Merapi* underscores that the relationship between *religion* and *disaster* goes beyond the notion of natural hazards as "acts of gods", which has dominated the literature in understanding the link between the two. Both of these ideas are very important in disaster risk reduction because they are testaments that people's local knowledge is a potent mechanism to reduce the risk to natural hazards.

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SELF-NARRATION

"ANAK ITU ISTIMEWA:"
Disability, Feminism, and Discourses of Development in the Indonesian Film *Perempuan Punya Cerita*

Annie Tucker

Introduction

Perempuan Punya Cerita is an Indonesian omnibus feature film, which uses four discrete stories to address various aspects of women's struggles to commandeer their own fate in the face of misfortune and oppression. Produced in 2007 and released in 2008, the film was heavily censored for viewing in Indonesian theaters due to its controversial subject matter, which includes rape, abortion, underage promiscuity, drug use, HIV infection, human trafficking and the sex trade. Since its release it has toured internationally to such venues as The Los Angeles Asian Pacific Film and Video Festival and The US ASEAN Film and Photography Festival in Washington, DC where it has garnered both shock and praise from international audiences. It is also available uncensored in the original Bahasa Indonesia online via Youtube.

Perempuan Punya Cerita emerges as a part of remarkable effort in the history of Indonesian cinema; while there has been an explosion of creativity and productivity in the film industry since 1998 and the fall of the New Order, the number of films produced and directed by Indonesian women remains quite small. The film is the fruit of a collaborative effort from the few most influential female filmmakers working in Indonesia today including Nia Dinata, the renowned director of such popular films as *Arisan!* (2003) and *Berbagi Suami* (2006), Upi Avianto, Lasja Fauzia Sustato, and one American-based collaborator Fatimah Tobing Rony who holds a PhD in from Yale University and is also the author of the book *The Third Eye: Race, Cinema, and Ethnographic Spectacle* (1996). It features both well-known celebrities and lesser-known actresses, with a cast that includes Rieke Dyah Pitaloka, Rachel Maryam, Arswendy Nasution, Kirana Larasati, Fauzi Baadila, Shanty, Susan Bachtiar, and Sarah Sechan.

The mission of the female-dominated production seems to be a paradoxical effort to speak with groundbreaking frankness about sex and women's sexuality, while still speaking primarily about how heteronormative sexual realtionships hurt and manipulate women. Through telling highly personal and locally specific stories the film explores themes of enduring patriarchy and gender exploitation, suggestively situating these particular stories within broader structures of power in order to at times obliquely and at other times more directly critique the contemporary Indonesian state and the role of women in national policy, media represen-tation, business, entertainment, and commerce. In concert with these concerns, the film seeks to understand what kinds of love and what kinds of lives are possible for women and how women might successfully care for each other across their differences. In doing so it poses familiar questions and sketches new oppor-tunities for identity and expression at the intersection of gender and disability, family and nation, development and diversity.

Perhaps the strongest work of the four, *Cerita Pulau* tells the story of Sumantri, a community midwife, and her friendship with Wulan, a young woman with autism[1]. The two live on the small island in Pulau Seribu off the coast of West Java, which while only a ferry ride away from the wealthy and cosmopolitan urban center of Jakarta seems to be at a different stage of development and modernization. Sumantri is diagnosed with stage three breast cancer and while she decides how to respond, Wulan is gang-raped by local youth. Sumantri's attempt to provide Wulan empathetic and appropriate care is hindered by the intimidation of local officials, and her attempt to seek meaningful justice is hindered by Wulan's own family's willingness to accept cash in exchange for silence. Ultimately, Sumantri's concerned husband insists they must move to the city in order for her to get medical treatment. Her house is sold, her midwifery practice is reluctantly passed on to another, and Wulan is left behind.

My paper situates this work within a long and contested history of gender relations and representation in Indonesia and connects it aesthetically and thematically to a contemporary genre of Indonesian feminist writing called *sastrawangi.* Literally

translated as "fragrant literature," *sastrawangi* emphasizes truth telling about female sexual experience and offers a phenome-nological exploration of women's sensory experiences, sensuality, and sexual subjectivities as a means to empowerment. I suggest that *Cerita Pulau* mobilizes tropes of autism and disability to convey these feminist ideals, suggest new resistant subjectivities, and critique Indonesia's own national "developmental disa-bilities" as the country negotiates policies concerning gender and access in the context of post-Reformasi globalization.

Sastrawangi and The Role of Indonesian Women in Culture and Nation

Certainly, the role of women in Indonesia has changed over time and continues to vary throughout the myriad cultures active in an archipelago of thousands of islands. However very broadly speaking, many anthropologists from outside of Indonesia have been impressed with the comparative level of status and power women possess in Indonesian society. The support provided for this position has come from diverse sources such as the historical cases of female kings and warriors in Aceh (Clavé-Çelik 2010), Javanese women's powerful economic role in the household and in the market (Brenner 1995), the matrilineal family structure of the Minangkabau of Sumatera (Sanday 2004), and the role of Indonesian intellectuals and leaders such as Kartini and Megawati. But do women really "rule the roost" in Indonesia, as the anthro-pologist Suzanne Brenner has famously purported? If you ask many Indonesian feminists working within the country today, such as Mariana Amiruddin, they might tell a very different story, arguing that both historically and up until the present time many Indonesian women experience victimization, oppression, and marginalization in their roles as laborers, wives, and citizens (Wieringa 1998; Kuswandini 2010). Such recent political developments as the new anti-pornography law, which places increasing restrictions on self-expression, lead some to suggest that women still very much have to struggle for a sense of ownership over own bodies.

From a historical perspective, many scholars have argued that Suharto's New Order government had a profound effect on gender relations by re-envisioning and re-shaping the role of women in the Indonesian family and the Indonesian nation. For example, during the events of the purported coup of 1965 members of the socialist and feminist women's group Gerwani were targeted as enemies of the state: in the wake of the political upheaval, transfer of power from Sukarno to Suharto, and well into the New Order era, thousands of women were raped, imprisoned, and subjected to enduring stigma. In the film *Pengkhianatan Gerakan 30-S PKI*, which represented the events of 1965 and was shown annually in schools and on television for decades, Gerwani women were blamed for the murder of six high-ranking generals, framed and represented as sadistic witches who danced with knives and tortured their victims with razors (Blackburn 2004; Weirenga 1998).

While free expression of all kinds was severely limited by the New Order government as structures of nationalism, education, economic development, and citizenship were shaped anew, the family structure also was re-imagined and women's roles within that structure were redefined. Some scholars see this movement as eroding a sense of independence that women had achieved under the previous president Sukarno, who had worked closely with Gerwani. While holding on to patricarchal Javanese *priyayi* values (Blackburn 2004), the New Order government redefined the ideal woman through the ideology of the "Ibu Rumah Tangah," wherein the figure of the housewife was constructed as the supporter of the husband, children, and nation. This supportive role was emphasized and institutionalized to enable a hegemonic control over women and the family. The New Order ideology of Ibuism mobilized a prosthetic motherhood to cultivate national ideology at the family level, without affording such mothers any reciprocal power or prestige.

Marching has described how this ideology of woman as supporter objectified women and subsequently rendered female sexuality taboo:

> Julia Suryakusuma sempat menyebut masa Orde Baru dengan "Negara ibu-isme"—yang menyatakan bagaimana sistem politik

> dibentuk agar bisa memerangkap perempuan lebih jauh dalam peranan mereka untuk melayani dan melupakan keinginan individual mereka sendiri. Lewat kekuasaannya terhadap media, seksualitas perempuan menjadi sorotan: Mereka dianggap sebagai sumber kenikmatan lelaki sekaligus disalahkan bila dianggap membangkitkan nafsu lawan jenisnya. […] Dalam hal ini, kenikmatan perempuan, apalagi kenikmatan seksual, dianggap tabu. Ketabuan inilah yang membuat perempuan membatasi kebebasan; tidak saja terhadap dirinya sendiri, namun juga perempuan lainnya. (Marching 2010)

The role of the woman came to be seen as existing to support structures of male desire and state development, which led to a reinterpretation of sexuality, which in turn led to self-censorship and self-regulation. This "Ibuism" was manifested and reinforced through representations of women in film and media production. As film scholar Intan Paramaditha describes,

> The representation of Ibu in New Order cinema was very significant since the regime viewed cinema as an effective tool of propaganda in shaping peoples imagination of nationhood. Like other media in Indonesia, cinema was strictly controlled by governments institutions and censorship. Films served to represent Ibu as both the proper model of femininity and the marker the national ideals. Ibu was often contrasted to the images of fallen women representing the national otherness: the prostitute or the self-absorbed woman, who are often embodied in one character. It is no surprise that award-winning films of FFI (Indonesian Film Festival) were those upholding the New Order ideology of Ibuism (mother-ism). (Paramaditha, 2010).

After the fall of the New Order in 1998, there was an explosion of art and media production. Artists and creative workers were not just able to express their own opinions without fear, they also gained access to transational and globalized media. This new freedom of exchange was supported by a ballooning middle class that was ready to consume more creative capital, by buying books, going to the movies, and etc. (Mulder, 2005). As this outpouring of media production continued, it seemed like finally there would be new opportunities for women's subjectivity to be explored and expressed. One particular genre that blossomed into this wide

open field was *sastrawangi* literature. The term *sastrawangi*, literally translated into English as fragrant literature, labels a new genre of writing, written by women and read primarily by women, that first emerged in the post-New Order environment of the late nineteen nineties. Selected representational works include Dewi Lestari's *Supernova* (2001), Djenar Maesa Ayu's *Nayla* (2005), and Dinar Rahayu's *Ode untuk Leopold Van Socher Masoch* (2002).

Common themes and elements of *sastrawangi* are sexually daring and explicit subject matter, a focus on female main characters and their perspective on contemporary life in Indonesia, descriptions of new opportunities and persisting restrictions, and an acknowledgement of the bonds that endure between women. The subjectivity represented by this new genre is complex and multi-layered, a subjectivity that interweaves personal fantasy and creativity into the roles and expectations of being a woman. *Sastrawangi* characters negotiate the mandates of career, family, and interpersonal relationships through their roles as professionals, daughters and wives, friends and lovers, all the while filtering these external facets of their life through the lens of their inner narratives that fluidly incorporate additional possibilities borrowed from dream sequences and ancient myth.

The reading audience in Indonesia had mixed responses to this new perspective on, and expression of, female subjectivity. There was disagreement as to whether *sastrawangi* plots were melodramatic or telling hard-hitting truths, and whether the style and subject matter was more aptly described as trashy pulp, or the material of a cutting edge literary movement (Lipscombe 2003). Disregarded as mere "chick lit" capitalizing on new markets by some and considered scandalous by others, *sastrawangi* never the less has reached a significant audience and has received considered critical attention for addressing enduring issues of transnational feminist concerns—for example, in writing about *sastrawangi* for *Indonesia Buku*, Agnus Sulton credited *sastrawangi* authors for carrying on the work of Cixous, Kristeva, and Irigary while locally situating it within a specific moment in Indonesian social and political history (Sulton 2010).

Perhaps the paradigmatic example of *sastrawangi* is the novel *Saman*, written by Ayu Utami and published in 1998. The novel won the Jakarta Arts Council's first prize the year it was published, was the subject of acclaim and controversy, has now sold over 150,000 copies in the Indonesian language, and is was published in English translation in 2010. Using a complicated and experimental structure that freely moves through time and incorporates multiple narrative voices, Ayu Utami weaves together the twin stories of Indonesian feminist awakening and resistance to neo-colonial policies that devastated farmers and villagers during the Suharto era. The story is build around the central love triange between Laila, a journalist; Sihar, an oil-rig worker she meets and falls in love with on assignment; and Saman, a former priest that Laila once loved as a teenager who has become an activist and whose help she must seek to achieve justice for the death of Sihar's young coworker, killed on the rig due to negligence. The novel moves between quite explicit tales of Laila and her friends' sexual fantasies and experiences, the different possibilities they have and the different choices they make, and Saman's journey from shy seminarian to international resistance fighter against mercantile fascism.

Saman is a love story, a story about friendship between women who articulate their sensuality and claim their sexuality each in their own way. But the sexuality in the book should not distract readers from the fact that is is also a highly political story about development, corruption, violence, and the new channels of mobility some Indonesians gain access to through their activities in business, study, or activism, all fields which are entangled in globalized networks of media and power. And in fact, rather than seeing the sexuality and the politics as unrelated or paradoxical, they should be read as in direct relation to one another. Partially, because frank sensuality rejects the taboos of patriarchy and the restrictions it places on women, violating the traditional expectations in Javenese and Muslim culture that women be accepting, domesticated, subordinate, and sexually innocent.

But the symbolism of sexuality in the novel becomes more aggressively political through the figure of Upi, who haunts the

novel *Saman* like a shadow sister to the more powerful, sophis-
ticated, mobile women who are its main characters. Upi is a young
woman Saman meets through his work as a priest in a small
isolated village in Sumatera. While her disability remains
unnamed, she clearly is both cognitively and developmentally
impaired, non-verbal and unusual looking, although physically
and sexually she is perfectly healthy. Upi clearly has a sensual
and sexual awareness of the world and the priest Saman wrestles
with the presence of this desire, even as the two become close
friends and even as he wrestles with his own priestly vows.

When the entire village is brutalized by military forces, Saman
is capture and tortured and Upi is raped. The meanings of Upi's
sexuality are multiple in the novel: she embodies a female
sexuality that is innocent and untamed, an integral part - perhaps
one of the most funamental aspects — of being human, something
personal and private that exists before socialization or tutelage.
Her character clearly defends sensuality as a way of making sense
of and enjoying the world, a way of expressing the desire for and
gaining access to self and others, a mode of comfort, etc. Yet her
robust sexuality, free of feelings of shame or inhibition, renders
clearly the stifling socialization of sexual practice that is thema-
tically mirrored in other stifling of the voices and choices of women
and other less-powerful figures. Beyond this, as a poor disabled
woman, Upi becomes the embodiment of a subjectivity that is
abused and violated, metonymically representing the utter disem-
powerment and disenfranchisement of local communities in
general and the women in those communities in particular.

Disability and Autism in Cerita Pulau

From the descriptions of the plots, we can see that both *Saman*
and *Cerita Pulau* express themes of sexuality in conflict with
hegemonic power through the character of a poor disabled village
woman who is raped. I'm certainly not the first person to mark
the influence of Ayu Utami on *sastrawangi*, or the culturally
significant emergence of *sastrawangi* (c.f Bodden 2010). But I would
like to pointedly explore the deployment of disability in these

works, and to encourage the consideration of the significant overlap between disability and feminist issues. Therefore, the question this paper asks in specific is: read through the lens of *sastrawangi* literature, what are the thematic links between representations of disability and feminist concerns about the body and self-expression? How and why are representations of disability and post-new Order feminist cultural production linked, and how is this expressed in the film *Cerita Pulau*? What does this connection have to say about representations of disability in the context of national development?

A question that can be asked simultaneously is, what can the perspective of disability studies bring to this discussion? Disability studies is an emerging field in the United States and Europe that came into being following the work and growing voice of disability rights activists who advocated for independent living and equal representation. Building upon and borrowing from theoretical work done by critical race and gender scholars, some key concepts and approaches of disability studies began to solidify in the nineties, and disability studies now provides a framework of questions that can be used to analyze a mulitude of issues across the disciplines of history, politics, the humanities, and cultural studies.

For example, the social constructionist model of disability posits that there is no such thing as "disability" outside of culture; in other words, there is a variety of human physical construction, cognitive ability, and personal experience and what renders one a variant a disability and the other not so is up to what the local culture is willing to accommodate and what it isn't. This social constructionist model of disability often works in concert with the community model of disability, which suggests that those who may have a physical or cognitive impairment but can still fulfill the requirements of their social role, be that through a job, a role as a caretaker, or etc, are not considered "disabled."

While some of these models are contested, the theoretical framework suggests that in the context of physical or cognitive difference we ask how this difference is being constructed through questions such as: whose needs are neglected while others needs

are being met? Whose bodies are being harmed or left out of the equation of development? Whose forms of knowledge or authority are being privileged while others are being actively or unconsciously silenced? Answers to these questions have the potential to become politically influential when directly applied to questions of state violence (for example, in the case of the *Saman* plot we can see how some characters are both wounded and killed by those in privleged positions of power) but such questions also seek to understand how power is engendered through the treatment of different bodies.

Perhaps most significant for thise paper has been the fruitful overlap of disability studies and feminist studies, in such works as "Integrating Disability, Transforming Feminist Theory" (2003) by Rosemarie Garland-Thomson and *The Rejected Body: Feminist Philisophical Reflections on Disability* (1996) by Susan Wendell, which ask how women have been to a certain extent "disabled" by patriarchal hegemonic cultural and religious restrictions, in such aspects of life as physical activity to daily mobility to all forms of advancement and achievement. Such scholars argue simultaneously not only that women are perfectly capable of enjoying and succeeding at the same tasks men are, but that additionally the women's perspective on the body may add important insight into the human experience and therefore should no longer be marginalized: in sum, that the parameters of both value and evaluation of the body and its worth need to change.

Disability studies also draws our attention to how disabled characters and representations of disability is used in narratives as a metaphoric or creative device to express other struggles. In my paper I suggest that *Cerita Pulau* calls upon disability and autism as a narrative device perhaps because of its significance in transnational discourse with regards to how it has been mobilized in discussions of the body and the senses, diversity of experience and ability, and a stubborn presence amidst the mandates and upheavals of contemporary globalization.

One way questions of autism align with questions of feminism is the focus on the sensory interface. From a scientific perspective, the most up-to-date understanding of autism considers the fact

that those with autism may sense the world around them in an unusual or atypical way: for example, some people with autism are very sensitive to external information, such that sounds may be amplified so that a normal speaking voice sounds like a scream or a the gentle touch of fabric against skin may feel quite painful. Others experience heightened sensory perception, such as an exquisite sensitivity to color or an ability to memorize and play a piece of music they have only heard once. Many people with autism become fascinated with a particular kind of sensation that they may explore with a tenacity such that what may seem like a boring or repetitive activity to a typically sensing person may remain compelling for many hours at a time.

In the film, we see that Wulan is fascinated by light: this fascination might in fact be one of the defining factors of her character, as when the film opens she is playing by herself in a peaceful and idyllic patch of woods, completely absorbed with tilting a mirror at the sun. Throughout the film Wulan continues to be enchanted by light. This focus on the primacy of individual sensory experience in the film creatively mobilizes autism as a diagnostic criteria with specific symptoms in order to represent women's natural access to sensual pleasure. In the film, Wulan's fascination with light emphasizes the sensory and corporeal interface as a way of knowing someone and a way of knowing the world, while suggesting that an underlying similarity of sensual experience cannot be taken for granted, either across gender or from individual to individual.

Of course, sensuality is linked to, although not wholly encompassed by, sexuality. Both *sastrawangi* and *Perempuan Punya Cerita* represent the sensual and sexual pleasure women crave and access, but also explore the ways sexuality remains a source of pain and subjugation for women. In the case of Wulan, it is precisely her fascination with and affinity for light that is used against her. Wulan is returning home at night with Sumantri, but does not want to enter her house because she is transfixed by the sight of the moon shining in the night sky. Unfortunately, some neighborhood boys are familiar with her proclivitiy and turn it into a vulnerability, luring her to them with a flashlight in order

to rape her. This exploitation of Wulan's enjoyment and sensual perception becomes a metaphor and a metonym for sexual relations between men and women throughout the film, where in different contexts men take women's desire for the pleaures of sex or love and end up manipulating or abusing it. It calls attention to the challenges of acknowledging yet protecting women's desire for pleasure.

Indeed, throughout all four segments of *Perempuan Punya Cerita*, heteronormative sexuality seems fraught with dangers for women: besides providing more run-of-the-mill objectification and trash talk on the part of the men involved, in the movie intercourse leads to unwanted pregnancy and forced marriage, abuse, enslavement, and death via HIV infection. In case viewers might mistakenly think that these fatally unhealthy gender relations are being equalized with the effects of "modernization" or "globali-zation" the film emphatically underscores the opposite; the internet brings access to pornography and an instrumental view of women's bodies in *Cerita Yogya*, while what seem like new labor opportunties lead to forced prostitution in *Cerita Cibinong*.

Heteronormative sex seems to be in a certain sense the opposite of fruitful for women in this film, foreclosing a truly generative or productive function to heterosexual relations. Even Sumantri's comparatively loving relationship with her husband has not led to a child, alluded to in a scene where they sit next to each other and her husband hands her food, suggestively saying, "*perutmu belum diisi*," or, your stomach has not been filled, which in Indonesian as in English is a double entendre. Furthermore, despite her role as a midwife the film is clearly supportive of her right not just to deliver babies but to conduct abortions if they are necessary for the health or needs of the mother. This perspective is directly at odds with traditional and religious approaches to sexuality still quite active in Indonesia today, which is to say that one of the main functions of intercourse is to provide descendants.

This shift in focus encourages the viewer to recognize different forms of sensuality, sensual pleasure, and physical expressions of love that exist outside the boundaries of heteronormative sexual intercourse. We see not only Wulan's sensual enjoyment of the natural landscape, but the tender and flirtatious friendship that

Wulan and Sumantri share. The scene of Sumantri bathing Wulan after she has been raped is filled with sorrow, but it is also filled with love and care as Sumantri gently caresses Wulan's naked back, and the camera hovers on the gentle motion of the girl's shoulders rising and falling with her breath. Sumantri sings a tender and plaintive song that seems to sonically comfort Wulan. The two women share a lamentative momen of sensual togetherness.

This is not to say that Wulan and Sumantri have a sexual relationship, rather to suggest that some of the pleasures that have been attributed to heteronormative sexuality can be found outside the boundaries of heternormative sexual intercourse. This aligns with the goals of sastrawangi literature, wherein"*Perempuan selama ini dianggap tidak berhak untuk menyuarakan potensi seksual tubuh mereka, tetapi para penulis ini telah menawarkan satu pandangan baru, bahwa seks juga milik perempuan* " (Sulton 2010) and to broader feminist thought about women's sensuality and sexuality which emphasizes over again that a woman's sensual pleasure is not only the object of men's arousal, and does not necessarily depend on a man to be awakened and enjoyed. From this perspective the sensual experience of women becomes grounds to articulate new forms of authenticity, exploration, and self-expression. The focus on the sensual is endered all the more clearly through the character of Wulan, who because of her disability may not have access to other forms of expression, eg verbal.

Disability, and autism, also draws attention to the concept of diversity: at its most basic, because of sensory and other differences, the presence of disability reminds viewers that the human experience is quite varied beyond the norm. Disability stretches the notion of "diversity" to include modes of being-in-the-world that have previously been neglected, considered lesser, unimportant. Diversity as a concept is just as important in Indonesia as it has become across the globe, perhaps even more so as it has historically been a founding tenet of nationalist development under the state motto of "Unity in Diversity." Under the New Order Government, this unity in diversity paradoxically quite often manifested as a homogenezation and an eradication of

difference through hegemonic policies and more direct persecution.

While the overwhelming diversity of arts and cultures has become a well-deserved point of pride for Indonesia and a key to its popularity as a tourist destination, the New Order simultaneously oversaw a repression and eradication of local cultures, languages, and spiritual practices. The state maintained a surface of diversity, encouraged diversity as a public performance of national culture, while simultaneously banning many forms of free expression with regards to politics and the state, with dissidents or alleged dissidents being jailed for many years. Autism is also commonly understood as a developmental disability, a delay or a disturbance in the process of development; therefore its presence in the film symbolically begs the question of who and what has been ignored in Indonesia's "developmental" trajectory of "unity in diversity"? Whose forms, or what forms of diversity are welcomed and what forms are considered better left by the wayside? It is important here to see development not as a single fated trajectory but as an ongoing negotiation of values and priorities, perspectives and knowledges.

This dialogue over knowledge is represented through questions of medical care that arise in the film. For example, after she is gang raped, Wulan becomes pregnant and Sumantri, to protect the girl from further stress and from the role of motherhood that she is certainly unable to assume, wants to provide her with an abortion. She also wants justice for the girl and her family and for the rapists to be prosecuted; but rather than recognizing the obvious sin of the rape, the local police officials and village leaders criminalize Sumantri's previous abortion case, treating it as a moral issue rather than an exercise of Sumantri's expertise as a midfwife and her care for another woman who's life was in danger. Here the viewer joins Sumantri in her frustration at deeply entrenched patriarchy, which takes for granted male control over women's bodies and men's right to make decisions for women's fates. Even Sumantri's well-meaning and kind husband makes an executive decision to move them off the island, and counsels Sumantri out

of further action because, "*kita harus meningalkan pulau dengan nama baik.*"

But the film does not fault traditional or religious patriarchy alone for the mistreatment of women, or necessarily see technological or globalized "development" as an equalizing force. This can be seen in the difference of care between "traditional" midwifery skills that Sumantri provides and the more "advanced" or "developed" medical care Sumantri herself receives in Jakarta. The establishing shots of the film render the developmental difference between Jakarta and the islands clearly, as Sumantri makes the journey home from the doctor's office, walking past silver shining skyscrapers and luxury cars to the crowded bemo ride to the port and ferry crossing that takes her to her quiet island home with children bathing naked in the sea and simply designed thatch houses.

This visible economic disparity signals broader Indonesian policies, major governmental blind spots, and persistent inequality when it comes to regional development and allocation for funding for even basic infrastructure off the island of Java. Yet despite the obvious surplus of funding in the hospital where Sumantri is treated, something quite valuable is missing. The medical care Sumantri receive is cold and unfeeling, practically inhuman as in the opening scene she faces a medical machine with a bare back, vulnerable in the face of an impersonal technology. The clear difference between the positioning of Sumantri's body in this scene and Wulan's back in the previously discussed scene is the total lack of an art of comfort or any sense of interpersonal support. This support, as represented by Sumantri's skillful and valued local midwife care, represents a particular form of women's expertise that manifests not only through remedy and life-saving technique but through touch and empathy that the other female villagers value.

With different values and approaches to development, the question of naming, or renaming, becomes important in order to stake a claim for that which must be preserved and renegotiated outside patriarchal genealogies of power. Sumantri engages in this resistive renaming as she defends Wulan from cat calls on the

beach saying "*Dia punya nama, dan namanya bukan cewek.*" Then, responding to a village headman who asks, "*Di mana cewek kesambet itu*?" Sumantri responds, "*Bukan kesambet anak itu istimewa,*" lexically redefining difference not as something foreign, frightening, or vacant, but as something unique, special, and valuable.

In real-life autism intervention, the discourse of autism awareness in Indonesia is linked to development. It seems to some that as other more pressing problems are managed or solved, attention can be turned to those who previously were neglected due to necessity. For example, on its website Yayasan Peduli Autis Indonesia says,

> Selama tujuh tahun terakhir ini, Pemerintah Indonesia mengha-dapi berbagai tantangan dalam menstabilkan perekonomian, sosial, politik dan keamanan nasional yang ditandai dengan terjadinya krisi moneter 1998, bom Bali 1 dan 2, bom kedutaan Australia, bencana Tsunami dan Nias, flu burung, dan lain se-bagainya.

> Sebagai akibat dari ketidakstabilan politik dan ekonomi tersebut, perhatian pemerintah terhadap pendidikan untuk anak dengan kebutuhan khusus bukanlah menjadi prioritas utama, meskipun topik pemberitaan di media massa mengenai Autisme semakin sering muncul. (Mpati website, 2010)

This quote suggests that it is national stability and prosperity which allows for a rearranging of priorities or a broadening of scope with regards to who needs special attention, and therefore acknowleding autism represents a successful developmental trajectory and requires a shifting ideological stance based on a certain national condition. *Cerita Pulau* represents a similar effort to bring attention to the subjectivity of Wulan, who would normally be left out of most history books or stories about Indonesia.

But beyond using autism as a way to draw attention to pre-existing feminist and developmental concerns, what about the autistic presence itself? Can the autistic character self-narrate? Some critics felt like the film offers no opportunity for self-

narration or change. For example, in Eric Sasono's review of the film he says,

> *Cerita Pulau* menggambarkan tekanan lingkungan dan tak memberi ruang sedikitpun kepada perempuan. Tak ada pilihan bagi perempuan kecuali pilihan yang tambah menyudutkannya. Mulai dari lembaga medis, lembaga penegakkan hukum, kekuatan finansial (baca: kelas menengah), hingga kehidupan domestik, semuanya menyudutkan perempuan.
>
> Segmen ini berhenti pada keinginan untuk memotret. Ketidak-berdayaan perempuan dipotret untuk menjadi semacam representasi bahwa perempuan di negeri ini memang tak berdaya dan perlu ditolong. Perempuan hanya menjadi semacam layang-layang yang pasrah diterbangkan angin dan tak punya kuasa sendiri mengendalikan arah. (Sasono 2008)

Yet the story *Cerita Pulau* seems to suggest that there is an excess to the process of development — both the New Order development and the Post-New Order development that continues a trend of broadening prosperity and globalization. In this case excess might mean that which is ignored but which remains, that which persists despite outright brutalization or lack of attention, and that in this excessive presence might have a very real resistive potential. Wulan represents this kind of resistive presence, in her loud wailing at the police station and in the final scene of the film, as she is left behind on the pier in her scarlet dress, crying out with a protest that is almost more powerful for its lack of delineation or elaboration. The viewer leaves the film with many feelings, but perhaps the strongest impression of all is that Wulan is still here, and her grief *will* be heard.

Conclusion

A well known disability studies scholar, Maja Nadesan, has said that the perception and representation of disability "reveals current desires, anxieties, and opportunities for personhood in the early twenty-first century." (Nadesan 2005, 7-8) Hopefully, through the case study of *Cerita Pulau*, this paper has suggested how the representation of disability can be mobilized to express

major issues of concern in contemporary transnational feminist discourse, seek out new ways of valuing and representing sensuality and authority, and speak to the pressing issue of acknowledging and supporting diversity on the levels of individual interaction and national policy.

Even as the nascent disability awareness movements in Indonesia point to work that remains to be done, much as truthful representations of women's sexuality still seems to reveal the many hurts that need to be healed, some see the emergence of this movement as a sign of "successful development" and national progress that enacts one aspect of acknowledging diversity and diverse needs in Indonesia today. It is my hope that this paper might also trigger thought on how contemporary Indonesian media and discourse can make room for disabled subjectivities and how disability theory might inform the discussion of identity and self-advocacy in Indonesia today, augmenting national discourse and advocating for the recognition of radically different subjectivities as key within the praxis of unity in diversity.

End Note

[1] While the word "autism" is never mentioned in the film, the character presents as a recognizable phenotype, with symptoms of walking on her toes, discomfort with direct eye contact, delayed speech, etc. Many reviewers have considered the character autistic.

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FRAGMENTS AND COHERENCE IN INDONESIA:
Female Celebrity Auto-Biographical Practices in Women's Magazines

Aquarini Priyatna Prabasmoro

Introduction

This paper analyses two different forms of self narrative in magazines, which I argue are a popular form of auto/biographical practice. The magazines I have selected are arguably the long standing Indonesian women's magazines, namely *Kartini* and *Femina*. *Kartini* is among the first Indonesian women's magazine whose scope cover the upper middle class women as well as housewives (Kartajaya, Yuswohady, Christynar, & Darwin, 2005: 133). It covers various, even stereotypical "women's issues" from health, to cooking, from beauty and children and fashion. *Kartini* used to be a very powerful magazine until recently, especially since the booming of media and other forms of women's media, including the cheaper tabloids in 1999 (Kartajaya et al., 2005).

Now, *Kartini* is arguably no longer the most powerful magazine, although it is still surviving. The new market leader, if not the most powerful one, is now *Femina*, which according to Rhenald Kasali (1998: 153), is the best magazine in its class, not only through its advertising turnover, which amounted to 19 billion in the first semester of 1997, but also through its high circulation. Unlike *Kartini, Femina* readers are more likely to be young professionals, independent, even when they are also housewives (Kasali, 1998). The different target readers implicate different issues, concerns and interests dwelled upon in the content as well as different ways of communicating them.

Both magazines are interested in telling "stories" of celebrities in many different ways. Basically, in terms of length, there are two forms of auto/biographical practice in women's magazines: namely the short one and the serial. The short one is often referred to as "Cover Story", namely the story about the woman/women featured in the magazine cover. *Kartini* names this feature "Cover Story", while *Femina* calls it *Cerita Sampul*, which literally means

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cover story. This feature generally takes up only one to three pages and only talks about a certain moment of the celebrity's life, mostly around the time the photo shot is taken for the cover. The plot of this narrative is highly dependant on issues of relationship in the way that it can even be read as a romantic story. Consequently, this space for talking about relationship can also be argued to be feminine in its nature (Jelinek, 1998). This tendency for female celebrity auto/biography to be "feminine" in its inclination for discussing private and domestic relationship has been analysed in the previous chapter on the book-length celebrity auto/biographies.

Other feminine issues do appear as well in these auto/biographical features, namely beauty, and body. Although discussion about career does emerge, it is mostly connected to how it affects the relationships with their close circle, particularly their romantic partner. The short auto/biographical practice in *Femina* often appears under different "features" despite the lack of any distinctive differences among them. The frequent names for the similar feature are *Cerita Sampul* (Cover Story), *Omong-omong* (Chit chat), *Selebriti* (Celebrity), and *Halo* (Hallo). Based on its stability, I choose to discuss Kartini's "Cover Story". As a feature, the *Cover Story* in *Kartini* has a fixed name and pattern of narration, compared to the same auto/biographical feature in *Femina*. *Cover story* as a feature appears in *Kartini* in all the years covered in this research, namely 2000 – 2006.

In choosing the texts to be analysed in this paper, I focus on the celebrities who appeared and reappeared in *Cover Story* at least three times within the period of 2000-2006. This is to establish a sense of continuity of the narrative of the selves within the different moments of their lives. There are two celebrities that appeared in four issues, four others appeared in three issues. However, to ensure the focus, I limit the corpus to four celebrities and I decided to take only two celebrities who appeared in three issues based on the longer time span of the three appearances, namely Mariana Renata (February, 2000 – September, 2005) and Alya Rohali (November, 2000 – June, 2006). I propose that the longer time covered, the fuller the segments and moments of the life can be

revealed. I also argue that a longer time span means a more sense of continuity, despite the time discrepancy and disruptions. In other words, the texts provide what Pearce (1994: 193) argues as "fragmented temporal continuum".

The other type that can be mentioned here is the serial auto/ biographical feature published by *Femina* under the name of *Serial.* This is a continuous narrative about a celebrity, consisting of two to five parts. The narrative of the selves covered by this feature is similar to "continuing story". While it does still represent only segments of the celebrity's life, the segments constitute a more complete continuum with moments and segments more smoothly introduced. *Serial* also employs repetitive strategy that moves the character from one chronotope to another, traversing the time from the past to the historical/biological and biographical "present" and back. The same also applies to the space where the celebrity biographical subject moves from public space to domestic space rendering the distortion of the two domains. As Bakhtin (1981: 132) asserts:

> It is fully understandable that in such a "biographized" individual (in such an image of a man) (sic) there was not, nor could there be, anything intimate or private, secret or personal, anything relating solely to the individual himself, anything that was, in principle, solitary. Here the individual is open on all sides, he is all surface, there in in him nothing that exists "for his sake alone," nothing that could not be subject to public or state control and evaluation. Everything here, down to the last detail, is entirely public.

This is even more so in the contemporary celebrity culture. Stories about celebrities are everyday information shared by a large audience worldwide. The story about a celebrity's break up, marriage, divorce is a story that has proven to be of great interest to both the enthusiasts and the apathies. Once a person's life is written, even in its specific temporal fragment, her life is public and the space where private/public as well as feminine/ masculine domains reside are effectively traversed. Interestingly, although celebrity's life is often narrated and represented by fragmented segments, the main plot of *Serial* is seemingly linear,

telling the story chronologically in terms of the historical and biological life of the celebrity.

However, the introduction to the feature is almost always a flashback. It starts from a certain moment in the celebrity's life that is considered the trajectory of her success and achievement, or extraordinariness. There are also interceptions to the plot by bringing the present biographical subject to asserts about a certain moment in her past life. In this way the past selves are brought to the present or the present selves bridges the past selves to the present. Thus the biographical subject is transported from her fame and celebrity status to her pre-fame space, then moves forward again in a mode of retracing her way to the top in terms of her career, and finding and being united with the man that she loves. This is what Bakhtin (1981) argues as the two biological moments where there is an empty space, in which the auto/biographical subject remains the same; she is as beautiful as the day she was born despite the many adventures, obstacles, and battles she has had to endure.

Cover Story: Chronotopic Representations of Feminine Selves

Cover Story is comprised of three basic parts, namely the title, the introduction and the body. The title usually consists of two parts, namely the name of the celebrity and a short line of direct quotation from the interview or a "summary" of the viewpoint of the celebrity. The title may or may not reflect the whole text as the title also functions to attract the readers. The second part is the introduction. The introduction functions as an abstract of the text. It also reminds the readers about the celebrity featured by stating her status in terms of her achievement, or simply her achievement, her past or present relationships, as well as her point of view on certain issues, mostly pertaining to their personal opinion and preferences. The third part is the body. In this part celebrity's life is told in third person narrative. The striking feature of celebrity profile in Cover Story is the extensive use of flashback to situate the celebrity featured into the present situation.

In the case of auto/biographical practice in women's magazines, flashback is used to position the celebrity featured within the space and time in the past and connect it to the space and time of the present in such a way that a distance is exposed but at the same time it shows the distance covered; the journey from her pre-celebrity selves to the celebrity selves. The flashback typically consists of these two types of memory, the private and the public. The private indicates the personal memory of the celebrity about her "past" time and her past space denoting her pre-celebrity selves.

On the contrary, public memory work is mostly carried out by the narrator who deliberately states the time and space connecting them with event[s] that became the trajectory of the celebrity status of the celebrity featured. The memory presented is not only that of the personal time and space, for example what the celebrity remembers as her past but also it includes the memory built in public space and time, for example in relation to the occurrence of [an] event[s]. In this way the personal time and space meet public time and space. As Cosslett et.al. (Cosslett, Lury, & Summerfield, 2000: 5) argue, "Memory, too, then is intersubjective and dialogical, a function of personal idenfications and social commitments. While it may be uniquely ours it is also objectified, a matter of public convention and shared rituals." Thus, the narrator's narrative constitutes a public memory work that refers to public space and time. Wise calls this space "historical space and time", history being interpreted as public memory of a public[ized] occurrence.

In *Cover Story*, where flashback is used, the narrator starts the story by moving the time space to the past, giving the account about the beginning of the featured celebrity's career – in two of the four celebrities this part emphasizes on the unplanned, accidental and surprising (unexpected) nature of the beginning or progress of the career. This account is stated both through direct quotations as well as the narrator's narration. Putri Patricia's statement is exemplary of the direct statement about accidental nature of the beginning of celebrity's career. She is quoted, "I was just passing the time. When I was in secondary school, I liked

being photographed" (Drianurmini, 2001: 16). The accidental and unexpected nature is also referred to by statements inferring that she "did not mean to do it" or "did not actually want to do it" or that she was surprised to know that she got the job, as displayed in Mariana Renata's two texts (Simarmata, 2004: 20; Sukmaraja, 2000: 11).The same message of accidental beginning, as well as good luck are stated in the text, as in the account of Putri Patricia's career (Widuhung, 2005) and also that of Mariana Renata, who is said to have been tapped by "the goddess of fortune" (Sukmaraja, 2000: 11).

The reference to accidental luck is symptomatic of celebrity culture that renders celebrities as ordinary and extraordinary (Dyer, 2001; Redmond, 2006). But as also seen in the further depiction of the celebrities concerned, luck itself is not enough. They have to prove their "worthiness" of their luck through "hard work and professionalism" as Dyer (2001: 42) asserts:

> Particularly as developed in the star system, the success myth tries to orchestrate several contradictory elements: that ordinariness is the hallmark of the star; that the system rewards talent and 'specialness'; that luck, 'breaks', which may happen to anyone typify the career of the star; and that hard work and professionalism are necessary for stardom.

This narrative of luck is designated within the space of pre-celebrity and past time. The present celebrity status renders the celebrity a new space for recognition in the present and the future time. This crisscross between the pre-celebrity to celebrity status, from the present and future also highlight the blurring hegemonic space of ordinary and extraordinary. For one ordinary individual to be extraordinary, one needs not only luck but also some extraordinariness and to remain extraordinary, once one has become so, one has to remain ordinary. Extraordinariness in celebrity can manifest in different forms. In Alya Rohali, for example, it is in her being selective in choosing her career path "unlike other actresses", in her pursue of postgraduate study, in her breastfeeding her baby, and her ideal marriage to her husband (then) (Drianurmini, 2000). In Feby Febiola, her distinction from the rest (the other ordinaries and other celebrities) is her "profes-

sionalism", which includes playing the typical and becoming boring role in a television cinema, her expansion of career path to singing in addition to modelling, which has been her profession earlier (M.R., 2000).

As the story moves its chronotope to the present these ideals remain the same regardless the fact that between the year of 2000 to 2006, for example, in her real-life Alya Rohali has experienced different obstacles and changes, including divorce, which changed her status from a married woman to a single mother. These, particularly painful transformation is not visible either in the picture or in narration. Her pictures of 2000 and 2006 are equally radiant and optimistic. She does not seem to age despite the 6 year gap of her first feature in the magazine. Her ideals and view towards her partner remain the same and her feeling for her partner, who is not the same one she had in 2000, is as adoring as it was for her previous partner. The issue in 2003 acts as a gap between the two spaces of her romantic relationships, yet this issue only produces segments of life, selected moments when the pain has been subsided and other negative feelings have been overcome.

It can be argued that Alya's femininity is depicted as a range of different traits and characteristics. On one hand, she is described as strong and rational, exemplified by her inability to cope with the divorce and child-rearing. She is capable and intelligent, exemplified by her postgraduate education done while still working full time as an entertainer. On the other hand, in Alya Rohali's narrative as well as in all three other celebrities, they are shown to have the normative embodiment of ideal femininity: beautiful, and remains beautiful over the years and in the case of Alya Rohali, she has a body that remains slim even after childbirth. The reference to beauty is actually a prototypical characteristic of celebrity auto/biographical practice in women's magazines. All women are referred to as being "beautiful" in some parts of their portrayals, particularly in the introduction or in the first paragraphs. The typical narrative about beauty in *Cover Story* is by referring to the celebrity as "the beautiful woman", such as in the following example in the text on Mariana Renata, "Finally, after a

few meetings and interviews, the beautiful girl who was born on 31 December 1983 officially became the model of LUX" (Simarmata, 2004). The consistent denotation of "beautiful girl/woman" suggests that being beautiful is the primary reference of their embodiment of their celebrity status.

The reference to doing a University degree as an important thing in the construction of femininity as intelligence is also found in Mariana Renata's narrative (Simarmata, 2004). Intelligence does not merely refer to the academic capacity but more importantly to the ability for multitasking, to be different selves, taking different spaces at the same time. Thus again, time is condensed while the space is extended. The ability to negotiate such chrontope can be considered not only as the representation of idealized feminine selves but also the extraordinary characteristic of their celebrity selves.

As I have hinted, the normative portrayal is also emphasized by the constant reference to happy relationships with husband, ex husband, and future husband, as particularly apparent in Alya Rohali's narrative ("Alya Rohali tentang Calon Suami Kedua Faiz Ramzy R: Meski Bujangan Dia lebih Matang," 2006; Drianurmini, 2000; Paramita, 2003). More or less the same can be said about another married celebrity, Feby Febiola, who was with another man at the first *Cover Story* but later married another man (Anton, 2004; M.R., 2000; Rinawati, 2006; Sukmaraja, 2002). In Feby Febiola's narrative, married-life is described as happy. The couple is described as harmonious and understanding towards each other in the way that their marriage is idealized and romanticised. The private space of marriage is put as a public display, as a performance, yet it constructs her not entirely as a public person, rather as a private person deliberately put in public stage. Her private life becomes the "public square" in which the supposedly personal deliberations about relationship are delivered. Feby Febiola the public self and Feby Febiola the personal self thus substitute each other the ways in which it renders the competing idealized images of her [private] femininity self and [public] celebrity self which she has supposedly succeeded to be displayed.

In all selected texts of *Cover Story*, femininity is shown to be a range of domains that women can move from one to another (Ussher, 1997). Women can perform being "Girl", by submitting to the normative femininity and heterosexuality, but at the same time they can also resist the notion of femininity as being the weaker sex by showing their capability for independence from their liaison with men. On the other time or even at the same time, they can also perform the expected role of being a woman in their relationship by constantly referring to their [future] partners or their need for them. The *Cover Story* texts also construct heterosexual relationships as a primary element of femininity by persistently discussing the issue, even by pointing the absence of partner and what is expected from her [future] man, as in the case of Mariana Renata (Ikrima, 2005; Simarmata, 2004) and Putri Patricia (Drianurmini, 2001), or by referring to the insistence of keeping her private life private as in the case of Putri Patricia (Sukamaraja & Melly, 2003) and Feby Febiola (M.R., 2000). The irony of such depiction is that the story about the absence of men is used to substitute the story about the man they are supposedly in relationship with. Likewise, the insistence of "keeping things private" while at the same time telling the story that the particular celebrity is in a relationship with a particular person shows that celebrity femininity in women's magazines is highly constructed on heterosexuality the ways in which even its absence marks its overarching presence.

This particular mention of overcoming crisis and difficulties and the re-emergence as both a new and the same idealized feminine Selves through changes can be found in all narratives of celebrities analysed in this section. In particular is that of Alya Rohali's as I have discussed. Another example is the narrative of Feby Febiola. Her narrative includes a flashback about her past pre-celebrity status (9 years of biographical age), where she started as a mere teenage model to becoming an established actress. Her present biographical selves is portrayed as a very humble person, as other non-celebrities are supposed to be. This is contrasted to her supposedly established status as an actor as highlighted in the title of this particular text, "The more [I am] in the acting world,

my feeling is getting more sharpened" (Rinawati, 2006: 10). This title suggests Feby Febiola's established status as an actor but at the same time her biographical selves explicitly articulate that her acting career is a mere "ordinary experience" because she is "used to acting". These opposing stands again insinuate the traverse of the two celebrity domains of ordinary and extraordinary. Acting is described as work (that needs to be sharpened) but at the same time, it is also represented as her natural talent (that she can do without having to exert much effort).

I argue that in this portrayal, Feby Febiola is pictured and constructed as an ordinary person who happens to have extra - ordinary quality or an extraordinary person who happens to be ordinary. In short, she is represented as an ordinary extraordinary person, or an extraordinary ordinary person. These differentiation is important because a celebrity is supposedly an ordinary person, yet she/he has an extraordinary talent that eventually makes her/him extraordinary (Marshall, 2001). On the other hand, there is also the assumption that basically, a celebrity is born extraordinary, as the narrative of accidental beginning of various celebrities have shown (McCracken, 1993). Their extraordinariness is just something waiting to emerge from their ordinariness.

The traverse of chronotopes is more obvious in the photographic narrative. All four celebrities do not age in all their photographs throughout the years covered. Despite the elapse of five to six years, the four celebrities remain as youthful as their first appearance in the cover story. Even more interesting, for example, due to the different trends of what are fashionable regarding the dress, make up, hairstyle, choreograph, etc. within certain spaces and times, I argue that in their photographs, Putri Patricia and Alya Rohali somehow even age in reverse. That is, they look older in photographs of their first appearance than in their later appearance. This also shows how the "story" of celebrities in magazine falls into the category of romantic chronotope as Pearce (1998) coins. In looking at the pictures and following Pearce's argument, I maintain that the life of the celebrity.

Having looked into parts of the narrative of "fragmented temporal continuum" (Pearce, 1994: 193) in *Cover Story*, I also argue

that the auto/biography of celebrities is almost always the representation of the idealized feminine selves capable of transcending time, challenges and crises, the selves who is continuously and simultaneously the same and the new person, and whose struggle and efforts for success and survival leave no trace of time elapsed or excess of distress. The selective and carefully chosen moments of their lives considered fit to represent their selves constitute the representation of their ideal[ized] Selves. As Bakhtin (1981: 131) argues, "Real biographical time is here almost entirely dissolved in the ideal (and even abstract) time of metamorphosis". In other words, the "real and truthful" selves is not to be found in auto/biographies.

The other memory work used in flashback is through reciting public or historical events in which the celebrity has made her trajectory or breakthrough to success. In the *Cover Story* featuring Alya Rohali,(Drianurmini, 2000) for example, the narrator starts the story by reminding the readers about the Putri Indonesia pageant[1] that Alya won in 1996. The narrator then continues by mentioning programs and films that Alya Rohali has starred. As public events, the programs and films become the representation of Alya Rohali as a public self in public time and space. Interestingly this representation of public self is then juxtaposed with her own narrative telling about her private self at that time that she began her career, particularly her difficulty in juggling with her public and private commitments, "[A]t that time, my whole time was spent on shooting, taking care of the family and exams" (Drianurmini, 2000: 22).

This utterance shows how time and space produce a complicated web of the construction of her feminine selves. Not only Alya Rohali is fragmented between the past and the present selves, she is also fragmented in her position in private and public spaces: Alya Rohali the celebrity, the mother/wife and the student. The construction of selves is thus fragmented among the different spaces whose boundary of public and private is blurred. Her celebrity status renders her personal space to be put in public, making her performance as a feminine selves put doubly in display, as a we can see, for example in the photograph of her

holding her daughter. In this picture she is dressed very casually, denoting the position of that moment as private, yet this private space is displayed in public space, making it public.

The representation of the selves as a public memory is also shown in Feby Febiola's *Cover Story*, where her celebrity status is closely associated with a highly successful movie in 1980s, *Catatan Si Boy*. This trajectory of career is mentioned in the *Cover Story* of two issues (Anton, 2004; Sukmaraja, 2002), denoting the importance of the public success of *Catatan Si Boy* to the individual career of Feby Febiola. Interestingly, the first paragraphs of the bodies of the feature are identical in representing Feby Febiola as both a private and public selves. The paragraphs both represent Feby Febiola as a pretty actress, mentioning further her origin, "born in Jakarta" her age by either mentioning the exact date of birth, including the year or by stating her age, "born 24 years ago" (in 2002). The description then goes on to her role in *Catatan Si Boy*, yet emphasizing it that she only became famous after her role in television series *Tersayang*. This public memory work presents a very interesting construction of her feminine selves through the chronotopes of the narratives.

I argue that the association is established to ignite the public memory of her role in the film. Thus the construction of her celebrity status is not only dependant on what she does, but also on historical events in which she participated. The readers are invited to associate the public event to the more private occurrence in the life of Feby Febiola. Again, the construction of female celebrity private space is in dialogue with, if not substituted by, the public space. After associating her past with a "historical" event, the narrative moves again to private space as it tells about her parents, highlighting her mixed-race origin (she has Dutch origin).

However, even this personal embodiment is inevitably public for first it is publicised, deliberated in a public space, and it cannot be dissociated from Indonesian context: culture and history. Being mixed-race (of white descent) is an advantage in Indonesian culture, particularly in popular and women's culture. Out of the four celebrities discussed here, two are mixed-raced, namely Feby

Febiola and Mariana Renata (of French, Japanese and Italian descent). In fact, mixed-raced celebrities are a prevalent phenomenon in Asian popular culture, especially in Indonesia as I have argued elsewhere (Prabasmoro, 2004, 2006). Further than that, as whiteness is signified as beautiful and attractive, it further renders more emergence of mixed-raced celebrities making it more and more of idealized beauty (Prabasmoro, 2004). This deliberation reveals that the construct of Indonesian women's beauty and desirability is not exclusive within the local space and/or contemporary time, rather it is deeply rooted in the issue of race, ethnic, as well global construct of white femininity that in the case of Indonesia can be traced long back to the past during or as the effect of the Dutch colonialization (Prabasmoro, 2004).

Conclusion

Having looked into the temporal auto/biographies of female celebrities in magazine, I propose that the "new forms" of auto/biography within celebrity and women's culture within the selected magazine can be considered to be a "stylish" adaptation of the classical forms to the new space and time available within the context. The newness of these forms of celebrity auto/biographical practice is not much in its content, rather in its expression. Female celebrities are constantly linked to their personal domains regardless their contribution in public space. Thus, while these auto/biographical practice can be said to have attempted different representations of femininity (or femininities) through traversing times and spaces, it highlights again and again the hegemonic construct of masculine and feminine space and time. This again indicates that in auto/biographical practice in women's magazines, female celebrities move continuously between the private space and the public space. Time in such auto/biographical practice is "thickened", the past selves are compressed as historical moments or selective memory but at the same time, the present selves are also represented only by moments evolving around particular issues: physicality (beauty), personal/romantic relationships, and works.

The notion of space is important in the stories of the celebrities as they move from one place to another in conjunction with their career. Thus, their becoming of feminine and celebrity selves is very closely framed within space and time. The story of their lives can be appropriately attributed to these movements as well as their ability to travel between spaces and time. Thus, I can argue that if the whole story is "the life", the chapters are the moments of life that may conclude at the space and time given, but at the same time, once this moment is framed in a bigger space and time, it begins to make sense in the making of the selves of the celebrities. Their identity, sense of self as well as femininity are thus continuously a process of becoming that even at the end of the story, while they are portrayed to have reached a certain equilibrium; a stage of peace and satisfaction, they are still pictured to continue to be in the process of becoming feminine as the time and space frame their situation. This structure highlights the feminine narrative structure as argued by Cixous (1981).

End Note

[1] There are two competing beauty pageants in Indonesia sponsored by two competing traditional cosmetic companies, one is *Putri Indonesia* (literally means Miss Indonesia), which is sponsored by Mustika Ratu, the other one is Miss Indonesia, which is sponsored by Sari Ayu. While *Putri Indonesia* is globally linked to Miss Universe Pageant – thus also referred to as Miss Indonesia Universe, Miss Indonesia is linked to Miss World – thus also referred to as Miss Indonesia World.("Putri Indonesia,").

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SELF-NARRATIVES, POSTCOLONIALIATY, AND NEGOTIATION OF NEO-LIBERALISM IN INDONESIAN FILMS IN THE 2000s

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Introduction

In the 2000s, Indonesian filmmakers have larger chance to make narratives in various genres, which, at glance, transform enlightening projects for criticizing and resisting the older-hegemonic-discourses of the state, nationalism, gender/ethnic relationship, religious orthodoxy, and traditional-strict rules. Such discursive constructions have different tendency to film narratives under the New Order regime as studied by some scholars, which negotiated and represented consensual-national identity and integrity based on familial, religious, and traditional-moral bounds in various narratives and genres, as a presence of state-controls in cultural/media spheres (Heider, 1991; Sen & Hill, 2000; Sen, 2003; Roberts, 2000).

However, critical readings on some filmic narratives with *cultural studies*, *postcolonial studies*, and *political economy* perspective in my study find discursive negotiations of neoliberal ideology. The negotiations, through the shifting of self-narratives in films, narrate individuals' power, skill, and struggle to gain welfare, happiness, and freedom, as the first ways to live in the uneven world caused by economic-socio-cultural change. At the same time, they unbind individuals from the local/national bounds that restrict their desires and dreams.

This article deals with *self-narratives* in some Indonesian teen and children films in the 2000s in which filmic main character as the self gets more freedom in filmic world structures for expressing self-autonomy, self-struggle, and ideal achievement. Because films are not dogmatic stories, following Barthes (1983), they *ex-nominate* and negotiate neoliberal ideological meanings as celebration of individualism in narrative structures that consist of filmic events as if they happen in the real world. In the ex-nomination, self-

narratives become more individual and plural but still incorporate and articulate local cultures, such as familial and gender norms, as the way to negotiate neoliberal consent in Indonesian setting normally. The appearances of local cultures in filmic narratives do not directly imply their power among Indonesian teenagers and children.

In some films with metropolitan settings and teenager love themes, the appearances of familial norms are merely as marginalized discourses that need to follow or accompany the self in celebrating freedom. Eventually, in some other films with the same settings and themes, become not important entity to appear in the whole narratives. Although some films represent locality and its problem in the current context, the narratives tend to tell cultural tensions between the self/individual who wants to reach his/her enlightening dream and the social that wants to restrict it in the name of tradition. The power of individualism of self-narratives is constructive representations that negotiate filmic subjects' positions as ideal forms to live in postcolonial Indonesia today in which neoliberalism, as dominant ideology, frames socio-cultural life, from individual and communal practices in the metropolitan spaces to the rural spaces.

Postcoloniality, Films, and Self-Narratives

Although many critical thinkers and students against neoliberal practices in state, educational, and economic system, nationally, the imposition of international financial institution, World Bank and IMF, after the resignation of Soeharto makes the Reformation regime continues and applies neoliberal political economy with some modifications. The state enlarges market role in wider economic life, while, at the same time, still regulates social responsibility programs in minimum standards. Media—televisions, newspapers, and films—transforms neoliberalism through many representations in various texts and narratives that construct enlightening projects of modernism and individualism to reach welfare in contemporary-competitive life.

Postcolonial subjects that should play strategy in the third-space to empower themselves, local cultures, and local communities in encountering Western hegemony, unfortunately, cannot create suitable mechanism, except produce hybridity that articulates some local cultures and negotiate modern cultures, since in the daily media narratives show up the modern-capitalistic life as the dominant stories. In many regions, most of the villagers still perform local rituals and have commitment to familial engagements, but they also perceive modernism as dominant orientation in architecture, fashion, education, and economic practices. In the metropolitan cities, 'the ways to be Western' are very dominant for teenagers and youngsters in glamorous and consumptive activities in plazas, malls, or American fast food restaurants.

As strategy of subjectivity, in-betweenness, ambivalence, and hybridity as the dominant color of postcoloniality, actually, can be subversive power towards Western knowledge. The capacity to mimic and mock may rupture binary opposition and power relation between the colonizer/the dominant and the colonized/the subordinate in hybrid cultural representations and practices (Bhabha 1994). By this strategy, the postcolonial subjects can *transform* — to take and use — dominant Western discourses in the service of their own self-empowerment (Aschroft, 2001a; 2001b) and create socio-cultural dynamics in newer localities and identities under globalization today (Schuersken, 2003; Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007).

Instead of becoming strategic deconstruction towards neoliberal ideology, the in-between space, hybridity, and ambivalence as the dominant colors of poscoloniality — socio-cultural conditions and subjectivity in postcolonial society — give valuable entry point for neoliberal capitalism's presence as the late form of the Western discourses. In other words, the local cultures' existence and revival is not offering alternative values to those of Euro-American origin but its articulation into a capitalist narrative (Dirlik, 1994), because posctoloniality still places the Western in the mind of the postcolonial subjects (Chakrabarty, 2000; Nandhy, 1998).

Film and other media become strategic sites to negotiate hegemonic socio-cultural orientation by exploring ambivalence

of postcolonial condition and, then, normalizing mythical signs and discourses that transform ideal way to compromise and get advantages in neoliberal age. Fulton (2008) and Mühlbauer (2006) describe media narratives as "attractive sites" for persuading audiences to prepare themselves in the neoliberal capitalistic mode of life. As audio-visual art, which tells narrative on socio-cultural complexity through many events, characters, and significations (Cavell, 2006; Spharshott, 2006; Turner, 1988; Arnheim, 1957), film is integral part of dominant socio-cultural discourses and practices in particular historical context and society (Ponech, 2009), including the ambivalence of socio-cultural conditions. The ambivalence between practicing local cultures and the desires to experience the Western-modern cultures spreads as dominant discursive formation that drives postcolonial subjects' position, particularly in re-understanding conceptions of gender roles, moral codes, children-parents relations, citizen-state relations, Eastern-Western opposition, and individual-communal integration, as modes, to reconfigure and redefine cultural identity as something "becoming" (Hall, 1990).

In the context of ambivalence of postcolonial subjects in transforming their subjectivity in local/national-global tensions and socio-cultural transformations, Indonesian films in the 2000s can function in two terms, ideally and critically. Following some thoughts, Indonesian films in the 2000s as national cinema, ideally, can contribute to a form of "politics of national agency" and "collective subjectivity" from which variety of individual, group, goal, and interest backgrounds become constructive entities in global tensions today (Berry cited in Zhang, 2004: 6). From this position, films for postcolonial countries can emphasize national commitment through representations of local cultures as ideological-collective power (Higson, 2000), support sustainability of cultures, national development, and authenticity of self-expression (Hallin, 1998), and talk national-cultural problems through dynamic and contesting context in the middle of various cultural impacts and filmic-discursive techniques from abroad (Berry & Farquhar, 2006).

Instead of re-negotiate the presence of state in controlling cultural and media spheres, such functions may narrate multicultural

identity and its tension in reconfiguring contemporary Indonesian cultures as a basis for living in global-cultural traffic. Critically, as the Third World cinema, following Yearwood (1987), Indonesian films in the 2000s can narrate some constructive representations, both in political and cultural function. In political function, Indonesian films may question ideological basis of state-political system and its effects towards people, awaken people awareness towards progress and not merely make them 'sleeping' with escapist narratives, and criticize the establishment of society and its relations.

In cultural function, they may help people to understand socio-cultural problems and difficulties of life in the post-independence periods, explore traditional romances, and help people in understanding and facing cultural changes with newer perspectives. Furthermore, Wayne (2001) enlarges political role of the Third cinema by modifying aesthetics and narrative strategies of the First cinema (*commercial films*) and the Second cinema (*art films*) as one of revolutionary tools to resist social contradictions and problems caused by capitalist practices or hegemony of dominant power.

Indonesian filmmakers in the 2000s ideally can produce the Third or Third World films that articulate many socio-cultural problems caused by neoliberalism as ideology of political economy and negotiate newer subjectivity to live in ambivalent postcolonial conditions. Self-narratives, which structure "self" — the main character in films — as "discursive subject" with its complicated and dynamic problems in transformative life, may become narrative strategy to negotiate and empower newer subjectivity, which modify and transform various local identities, wisdoms, meanings, and problems as dominant signs and discourses in the context of transformation into modern life today. Unfortunately, most of Indonesian filmmakers work for major production houses with commercial motif and make them following capitalist formula: filming contemporary Indonesian socio-cultural problems by mimicking Hollywood style, themes, and genres.

Some popular genres in Indonesian films that follow the formula are teenagers and children genre. Exploration of daily and dominant problems into metropolitan or local settings and interesting narratives that negotiate individual freedom intertwines with most of Indonesian people's socio-cultural desires and dreams towards economic progress and Western-modernity makes those themes and genres popular and marketable. Filmmakers, following Foucauldian thoughts (elaborated in Mills, 2003; Haujier, 1999; During, 1992), as discursive subjects produce filmic representation by considering political economy sense of producers and dominant knowledge in postcolonial Indonesia, called as neoliberalism, and transform it into narratives that place individualism and Western modernity as the ideological concepts of interpellation for children and teenagers.

In such context, self-narratives and subjectivities seem becoming "individual" and "plural" — because the state, in neoliberal political economy system, looses its dominant control towards individual choice as the result of market control over social, economic, political, and cultural life. The self as the subject has individual autonomy to live with his/her struggles and skills by less considering strict traditional and national norms because they only will throw them back into retreating past without freedom, equality, and opportunity (Stopford, 2009).

Family, community, religious institutions, local wisdoms, and nation are pseudo-existence of the past consensus that cannot determine a whole of individual future or, event, non-existence, which needs to forget in the narratives of youth love with metropolitan settings. Their appearances in filmic narratives, then, is only as marginalized signs and discourses, which cannot interfere to the self in reaching and realizing his/her ambitions as free human being, as much described in films with metropolitan settings. Event, in films with local settings and problems, the family, community, and traditional codes, appear as problematic discourses, from which the self tries to deconstruct, because they cannot restrict his/her needs to find his/her creative autonomy to experience some greater achievements: one of attractive values of neoliberalism as market ideology.

Although posited in marginal discursive construction, filmic narratives still articulate some local/national discourses as the way, following thoughts of hegemony (Gramsci, 1981; Hall, 1997; Slack, 1997; Laclau & Mouffe, 1981; Boggs; 1984; Bennet, 1986; Williams, 2006; Howson & Smith, 2008; Boothman, 2008; Fontana, 2008), to create "a new consent" naturally by negotiating neoliberal meanings that emphasize individualism and freedom as the important need for children and teenagers to get a bright future. In other words, self-narratives in Indonesian teenager and children films in the 2000s play their discursive roles as sites of negotiation and socialization of neoliberalism in postcolonial Indonesia, not as free-market system transparently, but as individual values, which emphasize personal freedom to have autonomy in determining socio-cultural life and in deconstructing the past consensus.

Self-Narratives 1: *when Teenagers Celebrates Individualism*

Ada Apa Dengan Cinta (*What's Up with Cinta,* 2002, hereafter AADC) was a teen film, produced by a young director, Rudy Soedjarwo, that signified the awakening of Indonesian films in the 2000s. The formulaic genre and love theme that follow Hollywood trend made this film as the blockbuster in Indonesian film's history—1.3 millions audiences in the tree weeks (Kristanto, 2007). Some young directors, then, followed this formula and produced many films that explore teenager's love problem with metropolitan setting, Jakarta. One of dominant and interesting characteristics of AADC is its bravery to compose a narrative that represents a female teenager out of common stereotype in Indonesian films under the New Order regime—posited female characters as a complementary in the circle of men's world. Cinta and her friends celebrate *girl culture* and *power* in a milieu where patriarchy still dominant (Setiawan, 2008).

The ideological spirit of gender equality between man and woman in public space and socio-cultural contestation—at school for example—seems appearing, at glance, as deconstructive project that ruptures and defers patriarchal hegemony. However,

the presence of Rangga that can change Cinta as a powerful woman into a weak one signifies the backward of patriarchy into female self-narrative—a common narrative tendency in Indonesian film in the 2000's with the similar theme and genre, such as *Eiffel I'm in Love* (Nasri Cheppy, 2003, hereafter EIL).

EIL is one of Indonesian films in the 2000s that has similar plot and theme with AADC, although has some different accentuations. In AADC, the appearance of family is only at glance as the signifier of the smallest unit of socio-cultural institution that still exist in Indonesian societies, while in EIL the family appears in some narrative events, although not dominant. In EIL, Tita, the female main character, a senior high school student, enjoys kissing in the airport with his boyfriend, Adit, by wearing up to date fashion, while Cinta is still wearing her uniform. Tita and Adit continue to celebrate their beautiful romantic moment in Paris, while Cinta and Rangga only celebrate it in the airport. Such differences make individualism as ideological knowledge spreads over discursive formation with many film narratives as many as television programs that produces various discourses and mythical significations to attract as many as possible cinemagoers.

Cinta's smartness in AADC as student at her school and patron in her group creates a newer myth of young woman who has a great capacity and skill as man in public life, but tensions with her friends caused by her love to Rangga signify a socio-cultural conflict with communal and consensual norms in the group. Cinta begins individual adventures and struggles to find her love; reading seriously Rangga's poem, coming to a café, buying some books in a used-books market, and cooking in Rangga's home.

Although the group questions her commitment, she, as subject, continues to make self-narratives by ignoring the consensual norms, because she finds "capitalist institutions"—the café and the used-books market—that can accommodate and facilitate her desire. The self bravely ruptures the communal norm—not to have a boy friend—and the communal cannot restrict. Finally, the conflict finished when the group as the communal support Cinta's choice to love Rangga. Her friends accompany her to go to the Soerkarno-Hatta international airport to meet Rangga that will go

to USA because his father gets an academic job in a university there.

In this narrative, neoliberal ideology ex-nominates the discourses of individual freedom, the lost of communal engagement, and the communal support for individual desire, as the popular discursive formation that interpellate postcolonial subjects, into the myths of Cinta's struggle, skills, autonomy, and sovereignty to love that lead to self-regulating mechanism. The return of the group into Cinta's personal life as the re-presence of the communal into the individual describes a cultural hybridity that does not articulate the traditional discourse of communalism purely, but in the direction of neoliberalism; supporting individual autonomy as the foundation of an ideal society (Stopford, 2009).

The scene in the airport, when Cinta and Rangga are kissing each other, deploys other tension between the individual and the traditional discourses. AADC smartly visualizes 'the romantic moment' in the airport as individuals' bravery to repudiate the traditional taboo that blocks transformative subjectivity in realizing personal importance. The transitional shooting—from *long shot, medium shot, close up,* to *extra close up*—mythically signify individual freedom to enjoy cultural freedom as human being that can realize her/his ambition regardless all socio-cultural dogmatic norms in Indonesian society.

Although, Cinta is still wearing uniform of high school as the presence of the state role and still being Indonesian teenager, the energy of love defers all the norms for the sake of individual freedom. The airport as 'in-between space' that symbolizes a departure from the mother country/local cultures, Indonesia, to the host country/Western cultures, USA, gives more celebratory moment for Cinta and Rangga to negotiate their subjectivity. Cinta, as the self who needs to narrate, disrupts the traditional norms on woman—polite and not wild—by celebrating her love with kissing in the public space. With the same condition, the presence of the state is no more than the uniform that cannot control over the citizen.

In the same setting with more romantic and brave kissing, the very romantic kissing in the airport between Tita and Adit EIL becomes mythical signification of their in-betweenness and hybridity as Indonesian young generation in, some cases, obeying the traditional rules of woman-men relationship, but when get a chance they will rupture them for experiencing 'Western taste of love'. The airport, mythically, as setting seems giving "point of exit" for metropolitan young generation to go to the world out of their country, called European world, which may give them progress of individual rights and achievements, although, at the same time, this desire arises cultural tension because they still live in Indonesia.

Therefore, the airport and the kissing, also for the kissing of Cinta and Rangga in AADC, represent ideological knowledge of individual freedom and autonomy that recalls and consolidates the self into filmic narratives that destabilize moral taboo on romantic woman-men relation in public space as ideally cons-tructed cultures and offer in-between subjectivity. The in-betweenness results continuing ambivalence that construct *tragic duality*, in which postcolonial subjects have more change to make enlightening-individual self-narratives as the process of becoming the Western or the modern, but at the same time, society as the communal still fantasies to incorporate them into local mode of being (Mbembe, 2001; Quayson, 2000).

Instead of controlling the self, Tita, in constructing her narra-tives of life, the appearance of family in EIL is merely as pseudo-existence. Indeed her mother takes a conservative position when Tita asks permission to hang out in mall, because for her mall is "not secure place", "many thieves there", "not making her cle-verer", and "not making her more beautiful". These conservative discourses, at glance, posit her mother as an over protective parent who never gives freedom to her fifteen years daughter to experience 'another world' with her friends and as a traditional woman who looks mall as dangerous place for female teenagers. However, when Tita wants to go to mall with Adit, her mother immediately gives permission, because she believes he can protect her finely.

The moment of giving permission shows ambivalence of mother as older generation in viewing modern-capitalist condition that cause human demoralization, especially for young generation, and increase poverty in societies that results criminality everywhere. When the suitable young man can accompany her daughter, mall and other capitalist institutions can be secure zones. Moreover, the mother never forbids her loving a man and its celebration, although she is still fifteen, if the man is the right and responsible man, like as Adit. Although seems like a limitation of woman freedom in traditional codes, the requirement is articulation of the in-betweenness position of the older generation in understanding and accommodating the popular-modern trend; they need to direct the young generation on the right track with some moral discourses, but they cannot determine their desire to love in modern context.

The narrative moments in Paris when Adit and Tita express their love each other, become mythical signification of cosmopolitan desire of postcolonial subjects for becoming and experiencing the Western and its modernity; *Occidentalism* (Venn, 2000). Although in Indonesia, there are many romantic and exotic places, most of the have Indonesian dream to experience and taste signs of the Occidental, since they want to find distinct atmospheres of Western countries that offer promise of progress, welfare, and freedom. It has happened since colonial period, when colonized well-know artist, like as Raden Saleh, or students who got a chance to live and learn Western perspectives in some European countries experienced cosmopolitan journey and has transformed into postcolonial period (Lombard, 2000).

In the Paris narrative, EIL actually brings traditional code of woman-man relationship—*heterosexuality*—back as the dominant discourses with some romantic visualization in an expensive restaurant and in a field near to Eiffel Tower. Following Williams (2006), EIL successfully incorporate this heterosexuality, the *residual-dominant culture* in Indonesian societies that functions as ideological knowledge, and Western taste of love, the emergent culture that attracts Indonesian people, as narrative strategy, both to gain financial advantage and negotiate Occidental meanings.

Tita, as the self, really cannot detach fully from traditional bound in understanding love that must require the presence of a man, but she can write her own story distinctively, especially she as teen woman enjoys some love adventures in the glamorous Paris. Her mother, who in the early of narratives becomes a symbol of traditional conservatism, supports Tita's love by accompanying her to Paris to meet Adit and never threatens their night journey in some impressive places.

The historical-politico-cultural tensions between the Oriental and the Occidental caused by colonialism disappear naturally, when the postcolonial subjects can play themselves and their cultural orientation in the hybrid mode of being, because the Western will give valuable and enlightening self-history and self-narrative than preserving the dogmatic-traditional norms. In AADC and EIL, the commitment of individualism for teenagers to experience Western love style that defers and ruptures the traditional codes and the condition of cultural ambivalences opens the door for neoliberal values into filmic narratives. For teenagers, love is something needed to celebrate with individual freedom and self-autonomy regardless traditional codes, because they find Western values more interesting. Individual freedom and self-autonomy are valuable concepts that make neoliberalism, in Foucault's words, as discursive formation in the contemporary world (quoted in Danaher, Schirato, & Webb, 2000) that will drive individual to become skillful self and to get struggle over achievement and welfare in free-market world, without dependency to the state (Clarke, 2005; Lapavitsas, 2005; Harvey, 2007).

Desire to love is one of the most basic instinct of human being, especially for teenager, that needs to realize and to achieve through individual struggles and deconstruction of some traditional obstacles. In such conception, struggles over love signify the simplest neoliberal meaning that emphasizes individualism and freedom. In appreciating the function of the family or in broader sense the state, filmic narratives do not explore its limitation toward individual rights to love, but idealize it as communal entity that should transform its values into more modern sense and support teenager's individualism. Teenager films, then, plays

its role as cultural/media hegemonic apparatus that normalizes neoliberal ideology as the ideal discourse for Indonesian next generation.

Self-Narratives 2: *when Children Dream the Enlightening Life*

Truly, the self as an individual cannot live without the existence of the state, society, or community with its ideal sharing cultural values, meanings, norms, and practices. These cultures will construct sense of belonging in each individual's mind that discursively renders him/her as a member of the societies in one state collectively, as a basis of nationalism. These communal-bounds in neoliberal sense will limit individuals' freedom to improve their skills and capacities as the ways to get optimal achievement and welfare. In Indonesian context, the communal-bounds still function well, especially in local societies, although individual value of modernity now shift common understanding of them.

While in metropolitan societies, the communal-bounds are decreased. Filmmakers, smartly, portray this shifting into narratives that support neoliberal ideological values by filming tensions between a local society and its communal norms with individual interests. Interestingly, Indonesian films in the 2000s popularize children narratives to negotiate individual struggles and Western modernity as a fundament to get achievement. *Denias: Senandung Di Atas Awan* (*Denias: Singing on the Cloud,* John De Rantau, 2006, hereafter DSDAA) is a children film that exploits West Papua exotic settings as local spaces with individuals' cultural-orientation shifting, dreaming modernity. Denias, the main character in the film, a Papuan child wants to make a progress in his life by attending elementary school. His mother's advices and stories on the importance of schooling as the way to be clever and as the gate to reach wide world, make him believes on the importance of becoming a pupil.

These advices and stories, following Foucault (1981), become early discursive order for the film in narrating modernity through schooling. Although Papuan societies still practice tribal rituals

and norms in their daily life that make the power of the village chief dominant, some individuals, including Denias's mother, still have a great desire to experience modernity. Transferring desire to their children are the best way for Papuan parents since they still have wider opportunity to realize modern and welfare life. Denias accepts this regime of truth and posits himself as a subject of modernity in the tribal life.

For realizing his dream, he must face natural obstacles and traditional conservatism. For attending school, Denias must walk for some days, crossing mountains, forests, and rivers. However, his mother's words, "the mountain will eat you, but if you study and you are smart in school, the mountain is afraid of you", give him spirit to handle the obstacles. At the school, he finds difficult condition when Noel, the son of the village chief, who constantly provokes him to fighting each other. For Denias, Noel has given traditional power, because as the chief, his father has power to curse of death on the whole village. Noel's father also opposes to building of a new school closer to the village, yet he sends his son to the town to get an education—a portrait of cultural ambivalence.

Afraid of losing traditional power as the coming of modern education for the whole remote people in the village leads Noel's father decides this opposition. Noel's father position in viewing modernity represents a latent ambivalence in local-elite. Furthermore, his father as the dominant figure in the family also does not support Denias ambition for education and wants him to stay home to help him with chores. Fortunately, his teacher and a soldier—two modern individuals—always give him support to get education.

These mythical significations of personal struggle to conquer the nature and traditional obstacles represent discourses of modernity projects that, according to Venn (2006), will bring individual into enlightening conditions. For Canclini (1995), the modernity projects require some ideal and progressive conceptions. *Emancipation* is the first conception that requires cultural secularization, self-expression and self-regulation in symbolic practices, rationalization of social life, and increasing individualism. The second is *expansion* as modernity tendency to enlarge

knowledge and occupation towards nature and production, circulation, and consumption of goods. The third is *renovation* that combines the two former concepts for fulfilling continuing progress and creating innovation, which are matched to natural relation and society that are freed from sacred dogmas. *Democratization* is the fourth conception promoted through education, arts, knowledge to realize rational and moral evolution.

For the West Papuans, these conceptions may become the way to enter modernity with various natural sources. Unfortunately, most of the West Papuans still live in the tribal life with poor conditions. The individuals' desire to experience modernity will contradict to the traditional laws, because they, as the tribal members, still need to follow and practice the laws. Such cultural ambivalence places the West Papuans in the in-between space, from which they, ideally, can find strategy of subjectivity that empowers and transforms traditional collectiveness into modernism, although they should change some strict-conservative dogmas. However, DSDAA does not represent such kind of subjectivity, but it at once constructs Denias's self-narratives as a form of negotiation of individualism in the middle of local-tribal life through modern education and the traditional life as the major inhibiting factor for individual enlightenment.

In more critical reading, DSDAA narrative constructs power relation that places the tribal West Papuan as the uncivilized and uneducated Orient — the subordinate — firstly, from which it finds rational filmic arguments to negotiate the importance of education for them. These stereotypes of the tribal natives, actually, follow the older mechanism of imperialism that judge its power through civilizing projects that would make the Other more rational, religious, educated, and civilized, but, at the same time, posited the Western or the modern superior and made legality to conquer (Said, 1978, 1994; Slemon, 1995; Bishop, 1995; Kachru, 1995; Célestin, 1996; Lidchi, 1997; Loomba, 2000; Weaver-Hightower, 2007; Mrázek, 2006; Brantlinger, 2009; Pennycook, 1998).

Since DSDAA are not colonizer film, it creates cultural internal conflicts in the West Papuan tribe between the local consensus and the individual freedom caused by Denias desire to experience

education and modernity as the enlightening achievement in his life. The appearances of two wise individuals, the teacher and the soldier, bring civilizing mission to help the individual native, Denias, projects his future through education, although he must challenge the tribal power. Their non-coercive appearances in Denias's world ex-nominate not only the importance of Javanese and the soldier for the native, but also individualism, education, and modernity that will change the backward conditions of the West Papuan.

With different settings and thematic accentuation to DSDAA, especially in understanding relation between the local and the individual, *King* (Sihasale, 2009) narrates individual struggle and achievement in sport, badminton. Exotic settings around Mount Ijen, Banyuwangi, East Java, with its remote society are local spaces in which an elementary student, Guntur, negotiates his dream and aspiration to be well-known badminton player. This individual aspiration is in line with his father's ideal story about Lim Swie King, one of the legends in Indonesian badminton. The poverty of his father as a single parent becomes the main obstacle for Guntur in realizing his dream.

Fortunately, same with Denias, he has a wise and inspired teacher who support and convince him to have daily practices. His rural community also supports him because badminton is the uniting sport for the people in this film. Guntur's aspiration as individual dream, according to Sacsono, massively becomes communal aspiration, because the rural people have collective consciousness to see one of their social members to be world-wide badminton player (http://old.rumahfilm.org/artikel/artikel_ filmnasionalisme_1.htm, 06th January 2010). Of course, this ideal representation of community in supporting individual achieve-ment is intertwining with neoliberal ideology that places the state or the societies not as conservative obstacles, but as supporting apparatuses for the achievement. If the state or the societies want to make laws or norms, they should pay attention on individual desire to practice maximum struggle because the market needs competitive people that can play strategic roles in free market civilization.

However, the communal supports are not enough for Guntur. He should work hard as a child to practice and participate in regional badminton selection in Banyuwangi in order to get a scholarship at PB Djarum (Center for Badminton Training funded by PT Djarum, one of the biggest cigarette industries in Kudus, Middle Java). He follows step by step selection enthusiastically. Finally, he can pass the regional selection and get the scholarship. The existence of PB Djarum does not only describe the appearance of sponsor. Furthermore, it represents the importance of capitalism as hegemonic power with polite human face and liquid ideology that can help individuals and societies through its philanthropy practices. Of course, it still requires skillful and competitive individuals who can fulfill capitalist formula in market world.

For neoliberal capitalist, there is no individual poverty as long as he/she can perform a good skillful self because the market always opens itself for such individual, not poor quality one that has nothing unless his/her body. Although financially Guntur is poor, he can perform his skillful self, a great capacity in badminton, which can replace his poverty and help him to realize his dream to get welfare through sport. By articulating communalism of the rural society and negotiating individual aspiration and the existence of capitalist apparatus, *King* naturally represents ex-nomination of neoliberalism that can bring individual welfare in the local, national, and international context.

The choice for filming children narratives in the 2000s is not neutral choice or merely as filmic strategy to reach popularity. In more critical sense, I read this choice as a discursive construction for negotiating neoliberal meaning in filmic narratives that target children and their families. Because film producers and filmmakers have financial motivations, they need to follow commercial formulas that will make their films popular and marketable. Understanding the dominant discourse and problems in societies is one of the formulas.

Neoliberalism as ideology and political economy system is the most dominant discourse in Indonesian context after the Reformation movement. As parts of capitalist cultural industries, they need to film this discourse in their narratives, not as the Third

cinemas that criticize neoliberalism, but as commercial cinemas that tend to negotiate neoliberal meanings through popular genres. Genre always plays its political and ideological function by narrating social problems in societies and giving them discursive solutions that follow particular dominant discourse (Moine, 2008; Wright, 2003). Children genre as one of the popular discourses becomes strategic sites to negotiate the importance of individualism, modernity, struggle, and achievement in children mind because this earlier understanding will make neoliberalism keeps its ideological values on in the future. Taking neoliberal values as the late-capitalist norms is a suitable way for Indonesian people, both in the local and national context, who wants to see brighter future for their children.

Conclusion

Taking Indonesian teen and children films Indonesian in the 2000s as discussion materials may be not enough for discussing and criticizing a complicated postcoloniality and its transformation in local and national context influenced by Western contemporary ideological values, called as neoliberalism. At least, this article can be an entry point to analyze more films in different genres and themes that still have correlation to negotiation of neoliberal meanings. Furthermore, some critical findings in my study show that postcoloniality is not merely socio-cultural conditions experienced by postcolonial subjects after getting political independence.

It is a complicated structures, systems, and practices in which Western or colonial values continue to transform themselves into socio-cultural practices and orientations among postcolonial societies. Teenager and children filmic narratives interestingly negotiate ideal discursive constructions of living under neoliberal condition, from which individuals may express their freedom to experience the promised enlightening human projects. Truly, education, modernity, freedom, struggle, and skillful self are important terms for individuals who want to get optimal achievements in their life, but filmic narratives do not have ethical

awareness to narrate those terms for empowering local cultural values in facing modern cultures.

In teenager and children films, cultural ambivalence and hybridity that become dominant discursive practices in postcolonial Indonesia do not appear as strategic way to find suitable subjectivity. Self-narratives that place individuals in the tension between local and modern cultures are strategic for transferring neoliberal values and marginalizing the local cultures as peripheral discourses that need to support the popularity of individualism. Cultural hybridity, then, do not become alternative strategy in neoliberal era, but becomes liquid mechanism for neoliberal capitalist to consolidate power (Dirlik, 2002; Stam, 2003) in more plural cultural tendency.

In the real socio-cultural practices, the government and Indonesian societies cannot create newer cultural consensus to empower local cultures as the base for national culture in reformative meanings—not only Javanese culture as national icon. The newer consensus tends to place the government and societies merely as supporter of individual struggles in finding modern life. Although some local practices still exist, their values and meanings are merely as formal guidance in some rituals, not as dominant substance and orientation. So, is it important to hope films as sites that show up local or national cultures, as stated by President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (2006) in PARFI (The Union of Indonesian Film Artists) Congress, if film producers and filmmakers are actually more interested in negotiating neoliberalism for their audiences? Perhaps this nation needs to re-imagine, re-understand, and re-conceptualize a newer subjectivity and newer cultural conception as a strategic mechanism to live in the in-between space, without losing local wisdoms under the influences of Western and neoliberal values.

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BEING INDONESIA:
Imaginations of the Nation among Young People in Jakarta, Banda Aceh and Kupang

Stefani Haning Swarati

Introduction
Background of the study

In a work that traces back the historical course through which the idea of Indonesia was constructed, Elson (2008) noted how several integrative elements common to many nations (e.g. similarity in language, culture, religion, historical experience or an intense sense of common destiny) were missing from Indonesia. The trajectory of the nation-state has been plotted by dissents and contestations between ideologies and definitions of what Indonesia is or should be. The first decades after independence were turbulent as different ideas about the form and identity of Indonesia were in abundance. Contestations took place regarding the extent to which Indonesia should compromise with the demands of the international world (see for instance Anderson, 1971 on differences between Sukarno's and Tan Malaka's visions of the young nation), federalism was chosen for a brief period only to be rejected and dubbed as a Dutch import, schism between Java and the "outer islands", and disagreements about the state's relation to religion continued to call into question Indonesia's integration for years to come.

During New Order however, a relatively strong, unitary perception of Indonesia was enforced. Indonesia was ordered in a top-down manner with little contestations among ideologies. Suharto preferred to see himself as "*bapak pembangunan*" (father of the development) and so practices of militarism were combined with (Javanese) familism and the Indonesian people were submitted to the role of his children (Shiraishi, 1997). The young generation was fully exposed to New Order's master narrative of Indonesia and "being Indonesian", involving the unquestionability of Indonesia's unitary existence, the sacredness of Pancasila, the

importance of military and the superior and teleological qualities of the New Order.

The strong hold of the state on the definition of Indonesia and being Indonesian loosened following the start of *era reformasi*. Transformations unfolded at a high speed on all fronts of life. Scholars suggest that an unstable, volatile and 'loose' atmosphere haunts the Indonesian society (Spyer, 2003; Kusno, 2004). Each of the five presidents in the first seven years of *reformasi* left substantial impacts in the way Indonesians perceive themselves. At the same time, the younger generation have the chance to question the taken for granted idea of Indonesia as a predestined unity. Many of the explorations take place in the field of popular culture. It has been the battlefield of alternative identities and narratives related to nationhood. What is of interest to this research is then how amidst this plethora of narratives and possible identities, young people understand, experience and give meaning to "Indonesia". What does "Indonesia" mean to them? What are the discourses that inform their narrative of the nation?

Theoretically, this research positions itself well within the notion that the nation is "imagined" (Anderson, 1991) though not only fabricated within discursive institutions like the media or government with their "pedagogic narrative", but also through the performative (Bhabha, 1994), i.e. routine practices of ordinary people, performed daily, or what Billig termed "banal nationalism" (1995). This research focuses more on national identities at the performative plane although the dynamics with pedagogic discourses of nation building cannot be disregarded. Fieldwork has been undertaken in capital cities of three provinces; Jakarta, Kupang and Banda Aceh. The choice of sites is aimed at maximizing differences in ethnicity, religion historical and political positions, and so maximizing the possible discourses that might play a part in the construction of the imagination of "Indonesia" and "being Indonesian".

Methodology and Research Method

Involving three cities, this is a multi-sited research. Its multi-sitedness is hoped to "…do justice to differences and to point at unities that exist across differences." (Saukko, 2003: 178) Multi-sited research is especially suitable to re-question the nation because "(T)he juxtapositions among sites embedded in multi-sited strategies of following leads and making connections tend to offset naturalizing categories and their bounding of the world common-sensically." (Marcus, 1998: 17). Interviews are generated by a series of photographs pre-chosen by me based on the assumption that the scenes portrayed potentially elicit informants' stories of Indonesia and their experience of being Indonesian. Informants were shown the photographs and asked to freely comment on them. Photo-elicitation interview, as this method is also known, is considered by its proponents to facilitate conversations about abstract concepts (Hurworth et al, 2005). As signs, pictures are more polysemic than words and hence it can be assumed that the narratives obtained will be less structured and unrestricted compared to when they are elicited as answers to verbal questions. Subjects interpret and create their own narratives of the photograph according to perceptions, concerns and discourses salient to them. Without the interviewer having to utter explicitly the words "Indonesia" or "nation", the danger of interviewer bias is minimized to a certain extent.

The choice of photos used draws from the knowledge of recent issues in Jakarta as well as in Kupang and Aceh (e.g. the komodo dragon, advertisement for the cancelled MU match displaying MU players in batik, Putri Indonesia and Miss Indonesia 2009, etc), and historical events related to Indonesia (e.g. the photo of Suharto that used to be displayed in every classroom, a flag of Timor Leste, students on the roof top of the parliament building in May 1998 etc). A common critique against photo-elicitation method is the argument that by having authority over the selection of the pictures, the researcher framed the reality for the subjects. However, Becker (1979) argued that photography is as biased as any other means of data generation. Indeed, even the most rigid of questionnaires are designed by the researcher. Altogether, I think the advantages

of photo-elicitation interview outweighs the disadvantages, especially so in the context of the research topic. Additional data in the form of newspapers and locally produced books, films and music recordings has been obtained although the analysis on the latter set of data is beyond the scope of this paper.

In terms of approach, the proposed study puts an emphasis on the Foucauldian notion of discourse. Informants' comments on the photographs are treated as texts provided by the subjects that are interwoven from personal interpretations of different discourses. Analysis will focus on the way these texts are constructed and the extent to which they do or do not reveal informants' perception, belief, attitude –in short, imaginations- of the nation, "Indonesia" and being Indonesian. To this end, particular themes have been identified, exclusions or absences noted and people's positioning within their stories are paid attention to. Subsequently, the informants' stories are related to discourses at the macrolevel to see how the latter are being reproduced or resisted.

DISCUSSION
Jakarta

Fieldwork in Jakarta was done in about three months. Some interviews were conducted individually while others were done with groups of close friends or siblings. The latter method was not done in Kupang and Aceh due to the subsequent difficulty in transcribing group interviews conducted in very public spaces (i.e. cafe's or restaurants). Compared to the reception of the interview method in Kupang and Aceh, I could say that informants in Jakarta have been the most receptive. Many interviews lasted well over two hours as they elaborated and associated the photographs to other issues and stories that are not explicitly depicted in the pictures. Several informants seem to enjoy freely commenting on photographs, expressing disappointment because I "only" showed 16 photos. They did not have perceivable difficulty in giving comments, indicated by the short amount of time lag between the sight of the photograph and the start of their story-

telling. This could be due to our common background, resulting in a set of pictures that is more in tune with their/our lives and guaranteeing smoother processes of rapport building.

With the nationhood being constructed within popular culture and significantly facilitated by the internet, it is an issue "ordinary" young people in Jakarta are familiar with. It is no longer necessary to read newspapers to know what is going on in Indonesia and to form an opinion, Jakarta's middle class youth can simply wait for updates on Twitter and Facebook and construct their opinion based on what other Twitter and Facebook users are saying. Moreover, in the past few years the feud with Malaysia over a number of cultural artefacts and geographical boundary has significantly fired up a nationalist attitude among Jakarta youth, resulting in the re-labelling of batik as trendy. Having identified a clear external threat, endorsed by many celebrities and the most hip online social networks, caring about the nation becomes something cool.

Indonesia and its Others

Being at the social, political and economic core of Indonesia, the sense of belongingness of young people in Jakarta to Indonesia is solid. This is indicated by the use of the plural first person pronoun "*kita*" to refer to Indonesia/Indonesians.

> Why would I have to be proud of someone else (i.e. other countries), I was born here and I think, mmm, human beings are simply never satisfied. If you want to say that Indonesia is awful, it's awful. But then again, it's us who caused the awfulness. (Female, 25 yr, administrative officer in a transnational company)

> Kenapa juga gue harus membanggakan orang lain, orang gue lahirnya juga di sini dan menurut gue apa ya, mmmm, banyak kalo dibilang apa ya, manusia nggak ada puasnya, mau dibilang negara Indonesia jelek ya jelek. Tapi ya itu, jeleknya juga karena diri kita sendiri kan

The quote clearly suggests a personal identification as being Indonesian and of Indonesia being an entity in regards to other entities/nations. Like nationalist sentiments in general, there's a

sense of responsibility in regards to the course of one's nation. However, a sense of insecurity in regard to other nations is traceable. The questions posed to me and to each other during interviews reveal a strong desire to be recognized or considered equal as informants use other countries as points of reference to measure Indonesia against: Do students in other countries have flag-raising ceremonies too? Are there street children too in the US? Do Singaporeans look down on Indonesians? Would Manchester United really have let their star footballers play in match against Indonesia, had it not been cancelled? By gauging differences and similarities with other nations and by trying to decipher the reflections in other nations' eyes, Jakarta's young people try to outline "Indonesia".

A more complicated imagination is one that encompasses Indonesia's diversity. Informants have been found to also use the term "*kita*" to distinguish the self from regions within Indonesia that harbour discontents towards the nation.

> "We did not really care about these regions. If we want them to stay with us, we must care for them, like improving their education or something." (Female, 25yr, administrative officer in a transnational company)

> "If I were a Papuan...I would think that breaking free would be a sad thing to do, but then again Papua is not being cared for. How could we expect they'd like us if we're cruel to them? That's how we treat them, despite the fact that we take their natural resources. The Indonesian government is to blame." (Male, 21yr, officer)

> kalo saya jadi orang Papua,mau lepas sayang tapi...emang nggak di...disayang lho itu. Gimana mau...gimana kita mau berharap dia mau sayang sama kita kalo kita tuh jahatlah? Kita tuh masih kayak gitu, padahal kekayaan alamnya kita ambil. Salah, salah pemerintah Indonesia sih mbak.

The use of "*kita*" in this context implies an othering of people from other regions to whom the possibility to separate from Indonesia is imaginable. This reveals all the more the strength of Jakarta's youth's identity as Indonesians because "our" separation from Indonesia is simply unthinkable.

However, the self formed by using other regions as contrast is more problematic as "*kita*" is positioned higher than the others; as being more knowledgeable and in control of improvement and development, thereby taking for granted Jakarta's superiority over other regions. The imagination of Indonesia consisting of a "center" and the "peripheries" continues to be (re)produced among the young generation. Only one perceptive informant was aware of this bias

> "...so I think my 'nationalism' is more about Jakarta not Indonesia, because what I see is limited to Jakarta. It's actually wrong for me to be like this, all I see is Jakarta" (Female, 19yr, student)

> jadi kalo saya bilang nasionalis saya itu nasionalis Jakarta, bukan nasionalis Indonesia karena memang ...ya udah saya selalu liat lingkup Jakarta. Sebenarnya saya salah gitu, karena saya terlalu, yang saya lihat itu hanya Jakarta

To young people in Jakarta, "Indonesia" is defined by using other countries as well as regions within Indonesia as points of reference, shaping shifting images of the nation. Despite the flux one thing is for sure; for Jakarta youth Indonesia cannot not exist as it is the place they belong to, where they were born and live now.

Constructions of the recent past

Many of the changes in the way the country has been run during the last decade aimed at dissolving New Order's centralized structure (i.e. through decentralization, freer election, free press, etc), this is why I am especially interested to understand whether and how it resonates with the way young people construct the recent history of Indonesia. To this end, a number of pictures were used that depicts elements from the New Order, like a photograph of Suharto that used to be displayed in every classroom and one of students taking over the Parliament building in 1998.

Based on the narratives elicited, it appears that twelve years after his resignation, Suharto remains a positive figure in

Indonesian history. Most informants remember his ability to maintain peace and economic stability as the good qualities that are lacking in subsequent presidents. One could argue that this perception is present because the informants' were still very young during the New Order, however most of their "memories" on the Suharto period are based on stories they heard from their parents or elder relatives suggesting that the sentiment is spread over different cohorts.

At the same time, what was once perceived as anti-theses to the New Order's authoritarian regime, like the 1998 student rally and the separation of the long-oppressed Timor Leste is no longer a salient part of the collective memory. The informant quoted below only found out about the events of 1998 after -unbeknownst to her- she entered the university that had served as the meeting and escape point for students, and where two deadly clashes with the military took place.

> I was still a child and did not know what happened in 1998...I only found out about it in Atma (her current university). A lecturer told us during the introductory days. A documentary film was screened and the lecturer told us that in 1998 Atma served as a stronghold. I found out just then, I was surprised, Atma? (Female, 22yr, student)

> Nah ini waktu kecil itu belum tau 98 itu kejadiannya kayak gimana... Nah itu baru tau pas lagi di Atma...Diceritain sama dosen kak, oh pas masuk ini kak, ehhh...perkenalan fakultas. Nah dipasangin ..film documenter gitu... sama ada dosen gitu dikasih tau kalo 98 itu Atma kayak jadi apa namanya, benteng....Baru tau sih, ya kaget gitu, ih jadi Atma?

This suggests that little is discussed within the formal school curricula and family about at least these two issues. At the other side of the coin that made it possible for young people to explore identities and ideas about nationhood, the reformation era has been experienced as very transitional and somewhat chaotic, and the certainty given by New Order's overarching truth-system is felt to be missing.

Kupang

Fieldwork in Kupang was done in one and half months during which I interviewed 30 young people, collected local newspapers and conducted observations in gathering-spots popular with young people. Each interview lasted between 40′ to 90′. The interviewees come from different backgrounds, in terms of ethnicity, religion as well as social class. With two exceptions all of them were born and spend most of their lives in NTT (Nusa Tenggara Timur or East Nusa Tenggara) and use Indonesian as the main language. The set of pictures used in Kupang to elicit stories during interviews is not entirely the same as the one used in Jakarta. I replaced photos that I think will be less useful (i.e. of a flooded National Monument and street children in Jakarta) with photos of objects specific to Kupang (i.e. of their local transport vehicle; the *bemo*).

Their public transport; mini-vans with sophisticated sound systems and elaborately decorated with stickers (of international surf ware brands, national TV shows, romantic sentences, religious signs etc) and airbrush painting. Each of them is distinguishable by a name. According to interviewees there's a certain pride in riding on the coolest *bemo* (i.e. those who play the latest Western or Indonesian pop songs out loud in "ful bas", a local rendering of "full bass"). Groups of students have their favourite *bemo* and would rather arrive too late at school than riding on a "quiet" *bemo* that "looks aged" for the fear of being made fun of by their friends. Even with the influx of motor cycles, it is still very common for teenagers to stop a *bemo* and subsequently decline getting on it once they realize the vehicle does not fulfill any of the aforementioned criteria of "coolness".

The province East Nusa Tenggara has been one of the most disadvantaged in Indonesia. The percentage of families living in poverty is 56.75% for the whole region, and 23.96% in the capital, Kupang (BPS in Kompas, 2009). Whereas the average of years of schooling in Indonesia is 7.9 years, in NTT it is 6.6 years for men and 6 for women (BPS, 2008). From the existing workforce, 74.88% have not completed senior high school (Pos Kupang, 2009). For

those with a university degree, the common job market would be governmental offices or non-governmental organizations (Elcid Li, 2009). In the last few years, working abroad as menial workers became an additional option for the lower class in society. In terms of religious identity, NTT is one of the few in Indonesia, as 56% of the population is Catholic and 35% Protestant (http://www.nusa-tenggara.com/east/html/general.html).

Indonesia as a State

To young people in Kupang, Indonesia is an entity that consists of a centre (Java/Jakarta) surrounded by peripheries of which their region is part. Those who have lived outside East Nusa Tenggara easily recount people's ignorance of Kupang; from not knowing its geographical location, to stereotyping Kupang people as identical to Papuans and to asking whether there are food joints in their hometown. In the minds of Kupang youth, the inhabitants of Papua are dark-skinned and curly. They do not want to be thought of as similar to Papuans, the region stereotyped as being less developed. However, people tend to implicitly agree with the peripheral attributes of Kupang. This is for instance implied in the habit of sending one's offspring to places outside the province to obtain a better education. Unlike Timor Leste where marginalization and oppression drove the region to separate itself from Indonesia, the common strategy of people in Kupang is to align oneself with the state to gain personal benefits. Indeed, many of my informants clearly argue that Timor Leste's desire for independence despite the attention and funds allocated to them by the central government is incomprehensibly irrational. Timor Leste's independence in 2002 is considered to have a positive impact on Kupang.

> When Timor Leste was still part of Indonesia, all the funds for development, school and economy did not reach Kupang. They went straight to Timor Leste, the youngest province. After the separation, the funds were allocated to Kupang. That's how Kupang got its malls, a nice shopping centre. The conditions of our roads were improved, after the separation of Timor Leste (Male, 27yr, student and cafe manager)

> Karena selama Timor Leste masih gabung dengan Indonesia, semua, semua anggaran kayak pembangunan, sekolah, terus ekonomi semua kan nggak sampai ke Kupang. Langsung ke Timor Leste, provinsi termuda. ... Setelah pisah, dana-dana semua itu dialihkan ke Kupang. Makanya Kupang juga bisa ada mall, bisa ada perbelanjaan yang bagus. Terus fasilitas jalan juga diperbaiki (ini baru?) setelah pisah dari Timor Leste

One of the most popular ways to align with the state is by entering the civil service. Young people in Kupang strive to be accepted into the state's bureaucratic system. Working as civil servant guarantees lifelong income and is considered less demanding and less risky compared to working for the private sector. An officer of the Kupang branch of an established company lamented her lack of luck,

> "Working in the private sector is hard, you have to use your brain, your energy or otherwise you'll get fired" (Female, 24yr, officer)

> Seperti inilah kalau kerja di swasta…harus pakai otak, pakai tenaga, harus kalau enggak bisa dipecat.

A young civil servant underscored the advantages of being a civil servant as opposed to being an entrepreneur when talking about the changes that rocked the state at the end of the New Order.

> "As civil servants, servants of the state we've been pretty well off. My parents are civil servants too. This might be different for business people, I don't know, there must be differences. The welfare of civil servants has always been fine, even after he (Suharto) stepped down. There were no major impacts on us, but maybe there were some for business people." (Male, 24yr, civil servant)

> Mungkin kita sebagai PNS ya, pegawai negeri sipil, abdi negara ya. Sejahtera sejahtera saja dari dulu. Kan kita punya orangtua juga dari sipil. Beda dengan, ya kalo memang pengusaha ya tidak tahu, kan ada beda-beda. Kesejahteraan sipil dulu sampai tahun itu juga, beliau lengser juga baik baik saja. Dampak-dampaknya itu kita tidak terlalu rasa. Yang rasa itu kan mungkin pengusaha

This attitude, a tendency to rely on the state, is pervasive enough to make Yamaha and Suzuki (i.e. "Subsidi s/d Rp 750.000,-

untuk pembelian Suzuki New Smash 110 Seres", a pamphlet distributed at a Suzuki outlet) call their price reductions for motorcycle purchases "subsidy", a term usually reserved for financial incentives provided by the state and suggests an unequal relation between the giver and receiver. This is not to say that people are helplessly dependent on the state. According to the informants several capitals are of advantage in the race for a place in the state's bureaucratic system; like having a family member inside the system and/or be willing to pay millions of rupiah. Very logically, in the last regional election many young people cast their votes for family members and relatives.

> The whole family voted for the same candidate (*what did you base your vote on?)* the candidate knew my father personally, so we kind of knew the candidate too (female, 21yr).

> kita serumah sudah kompakkan gitu (*milihnya berdasarkan apa?)* ya kan ada yang kenal dengan papa begitu, kenal dengan bokap jadi tau gini gini.

The pattern to associate civil service with upward social mobility has been firmly established in provincial towns since the country's independence (Klinken, 2009) and seems to persist in Kupang. Even to those without relatives among the candidates, to a certain extent, the election serves as a battle ground where common people have more power than what is usually at their disposal though not in the sense of "people's voice" implied by the discourse of democracy. Several informants confided that candidates would approach them and offer favours in return for their vote. The favour varies, from hard cash to raising street lamps in front of their houses. However as girl told me,

> "We can promise them anything but in the end, we're the ones who decide who to vote for. We have to be smart when dealing with them, otherwise they'll outsmart us". (Female, 24yr, sales promotion girl for a toothpaste brand)

> "'Kita' bisa bilang apa aja ke mereka (calon legislatif) tapi pas contreng kan 'kita' yang tau. 'Kita' harus pinter-pinter kalau sama mereka mbak, kalo nggak mereka yang bohongin' kita'."

It is through small and seemingly insignificant acts like these that young people in Kupang conform to and yet unsettle the state at the same time.

Whereas in the two other study sites (Jakarta, and Aceh as will be shown below) young people heavily exploit their "traditional" and "cultural" symbols to counter their perceived peripheral position (in regards to Indonesia and/or the world) and put their respective regions on the relevant map, this is less observable among youngsters in Kupang. The Komodo dragon, a relic species that live exclusively in an island in NTT, is vying for a spot as one of the seven world wonders but this does not generate genuine interest among the youngsters I have interviewed (Ironically, young people in Jakarta showed more interest in the candidacy). Similarly the controversial plan to move several dragons to Bali (eventually cancelled) was not an issue spontaneously brought up by most, and their opposition to the plan is often backed up by arguments drawn from the natural sciences (i.e. the dragons would not survive in an environment that is not their natural habitat) instead of evoking arguments on the loss of potential income the province would suffer or on how the move will weaken NTT's identity in the country and the world. If anything, my informants tend to emphasize that Kupang people could be "represented" by the colourful and loud *bemo*'s signifying how highly they value a leisurely and laid-back life. Oftentimes, this self-image is positively seen in contrast with people in Java, who in their view prioritize time and efficiency.

> ...the music that is played on the road is the music we like...it's good...In Java what is more important is time, time is money, time is the most important thing. You get on any vehicle, what is most important is to get to your destination safely. (Male, 24yr, civil servant)

> Tapi selera musik yang kita lihat di jalan-jalan, kan musik-musik seperti yang kita suka juga... senang, bagus.....Kalo di Jawa kan mungkin yang penting waktu, waktu adalah uang, waktu nomor satu. Mau naik apa aja yang penting sampai tujuan dengan selamat ya.

Related to the perception about Kupang's identity in the wider world, the almost-yearly Sail Indonesia that passes through Kupang with many -if not all- participants coming from Australia, generate little interest among the youth. The indifference regarding an event that could potentially put the region on the international/national map is very different from the enthusiasm shown by youngsters in Aceh and Jakarta in pinpointing their regions' capitals considered worthy of international/national acknowledgements. Very tentatively it could be concluded that Kupang's standing in the wider world is not high on the priority list of youngsters there.

Temporal Imaginings of the Nation

Similar to the result in Jakarta, the stability during the New Order is perceived as desirable by youngsters in Kupang. The former president Suharto is perceived as an excellent, fatherly leader. Some informants have memories of lining up along the main road, welcoming him several times during their childhood, waving small flags. One of the interviewees recounted how Suharto would wave back and smile at them. At the sight of his photograph during the interview with me decades later, they still spontaneously utter "*Bapak Pembangunan*" (Father of Development) or "*Bapak Bangsa*" (Father of the nation). He is considered a strong leader, and the nation was socially and financially better under his control. Compared to his successors, Suharto was decisive;

> "With *pak* Harto, once someone makes a mistake, the person will be shot and killed, and it's over. Now they'll go on trial, go through a series of procedures until people lose sight of the case. And most of the cases won't be solved anyway." (Female, 25yr, radio announcer)

> *"kalau pak Harto kan begitu salah, tembak, mati, selesai, gitu... Kalau ini pakai naik ke pengadilan hukum, ini, ini, ini akhirnya sampai kasus itu tidak terlihat publik lagi.Bahkan nggak selesai malahan (Female, 25yr old, radio presenter)*

Pak Harto unified the minds, the views of Indonesians since they are young...As children, each time we were told to draw a landscape, we drew mountains and the sun. All over Indonesia children drew the same. At a very young age one vision, one perception was instilled in us. Values were instilled. One thought, one imagination about that, a landscape (male, 24yr, civil servant)

Dulu kalo pak harto itu menyatukan pikiran, menyatukan satu pandangan warga Indonesia dari kecil...Dulu kita disuruh gambar pemandangan pasti gambar gunung, matahari. Di seluruh Indonesia pasti seperti itu, dari kecil ditanamkan satu pandangan, satu persepsi. Ditanam nilai-nilai dari kecil. Satu pikiran, satu imajinasi tentang itu, pemandangan. (Male, 24yr, civil servant)

The underlying reason for this view could be the same as the one in Jakarta. There seems to be a fatigue with the plethora of intricate state-related legal cases and socio-cultural issues that endlessly linger. The desire of young people in both places for a leadership as strong as Suharto's might be an effect of what Aspinall (2005) identified as a lack in the ability to formulate alternative leadership and ideology on the part of the opposition in 1998.

Unsurprisingly, demonstrations and rallies are considered by Kupang's youth as futile endeavours. Retrospectively, the same impression is received from a picture of the 1998 student rally outside the parliament building. The idea of students being the people's voice and conscience is not traceable in present day Kupang.

This is a grim view of Indonesian students in general. It seems our students want to look smart, this might be...this is not a small number, but maybe the majority of the student...they want to achieve democracy but the democracy turns into anarchy (Male, 23yr, student and manages the family business, graduated from a college in Australia)

Ini potret buram mahasiswa mahasiswa Indonesia pada umum-nya. Sepertinya mahasiswa-mahasiswa kita...apa ya, kelihatan mau, kelihatannya sepintas pinter. Tapi ya mungkin ya, ini sebagian...bukan sebagian kecil, sebagian besar ini sebenarnya ini...mau, mereka mau menuju ke arah demokrasi, tapi demo-krasinya jadinya anarkis.

Aceh

Fieldwork in Aceh was done in a period of two months (June-Aug). Within the period I interviewed 27 young people, most of them students coming from different parts of the province. A photo of a young man making coffee in one of Aceh's many coffee houses is added to the set. Many of my informants come from other parts of the province and left for Banda Aceh to work or study. Indonesian and Acehnese are the languages used daily by most.

In Search for Acehnese-ness

Whereas for Jakarta and most parts of Indonesia the end of the New Order has been a historical turning point, the impact of the episode was considerably less felt in Aceh. Although its status as Military Operation Zone (*Daerah Operasi Militer*, DOM) was invalidated in 1998, violence not only continued but also escalated. Each of Suharto's successors tried in their own way to ease Aceh's discontent but none of them achieved complete success. For people living in Aceh, the conflict between Aceh independent forces and Indonesian armed forces that have seemed irresolvable for decades came to an abrupt halt when giant waves swept over and destroyed the region in 2004. The tsunami killed 128, 000 people, left 37,000 missing and 550,000 without a home (World Bank 2005 in Prasodjo, 2005). At the same time, it instantaneously put Aceh on the map and ended the indifference of the outside world (including other Indonesians) to their sufferings. Aid came in from Indonesian and foreign governments and non-governmental organizations alike. The 'foreign forces' not only carried out the tangible restructuration of Aceh's infrastructure, but also stimulated intangible restructuration to the conceptual universe of many Acehnese.

Six years into the rebuilding of Aceh, many people are engaging in the (re)construction of Acehnese-ness. Cultural products are in abundance. Fiction and non-fiction books about Aceh have been published in the past few years with topics covering the conflict years to classic children's stories, and locally produced films and serials in Acehnese are distributed in the form

of video compact disc, whereas traditional and war-themed folk songs are re-arranged by local music groups. Coffee houses, of which young people are proud, have been part of Aceh socioscape and have traditionally served as refuge for grown up men to share information especially during the conflict years. Interestingly during the past 5 years, coffee houses have been "modernized" and appropriated by the youth; providing free wireless connection and television sets tuned to international channels, offering "modern" beverages going by the names of "cappuccino" or "latte", welcoming young men as well as women indiscriminately and yet keeping the signature elements, the symbols of "Acehnese-ness" i.e. the "pulling" process through which coffee is prepared, the respect bestowed on the skill of coffee-maker and of course, the central place of the coffee house within the society, preserved. These are just a few cultural objects through which the process of (re)constructing Acehnese-ness is manifested.

Analogous to the constant core position of the coffee-puller despite changes of other elements surrounding him, for young people in Banda Aceh there seems to be more or less a consensus of a "core identity" of being Acehnese, signified not only by parentage but also by an understanding of the customs, familiarity with at least one of the province's languages, history, habits, and a subjective sense of being Acehnese. However other elements, like manifestations of religiosity, discourses on Indonesia and perception of the international world generate interesting contestations. Whereas Aceh's issues regarding religion are beyond the scope of this research, the imaginings of Indonesia and the international universe have been explored.

It is not a taken for granted truth to most of my informants that Indonesia is the larger entity to which Aceh belongs. Having spent their childhood in the most atrocious and violent years in the long string of conflicts in Aceh, they continue to be aware of possible alternatives to the region's current inclusion in Indonesia. At one end of the continuum are those who argue that the ceasing of the conflict has played part in Aceh's socio-economic improvement and so the quest for independence is no longer reasonable. At the other end are those for whom the discourse of sovereignty

still reverberates. Unfortunately with the method of research I have been engaging in, it is not possible to know the percentage and the correlating demographic features for each side of the continuum.

Tentatively simplifying Aceh youth's attitude on independence from Indonesia into the aforementioned two camps (This is a very crude polarization. The fragmentation is far more complex), what is however highlighted by the methodology I am using is the construction of ideas that differentiates one camp from the other. Young people who believe that Aceh should no longer pursue independence tend to be more pragmatic and oriented towards the present or future. They consider the peaceful condition as facilitating the development of Aceh, and prefer maintaining this peace over redressing the injustices as it runs the risk of shattering the unseasoned stability.

> For me and my family, also the people I know, we tend to favour staying with Indonesia over...I don't know though about other people, because Aceh now is somewhat better, safer (Male, 24yr, student)

> bagi saya karena, bagi keluarga saya, mungkin orang-orang yang saya kenal ya lebih pentingin mungkin ke Indonesia saja daripada... ngga tau mungkin pihak lain ya (lain ya). Ya karena, Aceh sekarang sudah agak lebih bagus, lebih aman

Their memories of the conflict are less personal and vivid; most of these youngsters say that they do not have direct, significant experiences of the excesses of war though when compared to the stories of those insisting on Aceh's sovereignty the incidents are factually the same (i.e. the modification of flag-raising ceremonies in all schools in Aceh for fear of violent attacks from the Free Aceh Movement). Although to these group of young people Aceh's inclusion in Indonesia is conditional (as long as it is beneficial to Aceh's development), they do not have adverse sentiments towards Jakarta and perceive Banda Aceh as one among many cities in Indonesia. Similar to young people in Kupang and Jakarta, on a hypothetical question asking them to choose a representative of Indonesia at an international beauty pageantry, between Putri Indonesia '09 who comes from Aceh but does not wear a veil, and

Miss Indonesia '09 who is half-American and does not speak Indonesian fluently they too would rather be represented by the "real" Indonesian one, that is, the girl from Aceh. Another point where their views somewhat converge with the youth of Jakarta and Kupang is the attitude towards New Order and Suharto. Although the elated praises are absent, so is the strong aversion.

The other "camp" on the other hand holds a highly idealized image of Aceh's past; of a rich, proud, sophisticated and inclusive people that easily turns into a fierce, solid army of fighters whenever faced with threats from outsiders. Aceh's trajectory is plotted by defensive wars against outsiders whereas any internal dissonance is absent. The relation with Indonesia is particularly painful; according to them Aceh supported the nation from its very inception by donating Indonesia's first aircraft and the gold used to cover the National Monument's crown. The young nation's request for aid implies Aceh's superiority. Yet, the country's leaders continue to betray them; Aceh was incorporated to the province of North Sumatra, the revenues of the mining industry were unequally dispensed among Aceh and Jakarta and successions of presidents continued to deploy ferocious armed forces to keep the dissents down. Even now the sense of being treated unfairly remains; a girl pointed out with irritation how the media would talk about "Acehnese terrorists" but never about "Javanese terrorists" even when the individuals in question are Javanese. As for Indonesia's representative at international beauty pageantry, most of them state that they do not care about representatives of Indonesia, as long as it is not the girl who represented Aceh but is only "Acehnese" by descent and nothing more. The reasons are plenty but very few are against her because of a doubt in her piety. Some would not like Aceh to be represented by a girl in bikinis and some argue that the girl could not be considered to be Acehnese at all thus the dislike is based more on issues of Aceh identity than on religiosity,

> She said she is from Aceh. If she does, I think we should have been able to test her 'Acehnese-ness'. What does she know about Aceh? She has been living in Jakarta for so long...she's not apt to be Acehnese" (Female, 22yr, student)

"...dia bilang lagi, dia dari Aceh. Kalau dia dari Aceh, kita harus bisa menguji ke-Acehan dia kalau menurut Tatik kan. Tau apa dia tentang aceh... Lama tinggal di Jakarta...dia nggak pantas untuk jadi orang Aceh. "

Furthermore, to those at this end of the continuum, Suharto is perceived as oppressive and authoritarian. They remember not being allowed by their parents to ask questions (like why the flag-raising ceremony is no longer allowed) for the fear of being overheard. Thus ironically, regarding New Order, among the three sites studied, it is the perception of Acehnese youth with feelings of resentment to Indonesia that is closest to the common view that led students in 1998 to protest in the name of "Indonesian people".

However divided young people's stance towards Indonesia is, their view of Aceh's position in the international context is less divergent. This is a cohort that grew up in close proximity with humanitarian workers from every corner of the world. Their ideas of the global world are based on personal encounters with real people and not just drawn from a two dimensional screen. This results in a perception that the world is well within their reach, a view substantiated by significant amount of funding allocated to send students and professionals abroad to study. Furthermore, whereas "overseas" (*ke/di luar*) to young people in Jakarta appears to only refer to the US and Europe, youngsters in Aceh perceive it to be more varied; consisting of the Netherlands and France, as well as Japan and India. At one point during field work a group girls took me to a lake surrounded by mountains. It was very interesting to see and hear them pointing out in different directions to show what regions of the province are on the other side of the mountains. This "imagining" of Aceh interchanged seamlessly into their "imagining" of the world as they spoke of how similar the view is with Switzerland's landscape that are used as sets of Indian movies, or how a certain species of tree looks like the cherry trees in Japan, and how they pretended to be in the deserts of America as they took pictures of themselves near a group of cactuses. Recent experiences with foreign workers resonate with a self-image of being descendants of people coming from different places on earth and who have always been comfortably interacting with

strangers as long as they do not threaten or aim to change Aceh's way of living (religion being the most often mentioned element).

Among the countries, two stand out in young people's stories (especially among those questioning Aceh's inclusion in Indonesia); Turkey and Malaysia. With the former, Aceh has a diplomatic relation going all the way back hundreds of years ago, whereas with Malaysia people in Aceh seem to have a special relation. Many prefer to go to Penang for health services, exchange programs at the undergraduate level with Malaysia are plenty and there is an overall sense that Malaysia is a better country than Indonesia. Unsurprisingly Aceh youth could not relate to, and tend to make fun of Jakarta's anger about the "theft" conducted by Malaysia. Based on their narration about the wider world, it appears that with or without Indonesia, to its youth Aceh has a place in the international world.

Conclusion

In a much quoted book, Anderson (1991) defines the nation as an "imagined community". It is imagined as being limited, sovereign and most importantly, with a "deep, horizontal comradeship" between its members. Taking as start the formation of nations in Europe, Anderson attributed to print capitalism the central role of conceiving the embryo of national consciousness. By concentrating on the top-down mechanisms involved in the precipitation of a sense of nationhood, the possibility of discordances and differences in the imaginations is somewhat overlooked in his work.

Taking as its sample people in three different sites within one nation-state, this research has shown that understanding the discourse propagated by a powerful discursive institution like the media is far from sufficient to understand the discourse that result from meaning-making at a mundane level. The imaginations of youngsters in Jakarta, Kupang and Aceh about Indonesia are not necessarily congruent. They depend on the particular trajectory of a region where the subject is living vis-a-vis the nation-state Indonesia, the imagination of and interaction with the world beyond Indonesia, and personal experiences of the subject.

For young people in Jakarta, "Indonesia" is an entity amidst other similarly constructed entities. Its members must aim at making the nation known, accepted and respected by other countries; this is done mainly through "promotion" and "branding" practices taken over from the market discourse. Being oriented towards Indonesia's place in the international world and taking for granted the nation, the "internal" condition of the country receives less attention from youngsters in Jakarta. If this is not altered, it could lead to continuing divisive tendencies within the nation-state.

Young people in Kupang imagine the nation-state as first and foremost a state, an entity with the rights to interfere, regulate, to which people depend on though its system opens up widely the possibility of negotiations. Whereas in Jakarta market discourses are pervading nationalist discourses, in Kupang notions from within state discourses permeate the market (i.e the previously mentioned "subsidy" as a term used in product promotion). Resistances to and negotiations with the powerful "centre" are done by aligning with them without completely surrendering one's agenda. Although similarly positioned at the periphery, Aceh's reaction to it is different from Kupang although people in both places tend to define themselves in contradistinction to Javanese people. In Aceh a picture of Indonesia is portrayed where its existence is not as unquestionable as in other places. Zooming in on Aceh, interesting discussions could be generated on pragmatic and idealistic approaches in the construction of ethno-nationalism.

Twelve years after the fall of New Order, a fine line between one grand narrative of the nation that is controlled by the state, and incongruent narratives born out of everyday discursive practices of everyday people is still in want. This research has shown that young people in many places are actively restructuring ideas of the nation and/or their region thus in the long course of history, the present could be one of the pivotal moments to solidify a nation that for long has been considered unlikely.

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THE IMPACT OF IMPORTANT COMPETITION ON EMPLOYMENT AND WAGE IN TEXTILE AND APPAREL INDUSTRY IN INDONESIA

Yudhi Dharma Nauly

Introduction

ASEAN-China Free Trade Agreement has already been implemented at the commencement of this year. Indonesia, as one of ASEAN countries, will open its economy wider and will definitely get more involved in liberalized trade. Actually, ASEAN-China Free Trade Agreement is just another milestone in Indonesia's journey toward free trade. Trade liberalization in Indonesia had been initiated regionally at the time ASEAN countries launched ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (AFTA) in 1992. Then, at international level, Indonesia's trade liberalization process was marked by the accession of Indonesia in the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995. In the near future, Indonesia's journey toward free trade will also be celebrated with Korea-ASEAN Free Trade Agreement, and Japan-Indonesia Economic Partnership Agreement which will be implemented soon.

Conventional wisdom which is held by international agencies such as WTO, World Bank and IMF, claims that trade liberalization will bring benefits to countries around the world, including Indonesia. It is believed that comparative advantage principle advocated by free trade will drive every country to specialize. Each country will produce and will export goods which it has comparative advantage. At the same time, each country will abandon production and will import goods which it has comparative disadvantage. Consequently, production in all countries will achieve economies of scale and goods will be distributed at broader market worldwide. Undeniably, free trade means more profit for all.

However, many economists argue that trade liberalization also bring severe risks. Free trade also means tougher competition. Some industries which have comparative disadvantage may be

driven out of business and workers may be displaced. It is true that other industries will flourish and will absorb labor and capital expelled from collapsed Industries. Yet, this transfer, if possible, will be costly as well as painful.

Many people in Indonesia believe that the textile and apparel industry is the most vulnerable industry due to freer trade. The main reason is that the textile and apparel industry has not been fully recovered from the 1998 economic crisis. Even banks are still reluctant to provide loan for this industry since this it is considered risky. Another reason is that this industry is still struggling in restructuring its old machinery. There has already been an escalating tension which urges the government to impose protection against competing imports of textile and apparel. Factory owners and workers allege that import competition has already hurt this industry. Their allegation is backed by the fact that some factories have been closed and many workers lost their jobs.

In fact, for the government, this industry is also considered as one of the most important industry. This industry is a labor-intensive industry which provides thousands of jobs. Thus, this industry helps the government in reducing unemployment and poverty. It is also important to note that this industry, through its exports, has helped the government in maintaining a healthy foreign exchange reserve. Yet, the government could not provide adequate protection since its arms are tied.

Undoubtedly, the government faces a dilemma. It is the duty of the government to protect the welfare of its people. On the other hand, the government is bound by its commitment on trade liberalization. Many national leaders believe that the matter has tampered with national sovereignty that the government should put people's welfare ahead of its commitment to other countries. Yet, the government needs hard evidence that import competition has harmed employment and wage in textile and apparel industry before it could employ protection policy.

Unfortunately, there is no solid evidence that import compe-tition has already hurt employment and wages in textile and

apparel industry in Indonesia. Study on the impact of import competition on employment and wages in Indonesia has not been done before. Even similar studies conducted elsewhere (mostly in the U.S.) provide mixed results. Yet, the fall of employment and wages seems like a clear and present danger for workers in Indonesia, although that is only based on presumption.

Research purpose

This study, therefore, is intended to provide scientific evidence which can support the hypothesis which states that import competition affects employment and wages in textile and apparel industry. This purpose could be broken down into these objectives: (1) to determine whether the impact of import competition on employment and wage in textile and apparel industry really exist; (2) to determine the magnitude of the impact of import competition on employment and wage in textile and apparel industry; (3) to determine the significance of the change of import competition in influencing the change of employment and wage in textile and apparel industry;

Research question

As to guide this research in fulfilling its purpose, those objectives are transform into research questions as follow: (1) does the impact of import competition on employment and wage in textile and apparel industry really exist? (2) how large is the magnitude of the impact of import competition on employment and wage in textile and apparel industry? (3) how significance is the change of import competition in influencing the change of employment and wage in textile and apparel industry?

Theoretical Framework

The relationship between import competition and employment can be demonstrated through supply and demand models below. First, we utilize domestic textile and apparel supply and demand model. In an autarky economy the equilibrium price PD of textile and apparel are determined by quantity

supplied and quantity demanded at Q1. Thereafter, when domestic textile and apparel market is connected to the world textile and apparel market, domestic textile and apparel price PD will equalize with world textile and apparel price PW following the law of one price. In the case of import competition world price PW is lower than domestic price PD and allowing imports of textile and apparel. Thus, domestic price will decrease. Consequently, due to lower price, consumers rise textile and apparel demand from OQ1 to OQ2. Producers, however, reduce their supply from OQ1 to OQ3. The gap between risen demand and reduced supply, Q3 to Q2, is filled up by imports.

The impact of import competition is then passed on to labor market. Labor demand is actually a derived demand. It is derived from goods demand. Labor demand is positively correlated to goods demand. That means when goods demand rises labor demand rises, and vise versa. Nonetheless, the impact of the fall of goods demand shifts the labor demand curve to the left. Accordingly, both employment and wage fall. The labor supply and demand model shows that employment falls from OL1 to OL2 and wages fall from OW1 to OW2. By using these models, it can be concluded that import competition will make employment and wage fall.
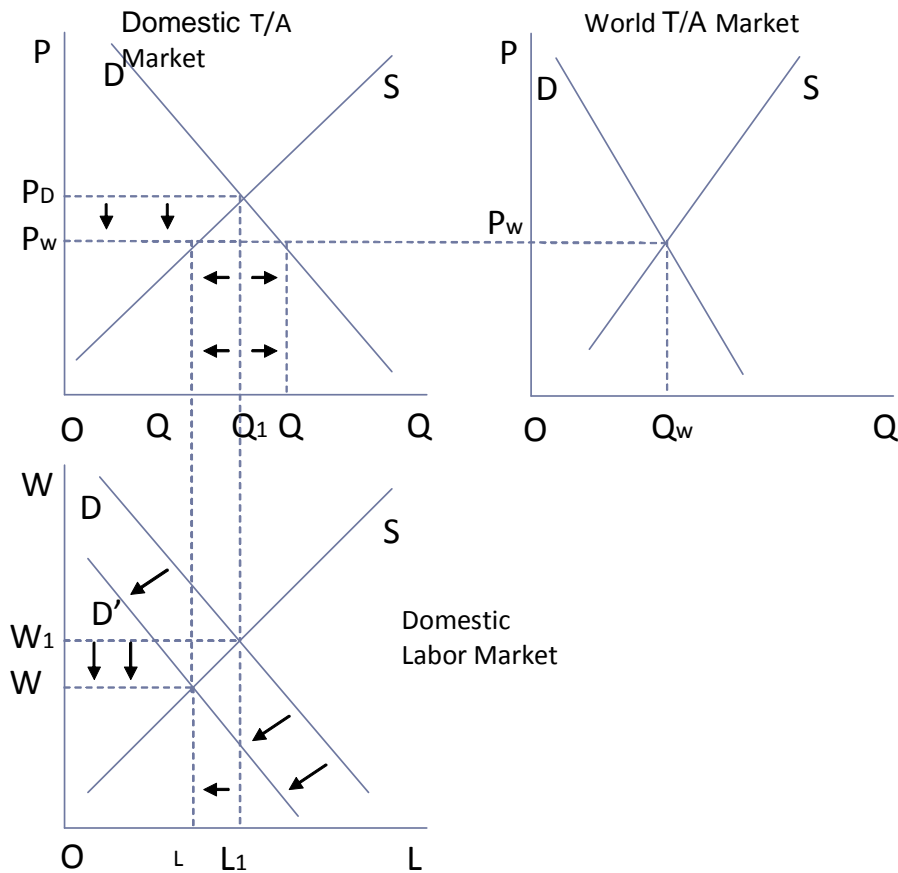
Literature Review

Studies on the impact of import competition on employment and wage have been done by many scientists since a while ago. But, it proves that it becomes more interesting for many more people as the perpetual debate between free trade and protectionism is heating up. These previous studies provide important stepping stones in conducting this research. Salant (1960) demonstrates the short-run effects on domestic employment of unilateral reductions of United States import barriers. Salant expresses the coefficients relating employment effects to import increases as numbers of employees per million-dollar increase of imports. Observation is made on products of 72 industries using

1953 price. Salant concludes that the gross decreases of employ-ment resulting from the decrease of domestic output have a median value of 115 employees per million- dollar increase of imports. The dispersion is wide with the lowest decrease is 51 employees (for liberalization of grain mill products) and the highest is 224 employees (for liberalization of vegetables and fruits).

Grossman (1982) develops a methodology to determine the extent to which import competition has been responsible for labor displacements and wage movements in specific, allegedly trade-impacted sectors. His methodology involves econometric estima-tion of reduced-form, industry-level, wage and employment equations. This study observes nine manufacturing sectors in the United States using monthly data from 1969 through 1979. The result indicates that wages are not very sensitive to import compe-tition, whereas the responsiveness of employment varied widely across sectors.

Revenga (1992) investigates the impact of increased import competition on employment and wages in U. S. manufacturing. The theoretical framework used by Revenga states that the link between import competition and industry employ-ment and wages is straightforward. A change in import competition that shifts industry product demand will shift employment in the same direction, with wage adjustments dampening the employment response. Revenga uses OLS, 2SLS and instrumental variables (IV). IV is used as estimation strategy to control for the potential correlation between import prices and the disturbances in the estimating equations. For industry import price variable, Revenga uses a quarterly fixed-weight Laspeyres index of transactions prices based on a 1980 import market basket. As measures of industry employment Revenga uses (1) the number of production workers in each industry and (2) average person-hours per week. For the wage variable Revenga uses average hourly earnings for production workers in each industry, and it also uses (1) average hourly earnings in services and (2) average hourly earnings in trade as two different measures of the alternative wage. For capturing cyclical fluctuations in demand, two alternative aggre-

gate measures are used: (1) the aggregate quarterly unemployment rate and (2) quarterly real GDP. As measures of other factor prices, an index of the cost of materials in manufacturing and an index of energy prices are considered. This study finds that changes in import prices have a significant effect on both employment and wages. Revenga also offer a useful insight on methodology that the OLS estimates of the import price elasticities seem to be significantly downward biased. The comparison of the OLS and 2SLS estimates suggests the existence of a simultaneous relationship between industry employment and the price of the import substitute, or of an omitted variable that is jointly correlated with employment and the import price.

Suarez (1998) examines the effect of international competition on employment and wages in seven Swiss manufacturing sectors from 1966 to 1986.. Suarez uses the seemingly unrelated regressions (SUR) method which account for correlation between error terms. Suarez concludes that a majority of the estimated coefficients are positive, reflecting a negative impact of import competition but our main result is that all the elasticities are of relatively small magnitude.

Shippen (1999) examines the effects of import competition on employment and wages in U.S. textiles and apparel industry. Shippen develops two models in this study. In the first model, the U.S. is considered as a price taker and following Grossman (1986) Shippen uses OLS. In the second model, the U.S. is assumed as a price-setter and following Revenga (1992) Shippen uses 2SLS. The results from the two models are mixed. The results of the OLS model with the U.S. as a price-taker suggest that foreign competition plays a significant role in determining employment and hours worked in the apparel industry. Textile industry, however, is not significantly affected by import prices in hour worked, employment, or wages. The results from the 2SLS model using weighted exchange rates to instrument the index import price variable are more consistent with these results, although standard errors are large. Indeed, the coefficients of the import price variable with respect to employment and hours are larger in these estimations for both industries than in the OLS models

but are not significant. The results of import competition on wages for the 2SLS models were small and insignificant.

Oscarsson (2000) examines the effect of import competition on employment and wages in 63 industries within Swedish manufacturing sector during 1975-93. As variables representing employment and wages, Oscarsson uses number of production workers, number of hours worked by production workers, number of non-production workers, wage sum for production workers excluding payroll taxes, and wage sum for non-production workers excluding payroll taxes. Change in import competition may not be followed by change in employment and wages instantly, thus, Oscarsson introduces a one year long of lag. Oscarsson uses GLS assuming the variances of the observations are unequal (heteroscedasticity). In order to take away any common inflationary trend, Oscarsson divides all nominal prices by the CPI. Oscarsson concludes that import competition had a significant negative effect on the employment of both production and non-production workers.

Oskooee and Chakrabarti (2000) examine if employment and wages in the U.S. manufacturing sector exhibit any long run relationship with import competition by using cointegration analysis. Their result are mixed. The overall cointegration analysis supports the results reported in Revenga's (1992) panel study. Yet it indicates that in the long run a positive correlation between import price and employment and/or a negative correlation between import price and wage are sector sensitive.

Tomiura (2001) examines the impact of imports on labor demand in 390 Japanese manufacturing industries. Tomiura uses instrumental variables (IV) as wage, import price and import share are considered endogenously determined. Tomiura also uses OLS for comparison to IV, knowing that OLS estimation which take wage, import price and import share as exogenous variables will yield biased and inconsistent estimates. Tomiura concludes that Japanese employment is significantly responsive to import price changes and that the employment sensitivity varies positively depending on the industry import share.

Joo (2002) examines the impact of increasing import competition on employment and wages. Joo uses aggregated annual data of 28 ISIC three digit manufacturing industries in Asian Newly Industrialized Countries (NICs), specifically Hong Kong, South Korea, Singapore and Taiwan. Mainly based upon Revenga's work, this study's empirical analysis includes 2SLS, OLS and IV (weighted producers price as instrumental variables). This study finds that both employment and wages are relatively sensitive to increasing import shares. This study also discovers that the largest decline in employment and wages is experienced by low capital-intensive industries. Moreover, This study also reveals that OLS estimates shows the existence of endogenous problem between import shares, employment and wages.

Chakrabarti (2003) examines whether employment and wages in the US manufacturing sector exhibit any long-run relationship with import competition by using a multivariate panel cointegration analysis. This study observes 12 two digit SIC manufacturing industries over the period from the third quarter of 1982 to the fourth quarter of 1992. The result indicates that US manufacturing employment does not bear a long-run relationship with import competition but manufacturing wage does. While the long-run correlation between import price and manufacturing wage is found to be sector sensitive panel estimation reveals a highly significant negative correlation between import price and manufacturing wage.

Sasaki (2007) analyzes the effects of import competition on the labor market in Japan by focusing on the relationship between import prices and manufacturing employment. Sasaki uses dynamic Generalized Method of Moments (dynamic GMM) to avoid the problems stemming from the simultaneity bias. Sasaki finds out that employment declines by approximately 0.6 percent in the short run for each percent of import price decline. Sasaki, accordingly, concludes that in Japan import competition should be taken into account as an important factor explaining the severe employment condition since the 1990s.

Theoretical Model

The model used for calculating the impact of import competition on employment and wage in textile and apparel industry is similar to Revenga (1992), Oskooee and Chakrabarti (2000), Joo (2002) and Chakrabarti (2003). Basically, the model is also similar to Shippen (1999), yet Shippen does not include price of the import good. Labor demand is defined as a linear function of industry wage, vector of observable factors which shift the labor demand and domestic price of the import goods. This function can be written as,

$$1$$

where L_{it} is labor demand for industry i and year t, Z_{it} is a vector of observable factors which shift the labor demand in industry i and year t, Π is a vector of parameters which corresponds to Z_{it}, P^m_{it} is the domestic currency price of the import good, Wit is the industry wage, and w_{1it} is an error term indicating unmeasured labor demand shocks.

Similarly, labor supply is defined as a linear function of vector of observable factors which shift the labor supply and the industry wage. This function can be written as,

$$d\mathbf{ln}L_{it} = c\ d\mathbf{ln}W_{it}\ + dH_{it}\lceil\ + w_{2it} \qquad\qquad 2$$

where where L_{it} is labor supply for industry i and year t, W_{it} is the industry wage, c is labor supply elasticity with respect to wage, H_{it} is a vector of observable factors that shift labor supply, $\lceil$ is a vector of parameters which corresponds to H_{it}, and w_{2it} reflects other unmeasured labor supply shocks.

Knowing that in equilibrium condition with market clearing, labor supply equal labor demand, both (1) and (2) equations can be reduced into

$$d\mathbf{ln}L_{it} = \gamma_1 dZ_{it}\ \Pi + \gamma_2 d\mathbf{ln}P^m_{it}\ + \gamma_3 dH_{it}\lceil\ + u_{it} \qquad\qquad 3$$

$$d\mathbf{ln}W_{it} = \beta_1 dZ_{it}\ \Pi + \beta_2 d\mathbf{ln}P^m_{it}\ + \beta_3 dH_{it}\lceil\ + v_{it} \qquad\qquad 4$$

$$d\mathbf{ln}L_{it} = dZ_{it}\ \Pi\ \cdot$$

where L_{it} is employment for industry i and year t, W_{it} is wages for industry i and year t, Z_{it} is a vector of observable factors which shift the labor demand, Π is a vector of parameters which corresponds to Z_{it}, P^m_{it} is the domestic currency price of the import good, H_{it} is a vector of observable factors that shift labor supply, $\lceil$ is a vector of parameters which corresponds to H_{it}, and the terms u_{it} and v_{it} represent unmeasured components of employment and wage variation, and are combinations of the unmeasured labor demand and labor supply shocks.

Data Description
Variables Operationalization

This research is intended to study the interaction among three variables, i.e. import competition, employment, and wage. These variables need to be operationalized before they are measured. As the supply and demand model suggests, import competition will be measured by using the price of imports. As price of import falls, import competition gets tougher. On the contrary, as price of import rises, import competition gets more amiable. Employment is represented by average total workers per working day. And, as proxy for wage, this research uses average salary of production workers. As in determining the relation of those variables, import competition will be the independent variable. As dependent variable, this study will use employment and wage. Import price, employment and wage data are all obtained from BPS Statistics Indonesia survey data.

Data range

Actually, BPS Statistics Indonesia is able to provide data ranging from 1989 to 2008. But, in respect of 1998 economic crisis which slowed down Indonesia's economy, imports plunged drastically. Thus, import data starting from 1999 could not be used due to large deviations. As a result, this research will only use data ranging from 1989 up to 1998.

Data Classification

Correlating import data and employment and wage data turns out to be a little bit tricky. Those data are arranged under different classification. BPS Statistics Indonesia organizes Import data under Harmonized Commodity and Coding System (HS), a commodity classification which is maintained by World Customs Organization (WCO). On the other hand, employment and wage data are categorized under International Standard Industrial Classification (ISIC). This is an economic activity classification which is maintained by United Nations Statistics Division.

Associating those data is actually challenging since both classifications are revised from time to time. After the establishment of the first edition in 1988, there are four amendment editions of HS which are HS 1992 Edition, HS 1996 Edition, HS 2002 Edition, and HS 2007 Edition. ISIC, in fact, has more amendments than HS. Since the original edition launched in 1948, ISIC has five revision editions which are ISIC Rev. 1 (1958), ISIC Rev. 2 (1968), ISIC Rev. 3 (1989), ISIC Rev. 3.1 (2002), and ISIC Rev. 4 (2008). Fortunately, the subheadings of HS 1996 Edition, HS 2002 Edition, and HS 2007 Edition regarding data needed in this research do not change. This windfall really saves a lot of time and conversion works. Conversely, although there is not any changes of classes between ISIC Rev. 3 and ISIC Rev. 3.1, there are many changes in classes of ISIC Rev. 4. Auspiciously, BPS Statistics Indonesia still uses ISIC Rev. 3 up to now.

The next step is correlating HS and ISIC. Either HS edition can be correlated to ISIC Rev. 3 or ISIC Rev. 3.1. Nonetheless, correspondence table for HS and ISIC does not exist in the literature. So, for the purpose of this research such correlation table should be constructed. Favorably, United Nations Statistics Division provides HS edition 2002 – CPC Ver. 1.1 correspondence table and CPC Ver. 1.1 – ISIC Rev. 3.1 correspondence table. By using those two tables, ISIC Rev. 3.1 – HS 2002 Edition correspondence table can be constructed. And, by using this correspondence table we can link 9 classes of economic activity described in ISIC Rev. 3.1 to 811 subheadings of imported goods expressed in HS 2002 Edition.

Following Revenga, import price in this study is a quarterly fixed-weight Laspeyres index of transactions prices, using 1989 as base year. Wage variable will be deflated by consumer price index (CPI).

Time lag

The changes in import competition certainly do not affect both employment and wage instantly. It takes sometime before the impact of import competition takes shape on employment and wage. Thus, it is reasonable that this research, following Oscarsson (2000), introduce one year time lag. It is, then, assumed that impact of import competition in a particular year will show up on employment and wage of the next year.

Regression results

The regression was estimated by using two-step least square (2SLS) on gretl 1.9.1cvs[1]. The regression results for textile industry are presented in Table 2 and the results for apparel industry are presented in Table 3. As comparison, Table 2 and Table 3 also present regression results with constant GDP as independent variable. The results demonstrate, consistent with the theoretical framework above, that import competition is correlated positively with employment and wage in both industries. The results also show that the magnitude of those correlations is trivial and insignificant. Only, regression on import competition on wage in textile industry shows significant coefficient of 0.365. It means that 10 percent increase in import competition will rise 3.6 percent increase in wage.

Table 3.
2SLS Result on Textile Industry

	Import Competition
GDP	

Table 4.
2SLS Result on Apparel Industry

		Employment	Wage
Import Competition	Coefficient	0.0105860	0.0740734
	Std. error	0.00564848	0.0496154
	Z	1.874	1.493
	p-value	0.0609	0.1354
	R-squared	0.390725	0.226128
	Test for heteroskedasticity		
	Z	0.20089	0.242229
	p-value	0.840784	0.808603
	Test for normality of residual		
	Chi-square	1.96537	1.09309
	p-value	0.374304	0.578948
GDP	Coefficient	0.440016	3.82664
	Std. error	0.115592	0.963704
	Z	3.807	3.971
	p-value	0.0001	7.16e-05
	R-squared	0.727281	0.650169
	Test for heteroskedasticity		
	z	2.09216	0.197595
	p-value	0.0364242	0.843362
	Test for normality of residual		
	Chi-square	8.03439	1.20766
	p-value	0.0180034	0.546714

Moreover, the z and p-value on apparel industry display that the regression estimations of the sample can be applied to the population. On the other hand, the z and p-value on textile industry exhibit that the regression estimations can only be applied to the sample. The p-values for both labor and wage are very small which these p-values are certainly smaller than common level of significance (α).

Gretl also tests for heteroscedasticity[2] and test for normality of residual. The test for heteroscedasticity is performed to check whether error terms have the same variance. If the error terms do not do not all have the same variance then the data exhibit heteroscedasticity The asymptotic test statistics of z and p-value prove that heteroscedasticity does not present in all regression estimations. Then, it can be presumed that the use of least square method is appropriate. Furthermore, tests for normality of residual also confirm that result. Tests for normality of residual give Chi-square and p-value which prove that error is normally distributed.

Conclusion

Previous studies note mixed results on the impact of import competition on employment and wage. This research contributes as backer to studies which conclude the impact of import competition on employment and wage really exists. These results are consistent with theory. It can be concluded that in apparel industry import competition affects both employment and wage in negative sense. Although the impact is not significant but it really exist. On the other hand, in textile industry, the study can only prove that the import competition affect employment and wage for the sample data only. It cannot be generalized to the whole population.

End Note

[1] GNU Regression, Econometric and Time-series Library (gretl)
[2] Pesaran-Taylor test

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TECHNOLOGY

CORRELATION AMONG CORPORATE PRODUCTIVITY, PERFORMANCE ASSESSMENT SYSTEM AND SALARY SYSTEM
(A Numerical Representation of a Qualitative Survey)

Arik Prasetya

Introduction

In a highly competitive era of globalization, companies need high performance. In any profit-oriented or nonprofit-oriented organizations, human resources have an important role in achieving organizational efficiency and effectiveness by managing the physical, financial and human resources in the most effective and efficient way. To do this, the organizations have developed a variety of complex processes and procedures. Among others, the most important dimensions of managing human resources are the assessment of performance (also known as performance evaluation, performance appraisal, performance management, reviews or ratings) and the implementation of a good salary system. At the same time, employees need feedback about their performance and guidance for their future behavior.

Attempts to reach company goals can be realized through the increase of productivity. Higher productivity will increase efficiency in company's operations, while the level of productivity itself is highly influenced by the performance or productivity of the employees. One of the important factors affecting employee productivity is motivation. Work motivation can generate enthusiasm and drive to work. Motivation can come from both internal and external sides. Externally, it can be obtained from the organization. In this regards, managers have duty to create a work environment that condusive to developing motivation. Productivity can be defined as the ratio of output to input. Work productivity is affected by motivation, where the higher motivated employee will tend to be more productive, and vice versa. In the highly competitive globalization era, every organization should improve its work productivity. It is expected that by the higher productivity competitiveness, the organization will be more profitable and has better performance.

It is important to understand how the performance appraisal system will increase productivity. Silberman (2003) noted that "an effective performance management program can increase productivity and morale in your organization and help you retain valued high-performers". Meanwhile, according to Bruce (2002), the way to increase employees' motivation and productivity is by ensuring everyone to have a common understanding of what high performance is and by ensuring that employees know what is expected from them. Furthermore, she suggested that managers should recognize that they have influence to the employees and should use this influence to convince them that motivation has positive relation with performance. To improve company's performance, the company should implement a good performance appraisal and salary systems to enhance employees' motivation.

Corporate Productivity (CP) vs Motivation

The performance of individual employee in a company is influential to company's productivity. Some factors are believed to affect the productivity of the company, i.e. (1) skill, obviously this individual factor differs from one person to another, (2) attitude as well as other individual factors related to characters, (3) work Attendance (Absenteeism). Although organizational factors contribute to the effectiveness of organization, such as turnover, absenteeism, and technology, probably the most important and influencial factor is job performance. Job performance is typically viewed as partially determined by the motivation to work hard and, therefore, increases in motivation should result in greater effort and higher performance (Mitchell, 1982). Furthermore, Mitchell stated that before any motivation system is installed, one must be sure: (1) that there is a good performance appraisal system available, (2) that motivation is an important contributor to performance, and (3) that where motivation clearly is not the major contributor to performance, a separate measure of motivation or of behaviors clearly caused by motivation is developed.

Employees who work in an organization have the varied characteristics and backgrounds. Therefore, every employee has

different needs and different desires, hence different causes for motivation. Individual differences also cause differences in performance/productivity of their work. The productivity of an employee's work among others is affected by their motivation. Differences of behavior among members of the organization make a manager to understand the motivation that is owned by each member of the organization; how to motivate them, who in turn can increase their productivity. These important questions about employees' behavior can only be answered by managers who have a grasp of what motivates people. Specially, a good understanding of motivation can serve as a valuable tool for understanding the causes of behavior in organizations, for predicting the effects of any managerial action, and for directing behavior so that organizational and individual goals can be achieved. (Nadler and Lawler, 1977).

Motivation can be sourced from internal and external. One of the external sources of motivation is from the organization. Therefore, the management of organizations should be able to create a climate that can motivate their employees. A motivated employee tends to be more productive than those not motivated. Motivation is one important factor to increase work productivity, which in turn would increase profits for the organization or company. There are various concepts or theories of motivation that can be used as reference by the managers to learn and understand the various motivations that are owned by their employees within the organization. All considered, that between the motivation and productivity can be said to be a causal relationship, which is one of the impacts on the other side will make an impact on others.

The productivity of most organizations is a function of the way in which three variables are managed: technology, capital, and human resources (Latham & Wexley, 1994). Employee productivity depends on the amount of time an individual is physically present at a job and also the degree to which he or she is "mentally present" or efficiently functioning while present at a job. Motivation is considered as the main determinant for increased productivity/performance (Gibson, Ivancevich, and Donnelly,

1996). An employee's productivity depends on employee motivation to work. The higher the motivation for someone to perform a job, the higher the productivity. This is consistent with the goal of formulating the theory that productivity is a function of motivation: P = f (M). While according to the expectancy theory of productivity is a multiplication of motivation with the ability: P = M x A (Suprihanto, 1986). Productivity represent multiplication function from effort of employees, supported by high motivation, and ability of human resource through productivity practices which mounting, meaning good performance, will become feedback to continuing organization activity (Klingner and Nalbandian, 1998).

According to the results of a survey conducted by the Employers and Manufacturers Association, where they have been reviewed as many as 521 cases that went before the Employment Relations Authority in 2008 showed that 67 percent fall in support of employees. One of the problems is that in many cases when dealing with poor employee performance, because employers do not follow the required process. (Atkins, 2009). So that the poor performance of employees will affect the company's productivity, team spirit and work culture within the company. Improving productivity is one big challenge that has been engaged by the employers, whether private or public, through devising appropriate mechanism for motivating their workers. The seriousness of this challenge can be understood from management's perception of the strong functional correlation between employee motivation and organizational productivity.

Motivation vs Performance Assessment System (PAS)

In the human resources management, performance appraisal systems have a vital role. The performance evaluation is an important mechanism for controlling the organization, where employees can view their performance in the immediate past and take concrete actions for improvement. Performance appraisals also provide important information for the management of human resources to create fair and correct decisions regarding promotions, transfers, compensation, incentives and training programs and

career management. Special companies typically require different performance appraisal system tailored to the needs of the functions and processes (Chen & Chu, 2007). Assessment of performance is related to the motivation of employees. Especially the provision of feedback to enable employees to learn how the employee worked; setting specific goals about what employees should do; team-building to enable employees to participate with friends and their managers in solving problems that hinder their productivity, and monetary incentives that reward good performance (Latham and Wexley, 1994).

According to Mathis and Jackson (2000), the factors that affect the individual performance of workers, namely: 1. ability, 2.motivation, 3. support that received, 4. existence of work that they do, 5. Relationship with the organization. Meanwhile, according to Gibson (1987) there are three factors that affect performance: 1) individual factors: ability, skill, family background, experience of employment, social and demographic levels of a person. 2) Psychological factors: perception, roles, attitudes, personality, motivation and job satisfaction 3) organizational factors: organizational structure, job design, leadership, reward systems. The performance evaluation (performance appraisal) is a key factor in order to develop an organization effectively and efficiently. Individual performance appraisal is very beneficial for the growth dynamics of the organization as a whole. Through an assessment can be known about how the actual conditions of employee performance can be known. According to Bernardin and Russell (1993) "A way of measuring the contribution of individuals to on their organization" The performance evaluation is a way of measuring the contribution of individuals (employees) to the organizations where they work.

Furthermore, regarding definition of performance appraisal Grote (2002) stated that "Performance appraisal is a formal management system that provides for the evaluation of the quality of an individual's performance in an organization". Performance appraisal is "the process of evaluating how well employees perform their jobs when compared to a set of standards, and then communicating that information to those employees "(Mathis and Jackson, 2000). For a good performance appraisal, Messmer (2000)

stated that there are several elements of a good performance assessment: (1) formulation of the goals that will be done by workers or leader at the end of the assessment, (2) a list of specific competencies or skills to be measured with a successful example of the behavior and performance, (3) scale ranking or rating is right for the organization, (4) the space for workers in assessing for themselves, (5) the space for the assessment supervisors and managers, (6) space for special events from the manager about performance of their employees, (7) encourage the development of worker / employee, 8) the goal to align with the next valuation date.

ACAS booklet (2005) provides general principles in formulating a good performance assessment system: what is the purpose of performance assessment?, who should be assessed?, who conducted the assessment?, how often should the assessment take place?, what methods are used in assessing employee performance?, how the interviews conducted?. Regarding the objectives of performance appraisal system, ACAS Booklet (2005) mentions that the primary purpose of assessment system used for reviewing performance, assessing potential employees and identify training needs and career planning. Besides the performance appraisal system can be used to determine whether the employees are eligible to receive financial rewards for their performance or not. Many scholars argue that Performance Appraisal System is implemented for several purposes (See, McGregor (1957), Klatt, Murdick, and Schuster (1978), Meyer *et.al* (1965), Haslam et.al. (1993), Wilson and Western (2000), Kamal (2001), Grote (2002), Montague (2007), Morgenson *et.al*. (2009)). Klatt, Murdick, and Schuster (1978) report on a study conducted by Schuster and Kindall (1974) in which the performance appraisal practices of Fortune's 500 corporations are described. Of the 403 corporations surveyed, 316 (78%) reported the use of some type of formal performance appraisal system. Futher, they report the performance evalutions were used for a variety of purposes, as showed below:

Table 5.
The purposes of appraisal system

No.	Uses of Appraisal	Responses	
		Number	Percentage
1.	Merit increases or bonuses	238	75,3%
2.	Counseling employees	278	88,0%
3.	Planning training or development for employees	270	85,4%
4.	Considering the promotion of employees	266	84,2%
5.	Considering the retention or discharge of employees	184	58,2%
6.	Motivating employees to achieve higher levels of performance	269	85,1%
7.	Improving company planning	178	56,3%
8.	Other	28	8,9%
	Total company reporting	316	

Source: Klatt, Murdick, and Schuster (1978)

Formal performance appraisal can be accomplished after any period, although it is normally conducted on an annual basis. Sometimes organizations require it be done more frequently, quarterly, or semiannually. Frequent performance appraisals can result in greater understanding of the job and improvement in job performance (Nathan et al., 1991) . Mathis & Jackson (2000) state that appraisal typically are conducted once or twice a year, most often annually. For new employees, common timing is to conduct an appraisal 90 days after employment, again at six months, and annually thereafter. Also Anderson in Towers (1996) says that the most common corporate practices are to hold performance appraisals every twelve months or every six months, although more-frequent and less frequent variations can and do occur. Bhatia (2010), based on the results of his research where he has worked with many companies, found that each step in the assessment process should be no more than 4-5 working days. Further, he said that in assessing the performance of at least six stages which totally takes over 15 - 35 days. The different steps in the assessment process and their time-line might be:

Table 6.
The Steps and Ideal Time for completing PAS

Source: Bhatia, 2010

Futhermore, performance appraisal can be conducted into two ways, informal or formal. An informal appraisal is conducted whenever the supervisor feels it necessary. A systematic appraisal is used when the contact between manager and employee is formal, and a system is in place to report managerial impressions and observations on employee performance (Mathis & Jackson; 2000, Anderson in Towers; 1996, Oberg; 1972). Although informal appraisal is useful, it should not take the place of formal appraisal.Performance can be appraised by a number of methods. Winston & Creamer (1997) noted that there are numerous methods to measure employee's performance appraisal but some of these methods are not suitable in certain cases. Effective appraisal system should include clarity, transparency, and justice; give recognition to productivity through the reward; and realize the leadership qualities of appraisers.

According to Mathis and Jackson (2000), various methods are categorized into four major groups: (1) Category Rating Methods, (2) Comparative Methods, (3) Narrative Methods, (4) Behavioral/ Objective Methods.

No	
1	Employees f... their manag...
2	Managers fir... to Heads of ...
3	Head of the ... employees a...
4	HR do norm... throughout t... scores and s...
5	Managers to ... then give th... acceptance
6	Employees r...

Source : Mathis and Jackson, (2000)
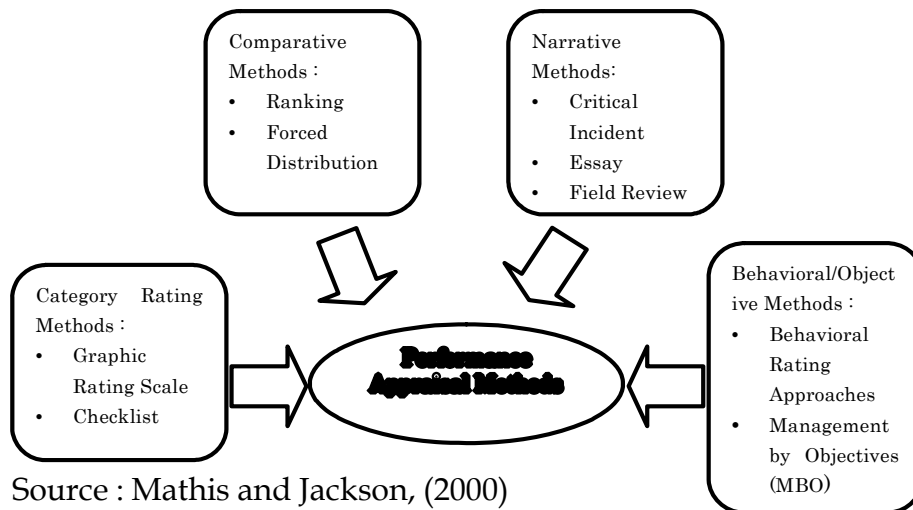
Figure 17.
Performance Appraisal Methods

- *Rating* – is a performance appraisal technique in which evaluators assess employee performance using a scale for measuring the performance factors (performance factor). For example is in measuring the level of initiative and responsibility of employees. Scale used is 1 to 5, ie 1 is the worst and 5 is the best. If the level of initiative and responsibility are casual employees, for example, then he was given a value of 3 or 4 and so on to evaluate other performance factors.
- *Critical incidents* – a performance assessment technique, in which the evaluator noted about what behavior / achievement of the best and worst (extremely good or bad behavior) for employees in the assessment period.
- *Ranking* – is a performance appraisal technique by comparing employee to another employee with the aim of putting them in order of value of a simple level.
- *Narrative report* – a performance assessment technique, in which the evaluator write a description about the strenght of employees, their weaknesses, their performance in the past, its potential and provide suggestions for the development of employees.

- *Behaviourally Anchored Rating Scales* – a performance assessment technique, in which evaluators assess the employee based on some type of behavior that reflects the dimensions of work performance and make the scale. It is a combination of the rating scale and critical incident techniques of employee performance appraisal.
- *Management By Objectives (Comparison with objectives)* – is an appraisal method that oriented to the achievement of employment targets. In the MBO method, each individual employee is given his own target, which corresponds to the work unit goals in one period of work. MBO performance assessment methods conducted at the end of the period refers to the realization of the target.

According to Jafari, et.al (2009), they offer a conceptual framework in the selection of employee assessment methods and comparing several methods of performance assessment in order to facilitate the selection process for the organization. This framework is built on the theory and literature studies. The framework is based on six factors which are training needs evaluation, coincidence with institutes, excite staff to be better, ability to compare, cost of method, and free of error. The framework called Simple Additive Weighting (SAW), and the final result of their research as shown below:

Table 7.
The Grade of Performance Appraisal Method based on SAW

No.	Methods	Method's Grades
1	Management By Objective	0.91
2	360 Degree Feedback	0.87
3	BARS	0.82
4	The checklist	0.72
5	Forced choice, Ranking	0.66
6	The critical incident	0.54
7	The graphic rating scale	0.51
8	The essay	0.40

Source : Jafari, et.al (2009)

Motivation vs Salary System (SS)

Typically, organizations use compensation to motivate employees. Compensation is a benefit received by employees for services that have been given to the company; it could be financial benefits in the form of salary, wages, wage incentives, bonuses, insurance, and allowances, and non-financial benefits in the form of physical conditions of work environment and payroll systems applied by the company. Motivation cannot be imposed upon employees. The rewards can motivate some employees but not necessarily other employees. Employees will be motivated to do better work when they feel the benefits granted distributed fairly. Perceived lack of fairness and worthy causes give rises to various problems. Company must realize that the system of compensation that is applied will affect employee motivation. High employee motivation will improve employee performance which ultimately will improve performance of the company.

Fairness is a fundamental factor of the compensation or salary system (Newman & Milkovich, 2004). A statement such as "fair treatment for all employees" reflects a concern for justice. The purpose of justice focus on making compensation systems that recognizes both the contribution of workers (the higher the performance or experience or training the higher the compensation given) and the needs of workers (giving minimum wages, or health insurance). According Simamora (2004), equity compensation is divided into three, namely: (1) External equity, Appropriate wage rates with salary applicable to similar jobs in the external labor market. The rate should be assessed by comparing the external equitable jobs in similar organizations. Two conditions must be met, namely; work compared must be equal or nearly equal, and the surveyed organizations have a similar size, mission and business sector, (2) Internal equity. Internal justice is a function of the relative status of a job in the organization, the financial value of the work, or organizational status of the job, such as hierarchy power, and influence. The equivalent positions should be awarded with similar remunerations, (3) Individual Equity. Individual worker feels that he is treated fairly compared to his colleagues. When a worker receives compensation from the companies, the

perception of fairness is influenced by two factors: (1) the ratio of compensation to the input of effort, education, training, resistance to adverse working conditions of a person, (2) comparison of this ratio with the ratio of other workers who come into contact with him directly.

Salary system is created and organized to achieve certain goals (Newman & Milkovich, 2004). These objectives include efficiency, fairness (equity) and compliance in accordance with the laws and legislation in force. Efficiency objectives specifically include increased productivity and control cost of labor. Compliance, as a goal, related to the implementation of all laws and regulations on compensation. When the legal and statutory regulations are changed, then the compensation system itself also needs to be adjusted. Salary is a key factor that can affect relationships in the workplace. The level and distribution of salaries and allowances can have a major influence on the efficiency of any organization, as well as on the morale and productivity of labor. Therefore, it is important that organizations develop pay systems that suit them and gives value for money, and that reward workers fairly for the work they do. Salary system is a method in giving the award to someone for his contributions to the organization. Ideally, the system must be simple and clear to follow and understand, so workers can easily find out how they are affected. (ACAS Booklet, 2005; Simamora, 2004).

Discussion of the Proposed Methodology

An ordinary survey with multiple choices is often conducted to elucidate correlation among various factors acting on companies. In order to obtain as unbiased answers from responding companies as possible the survey questionnaires should be as innocuous as they can be. However the more innocuous the questions are the less insights can be obtained. The proposed methodology may overcome this dilenma. A survey conducted with a use of entirely innocuous questionnaire could be analysed to elucidate the in depth position of the responding company by applying weightings on the answers. The weightings are deter-

mined by the detailed investigations on the previous researches published on the relevant subjects.

As the authors were interested in the correlation between corporate productivity against performance assessmnet system and the salary system a simple questionnaire was created as per the ACAS booklet (2005) which explained the general principles in formulating a good performance appraisal system: what is the purpose of performance assessment, who should be assessed, who to conduct the assessment, how frequent should the assessment take place, what methods are used in assessing employee performance, how the interviews conducted? On the salary system: Is a salary system fair, simple and clear to follow and understood, can employees easily find out how they are affected? In a survey conducted the respondents are allowed to choose more than one answers to each of the questions in order to minimize any interferance or control by the surveyers. The obtained answers to the questionnaire are then subjected to the weigthing from 1 to 10 as shown below along with the questionnaire questions:

The Matrix of Weighting and Reasoning
Interval of weight: 1 – 10
Performance Assessment System (PAS)

Q 1: What the Performance Appraisal process is used for?

Answer	Weight	Reasons
A	6	By assessing potential employees for the future will be known to the people who have the potential to be promoted. In other words the existence of career development that is based on performance appraisals will motivate people to perform better. (See; McGregor (1957), Oberg 1972, Meyer *et.al* (1991), Wilson and Western (2000), Kamal (2001), Grote (2002),
B	9	Training to help develop employee skills that are critical for success in competitive environment. Training and development can help in supporting company's competitiveness by increasing the company's value through contributing to its intangible assets. Training and development have benefit for individual and organization. Individually benefit is the employee has new skills, knowledge, abilities after the training. For organizations, they will have more capable employees who can ensure the achievement of organizational goals. (See, McGregor (1957), Klatt, Murdick, and Schuster (1978), Haslam *et.al.* (1993), Wilson and Western (2000), Kamal (2001), Grote (2002), Montague (2007), Morgenson *et.al.* (2009),
C	7	Compensation package will motivate people to work better, so that organizational goals will be achieved. By capturing the compensation for performance relationship the idea that pay decisions are correlated or validated by performance is inferred. (also see; McGregor (1957), Levinson (1976), Meyer *et.al* (1991), Wilson and Western (2000), Grote (2002), Kamal (2001), Cederblom (1982)).
D	4	Typically, a process to identify backups to key managerial positions and their readiness for promotional opportunities. Contains supporting action plans to strengthen individual readiness for promotion by identifying developmental needs and setting into motion plans to enhance one's candidacy for promotion. Identify cadre of leaders who can be relied upon. (Banks and May, 1999; Bulger, 1995, Mohrman and Mohrman, 1995).
E	3	For the other purposes.......

Answer Notes :
a) Assessment on future potential / promotion
b) Assessment on training and development needs
c) Compensation packages
d) Succession planning
e) Other..

Q 2: What kind of Performance Appraisal does the company follow?

Answer	Weight	Reasons
A	9	Competencies are defined as the knowledge, skills, abilities, and other personal characteristics that are most instrumental for achieving important job outcomes that contribute to organizational success. Using competence-based interviewing techniques, managers can determine if an individual has the knowledge and skills needed to be effective in the future and demonstrate the potential to become outstanding. It will have an impact on employer's ability to attract applicants, retain employees, and ensure optimal levels of performance from employees in meeting the organization's strategic objectives. Competence-based management creates opportunities for effective strategic human resource management. Competencies are also used to identify a person's ability to do a job, and for developmental programs and performance evaluation standards. (Hagan, (1996), Abraham *et.al.* (2001)) These competencies are critical to the success of the organization as it focuses on organizational goals versus individual goals (Grote, 2000) Organizations that use core competence-based systems for their employees are often referred to as visionary or high-performance organizations (Collins and Porras, 1996).
B	3	Here the appraiser is supposed to rate the personality traits of the person being appraised. This is not a useful measure as it is very subjective and judgmental. It could also be biased and prejudiced.
C	6	This system concentrates on the final results achieved by the employee irrespective of his personality or deficiencies. This is totally related to the job and concentrates on the end results that are more important to the organization.(Levinson ; 1976)

Answer Notes:
a) Competence based
b) Personality type based
c) Results based

Q 3 : When do you conduct the Performance Appraisal, what time of the year ?

Answer	Weight	Reasons
A	8	It is a minimum requirement and in some cases a reasonably satisfactory frequency. The subordinates evaluated at least once a year viewed their evaluations (Landy *et.al*, 1978)
B	10	It is ideal to conduct performance appraisal twice per year, because this provides an interim check on the performance of the employee and allows the employee to correct his actions in the second half of the year. Yet it is not too frequent to interfere the job execution. (Nathan *et.al*, 1991; Mathis and Jackson, 2000)
C	5	It may be necessary for new employees, but when done to the long-working employees it can be even demotivation as the implication could be taken that the employee's performance is less. (Miner, 1974; Kane & Lawler, 1979)
D	3	If the company conduct PAS more than one year, it may be is too long time. Employees need feedback about how they have perform in their jobs. (Kane & Lawler, 1979)

Answer Notes :
a) Annually,
b) Bi-annually,
c) Quarterly
d) Other.......................................

Q 4: How long does it take to complete the process?

Answer	Weight	Reasons
A	4	In view of speedy action to do it one week may be ideal but it might not be able to capture those people out of office for prolonged business trip
B	10	Allowing 2 weeks would provide all concerned appropriate duration for preparation and interviews (Bhatia, 2010)
C	8	However if it becomes as long as 3 weeks the business world could change and the assessment may be affected by such changes
D	6	The issues arising from a prolonged period given above are exacerbated
E	2	Better than not doing the assessment

Answer Notes :
a) 1 weeks
b) 2 weeks
c) 3 weeks
d) 1 month
e) More........

Q 5: Which method of Performance assessment does the company use?

Answer	Weight	Reasons
A	4	Because there is no specific definition for any given trait evaluation of a particular trait can vary from one person to another. This may create confusion among the employees and give rise to tension between the employee and the employer. (see, Jafari *et.al*, 2009)
B	9	The disadvantage of this process is that in a way, every employee starts to outperform others resulting in a non-cooperative atmosphere in the work place and in turn affecting the productivity. Nevertheless this method often helps in obtaining higher levels of performances from the employees. (see, Jafari *et.al,* 2009)
C	5	It requires that supervisor jot down incidents on a daily, or the very least, a weekly basis. This can become a chore. (Oberg, 1972). Also induces involuntary atmosphere among the employees.
D	6	This method is applicable only on those employees who are doing the same kind of job. That it can trigger off rivalry among its employees, which may adversely affect the working environment. A negative performer is labeled as a loser in this method which may affect the motivation of the concerned employee. (see, Jafari *et.al*, 2009)
E	3	The variability would result in length and content. Moreover if essays touch on different aspect of a employee's performance or personal qualification, this is difficult to combine or compare. (Oberg, 1972)
F	7	A slightly complicated as well as time consuming process because for each type of job, a suitable scale has to be constructed. However PA results of BARS are more reliable and valid than those of the Graphic Rating Scale (Burgess, (1994); Jafari *et.al* (2009))
G	Mixed	If the company uses a combination of performance appraisal methods, the value added score is a combination of methods made use of the combination. One method that is suitable for a company may not be right for others. It depends on the system prevailing in the company. Sometimes, companies use more than one of these methods for better analysis of their employees. (also see Oberg, 1972)

Answer Notes:
a) Rating scales
b) Management By Objective (MBO) / Comparison with objectives
c) Critical incidents
d) Ranking
e) Narrative report
f) Behaviorally Anchored Rating Scales (BARS)
g) Other / mixture of the above methods.................

Q 6: How is the performance assessment system conducted?

Answer	Weight	Reasons
A	5	If the performance evaluation conducted in a friendly manner the assessment may be influenced by the friendship that exists between the employee and the assessor and the assessment becomes less objective.
B	7	Having employees involved will encourage the employee to feel that his or her opinions and ideas are valued and will reduce the amount of defensiveness when it comes time for the interview. (Meyer *et.al*, 1965; Robert, 2002)
C	3	If performance measures are carried out with flexible time, it tends to indicate that the performance assessment system is less systematic. Resulting in an ad hoc execution of appraisals and the employees do not get the opportunity to do the preparations for the performance appraisal interviews? If the content of the assessment is made flexible it may allow the assessment more personalized.
D	9	With the implementation of a formal performance appraisal, would be scheduled in a systematic manner and provide the opportunity for employees to do the preparation for the interview. (Cederblom, 1982,)

Answer Notes:
a) Friendly
b) Participatory
c) Flexible
d) Formal

Salary System (SS)

Q 1: The current pay system is............

Answer	Weight	Reasons
A	9	If employees receive appropriate or fair in salary or compensation hence they feel satisfied, and then will feel motivated to do their work well so that their performance expected will be increase. Finally, with a good or high performance hence the objective of organization will be achieved. Equal Pay for equal Work. Compensation paid to each employee must adjusted performance, job type, job risk, responsibility, office workers, and meet the requirements internal consistency.

Reviews of equity studies conclude that perceptions of equity can significantly alter individuals' performances (Goodman and Friedman, 1971; Walster, and Berscheid, 1978; Greenberg, 1982, 1987; Pfeffer & Langton, 1993);

Equity theory (Carrrell & Dittrich, 1978; Goodman, 1977) suggests that people are motivated by a desire for fairness. |
| B | 6 | Okay have meaning the perception of employees toward salary that they received is enough. Compensation received by employees can meet needs at the level of normative ideal. |
| C | 3 | This is opposite of fair, if employee receive inappropriate or unfair in salary or compensation hence they feel dissatisfied, and they do not have motivation to do their work well so that their performance will be decreased. Consequential poor performance by the employees would lead to a failure to achieve the objective of organization. Furthermore can cause the increasing turnover of employees.

An inequity would create tension among the employees. (Harder, 1992) |

Answer Notes :
a) Fair
b) Okay
c) Unfair

Q 2 : How does competitiveness level of your pay system among the others companies?

Answer	Weight	Reasons
A	9	If the salary level is high it would keep employees who would esteem the company. It could allow the company to employ less number of fully motivated people and thus fixed cost could be even reduced. (Simamora, 2004)
B	6	The amount of compensation here equals to minimum wage limit imposed by the Government.
C	3	If the competitiveness of salary is low, it would cause employee turnover. The dissatisfied employees will move to other companies where the salary is better.

Answer Notes :
a) High
b) Standard
c) Low

Q 3 : The current pay system is............

Answer	Weight	Reasons
A	9	A clear understanding and explanation of how the total compensation and rewards are determined. If the company has a clear salary system, it can satisfy its employees and motivate them to perform better in their roles. A transparent performance appraisal system will create employee's confidence in the company. (ACAS, 2005)
B	6	Understandable does not mean it is totally clear. Its means that the employee is forced to believe in the system.
C	3	If a company does not have a transparent salary system, it will cause distrust by the employees.

Answer Notes :
a) Clear
b) Understandable
c) Unclear

Thus, what is an innocuous survey can be numerically represented and allows itself for further treatments such as elucidating the correlation coefficients through SPSS analysis or formulating the correlation functions among the parameters involved.

1. TEST SURVEY

A test survey was conducted on a number of companies in Jakarta and Surabaya, Indonesia as listed in Table 7 and 8.

Table 8.
The Companies Name, Status, Location and Type Surveyed

NO	COMPANY NAME	STATUS	LOCATION	TYPE
1	PT. KG	POE's	Surabaya	Retail
2	PT. CP	POE's	Surabaya	Retail
3	PT. WA	POE's	Gresik	Cement Distributor
4	PT. IN	POE's	Jakarta	Printing & Publishing
5	PT. TK	SOE's	Mojokerto	Manufacturing, Pulp & Paper
6	PT. MAC	POE's	Surabaya	Services/Health
7	PT. RZ	POE's	Surabaya	Services/Advertising & Event Organizer
8	PT. PG	SOE's	Jakarta	Manufacturing, Instalation
9	PT. HM	POE's	Jakarta	Manufacturing, Food
10	PT. ABDA	POE's	Jakarta	Finance & Insurance
11	PT. TMP	POE's	Jakarta	Printing & Publishing
12	PT. WK	SOE's	Jakarta	Construction Services
13	PT. UM	POE's	Malang	Manufacturing, Tobbacos

Note :
POE's = Private Owned Enterprise
SOE's = State Owned Enterprise

Table 9.
Company Names, Net profit and Number of employees in 2009

NO	COMPANY NAME	STATUS	LOCATION	TYPE
1	PT. KG	POE's	Surabaya	Retail
2	PT. CP	POE's	Surabaya	Retail
3	PT. WA	POE's	Gresik	Cement Distributor
4	PT. IN	POE's	Jakarta	Printing & Publishing
5	PT. TK	SOE's	Mojokerto	Manufacturing, Pulp & Paper
6	PT. MAC	POE's	Surabaya	Services/Health
7	PT. RZ	POE's	Surabaya	Services/Advertising & Event Organizer
8	PT. PG	SOE's	Jakarta	Manufacturing, Instalation
9	PT. HAI	POE's	Jakarta	Manufacturing, Food
10	PT. ABDA	POE's	Jakarta	Finance & Insurance
11	PT. TMP	POE's	Jakarta	Printing & Publishing
12	PT. WK	SOE's	Jakarta	Construction Services
13	PT. UM	POE's	Malang	Manufacturing, Tobbacos

Source : Primary Data, 2010

The weighted total of the survey and the corporate productivity are tabulated in Table 9.

Table 10.
Recapitulation of Survey Result

NO	COMPANY NAME	PAS TOTAL	SS TOTAL	PRODUCTIVITY/ YEAR
1	PT. KG	33	18	42.580.645,16
2	PT. CF	44	18	46.400.000,00
3	PT. WA	71	24	309.421.487,60
4	PT. IN	72	24	150.277.375,84
5	PT. TK	83	21	29.475.241,36
6	PT. MAC	85	24	272.085.561,50
7	PT. RZ	34	18	6.094.339,62
8	PT. PG	74	24	3.664.143.233,13
9	PT. HAI	65	21	997.008.973,08
10	PT. ABDA	60	24	31.304.444,44
11	PT. TMP	56	21	14.748.717,95
12	PT. WK	42	18	22.048.535,52
13	PT. UM	48	24	82.457.586,21

Source : Primary Data, 2010

By using the statistical method of rank spearman correlation analysis the data were processed using SPSS program. The purpose of Spearman rank analysis (rs) is to determine the relationship between two variables, namely variable PAS vs. CP, and CP vs SS.

On treating the result in Table 9 by SPSS Table 10 is obtained.

Table 11.
Correlation Coefficient Results

			PAS	SS	CP
Spearman's rho	CP	Correlation Coefficient	0,5549	0,5995	1
		Sig. (2-tailed)	0,0490	0,0303	.
		N	13	13	13

** Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

To provide interpretation of the correlation coefficients found in the large or small, weak or strong, the authors were guided by the provisions proposed by Ratner (2009) shown in the table below:

Table 12.
Interpretation of the size of a correlation

Correlation Coefficient (r)	Negative	Positive
Weak	0,0 to -0,3	0,0 to 0,3
Moderate	-0,3 to -0,7	0,3 to 0,7
Strong	-0,7 to -1,0	0,7 to 1,0

Source : Ratner, 2009

Then Table 10 is converted to Table 12.

Table 13.
Interpretation of the results

Correlation	Correlation Coefficient (rs)	Interpretation
CP vs PAS	0,5549	Moderate linear relationship
CP vs SS	0,5995	Moderate linear relationship

The results reported in the above table show that performance assessment system ($r = 0.5549$, $p < 0.05$) and salary system ($r = 0,5995$, $p < 0.05$) are significantly related with corporate productivity in some companies in Indonesia. It means that by implementing a good performance assessment system and salary system will bring corresponding change in corporate productivity.

CONCLUSION

The proposed methodology to convert an innocuous questionnaire survey to a numerical representation is summarized,
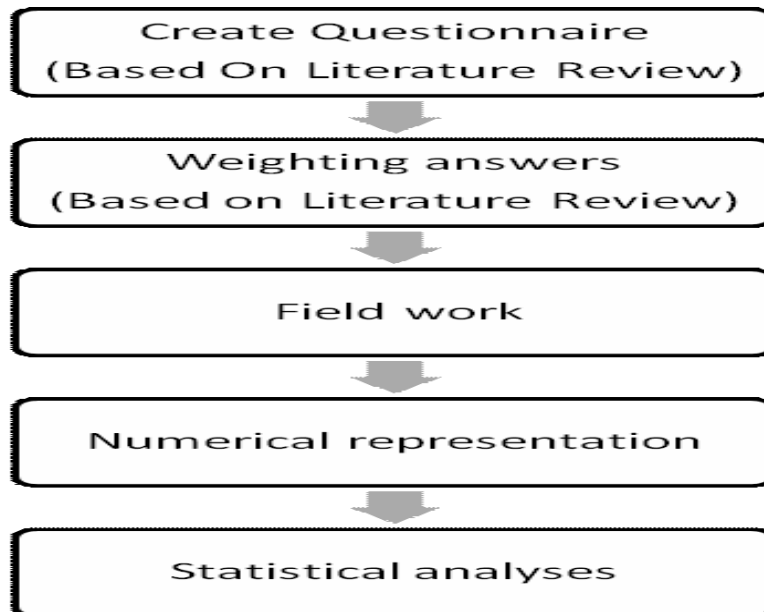
The methodology therefore allows statistical treatment on a qualitative survey. An initial proof that the proposed methodology works is shown in terms of Spearman rank analysis correlation coefficients that confirmed the a priori knowledge on the correlation between corporate productivity against performance appraisal system and salary system.

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FRICTION REDUCTION IN MICRO-SLIDER BEARING WITH WALL SLIP

M. Tauviqirrahman, R. Ismail, Jamari, and D.J. Schipper

Introduction

It is well known that there is a core concept in classical Reynolds lubrication theory assuming that there is no-slip between the solid surface and the lubricant, i.e., no relative motion occurs at the wall [1]. This is called a no-slip boundary condition. It was successfully applied to engineering problems to some extents. However, this assumption may be no longer be accurate, especially at microscopic scale. During the last decades, the evidence of the wall slip at the liquid-solid interface has been reported by many researchers. With the progress in micro- and nano-scale measurement technology, it is possible for scientists to observe the wall slip in a nano-meter scale [2-8].

There are three techniques so far for detecting the wall slip: nano-particle image velocimetry (NPIV), atomic force microscope (AFM) and surface force apparatus (SFA). The NPIV technique is a direct observation method with a measurement precision depending on the size of the nano-particles with a slightly low accuracy. The AFM and SFA are the indirect observation techniques based on the assumption that slip occurs exactly on the interface of solid and liquid. These methods need a high accuracy boundary slip model to induce the slip velocity [9-12]. Wall slip has been observed not only for a hydrophobic surface [13, 14] but also for a hydrophilic surface [15, 16]. It has also been found that boundary slip occurs not only in a polymer flow [17], but also in a hydrodynamic [18] and elastohydrodynamic [19] lubrication. In addition, the wall slip is suggested in several theoretical simulations using molecular dynamics [20], and is acknowledged in non-Newtonian fluids [21], in non-aqueous Newtonian fluid at the interface with a hydrophobic surface [13], and in an aqueous Newtonian fluid bounded by relatively hydrophilic solid surface [14]. Therefore, the slip evidence has been generally accepted and for certain cases the no-slip boundary condition is not valid.

Wall slip is usually described by the slip length model [2-4, 6, 7, 10] at low shear rate or by the critical shear stress model [9-12] at high shear rate. Generally speaking, the degree of boundary of slip is shear dependent. In micro- or nano-scopic scales such as MEMS (Micro-Electro-Mechanical-System), the boundary condition will play a very important role in determining the fluid flow behavior. Control of the boundary condition will allow a degree of control over the hydrodynamic pressure in confined systems and be important in a lubricated-MEMS.

The most widely used slip model so far is the slip length model. The slip length model, proposed first by Navier [21], stated that the slip velocity is proportional to the liquid shear rate evaluated at the interface. The slip length model uses a length parameter, called slip length, to predict interfacial slip velocity, which is written as:

$$V_s = \alpha \dot{\gamma} \tag{1}$$

where V_s is the slip velocity, α is the slip length which is a constant for the same interface, and $\dot{\gamma}$ is the local shear rate. The boundary condition is evaluated at the surface. The slip length is the distance behind the interface at which the liquid velocity extrapolates to zero. For a pure shear flow, the slip length α can be interpreted as the fictitious distance below the surface where the no-slip boundary condition would be satisfied (Fig. 1). The slip length is shown to be independent of the type of flow and of the channel width, but it is rather related to the fluid organization near the solid, as governed by the fluid-solid molecular interactions [22]. For polymers, α may reach 10 to 100 μm [23].

How to control the wall slip in the application of a lubricated-MEMS (micro-electro-mechanical-system), such as micro-slider bearing for improving the performance is one of the challenging tasks in the future. Reliable micro-bearing systems are important for micro-rotating machinery of MEMS, such as micro-motors and micro-turbines. Liquid lubrication which may be needed for micro-slider bearing meets a big challenge. It is because of large viscous drag forces on immersed, moving surfaces and also high hydrodynamic friction present in fluid film.

This paper shows the practical feasibility of employing the wall slip to generate low friction in such bearing for MEMS. A possible mean of reducing hydrodynamic friction in liquid-lubricated micro-slider bearing will be proposed. The wall slip and hydrodynamic in the lubrication of that bearing are analyzed numerically. The slip length model is chosen in the simulation.
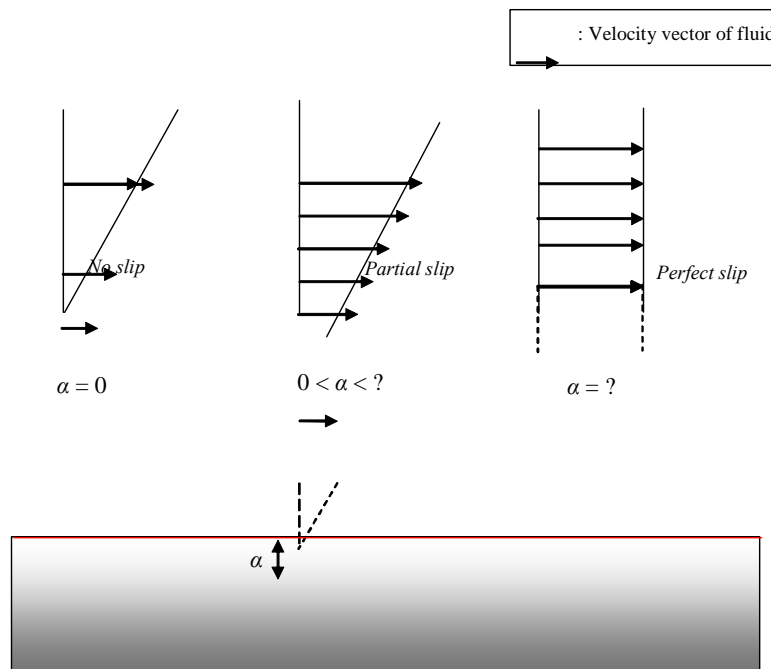
Figure 18.
Interpretation of the slip length α [24]

Mathematical Model

Figure 12 presents a schematic of an infinite width micro-slider bearing with a heterogeneous pattern. The bottom surface without slip moves with a velocity u_x. The top surface, containing of two zones of surfaces with different slip properties, is stationary. On the left side of the top surface (x ranging from 0 to S_x), slip occurs. However, in the range of x from S_x to L_x, no-slip allowed.
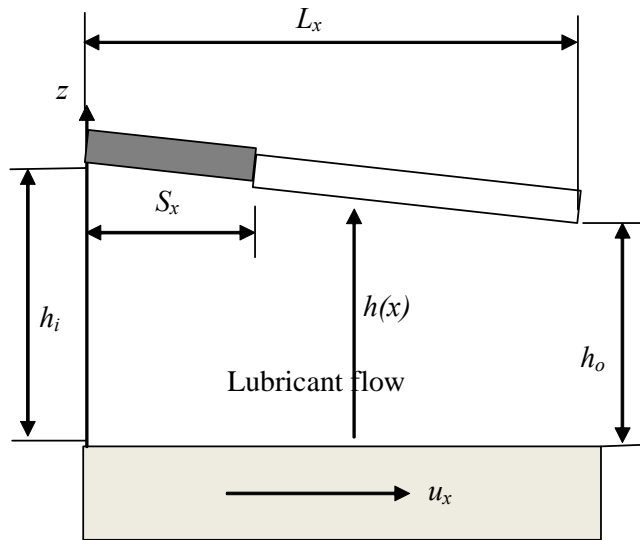
Figure 19.
Schematic of an infinite width slider micro-bearing with a
heterogeneous boundary

The lubricant flow between a stationary surface and a moving
slider is modeled in this work using the modified Reynolds
equation, taking account of slip. This equation can be written as
follow:

$$\frac{\partial}{\partial x}\left\{\frac{h^3}{12\eta}\frac{\partial p}{\partial x}\left(1+\frac{3\alpha\eta}{h+\alpha\eta}\right)\right\}+\frac{\partial}{\partial y}\left\{\frac{h^3}{12\eta}\frac{\partial p}{\partial y}\left(1+\frac{3\alpha\eta}{h+\alpha\eta}\right)\right\}=\frac{\partial}{\partial x}\left\{\frac{u_1 h}{2}\left(1+\frac{\alpha\eta}{h+\alpha\eta}\right)\right\} \qquad (2)$$

where p is local pressure, α is slip length, η is viscosity, and h is
the local film thickness. The modified Reynolds equation is
discretized over the flow using the finite difference method, and
it is solved using alternating direction implicit method (ADI). Note
that if the slip length, α, is set to zero, Eq. (2) reduces to the classical
Reynolds equation.

The friction calculation is determined by integrating the shear
stress at the bottom surface. The shear stress for regions of slip is
given by:

$$(3)$$

By setting the slip length α to be zero, Eq. (3) can be applied to calculate the friction for no-slip region.

Results and Discussions
No-slip Condition

To validate the used numerical scheme using alternating direction implicit method (ADI) with the tridiagonal matrix algorithm (TDMA), the classical Reynolds equation (no-slip condition) is solved numerically for calculating the pressure distribution, and finally the friction in micro-slider bearing. These results are compared with the analytical solution based on the work of Cameron [25] as follow:

$$\tau = -\frac{h}{2}\frac{\partial p}{\partial x}\left\{\frac{ph=2\alpha\eta}{h+\alpha\eta}\right\}=\frac{6u_x\eta L_x}{h^2_o}-\frac{\eta u_x}{(2+K\eta)}\frac{K\frac{x}{L_x}\left(1-\frac{x}{L_x}\right)}{\left(1+K-K\frac{x}{L_x}\right)^2}$$

$$(4)$$

for the pressure distribution where $K = 2 - 1$, and

$$f = \frac{L_x\eta u_x}{h_o}\left(\frac{4\ln(1+K)}{K}-\frac{6}{(2+K)}\right)$$

$$(5)$$

for the friction per unit width.

In Figure 14 the numerical results for the dimensionless pressure distribution $\left(P = ph_0^2/\eta L_x u_x\right)$ along the bottom wall of the bearing are shown alongside those obtained from the Reynolds approximation. It is observed that the maximum error is only 0.01% between the pressure obtained from the analytical solution and the numerical result.

Figure 20.
Normalized pressure distribution along the bottom wall of the
linear wedge with no-slip boundary condition

The comparison between the dimensionless friction force
(where f is the friction force per unit width) obtained
from the numerical prediction and the analytical solution are
presented in Table 13. Like the result of the pressure distribution,
the predicted friction shows very good agreement with the
analytical solution. It could be pointed that the results are obtained
from a mesh refinement study. Therefore, ADI method with the
tridiagonal matrix algorithm can be used to simulate and solve
the modified Reynolds equation with wall slip condition.

$$F = fh_o / \eta L_x u_x$$

Table 14.
The comparison between the analytical solution performed by
Cameron [25] and the numerical simulation using
the ADI method.

	Dimensionless friction, F
Analytical solution	0.77
Numerical prediction	0.77

Heterogeneous Slip Condition

Figure 15 shows the normalized prediction of lubrication film pressure distribution   for several values of slope inclines which are predicted by the modified Reynolds equation (Eq. (2)). Compared with the no-slip boundary condition, the heterogeneous pattern (S_x/L_x = 0.60) yields a positive fluid pressure. With this surface, the maximum pressure occurs not at a convergent wedge as predicted by the classical Reynolds assumption, but at a parallel surface. The predicted maximum pressure for a parallel gap is over three times as large as the maximum pressure obtained from a no-slip contact when slope incline ζ = 2.2, but the pressure is zero for a classical (no-slip) parallel micro-slider bearing. Form the figure, it can be seen that the pressure is close to a triangle distribution when the gap approaches a parallel gap.

Figure 16 shows the dimensionless surface friction, F at the bottom surface which is defined as $F = f h_o / \eta L_x u_x$ where f is the friction force per unit width. The friction of the heterogeneous slip pattern becomes smaller than that of a traditional slider bearing after S_x/L_x is greater than about 0.6. This agrees with the numerical analysis of Wu [26] for the slider bearing with a heterogeneous slip boundary using the critical shear stress model. It can be concluded that micro-slider bearing with a heterogeneous slip pattern can produce a lower friction than a traditional slider bearing can. When there is no wedge effect (= 1) and S_x/L_x = 0.60, the micro-bearing gives the dimensionless minimum friction of 0.65, while the no-slip micro-slider gives its dimensionless minimum friction of 0.77 at   = 2.2.

$$\zeta P = p h_0^2 / \eta L_x u_x$$
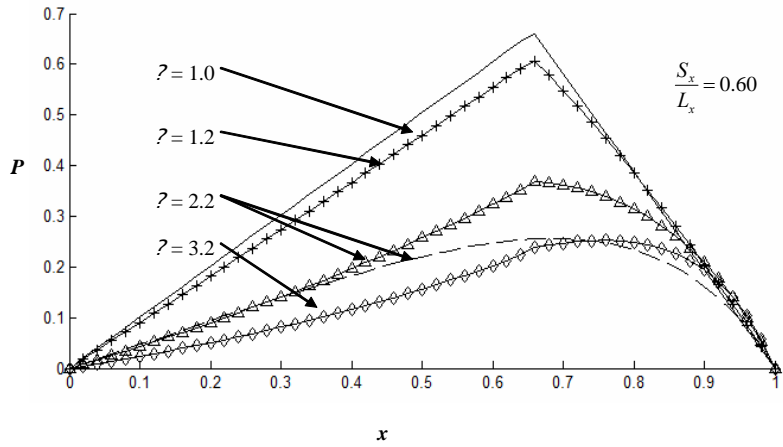
Figure 21.
Lubrication film pressure distributions for several values of
slope incline. The solid curves both with the marker and
without the marker denote the pressure generated by the
heterogeneous pattern, and the dashed curve denotes the
pressure generated by the no-slip surface.
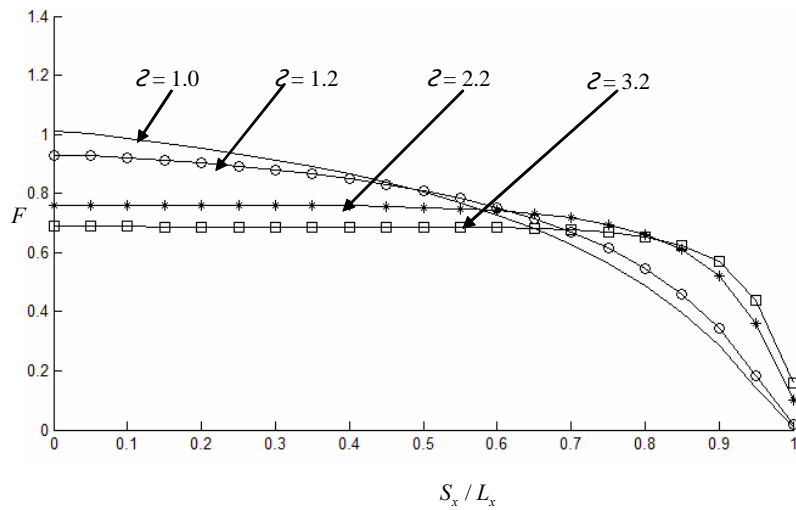
Figure 22.
Effect of the length of slip region, S_x on the friction at bottom
surface for several values of slope incline.

Conclusion

Based on the numerical analyses discussed in the previous section, it can be found that the wall slip has influences on the hydrodynamic behavior of the micro-slider bearing. Some conclusions can be drawn as follows: (1) For the no-slip condition case, very good correlation is found between the predicted and the exact solution of the pressure distribution and the friction force at the micro-slider bearing; (2) For the case of heterogeneous slip pattern at the parallel surface, it is shown that a reduction in friction force occurs if the length of the slip region is larger than about 0.60 of the bearing length. The reduction is calculated to be 16 % - 23 % depend on the length of the slip region.

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SOCIAL INTERACTION AND INTERNET-BASED COMMUNICATION
(Symbolic Interactionism Approach on Internet Use in Indonesia)

Rudy Handoko

Introduction

The use of internet has become inseparable part of Indonesian's life. Million of Indonesians use this technology through personal computer (PC) or by cellular phone (mobile phone). Besides web browsing, making emails and chatting, more and more people now use Blackberry technology as a continuous chatting and web connection. Not surprisingly, the internet user in Indonesia has grown enormously to 25 million in 2009 (APJII, 2010).Ironically, some people say that this technology also has disadvantages indicated from less connection among family members. Parents now complain about the kids' addictions of the internet i.e.: they forget school, home works, studying at home and less interaction with people around them like neighbors, even their parents in the same house. Kids prefer having connections with friends in faraway places and even some homes in Jakarta use mobile connections just to ask to have dinner together although they are in the same house.

Despite those negative impacts, many positive impacts also come with the internet communication such as reunion of old friends and relatives which was also accelerated by the popularity of Facebook, a social network site. Not to mention some online communities who gather both virtually and face-to-face that lead to exchange of knowledge, latest information and news and sometimes solve society problems. In the science perspective, it is undeniable that technology advancement influences social change or commonly called as technological determinism (Straubhaar and La Rose, 2008: 151), that include person to person communication pattern. In relation to internet, there are two paradoxes i.e.: greater use of the Internet was associated with

declines in participants' communication with family members in the household, declines in the size of their social circle, and increases in their depression and loneliness (Kraut, Patterson, Lundmark, Kiesler, Mukhopadhyay, and Scherlis in American Psychologist, 1998) versus time spent with co-workers and with friends tends to be higher for internet users (Robinson, Kestnbaum, Neustadl and Alvares in their writings of "IT & Social Displacement" in IT & Society, 1(1), 2002.

This study was then developed for another 3 years using longitudinal method and the result showed that internet users had an increase of social connectedness. In Indonesia, these are some researches related to the impact of the internet use on social interaction on postgraduate level in communication field: (1) Research on Interpersonal Relationship through Internet by using Attraction Theory and Social Penetration Theory, Stelly Maria, 2003 FISIP UI; (2) Research on Communication Pattern : Factors that Influence Internet use by using Media Uses and Gratification Theory, Hardjito, 2001, FISIP UI; (3) Research on Interpersonal Relationship through IRC (Internet Relay Chatting) by using Dyadic Communication, Adenita Yusminovita, FISIP UI , 2001.

Discussion

Related to internet communication, it is necessary to examine what has been done in the study of internet disadvantages (pessimistic perspectives) and advantages (optimistic perspectives).

Pessimistic Perspective

This perspective believes that CMC (Computer-mediated-Communication) technology is too inherently antithetical to the nature human life and too limited technologically for meaningful relationship to form (Stoll, 1995 in Lievrouw & Livingstone, 2002:10). In addition, Beniger (1998) also argued that cyberspace can not be a source of meaningful friendship. More arguments in the book of Handbook of Media (Lievrouw et al, 2002) also supported this statement such as: online relationship may involve

lower interdependence, commitment and permanence (Parks & Roberts, 1998; Rice: 1987a), the more time we spend online, the less time we will have to interact directly with our family, neighbor and other community members (Shapiro and Leone, 1999), we may develop relationship online may let our relationship with those around us suffer (Schroeder and Ledger 1998; Shapiro and Leone, 1999), one's freedom of expression on the internet is another's predation and indecency, especially when the users are children (Schroeder and Ledger, 1998). Tapscott (1997) also identifies some possible disadvantages on the increased individuality and interactivity provided to young users by the internet, such as disconnected from formal institutions, misleading and dangerous representation of information and identities, flaming, overload, lack of evaluation by informed gatekeepers and emphasis on short term.

Optimistic Perspectives

On the other hand, optimistic perspective increasingly sees the internet as a medium for social interaction (Lievrouw et al) and their book also contains some more optimistic perspectives such as: ethnographic study by Hamman (1999) concluded that internet communication complements real world relations, and Wellman and Gulia's (1999a) review of research on internet communities argued that offline relationships maybe strengthened as well as weakened. Surveys by Parks and colleagues found evidence of intimate and well-developed online relationship , often leading to real-world interactions, even though the frequency and duration of online relationships tend to be shorter (Parks and Roberts, 1998). A Pew Research Center (2000) poll reported that internet users indicated that e-mail had improved their social and kinship connection, and more so for those who had used the internet longer and more frequently. Initial results from a study of survey responses to the National Geographic Society's website in the fall of 1998, from 35,000 Americans, 5000 Canadians and 15,000 others, showed that (1) high e-mail contact does not reduce other forms of interaction; (2) younger people used e-mail for friends, near and far; (3)older people used e-mail for kin, near

and far; (4) women used e-mail more with kin at a distance; but (5) overall, communication frequencies form men and women were basically the same for all media.

Respondents to the UCLA (2000) study indicate that their use of the internet helps to create and maintain relationship as well as communicate with the family. The two most popular internet activities reported by users were web surfing/browsing (81.7 percent) and using e-mail (81.6 percent). Most (89 percent) of the parents in the study reported that their children spent about the same time with their friends since they started using internet, 4 percent indicated more time and 7 percent indicated less time. While 27.5 percent reported spending no time on the Internet together with other household members, 47.1 percent reported doing so at least some time each week. Overall, 91.8 percent indicate no change in time members of the household spend together since becoming connected to the Internet. On average, Internet users feel that internet gas slightly increase the number of people regularly contacted, and extent of communicating with family and friends; 26.2 percent reported having online friends (on average, almost 13 friends) that they never met, and 12.4 percent have met in person someone they first met online (on average 5.6 such new friendship). A 2002 AOL (American On Line) survey of 5700 teenagers and parents of teens reported that 81 percent of teens aged 12-17 use the Internet to e-mail friends or relatives, and 70 percent use it for instant messaging; for teens aged 18-19, usage rises to 91 percent and 83 percent respectively.

Data Related to Internet in Indonesia

Novistiar's analysis (2010) on Indonesian internet data shows that the number of Internet users in Indonesia is growing at a lightning speed. From 2000 to 2009, Internet users have grown from 2 million to 30 million users, a 1,400% increase in the last 9 years. Even though Indonesia is now ranked 11th in the world for the number of Internet users, only about 12.3% of its population has access to the Internet. The number of Internet users, especially those who access the Internet using their mobile phone, is projected

to grow at an even faster rate in the future. The cost to access the Internet has dropped significantly for Indonesians in the last 2 years. Most Indonesians can now have access to the Internet using their mobile phone for only $7.7 per month. By 2014, the number of Internet users in Indonesia is projected to reach 150 million. Internet users are still concentrated in Jakarta, the capital city, and other big cities. With 30 million Internet users as of the end of 2009, Indonesia is the 5th largest Internet market in Asia (after China, Japan, India, and South Korea).

He also adds that the number of Internet users in Indonesia is growing really fast (the highest growth among Asia countries after China), especially the number of users who use their mobile phone to access the Internet. In five years, about more than half of the Indonesian population or 150 million people are projected to have access to the Internet (most of them through their mobile phone). Compared to the population (not Internet users) of Singapore (4.8 million), Malaysia (27 million), South Korea (48.6 million), Thailand (67 million), Vietnam (86 million), and Philippine (90 million), it is clear that the number of Internet users in Indonesia will be significantly higher than the number of Internet users in those countries. Similar to other emerging online markets, Internet in Indonesia has younger audiences. According to comScore, about 73% of Internet population in Indonesia is between 15 – 34 years old. In addition, only 36% of Internet users in Indonesia is a woman. The remaining Indonesians access the Internet in Internet Kiosk. Those who can't afford to pay for monthly subscription fee will go to Internet kisok and pay an hourly fee. According to a study conducted by Yahoo and Taylor Nelson Sofres (TNS) Indonesia, about 53% of Indonesians access the Internet in internet kiosks.

Internet Use

Internet users in Indonesia spend about 17.2 hours online per month (comScore Media Metrix). According to a survey conducted by Nielsen Indonesia, most Indonesians use the Internet for checking email (42%), reading newspaper (39%), searching for information about products or services (29%), reading magazines

(27%), and chatting (23%). A study by comScore shows only 50% of Indonesian Internet users do online shopping and they spend only 1% on their online time for shopping. Clearly, online shopping is still not the main reason for Indonesians to go online. While Indonesians are still cautious in using the Internet for shopping, there are very enthusiastic to online social networking. 28 million Indonesians have account(s) with Facebook, making them the 3ʳᵈ largest Facebook users in the world. As of June 2010, Indonesians also produced the 3ʳᵈ highest number of tweets in the world. It is not surprising at all that 87% of Indonesians does social networking and they spend 32.6% of their online time in websites such as Facebook and Twitter (comScore).

In addition to social networking, Indonesians spend significant hours in front of their computer/mobile phone watching online videos (second only after China). A recent study by Nielsen's Online practice found that online video is most broadly watched among online consumers in China and Indonesia, where consumers are 26% more likely to use video. The number of Indonesians who watch online videos on computer at work and on their mobile phone ranked number 13 and 2 in the world. With the high popularity of social networking sites in Indonesia, online gaming is also getting a good traction among Indonesian Internet users. 44.6% of them play online games and they spend 2.9% on their online time on these sites (comScore). Indonesians also enjoy sharing their photos with their friends. Many online Indonesians (63.9%) upload and share their photos in sites such as flickr and they, on average, 3.5% of their online time in photo sharing sites (comScore). According to comScore, about 63.1% of Indonesian Internet users uses the Internet to find news or information and they spend, on average, 4.7% of their online time for news and information.

Symbolic Interactionism Perspective on Internet Communication

According to Littlejohn (2002: 144), for symbolic interactionism theorists, meaning is created and sustained by interaction in the social group. Interaction establishes, maintains and changes certain

conventions – roles, norms, rules, and meanings- within a social group or culture, and this conventions in turn define the reality of the culture itself. Language assumes special importance in these theories, as language is the container within which reality resides. More to this theory, an original book of Symbolic Interactionism by George Herbert Mead written by Herbert Blumer will be used. According to Blumer (1969: 2), symbolic interactionism rests in the analysis on three simple premises. The first premise is that human beings act toward things at the basis of the meanings that the things have for them. Such things include everything that he human being may note in this world – physical objects, activity of others such as their command or requests and such situation as an individual encounters in his or her daily life. The second premise is that the meaning of such things is derived from or arise out of , the social interaction that one has to follow. The third premise is that these meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the things he or she encounters. Furthermore, there will be an analysis on Blumer's explanation on Mead's view that does not create scheme map theory of human society and only in implicit views: in meaning, social interaction and joint action.

Elaboration on Meaning

According to Blumer (1969: 2), meaning is often ignored in many scientific, modern psychology and social thinking and considered less important. At the most, it is only regarded as neutral link among participation factors in human behavior and this behavior as a product of those factors. There is a tendency in psychology just to pay attention on factors such as stimuli, attitude, conscious and unconscious motives, various psychological inputs, perception and cognition and other things that form human behavior. Not to mention sociologist also only pay attention on social position, state of needs, social role, cultural direction, norm and values, social pressure, and group affiliation to explain human behavior. On both perspectives, meaning is often taken for granted or lost in the role of those strong factors. Instead, symbolic interactionism theory considers that meaning of the object is the

main key. To make a meaning less important is considered as to falsify behavior in a study. Symbolic interactionism sees meanings emerged from the interaction process of human, as a social product or creation formed by activity definition when human interact. Therefore, in the context of communication by internet, it is so important to elaborate about meaning emerged from this communication.

In the analysis about communication via internet, gesture can not only be considered as a body position since the context is widened. In the internet world, gesture can be regular sentences which sometimes strengthened by addition of emotional sign such as emoticon (J L K). If we looked at studies done before, it is true that internet communication has gone beyond explanation of symbolic interactionism by Blumer and Mead. As explained by Reymers (2002) that meaning does not come by itself but emerge from interaction that directs behavior. This process is not direct but through interpretation process that open spaces for creativity, imagination and hope for social change. One example: the case Prita Mulyasari, a woman who was jailed for allegedly defaming a hospital via an online complaint. The society responded in anger and demanded for her release. In this case, it may be different when the internet users only have understanding that there is someone they never know imprisoned because of defaming. If we dig more about this imprisonment news appeared on media, some internet users thought that email from Prita was just a hoax and has been answered by the hospital through mailing list as well. But when the meaning has been developed into under-standing that the one who was jailed was a mother with two small kids, the society responded so furiously via social media network. This was covered by mass media, became a national issue and later led to a social movement.

Elaboration on Social Interpretation

According to Blumer (1969: 65), Mead identified two forms of interaction level such as: non-symbolic and symbolic interac-tionism. In non-symbolic interactionism, someone responds

directly on gesture or action from someone else. Here they interpret each other and act based on meanings from interpretation. It is clear that symbolic interactionism involves interpretation or determined meaning from act or sign to someone else. In addition to that, a definition is also involved as the sending of indication to someone else to act. Through this process, one individual adapts one's act on someone else's action and gives clues to someone else as well. There is one thing to note in symbolic interactionism that it is a formative process in its own way. Participant in symbolic interactionism has to develop his/her own behavior with contents interpretation from someone else's actions. As a person that considers other people action, one has to hold, form, and adapt his or her purposes, wants and attitudes and to determine norm fitness, values and group direction for situations that was developed by other people action. Psychological and sociological factors are not substitution for interpretative process. Both can be use as completion of interpretative process and symbolic interactionism has to be studied in its own way.

In internet communication, a user will start one's activity in virtual world by interpreting what or who is in front of him or her and then responds with actions. It is obvious that one will search for a comfortable interaction when joining a mailing list group on the internet. When he or she joins, the way other people interact in the group will be interpreted. When he or she feels that the way of interaction in that group fits him/her, he or she will try to be involved with the discussion about certain topics by following rules in that group. Furthermore, one may increase interaction when the group plans to have meeting in personal. On contrary, when one felt not comfortable with the way other people interact, he or she will withdraw the membership. In addition, the interpreted gesture that becomes a meaning also results in different social interaction in the context of near and far social relationship. In some field observation that was also supported by previous studies, communication by internet makes less distance to person who is far from the individual but at the same time also makes more distance to the person near the individual. One example is AOL (American On Line) studies in year 2000 that showed that

internet user make more interaction with other relative (who did not live at the same house) with 30% and this was compared to communication with parents (who were probably still in the same house) with only 23%. It is obvious that meaning in internet communication has different output than what was predicted.

Elaboration on Joint Action

Joint action refers to the larger collective form of action that is constituted by the fitting together to the lines of behavior of the separate participants (Blumer, 1969: 70). Joint action covers simple collaboration from two individuals until complex alliance of big organization actions. It cannot be separated to be general or same behavior from a part of participants since every participant has different position, acts from that position and involves in different action. This means fitting actions instead of similarities that regulate joint actions. This alliance does not happen through mechanical mix or random adaptation, but through participants who fit their actions together. First, by identifying social actions to be done and second by interpreting and defining everybody's action in creating joint act. By identifying social action or joint act, the participant can orient him or herself. He/she has a key to interpreting other peoples' actions and directs the action toward other people. Then the participant also interprets actions of one person to the other person. They all must ensure the kind of actions done by others, plan the action and make indication about this action one another.

Example in this part is the creation of online cause in Facebook that supports Prita who was jailed for allegedly defaming a hospital via an online complaint. The social action was an effort to collect sympathy from Facebook users and later had extra-ordinary responses since this preliminary action was interpreted so well. In less than two weeks, an online petition of more than 300,000 users in Facebook who demanded for Prita release was created. This issue becomes much bigger when at the same time the Indonesian presidential election began. One president candidate visited the prison, another one demanded for the release

and the current president asked the police chief and state attorney to examine the case. Later, Prita status was changed to city prisoner while waiting for court settlement. In this case, the interpreted meanings opened people's creativity that led to social change and at the end the internet communication made its users who never met before can interact more intensively to create pressure group.

Conclusion

The vast internet use brings implications to human life, especially social interaction. Some negative impacts appear but its positive impacts are more significant. These two paradoxes are still open for debate. On pessimistic perspectives, many concern that internet communication make our life worse than before since it creates an addiction to its users, less time to interact face to face, creates indecency, makes students out of school and other negative impacts. On contrary, optimistic perspectives counter those perspectives with arguments that internet communication leads to more personal interaction, complements relationship in real world, more family relationship, maintains friendship, and belief that internet communication brings life better. However, those data was taken in US instead of Indonesia. In here, many of us still focus on user profiles, form of use, internet content and not on the impact of its interaction yet. This research is aimed to do that purpose; however, the survey is still in the process that it cannot reveal the final result in near future. While processing to get that result, what happens now in the field is analyzed by symbolic interactionism approach. This theory is chosen due to its closeness to explain social interaction in society.

In this paper, three elements of symbolic interactionism are used to explain the phenomena i.e.: meaning, social interaction and joint action. Meaning, mostly forgotten in the analysis in some researches, has vital role in the analysis. With the existence of meaning emerged from interaction, it directs behavior. A certain meaning that is differently understood by some people can change the society behavior in not very long time and leads to an unpredictable action. Social interaction is not instantly developed but

through process that is started from interpretation to other people's gesture (which is different in virtual world), arranges action that will be taken and communicates them to other people. The result of this interpretation will determine the kind of later action. In this analysis, there is a phenomenon of "more distance to people near us and less distance to people far from us". Regarding joint action, this happens when some member of society fit their actions at the same time, plan and create indication of action. The result from this joint action is an interest group or a pressure group to face something that is considered as having unsimilar values than what the group has. Generally, more researches are needed to explore deeper on the impact of internet communication to social interaction. The result of these researches will contribute to communication science.

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APPENDIX

P A N I T I A
THE 2ⁿᵈ INTERNATIONAL GRADUATE STUDENT
CONFERENCE ON INDONESIA
"INDONESIA AND THE NEW CHALLENGES:
MULTICULTURALISM, IDENTITY, AND SELF NARATION"
Rabu – Kamis, 3 – 4 November 2010
Ruang Seminar Lantai 5 Sekolah Pascasarjana UGM

Steering Committee:

- Prof. Dr. Hartono, DEA., DESS
- Prof. Ir. Suryo Purwono, MA.Sc., Ph.D
- Dr. Wening Udasmoro
- Ratna Noviani, Ph.D

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Sekretariat/ korespondensi	: Siti Nurhidayah, M.A
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Bendahara	: Siti Rochani, SE Sudilah
Persidangan dan koordinator moderator	: Endy Saputro, MA Nugroho Sukarno
Moderator	: Cartalyna Napitupulu, MS Najiyah Martiam, MA Dr. Zuly Qodir Samsul Ma'arif, MA

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                Maufur, MA
                Dr. Wening Udasmoro
                Prof. Dr. Sudibyakto, MS
                Ir. Subagio, M.Sc

Notulis   : Yoyo, MA
                Hasse J., MA
                Destha Titi Raharjana, M.Si (koordinator)
                Paramitha Dyah F., M.Hum
                Dr. Ir. Eko Nugroho
                Christian Budiman, M.Hum.
                Duddy Roesmara Donna, M.Si
                M. Ferry Siregar, MA
                Endy Saputro, MA

Fasilitas, Perlengkapan, dan Dekorasi

Koordinator   : Sapto Suwono, BA.
Anggota   : Pardiana dan tim
                Sri Suhardjo dan tim
Konsumsi   : Asri Supeni Riwayanti R., SIP
                Sri Partiani
                Suratmi

Dokumentasi, TI,
Sertifikat & Co-card : Pudji Widodo, M.Kom
                Arni Wistriatun
                Ali Chaedori (dokumentasi foto)
Poster/Spanduk/
Backdrop   : Helmi Kurniawan

Transportasi : Sugiarso, SE (koordinator)

                            Samsuri (driver)
                            Ali Chaedori (driver)

Booking hotel   : Siti Nur Hidayah, MA
                            Ana Anggraini, M.Hum

Humas/Sponsor   : Arni Wistriatun
                            Arum Candra, SS

MC   : Emil Karmila, MA

Keamanan   : SKK SPs-UGM

Soundsystem   : Ngadiman
                            Suberono

Genset   : Margono Sigit

Penerima Tamu   : Lisdiyani, SH., M.Pd (Hall lantai V)
                            Siti Wiratmi, SE., MPA (Hall lantai V)
                            Sapto Suwono, BA (Ruang Seminar Depan)
                            Sugiyarso, SE (Ruang Seminar Belakang)
                            Nugroho Sukarno P. (Ruang Seminar
                            Belakang)

Penjaga daftar hadir: M. Eko Erwanto (Pendaftaran sertifikat dan
                            SPPD)
                            Ambar Ismoyowati (pembayaran seminar)
                            Sudilah (pembayaran seminar)
                            Retno Nurani (daftar hadir presenter)
                            FX Triyanto (daftar hadir presenter)
                            Sugiharno (daftar hadir peserta)
                            CU Suyati (daftar hadir tamu undangan)

Penjaga daftar
hadir panel   : Suratmi (Ruang seminar panel I dan II)
                            Nugroho Sukarno (Ruang seminar panel III
                            dan IV)
                            Siti Nur Hidayah (Ruang Sidang A panel I
                            dan II)
                            Arum candra (Ruang sidang A panel III dan
                            IV)
                            Sudilah (Ruang sidang C panel I dan II)

Ana Anggraini (Ruang Sidang C panel III dan IV)
CU Suyati (Ruang 406 panel I dan II)
M. Eko Erwanto (Ruang 406 panel III dan IV)
FX Triyanto (Ruang 407 panel I dan II)
Retno Nurani (Ruang 407 panel III dan IV)
Sugiharno (Ruang 408 panel I dan II)
Ambar Ismoyowati (Ruang 408 panel III dan IV)
Sugiyarso (Ruang 409 panel I dan II)
Arni Wistriatun (Ruang 409 panel III dan IV)

Seksi stand buku,
leaflet SPs   : Pradiastuti Purwitorosari, SS.
Trijasa
Pardiana dan tim

**THE 2ND INTERNATIONAL GRADUATE STUDENT
CONFERENCE ON INDONESIA
"INDONESIA AND THE NEW CHALLENGES:
MULTICULTURALISM, IDENTITY
AND SELF-NARRATION"
YOGYAKARTA, INDONESIA, 3-4 NOVEMBER 2010**

**Organized by: Graduate School, Gadjah Mada University
Jln. Teknika Utara No. 1, Pogung, Yogyakarta**

Wednesday, 3 November 2010

07.30-08.15 Registration

08.15-08.30 Opening Address
　　　　　　　Prof. Dr. Hartono, DEA., DESS
　　　　　　　Director of Graduate School, Gadjah Mada University

08.30-08.45 Prof. Ir. Sudjarwadi, M.Eng., Ph.D
　　　　　　　Rector, Gadjah Mada University

Keynote Address I

08.45-09.30 Cry Freedom! Men, Masculinities and Gender
　　　　　　　Relations in the Postcolonial World Raewyn Connell
　　　　　　　Professor at University of Sydney

　　　　　　　Moderator
　　　　　　　Wening Udasmoro
　　　　　　　Department of French, Gadjah Mada University

　　　　　　　Notulis: M. Endy Saputro

09.30-10.15 Questions and Answers

10.15-10.30 Break

Panel Sessions I: 10.30-12.15

	Room Sidang A	Seminar Room	Room Sidang C	Room 406	Room 407	Room 408	Room 409
	Panel 1 **Constructed Language and Its Discourse**	**Panel 2** **Sexuality in Between**	**Panel 3** **Politics of Identity Construction**	**Panel 4** **Religious Propagation and Beyond**	**Panel 5** **Economic Performances**	**Panel 6** **Narratives of Migrant Workers**	**Panel 7** **Multicultural Education**
	Moderator: Cartalyna Napitupulu *Notulis:* Destha Titi R. (DH: Nehi)	*Moderator:* Ary Budianto *Notulis:* Rr. Paramitha Dyah F. (DH:Suratmi)	*Moderator* Zuly Qadir *Notulis:* Yoyo (DH: Sudilah)	*Moderator* Samsul Ma'arif *Notulis:* Hasse J. (DH: Eko Erwanto)	*Moderator* Fahmy Radhi *Notulis:* Eko Nugroho (DH: FX Triyanto)	*Moderator* Emil Karmila *Notulis:* Ferry M. Siregar (DH: Sugiharno)	*Moderator* Siti Syamsiatun *Notulis:* Duddi R. Donna (DH: Sutarno)
10.30-10.50	Retention of Language and Language Attitudes in Multilingual Communities Tutur Sinjai **Herawati** Gadjah Mada University	The Discourse of Violence and Women Resistance in Movie Directed by Women **Liestianingsih Dayanti**	Technology for the Use of Communication in Multiculturalism **Isna Indriati** State University of Surabaya	Intimacy in Observance: the Process of Embodiment of the Religious Understanding of Salafi Women in Yogyakarta **Emy Ruby** CRCS, Gadjah Mada University	The Impact of Import Competition on Employment and Wage in Textile and Apparel Industry in Indonesia **Yudi Dharma** RITSUMEIKAN ASIA PACIFIC UNIVERSITY, JAPAN	When Women Narrate: the Compilation of Women Migrant Workers Experiences **Harjito** IKIP Semarang	The Rise and Variants of Critical Pedagogy Movement in Indonesia **Edi Subhan** State University of Jakarta
10.50-11.10	Complication Using Javanese Language in Young Generation **Prembayun Miji Lestari** Semarang State University	The Male Body Aesthetication **Fidelis Indriarto** Gadjah Mada University	Steamloco 'Jaladara': A Search of Identity of Solo City **Mundi Rahayu** Gadjah Mada University	A Breakthrough of Multi Level Dakwah Marketing Politics in Dealing with Local Culture at Grassroots Level: A Case Study of Prosporous Justice Party in Purbalingga Regency, Indonesia **Indaru Setyo Nurprojo & Khairu Roojiqien Sobandi**	Post-Crisis Performance of Indonesian Commercial Banks: A Revenue Based DEA Approach **Wanniarachchige Manjula Kumara and Suminto Sastroswito** Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University, Japan	Education and Identity Formation in Migrant Workers Children Living in Indonesia's Nation Borders: Some Descriptive Notes **Luthfi Fathan Dahriyanto** Gadjah Mada University	Nation Development Through Non-discriminative Education **Abdul Azis** State University of Yogyakarta

11.10-11.30	Multicultural-Based English Language Teaching: One Way of Maintaining Nation Identity **Siti Sudartini** Yogyakarta State University	Performativity of Gender and Sexual Identity in the Lesbian Weblog in Indonesia **Ari Setyorini** Gadjah Mada University	Showing Different Narration: the Dynamics of Power in the Jazz Community of Yogyakarta 2002-2010 **Oki Rahandianto Sutopo** University of Indonesia	*Perbegu/ Pemena* Religion: The Beginning of Batak Karo's Believe **Deva Alvina br Sebayang** Gadjah Mada University	Correlation Among Corporate Productivity, Performance Assessment System and Salary System: A Numerical Representation of a Qualitative Survey **Arik Prasetya and Masanori Kato** Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University, Japan	Representing of Women Migrant Worker in Media: Single Identity **Tri Hastuti Nur R**	*Dewa Ruci*: an Alternative Education System using Multicultural Perspective **Siti Isnaniah** Gadjah Mada University
11.30-11.55	**Questions and Answers**						
11.55-12.45	**Lunch**						

Panel Sessions II: 12.45-14.30

	Room Sidang A	Seminar Room	Room Sidang C	Room 406	Room 407	Room 408	Room 409
	Panel 8 **Multicultural Languages**	**Panel 9** **Gender Identities in the Novels**	**Panel 10** **Psychology of Identity**	**Panel 11** **Enduring Local Culture**	**Panel 12** **Visions of Education**	**Panel 13** **Location of Post-Identities**	**Panel 14** **Cultural Economics**
	Moderator Suhadi *Notulis:* Destha Titi R. (DH: Nehi)	*Moderator* Mustaghfiroh Rahayu *Notulis:* Rr. Paramitha Dyah F. (DH:Suratmi)	*Moderator* Dewi Haryani *Notulis:* Yoyo (DH: Sudilah)	*Moderator* Samsul Ma'arif *Notulis:* Hasse J. (DH: Eko Erwanto)	*Moderator* Siti Syamsiyatun *Notulis:* Eko Nugroho (DH: FX Triyanto)	*Moderator* Endy Saputro *Notulis:* Ferry m. Siregar (DH: Sugiharno)	*Moderator* Fahmy Radhi *Notulis:* Emil Karmila (DH: Sutarno)
12.45-13.05	Linguistic Politeness in Multicultural Society **Susana Widyastuti** Yogyakarta State University	Anak Itu Istimewa: Developmental Disabilities and Female Subjectivities in Cerita Pulau **Annie Trucker** University of California, Los Angeles	Narrative Therapy: Construct the Counselor Identity in Multicultural Society **Susi Fitri** State University Malang	Co modification of Dayak Culture: Blessing or Disaster? **Asman Azis** Gadjah Mada University	Local Primordialism in Pesantren: A Case Study in Assalam Modern Islamic Boarding School, Surakarta, Central Java **Fitri Nurlaili** Sebelas Maret University Surakarta	Users Collective Identity on Wall Status of Facebook Social Network Indonesia **Wanda Listiani** Gadjah Mada University	Model Development Enterpreneurship Based on Local Potency to Strengthen the Ability of Leaner's Literacy: Study Model Development Independent Business Literacy Education at the Community Learning Center Winaya Bhakti, Bungbulang, Garut **Asep Supriyatna** Indonesian Education University of Bandung
13.05-13.25	Multiculturalism in Perspective of Inter Cultural Communication **Nikmah Suryandari** Trunojoyo University Madura	Gender Ideology on Indonesian Novel in Post New Order: Hegemony Perspective **Yulianeta** Gadjah Mada University	Extended Family Support among Dual Career Muslim Women **Dian Sri Utami** Islamic University of Indonesia	Acculturation in Multicultural Society: A Case Study on Ritual Suro in Mountain Kawi, Malang **Nuryani** Gadjah Mada University	The 'Islamic Vision' in Teacher Education: Assessing Discourse in Indonesian Context **Nur Said** Education University of Indonesia	Social Interaction and Internet-Based Communication: Symbolic Interactionism Approach on Internet Use in Indonesia **Rudy Handoko** University of Indonesia	The Impact of Role Overload, Inter-Role Conflict, and Coping Behavior: An Examination of Gender Differences in Academic Accountants **Sandy Arief and Indah Anisykurlillah** Gadjah Mada University

| 13.25-13.45 | Paremiology: the Art of Understanding Indonesian's Community Characteristic through Proverbs

Dito Anurogo

Diponegoro University | When the Women Also Want to Enter the Public Sphere: Image of Symbolic Resitance Against the Hegemony of Patriarchy in the Indonesian Novels

Wiyatmi

Gadjah Mada University | The Live of Maduranese divorced-women in the Shadow of the Former Husband

Yan Ariyani

University of Indonesia | Healing with Coining, the Javanese Local Wisdom

Atik Triratnawati

Gadjah Mada University | Representation of Living School in Multicultural Village, East Java

Ekna Satriyati

Gadjah Mada University | Multiculturalism Quo-Vadis in History and Historiography of Indonesian Art

Kasiyan

Gadjah Mada University | Market Space and Struggle of Mama-mama Papua

I Ngurah Suryawan

Gadjah Mada University |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13.45-14.05 | | | Madurese Ulama: Religious Leaders in Medina's Veranda (*Serambi Medinah*)

Yanwar Pribadi

Leiden University, the Netherlands | Spirits among Indigenous People in Moluccas: A Study of Bulu Gila Perfomance in Negeri Suli, Ambon

Vanny Suitela

CRCS, Gadjah Mada University | | Regional Autonomy; Proliferation of the Region, and Pseudo Local Government in Indonesia

M. Ali Imron Miyoshi Koichi

Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University | The Symbolic Expression of Package Product Design toward Cultural Identity of IKM Package Product: A Cognition Analysis upon Popular Culture Product

Moch. Junaidi Hidayat Adhi Tama Institute, Surabaya |
| 14.05-14.30 | **Questions and Answers** | | | | | | |

Keynote Address II

14.30-15.15 State Structures and Religious Identity in Contem-
porary Asia: the Challenges of Proselytization and
Pluralism
R. Michael Feener
Associate Professor at Asia Research Institute and
Department of History, National University of
Singapore

Moderator
Zainal Abidin Bagir
Center for Religious and Cross Cultural Studies,
Graduate School, Gadjah Mada University

Notulis: M. Endy Saputro

15.15-16.00 Questions and Answers

16.00-16.30 Break
End of the First Day

Thursday, 4 November 2010

Keynote Address III

08.30-09.15 Translation and the Creation of Identities in Indonesia
Harry Aveling
Professor at La Trobe University

Moderator
Nur Sakti Ningrum
Department of English Letters, Gadjah Mada
University

Notulis: M. Endy Saputro

Panel Sessions III: 10.00-11.30

	Room Sidang A	Seminar Room	Room Sidang C	Room 406	Room 407	Room 408	Room 409
	Panel 15 Religious Freedom and Human Rights	**Panel 16 Filming Identities**	**Panel 17 Discourses on Identities in the Tabloid**	**Panel 18 Identity Politics, Ethnic and Religion**	**Panel 19 Gender Politics**	**Panel 20 Poetics of Ideologies**	**Panel 21 Education in Diversity**
	Moderator Suhadi *Notulis:* Destha Titi R. (DH: Arum Candra)	*Moderator* Najiah Martiam *Notulis:* Rr. Paramitha Dyah F (DH: Nugroho)	*Moderator* Ari Budiyanto *Notulis:* Yoyo (DH: Ana)	*Moderator* Zuly Qadir *Notulis:* Hasse J. (DH: CU Suyati)	*Moderator* Mustaghfiroh Rahayu *Notulis:* Kris Budiman (DH: Retno Nurani)	*Moderator* Budiawan *Notulis:* Ferry M. Siregar (DH: Ambar)	*Moderator* Maufur *Notulis:* Duddi R. Dona (DH: Sutarno)
10.00-10.20	Fighter/ Victim: Problem of Double Identity in the Struggle for Justice and Human Rights **Jiwon Suh** Ohio State University, USA	Self-Narratives, Postcoloniality and Negotiation of Neoliberalism in Indonesia Films in the 2000's **Ikwan Setiawan** Gadjah Mada University	Fragments and Coherence in Indonesian Female Celebrity Auto/Biographical Practice in Women's Magazine **Aquarini Priyatna Prabasmoro** Monash University	Ethnic and Politics of Identity in Minangkabau: Negotiating of Ethnicity and Nationality in Post-New Order of West Sumatra **Syafwan Rozi** State Islamic University, Sunan Gunung Djati, Bandung	Gender and Voting Behavior: Political Psychology Analysis for Voting Behavior on Indonesian **Fathul Lubabin Nuqul** Islamic State University Malang	The Harmony in Different Identity: Pluralism in Gambamg Jakarte Created by Firman Muntaco **Kiftiawati** Indonesian University	Alternative Narration: A Voice to be Heard **Khristanto and Refliza** Muhammadiyah University of Purwokerto
10.20-10.40	Rethinking the Indonesian Legislations Regarding Religious Freedom: An Analysis Based on Perspective of Human Rights and Multiculturalism **Faiq Tobroni** UII, Yogyakarta	Discursive Construction of Sexuality in Indonesian Teen Movies from 1970s-2000s **Maria Endah Sukowati**	Discourse on Illegitimate Sexual Activity of Youth in Indonesia Tabloid Perspective **Nisa Kurnia Illahiati** Airlangga University	Sagu Selempeng Terpatah Dua: Waxing and Waning of Social Interaction between Muslim and Christian in Ambon **Hatib Abdul Kadir** CRCS, Gadjah Mada University	Women and Politics Law in Indonesia: A Study of Affirmative Action for Women Political Equality in Act of 'Package of Politics' **Halili** Gadjah Mada University	The Human Identity Choice of Multicultural Condition on Short Story Anthology in East Borneo **Diyan Kurniawati** Language Office, East Kalimantan	Out-of-Context Education ', Problems in Achieving Diversity Understanting: Case Study on Education of History in Senior High School **Tsabit Azinar Ahmad** Sebelas Maret University

10.40-11.00	The Debate on Religious Freedom, Apostasy and Blasphemy in Contemporary Malaysia and Indonesia **Saskia Schaefer** Berlin Graduate School Muslim Cultures and Societies, Freie Universitat Berlin/ Humboldt, Univeritat Berlin	Shifting Islamic Content in Contemporary Movies: Case of the Jakarta International Film Festival (Jiffest) **Daryanto Hesti Wibowo**	When Some Short Stories of Femina Magazine 2010 Talk about Culinary **Nurhadi** Yogyakarta State University	Indonesian Chinese: the Other Challenge of Multiculturalism in Indonesia **Agus Tridiatno, Yoachim** ICRS, Gadjah Mada University	Arab-Indonesian Women in Contemporary Indonesia: Gender, Ethnicity and Identity **Sakdiyah Ma'ruf** Gadjah Mada University	'Satu di Antara Yang Tidak Ada Lagi': Narration and Memory toward Wiji Thukul after Reformation **Muhammad Febriansyah** University Kebangsaan Malaysia	Javanese Cultural Identity Reflected Adult-Child Interaction: A Case Study **Titik Sudartinah** Yogyakarta State University
11.00-11.20	CRCS, Gadjah Mada University			Dayak Islam: the Emerging Identity in East Kalimantan Dayak Society **Yuyun Sri Wahyuni** CRCS, Gadjah Mada University	Veil in Authority of Syariat Local Regulation **Mohammad Romadlon** Gadjah Mada University	Literature, Politics, Ideology: Poetry Reading of Lekra Poet (1950-2010) **Asep Sambodja** University of Indonesia	
11.20-12.00	**Questions and Answers**						
12.00-12.30	**Lunch**						

Panel Sessions IV: 12.30-14.30

	Room Sidang A	Room Seminar	Room Sidang C	Room 406	Room 407	Room 408
	Panel 22 Narratives of Being Indonesia	**Panel 23 Masculinites and Gender in Diverse Constructions**	**Panel 24 Settlement Identities and Disaster Risk**	**Panel 25 Mystical Identities in the Novels**	**Panel 26 Child Education in Multicultural Context**	**Panel 27 Technology**
	Moderator Endy Saputro *Notulis:* Destha Titi R. (DH: Arum Candra)	*Moderator* Wening Udasmoro *Notulis:* Rr. Paramitha Dyah F. (DH: Nugroho)	*Moderator* Sudibyakto *Notulis:* Yoyo (DH: Ana)	*Moderator* Cartalyna Napitupulu *Notulis:* Hasse J. (DH: Cu Suyati)	*Moderator* Dewi Haryani *Notulis:* Kris Budiman (DH: Retno)	*Moderator* Subagio *Notulis:* Ferry M. Siregar (DH: Ambar)
12.30-12.50	Nationalism of Minor Ethnic Perspective in Yogyakarta: A Case study on Membership of Indonesia-Tionghoa Association (INTI) Yogyakarta **Muryanti** State Islamic University, Kalijaga, Yogyakarta	Food Consumption and Gender Identity in Indonesia **Christine Nope-Williams** University of Sydney	The Identity of Mandailing Julu Settlements in North Sumatera **Cut Nur'aini, Achmad Djunaedi, Sudaryono, T. Yoyok W. Subroto** Gadjah Mada University	Walking on Syncretism: Text of Tantu Panggelaran **Turita Indah Setyani** University of Indonesia	A Learning Model in the Training of Creative Thinking to Increase the Competence of Early Childhood Education Tutors: A Study of the Program of Early Children Education in Serang Regency, Banten Province **Puji Yanti Fauziah** Education University of Indonesia	Rolling-Sliding Contacts and Its Applications: A Review **Eko Saputro, Rifky Ismail, M. Tauviqirrahman, Jamari, D.J. Schipper** University of Diponegoro
12.50-13.10	Disease Eradication and Building Indonesia's National Identity: the Soekarno Years (1949-1966) **Vivek Neelakantan** University of Sydney	Performing Qasidah, Transforming Nation: The Institution of Islamic Music, Its Dynamic Development and the Implications for Gender in Indonesia **Latifah** University of Hawaii at Manoa	Bridging the Differentiate among Three Tribes: Ecosystem and Participatory Based Approach: Study Case Bintet Village, Bangka, Indonesia **Nurmalia** Gadjah Mada University	The Unity of Mystic Notion on Serat Gandakusuma **Wishnu P. Sudarmadji** University of Indonesia	Why Multicultural Education is A Need for the Early Childhood Education in Developing A New Society **Theresia Kristianty Brahim and M. Syarif Sumantri**	Effect of Air Jet Cooling on Surface Roughness and Tool Wear **Paryanto, Rusnaldy, Tony Suryo Utomo, Yusuf Umardani** University of Diponegoro

13.10-13.30	Being 'Orang Indonesia': Narratives of the Nation among Young People in Jakarta, Banda Aceh and Kupang **Stefani Haning Swarati** National University of Singapore	Muslim Fashion between Global and Local **Firly Annisa** Gadjah Mada University	Climate Change Mitigation through the Forest and Land Fire Control: A Conflict Management Effort in Fire Using Based on Local Knowledge and Science in South Sumatera Province **Nur Arifatul Ulya and Syafrul Yunardy** Forestry Research Institute, Ministry of Forestry, Indonesia	Nagabumi I Steps Without Shape : Searching for Story of New Identity **Irsyad Ridho** University of Indonesia	The Creative Construction of Pragmatic Achievement for Early Children in Multiethnic Society **Dian Eka Chandra Wardhana**	Investigation of the Effect of a Lawyer on the Gear Contact using Finite Element Simulation **Rifky Ismail, M. Tauviqirahman, Jamari and D.J. Schipper** University of Diponegoro
13.30-13.50	The Narrative of 'Indonesian-ness' in the Commercials **Citra Dewi Utami** Gadjah Mada University	Masculinity Construction in Indonesian Mass Media **Harmona Daulay** Gadjah Mada University	Labuhan Merapi and Disaster Risk Reduction: Is There A Connection? **Benigno Ninoy C. Balgos** Gadjah Mada University			Friction Reduction in Micro-Slider Bearing with Wall Slip **M. Tauviqirahman, R. Ismail, Jamari, D.J. Schipper** University of Diponegoro
13.50-14.30	**Questions and Answers**					
14.30-14.45	**Break**					

Keynote Address IV: 14.45-15.30

15.30-16.00 Naturalization of Socially Constructed Identities: A Case of Making Indonesia's National Self and Chinese Minority as One of Indonesia's Others
Ariel Heryanto
Associate Professor of Indonesian Studies, Australian National University

Moderator
Budiawan
Media and Cultural Studies, Graduate School, Gadjah Mada University

Notulis: M. Endy Saputro

16.00-16.15 Concluding Remarks

16.15-16.30 Break and Certificate Session

ATTENDANCE LIST
THE 2ⁿᵈ INTERNATIONAL GRADUATE STUDENT
CONFERENCE ON INDONESIA
"INDONESIA AND THE NEW CHALLENGES:
MULTICULTURALISM, IDENTITY, AND SELF NARATION

Date   : 3-4 November 2010
Place   : Seminar room, floor 5 Graduate School Gadjah Mada
        University

No	Name	Institution
1	Abdul Manaf Tubaka, M.Si.	IAIN Ambon
2	Abdul Firman Ashaf, Dr	Universitas Lampung
3	Abdurrahman Misno	Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Al-Hidayah
4	Adil Lugianto	MIH UNDIP
5	Aljie Kaya	World Vision Indonesia
6	Ami Purnamawati, Dr	IKOPIN
7	Amilda, M.Hum.	IAIN Raden Fatah
8	Andi Hasriani	UMI Makassar
9	Andreas R Sihotang	World Vision Indonesia
10	Ari Junaedi, Dr	Universitas Indonesia
11	Aswan, H., SH.,MH.	FH UNTAN
12	Bambang Suharto	S3 Pariwisata
13	Bernadetta Dwi Charylia	Kajian Pariwisata
14	Brooke Nolan	ACICIS UMM
15	Daru Marhaendy	World Vision Indonesia
16	Dede Oetomo	Gaya Nusantara
17	Dedeh Fardiah, Dr	Universitas Islam Bandung
18	Diana Wahyu Dewi	FH UGM
19	Dwi Nurina S	Universitas Negeri Malang
20	Eka Susylowati	FBS UNSA
21	Eki Baihaki	Ilmu Komunikasi FISIP Univ. Langlangbuana Bandung
22	Eko Winarno	Filsafat UGM
23	Else Liliani	FIB UGM

No	Name	Institution
24	Erik Aditia Ismaya	Sosiologi UGM
25	Ery Setyawati	PA UGM
26	Ezzadin Abdulaladim Mohamed Bakir	Maksi Undip
27	Feris Zainuddin, SH.,MA.	FH UNTAN
28	Firdaus, SH., M.Si	FH UNTAN
29	Hadarah	
30	Hadiati	KBM UGM
31	Herry Yogaswara	LIPI & FIB UI
32	I Ketut Sunarya	Jur. Seni Rupa UNY
33	Ibrahim Sugio, SH.,M.Hum.	FH UNTAN
34	Ilyas Yasin, S.Ag.,M.Mpd.	STAI Al-Amin Dompu
35	Imaduddin Ibnu Ramadhan	Maksi Undip
36	Iman Subasman, S.Si.	STAI Al Ihya Kuningan
37	Indah S.	KBM UGM
38	Ira Setiawan	Alumni CRCS
39	Ismadi	Jur. Seni Rupa UNY
40	Josef A Gadi Djou	Pariwisata
41	Josefina Marsa	Maksi Undip
42	Karminda, SH.,MH.	FH UNTAN
43	Krisetiawati Puspitasari	KBM UGM
44	Kristanto B	ICRS-UGM
45	Lisa Gracia Kailola	Universitas Kristen Indonesia
46	Martono	Jur. Seni Rupa UNY
47	Masni Erika Firmiana	Univ. Al Azhar Indonesia
48	Medhy Aginta Hidayat	Sosiologi Univ. Trunojoyo
49	Meinarni Susilowati, M.Ed	
50	Muhammad Basir, MA.	STAI DDI Pangkep
51	Muhammad Nurun Najib	Lab. Sosio Univ. Brawijaya
52	Muhammad Roy Purwanto, M.Ag.	STIQ An-Nur
53	Muhammad Yusuf	MIH UNDIP
54	Mustaqim Pabbajah	STAI Ddi Parepare
55	Mutmainah	S3 Sosiologi UGM
56	Nailatin Fauziyah, S.Psi.,M.Si.	IAIN Sunan Ampel
57	Nazla Maharani Umaya	IKIP PGRI Semarang

No	Name	Institution
58	Niken Anggraeni	FBS UNY
59	Nur Fatikhatin J.	Universitas Negeri Malang
60	Nurdin Laugu	KBM UGM
61	Paulus Nyongker Sufmana, SH.,M.Si.	FH UNTAN
62	Pratama Yudha Pradeksa	Univ. Brawijaya
63	Priyo Saptomo, SH.,M.Hum.	FH UNTAN
64	Qurrotul Ainiyah, M.Hi.	STIT al Urwatul Wutsqo Jombang
65	Ririe Rengganis	Universitas Negeri Surabaya
66	Roy Thaniago	Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara
67	Sandya Rani Yunita	S. Roman FIB UGM
68	Sigit Ricahyono	Linguistik UGM
69	Silfia Hanani, Ph.D.	STAIN Bukittinggi
70	Siti Majidah, S.Hum.,M.Pd.	STAI Al Falah As-Suniyyah
71	Sri Ismawati	
72	Sri Ismawaty, Hj.	UNTAN
73	Sri Jatmiko S	FIB UGM
74	Sri Pangastoeti	FIB Sastra Jepang UGM
75	Suad Fikriawan	Institut Agama Islam Sunan Giri
76	Suharto	Jur. Seni Rupa UNY
77	Sulistyaningsih	UIN
78	Susana Widyastuti	FBS UNY
79	Suyitno, SHI.,MA.	FAI Univ. Muhammadiyah Ponorogo
80	Tatik Hidayati, M.Ag.	STIK An-Nuqoyah Guluk-Guluk
81	Tran Thi Trung	Kajian Pariwisata UGM
82	Twediana Budi Hapsari, M.Si	Univ. Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta
83	Ulfa Hidayati	Kapal Perempuan Jakarta
84	Umi Najikhah Fikriyati	STI Blambangan
85	Wahyudi Suprapto	World Vision Indonesia
86	Wilton A W Djaya	KBM UGM
87	Wiwied Nurwidyohening	S. Roman FIB UGM
88	Wiwik Retno H.	FIB UGM
89	Woelan Sejathi Timoer	KBM UGM
90	Wulan Tri Astuti	S. Roman FIB UGM

No	Name	Institution
91	Yanti Puji Astutie	Maksi Undip
92	Yulianingsih Riswan	Filsafat UGM
93	Zulfa Jamalie	IAIN Antasari
94	Zulfi Hendri	Jur. Seni Rupa UNY
95	John Compaglia	
96	Roswell Duncan (RD) Blount	
97	Lily Kadoe	
98	Mucha Arquiza	
99	Julianne Swartzentruber	Menonite Central Committee USA
100	Prof. Mark Woodward	Arizona State University USA
101	Elaine Swartzentruber	Menonite Central Committe USA
102		

EVALUATION FORM

THE 2ⁿᵈ INTERNATIONAL GRADUATE STUDENT CONFERENCE ON INDONESIA
"INDONESIA AND THE NEW CHALLENGES: MULTICULTURALISM, IDENTITY, AND
SELF NARRATION"
Rabu – Kamis, 3 – 4 November 2010
Ruang Seminar Lantai 5 Sekolah Pascasarjana UGM

Name : CHRISTINA NOPE-WILLIAMS (LINA)

Institution : GENDER & CULTURAL STUDIES, THE UNI OF SYDNEY.

Email : cnop8436@uni.sydney.edu.au

Impression : very inspiring. a good mega for developing scholarly skills, as well as, building the network among students/scholars.

Suggestion : any follow up? publish the selected paper, perhaps

☺Thank You☺

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Ruang Seminar Lantai 5 Sekolah Pascasarjana UGM

Name : E. Setiyawati A.

Institution : PA UGM.

Email : erickfromme@gmail.com.

Impression : Terrific!

Suggestion : I hope there will be more conferences such as this one in the future, which will involve broader themes, more disciplines, and more heterogenous presenters and participants.

☺Thank You☺

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Ruang Seminar Lantai 5 Sekolah Pascasarjana UGM

Name : Dédi Oetomo

Institution : GAYa NUSANTARA

Email : doetomo@gmail.com

Impression : Very excellent event, establishing a strong academic tradition in Indonesia.

Suggestion : Keep up the good work!

☺Thank You☺

EVALUATION FORM

THE 2ⁿᵈ INTERNATIONAL GRADUATE STUDENT CONFERENCE ON INDONESIA
*"INDONESIA AND THE NEW CHALLENGES: MULTICULTURALISM, IDENTITY, AND
SELF NARRATION"*
Rabu – Kamis, 3 – 4 November 2010
Ruang Seminar Lantai 5 Sekolah Pascasarjana UGM

Name   : Annie Tucker

Institution : University of California, Los Angeles

Email   : actucker@ucla.edu

Impression : What a wonderful opportunity to get to know the work
of my colleagues! ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ This was an exciting event
with a range of contributors and I appreciate the
opportunity to join in the discussion. My thoughts
go to those who could not participate due to
Merapi but I hope to meet them next year at
the third conference! :) Great keynote speakers.

Suggestion :
I understand the desire to use English to make the
conference more "international" but I don't think it
should be a requirement because I am sorry to say
but English that is not masterful detracts from
the ability to understand topic / appreciate intellectual
rigor of the work. Maybe better to use one
translator/translators that
☺Thank You☺   you know are highly
capable.

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Ruang Seminar Lantai 5 Sekolah Pascasarjana UGM

Name : Sakdiyah Ma'ruf

Institution : Gadjah Mada University, Graduate School, American Studies

Email : Sakdiyahmaruf@yahoo.co.id

Impression :

Superb, colourful, insightful, super inspiring. It's my first experience presenting in International conference and I received great responses. It really boost my spirit to do research! thank you!

Suggestion :

① More keynote speakers from various countries in the world

② Jurnal or book publication of the paper discussed in the conference after the participants revised and resubmit the paper.

☺Thank You☺

EVALUATION FORM

THE 2nd INTERNATIONAL GRADUATE STUDENT CONFERENCE ON INDONESIA
*"INDONESIA AND THE NEW CHALLENGES: MULTICULTURALISM, IDENTITY, AND
SELF NARRATION"*
Rabu – Kamis, 3 – 4 November 2010
Ruang Seminar Lantai 5 Sekolah Pascasarjana UGM

Name   : Nur A. Ulya

Institution   : Ministry of Forestry

Email   : nur_arifa @ yahoo.com

Impression : I've got so many new knowledge from this
event, And this event good organized

Suggestion :. For next event, it will be better if the ^amount keynote
speaker more than now.
- The panel more focus.

☺Thank You☺

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Rabu – Kamis, 3 – 4 November 2010
Ruang Seminar Lantai 5 Sekolah Pascasarjana UGM

Name : Muhammad Yusuf

Institution : Magister Ilmu Hukum UNDIP

Email : soox1_mayat @ yahoo.co.id

Impression : – Luar biasa, bisa mengenal - Mempelajari Sedikit dari bidang- keilmuan lainnya.

Suggestion : – Agar topik²ˣ Seputar Permasalahan hukum yang menjadi kualifikasi Saya Lebih di kedepankan lagi.

☺Thank You☺

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Name : Adil Lugianto

Institution : Magister Ilmu Hukum Undip

Email : adil-lugianto@yahoo-com
0813 6557 9757

Impression : Acara penuh dengan nuansa akademis
Panitia disiplin dalam mengatur acara

Suggestion : Mohon diusahakan agar pemakalah yang
telah mendaftarkan diri, sebagian besar
bisa hadir supaya materi yang didiskusikan
bisa lebih banyak.
Mohon diadakan lagi tahun depan
☺Thank You☺

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Ruang Seminar Lantai 5 Sekolah Pascasarjana UGM

Name : Josef A. Gadi Djou

Institution : Kajian Pariwisata UGR

Email : josefdonigadidjou@hotmail.com

Impression : Bagus dan bervariasi

Suggestion : - agar bisa diikuti oleh lebih banyak peserta dan pembicara
- Jayan supa: pembicara tidak hadir

☺Thank You☺

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Ruang Seminar Lantai 5 Sekolah Pascasarjana UGM

Name : YANTI PUJI ASTUTIE

Institution : Magister of Accounting
Diponegoro University

Email : yantie_cc@yahoo.com

Impression : It's very interesting point to discussing some topic by
cross background base, because it will produce value
added for the research and the reasearcher too.

Suggestion : As economics is my background, my suggestion is to make
more number discussin topic about economic and the
impact of any topic on economics

☺Thank You☺

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Name   : Josefina Marsa A. P

Institution : MAKSI UNDIP

Email   : jsgnmrs1@gmail.com

Impression   : => Sangat menyenangkan, topik yg diangkat baru;
                  topik lama dilihat dr b'bagai perspektif.
               => Jadwal sangat on time & efisien
               => Konsumsinye enak puol

Suggestion   : => Banyak panelis yg tidak hadir,
                  mohon periksa adanya
               => MAKSI UNDIP, sgt senang diundang.

☺Thank You☺

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Ruang Seminar Lantai 5 Sekolah Pascasarjana UGM

Name : EKO SAPUTRA

Institution : UNIVERSITAS DIPONEGORO SEMARANG

Email : eko_singgugah@yahoo.com

Impression : Sangat menyenangkan karena banyak bersosialisasi dengan orang-orang dari berbagai negara yang punya budaya berbeda².

Suggestion : Untuk kedepannya, sebaiknya tema teknologi diikutsertakan, karena perkembangan teknologi juga punya andil dalam perkembangan Ilmu sosial.

☺Thank You☺

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Ruang Seminar Lantai 5 Sekolah Pascasarjana UGM

Name : Bambang Suharto

Institution : UGM

Email : unikbali@hotmail.Com

Impression : Excellent

Suggestion : More Event !!!

☺Thank You☺

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Ruang Seminar Lantai 5 Sekolah Pascasarjana UGM

Name   : A. MANAF TUBAKA, M.Si

Institution   : IAIN AMBON

Email   : untubaka@yahoo.com

Impression   : Pengalaman yang menarik. Setting Acaranya
                 yang Fleksibel.

Suggestion   : Makalah dari Keynote Speaker itu harus
                 di kasih ke peserta.

☺Thank You☺

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Name : MASNI ERIKA FIRMIANA

Institution : UNIVERSITAS AL AZHAR INDONESIA

Email : masni.erika @ uai.ac.id

Impression : VERY ~~IMPRESS~~ IMPRESS. ~~VERY~~
FLEXIBLE, WE CAN CHOOSE THE ISSUES

Suggestion : CAN WE GET THE PROCEEDING, FREE ?? ... ☺

☺Thank You☺

The Partisipants Listening the Lectures and Presentation in the IGSC

Speakers in one of the panels in the IGSC

Speakers discussants in one of panel in the IGSC

The partisipans listening to the lecture and presentation in the IGSC

Ariel Haryanto one of keynote speakers persenting his lecture.

Participants and guests in coffee break time.

Prof. Dr. Hartono the Director of The Graduate School and the quests in the IGSC.

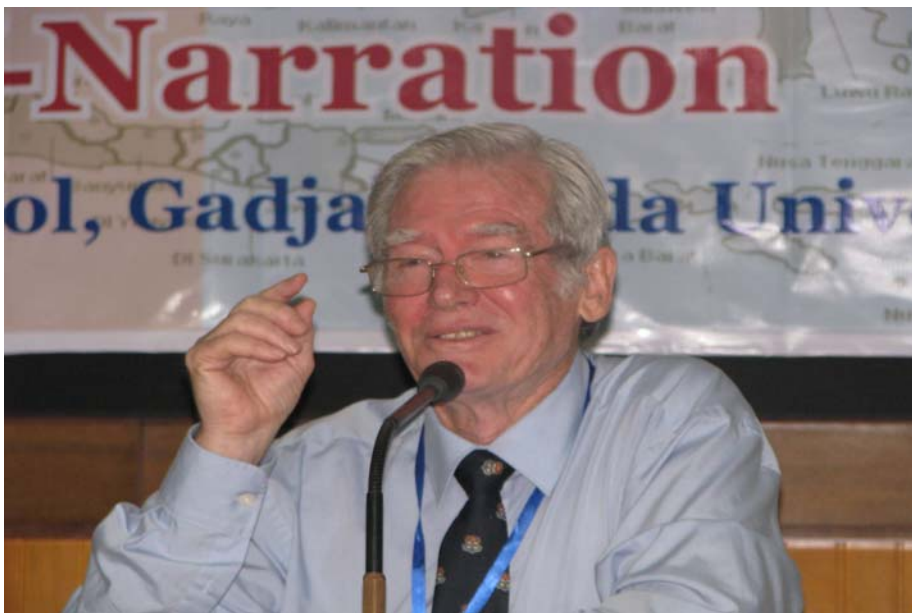R.W. Connell presenting her lecture.

Registration Session for the IGSC

One of discussants proposing a question in the IGSC panel

Discussants in one of the panels in the IGSC

Harry Avelin, one of keynote speakers, was presenting his lecture in the IGSC