

PROCEEDING  
OF THE IGSC III



# PREFACE

## FROM THE DIRECTOR OF GRADUATE SCHOOL

In line with new paradigm as a *research university*, Graduate School Gadjah Mada University has annually been conducting *International Graduate Student Conference* (IGSC) as an international student publication media. In 2011, it was the third conference, entitled *Indonesian Urban Cultures and Societies*, chaired by Dr. Wening Udasmoro, our *fidele* lecturer. The main objective is to provide a media for graduate students in disseminating their research results. The topic was adopted with at least three reasons: (1) urban culture and society dynamic influenced by globalization, (2) rapid urbanization development and its quality, and (3) more complex and fragile urban environment due to its cultural behavior.

Indonesian urban development changes considerably to be more dense, fragmented, isolated, exclusive, and gated communities due to rapid and uncontrolled economic and social developments that provide a great prosperity variations. It produces *the have* and *the poor* with strict gradual distinctions. Sustainable development should be oriented to its population welfare in ecologic, economic and social aspects. Urban land use can vary from government, education, cultural, commercial, industrial, and services activities.

Since the last three decades, industrial, media and ICT revolution sectors were activated in the country, urban condition and behaviors have greatly changed. It has urbanization process, most of villages in Java, Sumatera, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi are transforming into urban settlements, facilitated with urban identity (exclusive and gated community, electricity, gas, phone, television, internet facilities). The urban problems than raised considerably, among them are liberation in media, religion movement, economic transformation, internationalized education, environmental quality degradation, increasing air

pollution, noise, air temperature, more people in poverty, cultural shocks and conflicts.

The proceeding of third IGSC presented more than forty papers talking about urban religion, education, media, identity, industry, technology, and living style; Islamic movement and leader function; urban identity, food vendors, urban energy, democratic society, are among the interesting topics discussed in the conference. The presenters came from more than six countries (US, Australia, United Kingdom, China, South Korea, Malaysia, Indonesia).

The papers presented a portray part of Indonesian urban living style and dynamic, which are valuable for understanding Indonesian urban culture and society. The such conference is very useful as a sharing academic thinking and experiences. It provided a positive communications among speakers and audiences for extracting best practices from various center of excellent in urban disciplines. It gave a challenge for mediation and cooperation among all participants for continuing together their academic works, researches, and community services in similar interest and objectives. It also probably provided an unforgettable moment.

I highly appreciate the speakers, presenters, participants and organizing committee who have worked hard and made the conference realizable (Lisdiyani, Nanik, Sugiyarso, Peni, Ana, Nehi, Puji, Pardiana, Indri, Wiwin, Arni, Nina, Hasse, Sari, Ferry, etc). I really raise our apology for several inconveniences during the conference. I hope that it would be continued annually and it become our tradition in giving a solution for dissertation result publication. God bless us, A Dieu, barokah, insyaallah. Wassalam.

**Prof. Dr. Hartono, DEA., DESS**

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# INTRODUCTION

Since the adoption of neo-liberal economic policies in the recent decade, in addition to the change of the Indonesian political regime to a more democratic and open one (O'Rourke, 2002), Indonesia has witnessed the more dynamic role of market forces as well as the impacts of modernization and globalization on its urban cultures and societies (Manning & Van Diermen, 2000). There has been a fast development and transformation of the urban areas and to a greater extent, have greatly influenced the Indonesian people in most aspects of their lives, and in particular, their sense of self and environment. The urbanization and the urbanism processes have driven people to consider urban cultures and societies as the primary locus point of reference in their daily lives, wherever they live (Lassonde, 1997).

The developments of the transportation system and the information technology, the innovation of sciences, the rise of the urban middle classes, and also the freedom of media and expression in arts and literature have created different definitions about the urban cultures and societies. Arising from these developments and changes in urbanization culture are critical questions such as: *who they are, what they do, what they like and what they plan in building their environment, how is their mobility going on, how they deal with their counterparts on the other parts of the globe, what are their cultural and other social products?* These questions serve as guide to papers seminar entitled: Indonesian Urban Cultures and Society.

The papers in this volume concern the diverse faces of urban Indonesia and view them from equally diverse theoretical and disciplinary perspectives. They make important contributions to the study of urban Indonesia. They also highlight the accomplishments and promise of a new generation of scholars for whom the idea of Urban Indonesia is a given rather than a novel or emerging reality.

There is a tendency in the study of post-colonial urbanisms to view them as being the products of nation building and as being a departure from an agrarian past that some – especially anthropologists – view as being more culturally authentic than the urban present. As a whole the papers in this volume avoid this nostalgic romanticism. The current generation of scholars are perhaps less likely to engage in this sort of romanticism than those of us who can remember times when Indonesia was substantially less urban, and far less technologically “up to date” than it is today. They are less prone to the feeling that “real” research should be conducted in village settings.

Still, the tendency to view “urban” Indonesia as something new and as a social phenomena presenting novel and unprecedented challenges carries with it tropes of romanticist nostalgia for village “authenticity.” The question of when the process of urbanization began in Indonesia depends of how one chose to define urban. It can be argued that there has been an urban presence in what is now Indonesia for many centuries. At the same time there is a qualitative difference between contemporary, and even late colonial, urbanism and that of early kingdoms such as Majapahit and Sriwijaya and even that of Yogyakarta in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

The differences are not simply those of population size or the geographic space of cities. One important difference between modern and pre-modern urbanisms is the emergence of distinctively urban modes of production, usually but not always industrial production, that are not directly linked to rural agricultural peripheries. Another is the emergence of populations who a truly “at home” in the city who do not view themselves as economically motivated sojourners with plans, or at least dreams, of returning to their rural homelands. In Indonesia the transformation from urban sites as assemblages of sojourner communities to populations whose collective and personal identities are fixed in city-spaces rather than landscapes has been a gradual one.

Major urban centers including Batavia (Jakarta), Medan and Surabaya began to emerge in the final decades of the Dutch colonial period. Some of the best descriptions of early modern Indonesian urban life are to be found not in scholarly works by historians or anthropologists, but rather in the novels of Pramoedya Ananta Toer (1980), especially *Bumi Manusia (This Earth of Mankind)*. This being said, the pace of urbanization and both the absolute

numbers and per centage of Indonesians who are urban people in one sense or another has increased dramatically since the country declared its independence in 1945. In 1970 less than 20% of Indonesian lived in urban areas. Today nearly the number is close to 50%. In 1950 Jakarta had a population of approximately 1.5 million. Today the population of the greater Jakarta metropolitan area is approximately 28 million.

These numbers speak for themselves. The material challenges including water and power supply, flood control, sanitation and transportation resulting from growth of this magnitude have been and will continue to be enormous. The social challenges or increased population density and ethnic and religious diversity are equally serious. The question of how personal and collective identities are constructed and articulated in complex urban spaces is of great social and political significance and presents theoretical challenges and opportunities for social scientist. There is a pressing need for research on both the material and socio-cultural challenges presented by the emergence of megacities. The fact that so many young Indonesian and foreign scholars have turned their attention to these problems is encouraging.

The factors that drive urbanization include both the emergence of uniquely urban economic sectors and the inability of the agricultural hinterlands to provide adequate opportunities, especially for young people. There are signs that Indonesia's cities are becoming unable to meet these demands. A generation ago rural-urban migration was primarily from villages to regional and national level urban centers. Today increasing numbers of young, rural Indonesian are seeking employment as migrant workers in Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong and the Middle East. It is now common to find that on flights between Jakarta and Dubai at least half the passengers are young Indonesians, most of the women, traveling to or from temporary jobs. There are now Western Union offices in what were, only a generation ago, isolated villages. Trans-national labor migration poses its own set of social problems. There is clearly a need for more research in this area.

Despite the rapid growth of urban Indonesia, approximately half of all Indonesians live in rural areas. There are still pressing needs for rural development in part to reduce migration pressures on now over burdened urban infrastructures. There is also a need for a different kind of research on rural

Indonesia than the types of village studies that were common in the past that focuses on the influence of urbanization on rural communities and the dynamics of rural-urban interaction. These issues would, I think, be an excellent theme for a follow up conference

The articles of this seminar proceeding are based on the graduate students papers presented in the International Graduate Students Conference on Indonesia held in Post Graduate School of Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, on the 8 to 9 of November 2011. There were 126 papers submitted and 89 papers were selected and presented in the seminar. The papers were written in Bahasa Indonesia and English. This proceeding contains the articles written in English while the articles in Bahasa Indonesia are to be published in the *Kawistara* Journal of Post Graduate School of Universitas Gadjah Mada. The articles in this seminar proceeding were written by graduate students from many different countries, which include Australia, Japan, Germany, USA, the Philippines, Malaysia, etc. The topics covered were various but focus on “Urban Cultures and Society”.

In part one of the seminar series, Melanie V. Nertz article focuses on *Occidentalism in Makasar and Yogyakarta: Negotiating the West as Frame of Reference for Muslim Modernity*. She argues that different from the Western understanding that reproduces dichotomy between Islam and the West she aims to show how the image of the West is perceived among Muslims in Yogyakarta and Makasar. A graduate student from Charles Darwin University, Adam Fenton’s article entitled *Draft Legislation and “Deradicalisation?: Proposed Amendments to Indonesia’s Terrorism Laws and the “Brainwashing” of Convicted Terrorist*. He argues that actual law on terrorism has been criticized for being too weak but is used to prosecute the terrorists. According to him, it is more effective to look at the later stages of judicial process, such as sentencing and rehabilitation.

Mega Hidayati tries to look at the Ministry of Religious Affairs’ Discourse on Religious Harmony. She concludes that Ministry of Religious Affairs defines Religious Harmony as fundamental asset, precious asset and strong social asset. She further argues that another discourse constructed is that religious harmony does not mean conversion to other religion. The article written by Saiful Hakam discusses the Funeral Service of Yayasan Bunga



Selasih. He emphasizes on how funeral becomes part of industry and commercial in Indonesian context. He describes how the modern management of funeral is created replacing the traditional ways of funeral.

Gde Dwitya Arief Metera is interested in the movement of new religion in Bali. His article discusses Sai Baba Movement as an Urban Phenomenon in Banyumas. He argues that this movement is related to the transformation of agricultural to industrial modern economy. Another article is about the revival of Indonesian Islamic Nation (NII) movement in Urban Area. The writers, Khairu Roojiqiem Sobandi and Bowo Sugiarto show that the NII in Banyumas is targeting the college students as members by using the ideological religious doctrine according to their interpretation of the Quran. Ferry Muhamadsyah Siregar discusses in his article on the *Role of Religious Leader in Teaching the Tafsir in Indonesian Urban Society*. He emphasizes on the influential role of Kiai, especially in Nahdatul Ulama Pesantren in using the interpretation of Quran as form of education in the Pesantren (Islam School).

In the education section of the proceeding, Elly Kent writes about Creative Communities in Java. She tries to look at how arts become a source of education and community cohesion in Urban Java. In her research she observes 4 creative schools involved in the grass root activities. Another article, written by Katherine Bruhn from the USA focuses on the internationalization of education in Indonesia.

Jenny Ratna Suminar's article discusses the communication competencies of the professional teacher in Bandung, West Java. She argues that the competencies in communication are crucial in building good education system in Indonesia. Siti Sudartini is also interested in looking at the teaching method in the Indonesian Education system. However, she emphasizes more on the introduction of local culture in English curriculum. Similarly, Siti Isnaniah attempts to include the Javanese myth "Dewa Ruci" as an example in offering a system of learning into the Indonesian education, especially from the multicultural perspective.

The third part of this seminar proceeding concerns the development of media in the urban culture and society. The first article is from Lilies Soelistyo Y who writes about the young people urban society's newspaper, where she focuses on the Java Post by discussing the "propaganda model" through such

papers. Muria Endah article focuses more on the construction of discourse of masculinity in Indonesian teenage movies. She shows clearly how the dynamic construction of masculinities has been changing from 1970 to 2000.

Kasiyan article focuses his research on racism of advertising aesthetics in Indonesian post colonial urban society. He mentions that advertisement aesthetics are still influenced by the western mindset based on the western hegemony- historically constructed by the colonial regime. Siobhan Campbell writes about Kamasan, a Balinese Village. The author is interested in different representation of Kamasan village as a village challenged by urbanization. In another article, Firly Annisa focuses on the performance of body and muslimah sexuality portrayed by one of the Asia's Magazine "Aquila". Aquila does claim itself as the magazine for modern Muslim women try to display the new look of women. She shows how it perceives Muslim's women body and sexuality.

The urban identity part of the seminar contains eleven articles. Medhy A Hidayat writes about tattoos, as practiced by Yogyakarta students. He argues that during this last decade, there has been shift of meanings related to tattoo. More individuals and groups have tattoos on their arms than before. The tattoos are seen more positively in recent times than during Suharto era, which was seen as symbol of criminal person and behavior. Mundi Rahayu discusses another urban cultural aspect: Malang *Tempo Doeloe* or Festival Malang Kembali, according to her means a reminder to people about the cultural aspect of Malang. It also serve as a means for their learning and education. On similar front, Raudlatul Jannah discusses the Fashion Carnival event organized in Jember. She mentions that the carnival is a creative activity developed in the cities, which generates the idea of government and also demonstrates social support from the society.

Another author, Hery Prasetyo's paper titled; *The Power of Street: A Discourse of Power Formation in the Spatial Construction of Urban Street*. He argues that a city is an active space. It has a spatial discourse related to its historical experience. Febri Yulika focuses her article on the "meaning of knowledge" in Minangkabau Philosophy. She claims that Minangkabau philosophy has contributed to the Indonesian national knowledge, such as in the context of social, cultural, literature and also in the political arena. Looking at philosophical aspect of Minangkabau becomes very crucial. Another article written by Widya

Fransiska F Anwar co-authors with Ismail Said, Dilhsan R Ossen and Muh Hisyam Rasyidi titled; *The Dynamic of Cultural Expression of Ethnicity on Palembang's Riverside Urban Structure*. The authors focus their article on the expression of ethnic activities from 1700s to 2000s by using the historical analysis. The aim is to understand how the different cultures, such as Arabian, Chinese and Native Malay construct the Palembang cultural expression.

Franciscus Adi Prasetyo article is about the working women who work as “Purel” (connotation for Karoke Bar Girl) in Jember East Java. He associates the existence of Purel with the attitude of consumerism Popi Puspitasari, Achmad Djunaedi, Sudaryono and Heddy Shri Ahimsa Putra write about the pilgrimage of urban kampong in North Jakarta and Kampung Ampel Surabaya. They compare how those two historic villages (kampong) were resistant to the social and cultural changes. Ahda Mulyati, Nindyo Soewarno and A. Sarwadi's article shows an interest in the role of local culture in the development of physical environment. They focus on the aquatic settlement in Central Sulawesi. They argue that the local people have their own ways to organize their life related to aquatic settlement by combining the law, ritual and belief in a system..

Yoahanna I Meray' paper attempts to look at the decline of the symbolism in the “Eastern” tradition, in this case in Minahasa. She points out that the Minahasa people take for granted the practice of Christianity and forget their local belief and local wisdom. Atik Triratnawati's article discusses the non- existing legal and social welfare safety net, for children after the divorce of the parents. She mentions that in Yogyakarta the number of divorce is increasing every year but lack of regulation to protect the legal and social welfare of children. Dien Vidia Rosa writes about *Genetics, identity and the future of urban culture*. She attempts to trace human gene changes and relate it with the engineering technology.

Amar, Mary Selintung, Roland A Barkey and M. Arsyad Thaha write their article on land availability and capacity analysis for building the urban territory. They contend that the inaccuracy of land use is caused by the pressure of increase population and also by the development of the industrial and trade sectors. The land use planning is fundamental to anticipate various needs of urban land. Andrien Liem's paper discusses about Pemulung or trash picker in Yogyakarta. Andrien discusses psychology of Pemulung and argues that they have been marginalized in

a city known as plural and respecting differences. Hiroi Iwahara, from University of Tokyo writes his article on village tourism movement in Southern Bali. The author aims at illustrating the Balinese contemporary village in Badung Regency socially and culturally shaped based on the tourism movement.

Rahmad Dawood, Aris Eko Priyanto and Nurwahyu Alamsyah focus their article on the urban food vendors. They point out that despite the fact that mobile vendors are common in Indonesia, there is no good system and other mean to generate their income. Ardiani Ika S, Dyah Nirmala Arum Janie and Nanda Nugrahita Veliana Sari focus their article on organizational commitment and job satisfaction. They conduct an empirical research in a public accountant firm in Central Java. Another interesting article is from George Martin Sirait. Hw writes on the development of retail's industry in Indonesia a decade after liberalization. It focuses on food and general merchandising in the retail industry.

Indonesian urban electrification: A Case of 500 KV EHV Jamaly System is written by Sugiarto, Sasongko Pramono Adi and Tumiran. The authors state that Java-Madura and Bali (Jamali) are the regions in Indonesia whose population consume more electricity than in any other regions in Indonesia. However, the high electricity demand is according to them is not balanced compared to the growth in electricity supply. Another important article is written by Korlena, Achmad Djunaedi, Leksono Probosunu and Nurhasan Ismail about zoning regulation as land use control instrument. They compare different countries regulation on land use, including Indonesia, the USA, Singapore and Canada.

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III





## Keynote Speaker 1

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# GATED COMMUNITY

## *Space and Social Inequality*

SUNYOTO USMAN

**T**he topic that I would like to talk to you is gated community, space and social inequality. For me the topic is very important and relevant to be explored in discussing the urban culture and society, particularly it is indicated that the gated community has produced many kinds of social problem in city life. It seems that the problems become more complex, and some people feel that the gated community gradually is destroying urban culture. I would like to focus my discussion in the impact of gated community on space domination and environmental conflict.

It has been indicated by observers that the number of gated communities in Indonesian cities is growing fast. A study conducted in Yogyakarta Special District, shows that at the moment there are closed to 50 such gated communities in this city. The demand for such gated communities from the rest of society has been growing, especially among professionals who attracted by the prestige of such developments and fear of crime. The greatest concentration of gated community development is in Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia and other big cities of Java, and in number of cities outside of Java. But we have found evidence of a lot more across the country and they seem to becoming a dominant feature of city development.

From the sociological point of view, the first issue that is important to be discussed in relation to gated community is social relations, both among the residents and between the residents and people who live in surrounding areas.

The residents of gated community tend to develop an urban segregation or enclave, that is a distinct area or isolated within a society. They tend to avoid maintaining social relationships to people who live in the villages located in outside of the gate. They feel that the people who live there are outsiders. Their lives are privatized and enclosed space therefore should be gated. The fear of violence is one of their main justifications.

Who are the residents? What is their background? They mainly come from middle and upper class of society. They are mostly professionals and political elites. Their opportunities to live in gated communities are facilitated by investors and contractors, validated by the government rules (both local and national government) that manipulated regulation of land use and master plan of city, and academically approved by consultants from the university. The enclaves are getting stronger and stronger, mainly because there is no institution or local organization that able to control and criticize the enclaves.

The second issue that is important to be discussed related to gated community is the housing policy. The development of gated community is believed to be a part of government policy that encourages private sectors to participate in providing houses for middle and upper classes of society. The government is more likely to focus on the housing program which are designed and implemented for groups of poor people which is known as “rusunawa” (apartment for rent) and “rusunami” (apartment for sale). Because of lack of budget, a number of cities the local government give a strong support to provide the development of gated community. They tend to develop rules of master plan that give private sector more access to space utilization.

The local government has argued that the policy to encourage private sector to participate in the development of gated community will increase regional income. They said that the policy develop public-private partnership in the housing development. The policy provides rules that able to make the private sector have more access to facilities needed to support the development of gated community. They believe that the local government will get money from tax and retribution that paid by the investors and contractors. The tax and retribution then can be allocated to bring welfare program, and consequently poor people will get benefit from the program.

The third issue that is important to be discussed related to gated community is lifestyle. In sociological concept, lifestyle is identified as a label of personal uniqueness. Lifestyle has emerged as a vehicle for differentiating a population or for fragmenting its interests and distancing its members from forms of collective action. As I have mentioned above that the residents of gated community come from middle and upper class of society. By staying in such gated community, they feel that they could find many kinds of modern symbols those are swimming pools, tennis courts, golf courses, play grounds, spa etc. By buying the houses people we can play golf in front of the doors. The golf courses have emerged as a vehicle for distancing the residents of gated community from forms of collective action belong to people who live in its surrounding area.

The fourth issue that is important to be discussed related to gated community is social exclusion. There is an inward-looking cohesion of people with similar expectations and outlooks. The social cohesion is purchased, and it is not developed in a neighbourhood context. Even though the phenomenon of gated communities has been creating space as well as social inequality, the government seems to have a slow response to stop the possible negative impact on society.

Are the residents really happy staying in such gated community? It is not easy to answer such question. Several studies indicated that a number of residents are worry with those conditions. They feel that they do not know how they will engage with society outside their own cloistered community. They are worry that they kids feel afraid when they go outside the gates, and it could create an even worse 'them and us' attitude for the future. They buy such houses or live in such gated community want privacy, but they are worry when they are realized that they are not able to get involved with the social activities of local community.

A gated community is a form of residential community or housing estate containing strictly-controlled entrances for outsiders. It is characterized by a closed of walls and fences. Given that gated communities are spatially a type of enclave, a number of experts have argued that they have a negative effect on the overall social capital of the broader community outside the gated community. Some gated communities, usually called guard-gated communities,

are staffed by private security guards and are often home to high-value properties. However, a number of observers believe that gated communities actually offer a false sense of security. Safety in gated communities may be more illusion than reality, particularly because it is no part of security system developed by authorities

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## Keynote Speaker 2

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# A SILENT REVOLUTION

*Some Reflections on Art and Cultural Subversion  
in the New Century in Southeast Asia*

GOH BENG LAN

*National University of Singapore (NUS)*

With the collapse of art into mass culture, recent academic debates have tried to recover the critical efficacy of art via the broader concept of aesthetics. Spurred by the thinking of French philosophers such as Adam Badiou and Jacques Ranciere, there-theorization of aesthetics has revived hope in the revolutionary potential of art. Among other things it has given rise to globally oriented discourses on art and the creation of a democratic future. Yet a sophisticated return to a universalism of thought and action can be detected in these recent analytical procedures. The arising question here is whether the universality of human emancipation has only to be understood in teleological, singular, or transcendental terms?

Using recent developments of the urban art scene in Malaysia and to an extent Indonesia, this paper evaluates current debates on the political immediacy of aesthetics. It suggests that an older Walter Benjaminian framework that treats aesthetics as instantaneously an embodied process of political-historical interpretation and materialist pedagogy that enables political awakening by making intelligible past and present may provide us with more useful means to understand art, artists, and the quiet rise of an alternative public sphere in Southeast Asia.

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# BALANCING URBAN HISTORY BETWEEN INTERPRETATION AND A FACTUAL STORY

*Studying the Environment in Indonesian Cities*

FRECK COLOMBIJN  
*VU University Amsterdam<sup>1</sup>*

## What are the Important Issues?

**W**hat are the most important issues in urban studies today? The UN has declared that the world population reached the figure of seven billion people on 31 October 2011. For the last two years, more than half of the global population has lived in cities. The UN picked a baby born in a Mumbai slum as the seventh billion citizen of the world, but it could just as well have chosen a child born in kampong Ledok Ratmakan in Yogyakarta or any other Indonesian urban kampong. After all, Indonesia has the fourth largest population in the world and rapid urbanization is also an important characteristic of this country, and has been a constant factor for at least the last century and a half.

Nevertheless, by themselves rapid population growth and urbanization are not the most important present-day issues today. The really important question, I think, is how we, humans across the Globe, can adjust our behaviour to ensure our lifestyles are ecologically sustainable. This is the biggest challenge people living in the Global North and the Global South have to face. The contemporary, multifaceted, global environmental crisis is arguably the single most important issue facing our world.

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful for the stimulating comments received at the international conference "Indonesian urban cultures and societies" (Yogyakarta 8-9 November 2011) and the English corrections by Rosemary Robson.

Whereas the majority of Northern (or Western) politicians and scholars are highly concerned about the health of the global ecosystem, biodiversity and the depletion of natural resources (the green agenda), for millions of inhabitants of cities in the Global South, the brown agenda is more urgent. The brown agenda consists of local issues of human health, under immediate threat from air pollution, dirty water, inadequate collection of solid waste and a failing sewerage system (Drakakis-Smith 1995).

The enduring combination of continued urbanization and economic development has thrown the issue of urban pollution, the treatment of waste in particular, into sharper relief than ever. Economic growth produces greater pollution, but paradoxically, growing pollution can erode the social and environmental basis of sustained economic development. Between 30 and 50 per cent of solid waste generated in cities in the Global South usually lies uncollected; waste accumulates in open spaces and clogs drainage canals, especially in poor neighbourhoods (Satterthwaite 2003: 78). Urban pollution not only puts economic growth at risk and affects human health (hence the productive capacity) negatively, it also imperils human well-being in general. Various forms of urban pollution can contribute to 'urban blight', the combination of a polluted environment, violence and lack of social cohesion. Unquestionably the root cause of the social and physical problems on the brown agenda is social and political inequity (Davis 2007; Jaffe 2006).

My aim in this article is to probe deeper into urban environmental problems, looking at these from a social science angle. I shall begin by examining the nexus between income, pollution and environmental behaviour, and end with the conclusion that a historical perspective is imperative. Actually for a long time I have entertained doubts about whether 'The need for a historical perspective on environmental issues' might not be a better title for this article than that I have chosen. As it is, the main title refers to the final subject matter in this article, namely -accepting that solving today's environmental problems will be a futile exercise if a historical analysis is not included- an assessment of the state-of-the-art of Indonesian urban history writing. The focus in the article therefore shifts from section to section, and before we come to the section which gives this article its title, we must first go back to the relationship between income and environmental behaviour.



## Between Shopping Malls and the Garbage Dump

The influential World Commission on Environment and Development, dubbed the Brundtland Commission, states that urban poverty is a major cause of environmental degradation, because poor people are unwilling or unable to care for their environment (WCED 1987). This statement is not undisputed. David Satterthwaite, for instance, argues that although poverty can put urban residents at environmental risk, but it is not itself a cause of environmental degradation. In his view, the key to environmental degradation is found in middle-class and elite consumption patterns and the urban-based production and distribution systems, which serve them. 'Ironically, at a [...] global level, high levels of urban poverty in [...] Asia (which also means low levels of consumption [...]) have helped to keep down environmental degradation' (Satterthwaite 2003: 74). If we agree with Satterthwaite that urban poverty does not necessarily cause environmental degradation in the Global South, this raises the question of what impact growing prosperity will have.

Although the North is notorious for its indulgence in consumption, people in the South aspire to the same 'modern' lifestyle as people in the North. Economic growth is the key to enabling the latter to realize these aspirations. What will happen when the populations of China (the second largest economy in the world), India, Brazil (the sixth economy in the world), Indonesia and other emerging economies can consume at the same level per capita as the North? This concern, I hasten to emphasize, is not meant to distract attention from the Northern responsibility for its problematic consumption and production methods, nor to deny emerging economies their fair share of global resources and high consumption levels!

What puzzles me most is the question of why people continue to behave in a non-sustainable way, even when they know their behaviour is, ecologically speaking, not sustainable. Why do people in my country, the Netherlands, continue to drive to their work by car, regularly eat meat or have more than two children, knowing that this is bad for the environment? (And I myself am guilty of two of the three sins just mentioned, so I do not claim moral superiority in this respect.) However, since the topic of this conference is Indonesian urban cultures and societies, in the rest of this article I shall focus on Indonesia,

and not on the Global North or the Global South in general. (Besides, if I were to begin to discuss the environmental degradation in Europe, I would need more than one whole book, whereas I have only the space allotted to one article!)

I have just embarked on a research project which will examine the questions I have sketched so far. The question central to this project is: to what extent are inhabitants of Indonesian cities aware of environmental problems and how far are they willing and able to adjust their behaviour first to mitigate, then resolve these problems? It is still too early to present general conclusions from this research, and I shall restrict myself to some observations.

Under the Orde Baru, the Jakarta city government already issued a regulation obliging drivers to car-pool in certain streets during the rush hours. People can only drive a car along these roads if the vehicle carries three or more occupants. The purpose of this sensible regulation is to reduce traffic jams and decrease the release of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases. What has happened? Owners of a car employ a driver and take a *joki* on board at the beginning of the car-pool lane. A *joki*, or jockey, is a school kid who is paid a small sum to get into the car, and at the end of the car-pool lane walks back to the beginning to complement the occupants of yet another car. In practice, the car is therefore still effectively used by just one passenger, despite the fact the vehicle does carry three human bodies. Hence, the sensible regulation of car-pooling is to all intents and purposes vitiated. The jockey system is, by the way, only possible thanks to the huge income inequality, which means that what is the major income of one person, the jockey, is no more than a tip, a mere parking fee, for the other, the car owner.

Another fascinating example is the wearing of ski-jackets by the Indonesian middle-class and elite. It is apparently trendy to copy this style of clothing from the west, but since the elite does not live in the snow, but under a tropical sun, wearing a ski jacket is only tolerable if the air conditioning is set at a freezingly cold temperature. This behaviour harms the environment twice: firstly by the production of a ski-jacket and then the waste of energy used to lower the temperature.

However, these negative environmental effects of development might be offset by a growing environmental awareness among middle-class people,

who espouse global notions of environmentalism. As much as it is trendy to drive a private car and wear a ski jacket, is it equally trendy to show one's concern about the environment. This kind of behaviour is sometimes dubbed eco-chic.

I borrow the term 'eco-chic' from Rivke Jaffe and Bart Barendregt, who recently convened a conference on eco-chic in Linköping, Sweden, from 11 to 13 October 2011. In the call for papers for this conference, they describe eco-chic as a counter-movement in the current accelerating pace of living in many societies. Like the Occupy movement, the eco-chic movement opposes globalization, and seeks answers in 'nostalgic, neo-traditional and explicitly local solutions: the slow, the natural and the authentic. Consuming the natural and the slow is instrumental in creating and maintaining class distinction: examples include the middle-class popularity of eco-tourism, and organic and fair-trade food and clothing. As radical societal change towards sustainable development appears increasingly difficult to achieve, "green" lifestyles [...] have emerged as attractive alternative propositions in moving towards environmentally friendly societies [...]. Where previously the environmental movement saw excess consumption as the global problem, green consumerism now places consumption at the heart of the solution.'<sup>2</sup> This activism through consumerism is, by the way, not always good for the environment, for instance, if people, take the plane from Jakarta to Bali to discuss how bad the deterioration in air quality is at a conference in a fully air-conditioned hotel.<sup>3</sup>

For reasons I do not have the space to explain, the negative effects of greenhouse gases (hence climate change) and solid waste produced by the rich will be felt most acutely by the urban poor. However, the poor are no saints and also produce waste in their own way. The urban poor are neither just passive victims of pollution nor just indiscriminate polluters themselves, because they also process a lot of waste. To scavengers, waste is a resource (Nas & Jaffe 2004). Scavenging, the treatment and recycling of waste, is another part of my current research.

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<sup>2</sup> <http://www.esf.org>, accessed on 3 November 2011.

<sup>3</sup> Once again, I do not claim to occupy the moral highland in this respect, as I took the plane from Jakarta to Yogyakarta to attend the international conference 'Indonesian urban cultures and societies', whereas I could have taken a more environmental friendly train.

One of the things which struck me when I began my research on the environment was actually how *clean* Indonesian cities are. The explanation for this cleanliness is the fact that at any hour of the day somebody will be processing waste in any street, in any city. Waste moves through cities in an extremely intricate network. In Surabaya, where I have studied this phenomenon most closely, waste is collected at the neighbourhood or RT (*rukun tetangga*) level. Residents of an RT put their waste in a waste bin in front of their house. The head of the RT collects monthly contributions from the residents to pay a garbage collector to collect the waste door to door in a pushcart and take it to small refuse dumps (*tempat sampah sementara* or TSS) where it is temporarily stored. There are over a hundred such refuse dumps in Surabaya, each one used by, perhaps, a dozen of RTs or more. From there, municipal waste-disposal service trucks transport the waste to its final destination, the central dumpsite (*tempat sampah akhir*). Waste can also be deposited in public waste bins, usually made of old oil drums, which are also emptied by the municipal service. Most waste, however, follows a completely different path from this official waste collection system and never makes it to the central dumpsite.

Scavengers (*tukang sampah* or *pemulung*) connect to the 'official' flow of waste at many different points (Versnel 1986). Scavenging already begins before the waste is picked up in the afore-mentioned pushcarts at the RT level. Most popular of all waste among scavengers I found were disposable cups of Aqua, closed with a thin plastic lid. Some people go haphazardly from bin to bin and search for goods which can be sold, but I have also seen two sturdy, pretty well-dressed men, who walked down a road, one on each side, systematically going from one public waste bin to the next in search of specific goods using an iron hook. The second point I want to make, therefore, is that not only does the waste move around, the scavengers do too. It is a very dynamic system. Little waste is wasted.

My impression is that the most profitable point in this network of waste is at the temporary collection points, TSS. At this stage, not very many of the valuable goods have yet been extracted so the volume and quality of waste are still substantial, to the effect that the scavengers do not need to make an effort to go around in search of useful waste. Theoretically, the scavengers could sit and wait at the temporary dumpsite while the waste passes through, but in

practice this is not feasible, as only the collectors who go around in the RTs to collect waste have access to the TSS. So they will have to go around anyway, before they can separate the waste at the TSS.

One scavenger at such a temporary dumpsite told me about his work. As he talked to me, he worked steadily using one hand, as he either maintained his balance or held a cigarette with the other. Like the others, he strategically combined two jobs. Half of his earnings came from collecting waste from several RTs in the morning, for which he was paid a regular salary. In the afternoon, he sorted out the waste he had brought to the dumpsite himself. He fished out disposable plastic cups, other plastic, white trash paper, other paper and specific objects (iron, shoes, etcetera) and put them in different baskets or large bags. When a basket or bag was full, it was placed in a corner of the dumpsite until a collector bought up the material. The man did not separate glass bottles, although they too were worth money, because he did not want to run risk of splinters. He set about his work very nonchalantly and picked out only the larger pieces of recyclable material. At a later stage, less fortunate scavengers would go through the waste with a finer tooth comb at the end of the chain, the municipal central dumpsite.

This man had done this work for over twenty years and had been ill only once. His illness was not caused by his work, but by his habit of drinking too much coffee and neglecting to eat proper food. His wife and two children also work at the same dumpsite. Together they earned more than a university teacher and they displayed conspicuous signs of a certain standard of living. They arrived at the dumpsite by motorcycle, and to dispel her boredom his daughter listened to an i-Pod as she sorted out the waste. That the family could afford to ignore the smaller pieces of plastic and paper, and glass altogether, also says something about their financial status.

At the same dumpsite worked another good-humoured man, who had also been in the business for over twenty years. They both talked about their nice little earners of jobs as the best-kept secret in town. There was another, still youngish man who had begun just two months earlier. In contrast to the experienced men, he evaded my questions and did not want to be photographed. Presumably he still felt embarrassed about the low status of his job: any sensible person would hurriedly skirt around the stench and flies of the dumpsite. I do

not know what the people at the final refuse dump of the city earn, but undoubtedly it is considerably less than at the TSS. In short, the extent to which people are willing to separate recyclable material fairly meticulously depends on their economic need. In other words, the collection of waste and the separation of the recyclable is run on economic principles. It is axiomatic that, in our capitalist world, activities become sustainable when they make a profit. However, the scavengers look beyond the pecuniary arguments; self-esteem and the low social status of the work must be included in the assessment of their work.

My hypothesis is that the whole system of separating and recycling waste is contingent on the existence of poverty. The current economic growth in Indonesia might produce several simultaneous effects, especially if it reaches larger segments of the population. Rising consumption is likely to produce more waste but fewer people might be willing to take on the task of scavenging, usually derided by society at large. As we have seen, despite the fair income it could earn, collecting waste was scorned and hence was an unpopular job, except by the people who had discovered its profitability. So, economic growth is a double-edged sword which might worsen the problem of solid waste in two ways: more is produced and less is recycled.

## An Historical Understanding of Environmental Problems

Accepting the definition of the Brundtland Commission that sustainable development is a development that ‘meets the need of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs’ (OECD 1987; see also Anand and Sen 2000), any study of sustainable development must have a time depth of at least one generation. Therefore adding a historical perspective to study contemporary environmental sustainability is imperative.

Indonesia is an ideal place to study the interconnections between poverty, economic development and pollution from a historical perspective. Because of the Indonesian-Dutch (post)colonial legacy, there are very rich sources in both Indonesia and the Netherlands which enable human-environment interactions to be studied in depth (Colombijn 2010: 21-24). As the fourth largest country in the world, situated in one of the most dynamic parts of the world,

Southeast Asia, Indonesia should be of prime concern to a study of the environment in emerging economies under all circumstances. I hope that many scholars inside and outside Indonesia share my interest and will devote the best of their research time to the study of the environment, ideally adding a historical perspective to their analysis.

## The Future of Urban History in Indonesia

I would like to use the remainder of this article to discuss the state-of-the-art of the study of urban history in Indonesia. A growing public interest in urban history is manifesting itself in many ways. The Jaringan Kota Pusaka Indonesia is a network of cities, or perhaps more correctly a network of mayors of cities, established two years ago which already has forty members.<sup>4</sup> In Jakarta one can drink a cup of tea in the colonial-style Café Batavia. More surprisingly, the new football club team in Jakarta, set up for the Liga Primer Indonesia, is called Batavia United. And then, of course, there is the private airline company Batavia Air. To the company it seems no more than a name and in its advertisements there is no reference to allegedly Dutch ‘reliability’, ‘punctuality’ or ‘*Gründlichkeit*’.<sup>5</sup> However, the colours of Batavia Air (white, orange and light blue) might be a vague reference to the Dutch flag and the royal family, the House of Orange. Even more surprisingly, some young people like to go on a heritage tour, when, for instance, they dress up as soldiers of the KNIL, the colonial army, and parade through the city wheeling an old-fashioned bicycle (Yatun Sastramidjaya 2011).

■ Nostalgia is perhaps not the right word to describe the way people in Indonesian cities interact with their local histories. They have no yearnings for a romanticized past. Instead they operate like scavengers on a garbage dump: digging in archives, oral histories and the built environment to select what is useful to them, but ignore what does not serve a purpose (Colombijn 2011a).

Writing about Zanzibar, East Africa, William Bissell (2005: 217) has remarked that ‘any attempt to cast colonial nostalgia as purely retrograde or

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<sup>4</sup> I owe this information to Hasti Tarekat, founder of the Bandung and Sumatra Heritage Trusts.

<sup>5</sup> Batavia Air started its operations in 2002 and was founded by a tour operator and ticket office bearing the same name. Perhaps the name Batavia made more sense in a tourist industry catering to foreigners. Until at least the 1990s, bridges, irrigation works and locomotives dating from colonial times had a reputation of good quality.

reactionary seems dubious at best'. Bissell feels that scholars need to ask the question of what social and political desires a post-colonial people wish to express when they speak approvingly of the past. Importantly, constructions of the past are used as a commentary on the present. He also reminds us that reconstructions of the past are far from uniform; different actors hold different views or pursue different goals (Bissell, 2005). ■

A more academic sign that urban history is alive and kicking in Indonesia is the frequency of historical conferences held in the past few years, the blossoming of publishers in Indonesia and the publication of a large numbers of monographs and edited volumes. In Indonesia there is a brilliant future for history!

## History Between Interpretation and a Factual Story

It is time to move on to what was announced as the central topic of this article: the different approaches to the study of (urban) history in Indonesia. It is not so long ago that a typical Indonesian historical thesis or article on an urban topic, say labour unions in the *kretek* industry in Surabaya, would begin like this: Surabaya lies at 7° south latitude and at 112° east longitude. It has 2,435 mm of annual precipitation. Its population size is 2,473,212 persons.<sup>6</sup> All these facts are, of course, not relevant to labourers in the *kretek* industry and do not help to introduce the reader to the real subject.

Fortunately by and large this style of writing has been abandoned and historians have adopted a more analytical style of writing, beginning by setting out the definition of the problem and not by listing dry facts. In their adoption of this change of style, Indonesian historians have clearly been inspired by foreign examples. International, hegemonic, mostly English-language historical studies are widely read and discussed in Indonesia (Heryanto, 2002). Consequently, Indonesian studies no longer look like a card-index box of facts, but a clear narrative is discernible. Following post-colonial studies originating principally from the US, Indonesian scholars have on the whole also adopted an obviously anti-colonial stance, condemning the racist practices of the Dutch colonials.

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<sup>6</sup> These figures are fictitious as is the topic of this imaginary thesis; any possible resemblance to a real thesis is incidental and unintentional.



## These Changes are a Giant Step Forward

Nevertheless, I sometimes think that the pendulum has swung too far. In some cases, interpretative history writing has become an excuse for writing ‘just’ a good narrative, without bothering to test it by allowing empirical facts ‘to intrude’. History has become fantasy. It resembles people joining a heritage tour who imagine that what they are acting out is historical reality. Allow me to demonstrate my point by giving a few examples of work written by scholars working outside Indonesia.<sup>7</sup>

The first example is from the work of Abidin Kusno. He is of course Indonesian, but holds a degree from an American university and is currently working at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, and therefore by training arguably more American than Indonesian. Before I mention what I think is problematic about his work, let me emphasize that I greatly appreciate the marvellous works he has published (Kusno 2002, 2010), in his typically beautiful, fluent style of writing, adorned with many attractive images. His conclusions always give me food for thought, and more than the work of most other scholars stimulate me to think. Despite these qualities and others passed over at this moment, or perhaps more correctly, precisely because of these qualities, I am critical of his work, at the risk of (erroneously) being accused of *sour jalousie-de-métier*.

In 2010, Abidin Kusno published *The appearances of memory; mnemonic practices of architecture and urban form in Indonesia*. In this book he analyses how the fears, anxieties and expectations and other thoughts of Indonesian urbanites have been embodied in architecture and urban space. In Kusno’s view, the built environment is not merely the product of these various thoughts, but is at least as much a constitutive element in the making of the history of the Indonesian cities. In his own words: ‘This book focuses on the visual environment and the ways in which it helps to articulate a general anxiety over the sense of change in everyday life’ (Kusno, 2010: 3).

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<sup>7</sup> I prefer to discuss the work of people working outside Indonesia, in order to keep some distance. When I am critical of anti-colonial narratives in the following pages, because they are not based on empirical data, I am criticizing the narratives as historical works. My critique is not meant to argue that racial discrimination did not exist in colonial Indonesia. Absolutely not.

Kusno focuses on periods of rapid social transformation (modernization in the early twentieth century, the Indonesian Revolution, the fall of President Soeharto and the years thereafter). The unmanaged anxieties of these periods of change cast long shadows both backwards and forwards in time. Architecture and the urban environment help to shape memories of political crises in the past: 'buildings serve as a reminder of the practices of the past and the starting point for both the performance of unfinished fantasies and the desire to overcome troubling memories and remake oneself within, as well as beyond, one's particular time and place' (Kusno, 2010: 3).

The book opens with a discussion of the 'looseness' at the centre of the State since the fall of Soeharto in May 1998, which encourages citizens in Jakarta to act of their own accord, 'creating a condition in which everyone safeguards his or her own space' (Kusno 2010: 37). Many middle-class people want to bury the violence and insecurity of the May 1998 riots, with the concomitant severe loss of property, killing of people and the gang rapes of Chinese women. Both the State and many of its citizens long for, and work towards a certain order and 'normalcy'. The crucial point is that, in striving for normalcy (for instance, by rebuilding ruined shops), the memories of the 1998 terror are silenced, 'thereby enacting still further violence through the suppression of the stories [of the Chinese women and shopkeepers]' (ibid,103).

It is impossible to summarize all of the contents, but Kusno also delves into shopping malls and 'superblocks', the re-use of colonial architectural styles, the dissonance between feudal power in the older Javanese centres and modernization (explaining why political radicalism emerged in Solo and Yogyakarta, rather than in the more 'modern' cities of Jakarta/Batavia and Surabaya), mosques and guardhouses. These are important topics usually overlooked by other scholars.

To a large extent the book is Kusno's reading of Indonesian society. He reveals daring connections between events which seem unrelated at first and often gives a startling and fascinating interpretation. For instance, discussing the Transjakarta, the exclusive busway using separate lanes in Jakarta, Kusno writes that it 'can be seen as an "apparatus" of power that, through the experience of riding the bus across the city, seeks to reintegrate "Indonesians" [into the State] through imageries of progress, authority, and discipline' (ibid,

50). Perhaps. But how can Kusno tell and to what degree does this interpretation correspond with an empirical reality on the ground? It does not seem that Kusno has interviewed either city planners, directors of the bus company, drivers or passengers to get their views on the matter. The empirical underpinning of the argument that the busway is an apparatus of power which seeks to reintegrate Indonesians into the State seems thin at best, remains uncertain or is based on just a few sources. In other parts of the book, Kusno makes use of the ideas of a few novelists and architects which are discussed in detail, but I wonder how widely their ideas are known, let alone shared, by the public at large.

One regrettable flaw, I believe, is the neglect of Dutch texts from colonial times, which diminishes the empirical basis of the historical analysis. The interpretation of contemporary pictures, although worthwhile in itself, cannot replace the reading of texts. For instance, Kusno argues that the 1930s was defined as a '*zaman normal*' (normal time), superseding the revolutionary enthusiasm of Indonesian nationalists, which was quelled after the failed communist uprising of 1926/1927. Unruliness was suppressed and, as an illustration of this intensified state control, Kusno mentions the building of new market halls and the fact that street vendors were 'no longer allowed to move freely on the streets' (ibid, 189);

■ A picture of the new market in Malang plays a prominent role in making this point. However, to the best of my knowledge, state action against hawkers in the 1930s was not a change of attitude towards an old predicament, but a response to a new problem, the mushrooming in their number as a consequence of the Depression. It looks like the picture of the market hall in Malang has been over-interpreted and this overly extravagant speculation could have been put back to its feet again with the help of colonial –alas in Dutch- sources.<sup>8</sup>

In short, my critique boils down to the point that sometimes this work seems more an interpretation enshrining from Abidin Kusno's own views, rather than based on empirical fact. The other side of the coin, and this is the greatest strength of the book, is the fascinating views, often presented in a fine, personal

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<sup>8</sup> I also believe that the term *zaman normal* did not make a contrast to the preceding decade of Indonesian nationalism, and only came into fashion in the 1940s in contrast to the uncertainty of the Japanese occupation and Indonesian Revolution.

style of writing. Although I was often not convinced by the argument, Abidin Kusno definitely gives me plenty to think about.

Another example of an interpretative study is the work of Ann Stoler, an American anthropologist and historian. Her ideas are even more widely read than those of Abidin Kusno, but unfortunately there is more room for scepticism. Not only does she sometimes resort to a free interpretation of empirical evidence, sometimes she draws conclusions which plainly go against the empirical evidence she has at her disposal. To make her point and my critique of her clear, I should explain a little about the background of the case, interracial relationships in colonial Indonesia.

The colonial State made a legal distinction between indigenous people, other Asians, and Europeans. Although nowhere did the State explicitly say that one 'racial' category was superior to another, State policy was clearly discriminatory in several respects. The hegemonic ideology put Europeans in a supreme position, and Europeans also occupied the top ranks in many multi-ethnic organizations. At the other end of the scale, the Indigenous group was the only category subject to *corvée* labour for public works. One very serious academic problem is that we know very little about the extent to which non-Europeans ever accepted the hegemonic view that Europeans were at the top (Sutherland 1986). Unsurprisingly, we are much better informed about the thoughts of Europeans.

Abundant examples testify to the superior status which Europeans claimed in daily life. The distinction seemed so obvious that many people were not always conscious of it, or perhaps simply accepted it without overt resistance. Once when I interviewed a former Dutch resident about social differences, she answered: 'There were no differences; we all had servants'. Her unspoken understanding that the servant was an indigenous person - not a fact which needed to be explained to the interviewer - is as significant as her lack of awareness that the Dutch master-indigenous servant relationship was actually not self-evident. Even westernized indigenous employees who had worked their way up in the colonial hierarchy could not shake off the habit of displaying undue deference. For instance, an indigenous itinerant inspector travelling with his own car and driver described his cordial reception by a Dutch Assistant-Resident and his wife. The story seems to be about two colleagues of equal

rank in the civil service, until the inspector writes: ‘*even* Madam shook my hand’ (my italics). Despite all these forms of daily discrimination, the proverbial signboard ‘prohibited for Indigenous people and dogs’ in swimming pools and at sports grounds is none the less a popular trope in the collective memory, but one for which I have never found hard proof. Despite the many counter-examples of warm inter-racial relationships (Colombijn 2010:79-80), generally speaking inter-racial relationships were generally hierarchic and aloof in colonial times.

The boundaries between different ‘racial’ categories were definitely not cast-iron and watertight. Not only were the legal boundaries between the racial categories occasionally changed, the ethnic boundaries were also permeable in daily practice. Their anxiety aroused by their uncertainty, some European people made a strenuous effort to maintain the boundaries. Ann Laura Stoler argues that the women especially should be held responsible for upholding the ethnic distinctions.

■ Race was linked to gender. Maternal concerns about the dilemma of raising children in a European or indigenous tradition and the virtue of women marrying men of their own ‘race’ were the cornerstones in the construction of ethnic boundaries. Anomalies and blurred cases of European or indigenous status became a growing source of worry to the superior European group: white women marrying indigenous men, hence having sex with indigenous men, caused horror among conservative Europeans. The children of mixed marriages also formed a potential crack in the wall of European hegemony. Eurasians who had a formal European status, but a hybrid culture - not speaking perfect Dutch, for instance, - formed such anomaly (Stoler, 1995:1-54, 2002:22-78, Goudah, 1995: 157-193) ■

According to Ann Stoler (1989) –and now I come to the case I want to discuss–, poor Europeans also threatened the boundaries of colonial categories. Therefore, during the Depression the sight of unemployed Europeans (often Eurasians) formed, Stoler argues, another dreadful anomaly, a potentially disruptive group in the eyes of employed, conservative Europeans. If possible, they were sent home to remove them from public view.

This is true but Stoler makes too much of the anomalous poor Europeans packed off home during the Depression. Close reading of the source to which she refers (De Braconier 1919 in *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*) shows that she has sacrificed three empirical facts which contradict her case, in order to be able to make her point.

Firstly, the unsightly Europeans sent home she is talking about formed a peculiar group, composed not just of any poor Europeans. They were soldiers who had been recruited in Europe, served their time and should have been demobilized in the place they were recruited, Europe, unless they had found alternative employment in the colony. Hence, they were not removed from the colony because they were an eyesore but to fulfil the terms of the original labour contract, taken to their final destination, namely the point of recruitment.

Secondly, her use of a 1919 publication to say something about the Depression is anachronistic. Thirdly it is pretty gross exaggeration to change the ‘over 9,300’ *jobless* Europeans living in kampongs’ mentioned in the source (De Braconier 1919:367) into ‘tens of thousands’ of ‘*dangerously impoverished*’ Europeans (Stoler 1989:151). In her attempt to demonstrate the racism inherent in colonialism, Stoler’s interpretation of the sources has strayed widely from empirical fact (Beaulieu, 2009).

To avoid flawed interpretations, it is essential we pay more respect to historical sources, to *facts* if you like. This, at least, is the goal in my own research (Colombijn 2010) and for a successful example of empirically grounded research I refer to the history of Surabaya written by Howard Dick (2002). Before I conclude, a few additional points need to be made.

First, my call to pay more heed to empirical facts should not be misread as a plea to have one’s research be fully guided by the archival sources. Adherents of the Leiden School of Indonesian History (Colombijn 2011b) methodology argue that facts ought to speak for themselves and merely need to be dug out of the archive. If one collects enough facts in the archives in an unbiased, open-minded way, a story will almost automatically envelop them. I would say, in contradiction, that facts do not speak for themselves and are only found if one looks for them with a particular lens. This lens consists of theoretical preconceptions, which do not make the scholar biased as much as rather sensitive to what he or she needs and what is missing in the archives.

Secondly, historical facts in archives and printed sources are, of course, not an objective representation of the past. A whole series of choices has been made between a historical event and what is recorded and kept in the archives or in a newspaper, journal or book. Archives are instruments of administration in the hands of people in power and therefore politicized by nature; on this point I agree with Stoler (2009). The facts must therefore be approached with caution and with a certain mistrust.

Thirdly, the corollary of this grounded approach to history is that archives are of crucial importance and much more attention needs to be paid to preserving them. Think of the archives of municipalities, courts of justice, companies, private collections, newspapers and so on. Many of the archives in Indonesia are in a poor condition and run the risk of being lost forever. Another corollary of this empirical approach is that Indonesian historians must continue to make a determined effort to learn to read Dutch sources, hard as this might be.

Finally, qualifying the previous point, of course many groups are barely represented in archives at all, not even in a negatively stereotypical way: women, children, the elderly, ethnic minorities, peasants, urban tramps, the unemployed and so forth. An empirically grounded approach to history writing does not need to rely solely on written sources and can also make use of oral history, myths, songs, archaeology and careful observation of the cityscape.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, let me sum up the points I have tried to make. I began by pointing out what I see as the biggest issue in urban studies: the destruction of the environment and the question of why people often behave in a way that is detrimental to their environment, even when they are aware that they are destroying their resource basis and own health. Using the Brundtland definition of sustainable development, I came to the conclusion that any study of environmental behaviour must include at least two generations, hence must be a historical study.

■ From this point, I moved on to discuss the current state of affairs in Indonesian history writing. It is good, I believe, that we have left the purely factual descriptions behind, but the pendulum has swung too far. I have tried to

demonstrate my point with examples from scholars based in North America, but sometimes discern a similar trend in Indonesia. It should be obvious by now that I am not in favour of a historical narrative that is interpretative to the point it is actually plainly contradicted by the historical evidence.

I much prefer a historical study -and this conclusion can easily be extended to other disciplines like sociology, anthropology and social geography- which is based on hard-won, sound empirical data. A study firmly rooted in empirical data might sometimes be a little colourless and with too many nuances (because usually there will be empirical data which contradict, hence temper, outspoken, spectacular statements). Dull it may be but this dullness must be accepted, because historical study must be empirical or be nothing.

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## Keynote Speaker 4

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# LEVELS OF DISABILITY AND P&O NEEDS IN INDONESIA

*A Preliminary report of a 126-household pilot survey  
in the Kelurahan (Sub-District) of Cilandak Barat,  
Jakarta Selatan*

PETER CAREY

*Jakarta School of Prosthetics & Orthotics*

Peter Carey's keynote speech presented the work of the UK disability charity, The Cambodia Trust, in Indonesia. In particular he focused on the outcome of a 126-household pilot survey in the Kelurahan (Sub-District) of Cilandak West (Cilandak Barat) in South Jakarta with a total population according to the recent May 2010 census of 60,252 [33,421 male; 26,831 female) and 12,725 households, 11,125 are headed by males and 1,600 by females. The survey took place over a two-month period in October-November 2011. This pilot has been designed as part of a larger national assessment to gather statistics on levels of disability and Prosthetic & Orthotic (P&O) needs in the wider Indonesian population on which to plan Indonesia's national strategy for prosthetic and orthotic education over the coming decade.

The assessors worked closely with the local Community Health Centres (Puskesmas) and with the Community Health workers (Ibu Kader Posyandu) who provided details of reported disabled family members in each household. The survey was thus based on the 'snowball' method with households being pre-selected on the basis of the reports received from the Ibu Kader Posyandu, and then further households with disabled family members being recommended by those already interviewed. The assessment was based on a 16-page questionnaire incorporating questions on family, legal, socio-economic, medical/clinical and environmental conditions.

All 13 hamlets in the West Cilandak sub-district were visited, some more extensively than others; much depended on whether the local community health workers were on top of their areas and knew their individual constituencies – some were remarkable, others so-so, and still others semi-detached. The results from the 13 hamlets were thus uneven. But the salient points are not in dispute – 17 percent (22 persons) of all households had adults with various forms of impairment due to stroke; 15 percent (19 persons) had children with CP-related conditions, 5 percent (6 persons) had children with Down’s Syndrome; and there were two children with clubfoot; two with post-Meningitis deficit; one adult with arthogriposis; one with skoliosis and one with epilepsy.

There was just one amputee (upper limb due to a traffic accident). The vast majority (59 percent, 75 cases) of disabling conditions were said by correspondents to be due to illness; 9 percent (12 cases) to ‘accidents’; just 5 percent (6 cases) to birth defects; and 20 percent (25 cases) were reported as ‘don’t know’. All the statistics will have to be reviewed but we believe that the pilot survey provides a credible starting point for the proposed national survey. This opens the doors to a subsequent comparative 1.000-household district survey (which might compare urban Cilandak with rural Citeureup near Bogor) and ultimately to a national survey which might be conducted in the context of the triennial Riskesdas (Basic Health Needs Survey) to provide a nationwide snapshot of the profile of disability in the wider Indonesian population.

**Peter Carey**

15 February 2012

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# REGION AND URBAN



# OCCIDENTALISM IN MAKASSAR AND YOGYAKARTA

*Negotiating the West as Frame of Reference  
for Muslim Modernities*

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## Introduction

Not only the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the USA and postulates like the “clash of civilizations” (Huntington, 1996) but also a general growth of worldwide interrelations affecting all aspects of life and society, have contributed to an increased public interest in how the ‘West’ is perceived by the ‘East’ and in particular how the ‘West’ is perceived by ‘Islam’. In this context, Indonesia has attracted international attention due to the Bali bombings in 2002, making the country, which has the world’s largest Muslim population (and is the largest Muslim-majority democracy), part of the so-called ‘axis of evil’ overnight. Yet, even though a social development in the direction of conservative interpretations of Islam can be observed, equating Indonesia exclusively with Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism is unjustified.

In fact, the political change after 1998 and the increasing influence of religion combined with an intensified process of globalization have led to socio-cultural vicissitudes in Indonesia beyond which we can only estimate what future patterns of orientation the population will have. Thus recently, especially people in the cities, the main loci of globalization, have to renegotiate their social status and cultural identity. They are in need of repositioning the ‘Self’, a process that goes hand in hand with the constitution of differences and representations of the foreign.

This paper seeks to explore cultural discourses and constructions of the West as the 'Other' or 'Foreign' among contemporary Muslims in Indonesian urban societies (in particular that of Makassar, South Sulawesi and Yogyakarta, Central Java where I did anthropological fieldwork for five and four month. Questions that will be considered in the following are: How do Muslim Indonesians at the present time position themselves vis-à-vis an imagined West? How is this West perceived, experienced, interpreted and understood? How are current imaginations of and attitudes towards the West connected to and articulated in concepts of and performances of modernity and desirable futures?

In contrast to Western media coverage that constantly reproduces the longstanding dichotomy between Islam and the West and leaves no doubt about Muslim hatred of the West, it is aimed to show the variety of images of the West that exist among Muslim Indonesians in Makassar and Yogyakarta that comprised, for instance, NGO-employees, students and university lecturers, hotel staff, street vendors and Imams and some of them were affiliated with certain Islamic branches, parties or students associations, while others defined themselves as mere 'identity card Muslims' (Muslim KTP). *Muslim KTP* here are people who (almost) do not fulfill Islamic religious obligations such as praying five times a day or fasting in Ramadan but rather practice their pre-Islamic religious belief. Islam plays no major role in their life but only is written down as their religious affiliation in their identity cards because every citizen in Indonesia has to have a religion that is officially recognized by the state.

Based on data from informal conversations, interviews and participant observation (admittedly, participant observation of ideas and attitudes towards the West is hardly possible. Nevertheless, 'being on site' is essential to get to know other life worlds and to contextualize data collected in interviews and informal conversations. Moreover, this enabled me to attend public discussions on topics such as democracy or gender equality, which were then defined as Western concepts) it will be argued that, notwithstanding considerable variations, Muslim Indonesians uphold not solely negative but ambivalent images of the West and that in comparison with and opposition to the 'Self' or 'Own' the West is examined as one of many frames of reference by which modernity is negotiated and can be put into practice.



## Occidentalisms Good and Bad of 'the Modern West'

Apart from locating several Wests, namely the US-American West, the European West, the Australian West and the Muslim West, Muslim Indonesians spoke rather undifferentiated about Westerners and the West and expressed an ambivalent attitude that was best summarized as follows: "In my opinion there are good and bad things to say about the West" (interview, 23 March 2011). People cited positive and negative aspects of the West, which was first and foremost considered as a symbol of modernity: "If you search for the modern world, go to the West, to Europe, to America" (interview, 2 November 2010). People who were totally in favor of or neglected Westerners and the West, could not or – in the second case – could hardly be found in the study. Nonetheless, I would like to add that interviewees of certain conservative Islamic movements clearly distanced themselves from a Western way of life that was only equated with moral decay, and from atheistic Westerners, who, as such, could not be differentiated from animals and were considered to be unfortunate. As interviews with research participants were conducted in Indonesia, I have translated the quotation in this paper into English.

The list of shared images and cultural markers associated with 'the modern West' comprised on the positive side: Western discipline, economic strength and wealth, high ranking education systems (and therefore clever Western people), advanced technology, good quality products, democracy, liberalism (related to human rights such as religious freedom or gender equality), and individualism (understood as independency and self-reliance of the subject). Rated negatively were: the remembrance of colonialism, secularization or rather the loss of religion, materialism (often considered as the new religion not only of the West but also of Indonesians), individualism (seen as isolation, loneliness, egoism, selfishness and accompanied by social disintegration and anonymity) and again liberalism (equated with 'free sex' vii, indecent female clothing and consume of alcohol and drugs – altogether things that are seen as crucial indicators of moral decadence).

Thus, from experiences in Western countries, several informants, for instance, greatly admired the feeling of security, which was ascribed to the rule of law. Having graduated in Europe, one informant emphasised the

harmonious social life over there and told: “Life is protected by law; people may do whatever they want as long as it is in accordance with the law” (interview, 25 October 2010). Another research participant, head of a modernist Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*) that has international connections, focused on freedom of expression and more precisely gender equality when he firstly explained: “They [Westerners, M.V.N.] have an opinion and are allowed to say what they think. I could observe that. There was a married couple who discussed everything together” (interview, 2 November 2010).

Furthermore, he remarked that he had been impressed by the religious tolerance shown towards him when he had been fasting in Ramadan: “Thus, what I also experienced was that people [Westerners, M.V.N.] were very tolerant: at no time when I was fasting, at no time were there any problems. On the campus, for instance, they [Western students, M.V.N.] apologised when they ate lunch” (interview, 2 November 2010). In addition, Muslim Indonesians were generally in favour of Western behavioural characteristics and ideals such as sense of order, punctuality and thirst for knowledge that—in their eyes—were put into practice in exemplary fashion by Westerners (and were seen as cornerstones of the West’s progress in terms of education, technology and economics).

One research participant who had worked in the tourism sector for years (first as a waiter, later as an operational manager) had observed that guests from the West were always eager to learn. Pointing to the fact that they would read a lot, he concluded that Westerners are studious and inquisitive in contrast to Indonesians: We admire the fact that Westerners spend a lot of time learning. Wherever they are, they will read and read and read. If they go to the bathroom, if they are on a train or in a restaurant, wherever they are, they will always have a book with them, either beside them on the table or at least in their bag. I think this is what we should pattern ourselves on (Interview, 2 January 2011).

However, some shared negative images of “the West” and of “Western modernity” were put forward by Muslim Indonesians in Makassar and Yogyakarta as well. They mentioned what they considered to be the flip side of the coin or a false liberalism that was incompatible with Indonesian culture: “Their doctrine is the idea of freedom. They are free. I mean ... they have a

free live. Yes, they live unhampered lives, especially when they come [to Makassar, M.V.N.] in couples, man and woman. Excuse me, not all are like that, they usually say: free life, free sex, drinking alcohol ... they [Westerners, M.V.N.] call it freedom, liberty ... free means they can do whatever they want. This is true in their countries. However, if they come to Indonesia, they will have to respect our culture” (Interview, 2 January 2011).

Additionally, the basic characteristic of the Western life-style, namely being materialistic, was seen as another great shortcoming. It had already led to disorientation among Westerners who do not know about the real need of humanity, namely spirituality. According to my research participants this was quite contrary to people in the East and in Indonesia, whose spiritual strength was praised: Society here [Indonesian society, M.V.N.], societies in the East in general, although their basic material needs have to be met, have a strong spiritual orientation in life: spirituality is strong ... Looking at the West, how to say, they are disorientated in their lives because they are already rich in terms of material needs. It is beyond question that this leads to discomfort and uneasiness because there is a spiritual dimension, a spiritual need that they [Westerners, M.V.N.] ignore. Yes, it is unfulfilled. Thus, that is not good, there is no balance (Interview, 11 January 2011).

The above cited perfectly shows the interrelatedness of the constitution of ‘Self’ and ‘Other’ and leads to some necessary theoretical considerations regarding Orientalism and Occidentalism. Famously criticized by Edward W. Said in 1978 for being reductionist representations of ‘the Orient’ in order to serve as instrument of colonial domination (Said, 1978). Orientalism seemed to precede Occidentalism, a term that was only introduced in 1992 by James G. Carrier as a synonym for essentialist images of ‘the West’ (either defined as ‘the projected image of the Western world enjoyed by representatives of “the Orient”’ (Pye, 2003) or – less commonly – understood as a Western project. In contrast to most other scholars, Carrier uses the term Occidentalism to refer to “the essentialistic rendering of the West by Westerners’, while he speaks of *ethno-occidentalism* with regard to ‘the essentialist renderings of the West by members of alien societies” (Carrier, 1992: 198-9).

Yet, this does not hold true due to the intersections of both, now and before. Max Deeg therefore enhanced the concepts by adding the

supplementary terms auto-orientalism and auto-occidentalism. These terms describe the fact that, while constructing the ‘Other’ we also create an essentialist image of the ‘Self’. When people from the East do so, it is referred to as auto-orientalism, and auto-occidentalism when Westerners do so (Deeg, 2003: 31).

In the case of my Muslim interviewees the mechanism of auto-orientalism was of two kinds. Where the West was regarded as a shining example, auto-orientalism painted an unfavourable picture of the ‘Self’, Indonesian government and society. There was widespread negativity –negative self-perception and descriptions– in the accounts of the interlocutors, signifying a discontent with current cultural, social and political conditions in Indonesia. Participants were particularly condemning corruption, which is often used as an argument that Indonesia is not yet ready for democracy. This self-criticism was frequently seen in the context of the religious identity of the interviewees, as, for instance, a Muslim lecturer at an Islamic and a Christian university stated: “Islamic values can be found over there [in the West] but not here [in Indonesia]. Although in the West they do not say they are Muslims, I recognized that they put Islamic values to use. On the contrary, in Islamic countries, including here [Indonesia] all people say: ‘I am Muslim’, but I realized that they are not because they do not promote Islamic values.”(Interview, 11 January 2011).

Referring to negative aspects of the West was accompanied by constructions of the ‘Self’ that were mystifying. Accusing the West of being immoral and lacking spiritual guidance, simultaneously Indonesia or the East was ‘equated with moral values and wisdom’ (interview, 17 February 2011), although in other contexts informants were worried about the fact that Indonesian youth especially was imitating liberal Western life-style. Thus, working in the tourism sector of Makassar for years (first as a waiter and more recently employed as the operational manager of a medium-sized, family-run hotel), one informant reported the following:

“I observed that when Westerners come they usually like beer. Once I worked as waiter in a café ... they ordered a lot of beer. Those who come to this café are not only Western tourists, our people [people from Makassar, M.V.N.] do so as well and are probably influenced by them. Shameless social intercourse has already been adopted from the

West. It is extraordinary how shameless social intercourse has already entered Indonesian society” (Interview, 2 January 2011).

With respect to her peers, one female employee of a non-governmental organisation in Yogyakarta also pointed out the increasingly pro-Western attitudes of young Indonesian women in terms of fashion:

“When you look at fashion, for example, [young, M.V.N.] people in Indonesia know quite quickly about fashion in Paris. When hot pants became the latest trend five years ago, you could not see women wearing them in public in Yogya [Yogyakarta, M.V.N.], but now [you can, M.V.N.]. That means with Western influence you now see a lot [of hot pants on the streets, M.V.N.]” (Interview, 18 September 2010).

And last but not least, a member of the Islamic Students Association (Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam, HMI) in Yogyakarta remarked the already destructive impact that Western materialism had taken on Indonesian society: *Slametan* (a communal feast on Java where neighbours meet for a meal that is held on different occasions to secure social and cosmic harmony) are vanishing, [because] we are already pragmatic [in the sense of materialistic such people like to spend their money for individual consumption rather than for the community], consumerism has grasped us [in Indonesia], that is the influence from the West, culture is changing very much, Ramadan also. When this major religious holiday comes, you have to buy new clothes [now] (Interview, 23 March 2011).

### Pathways to Alternative Modernities: Modifying the Western Draft by Filtering

Due to historical precedence Western modernity or its apparent universals are negotiated as frame of reference by reflecting on them critically and by comparing them with local conditions. Thus, several hybrid modernities evolve. In the context of hybridity, Randeria (1999, 2004) prefers to stress the equivalence of those modernities by thinking of them as *entangled modernities*. Western and non-Western modernities are interconnected and influence each other. In any case, asymmetric power relations and dependencies should not be forgotten.

Does modernisation have to mean Westernizing Indonesia? Modernisation does not mean Westernisation, he states. . As shown above, informants of mine for the most part had clear ideas of ‘the West’ and its conditions of modernity. Judging some aspects positively and others negatively, revealed that Muslim Indonesians were not completely convinced of what the West provides as a model of a modern nation and society. Thus, being aware of what in their eyes are the pros and cons of Western modernity and facing Western inflows into their own society resulted in a so-called practice of ‘filtering’.

More precisely, this meant identifying good and bad about Western life-style, values and concepts and filtering out what was considered unsuitable for Indonesian culture and Muslim religious understandings: “Everyone has certain characteristics: one of them is culture. We have also special characteristics due to our culture. Thus, we should have a filter in order that we do not adopt things that are not appropriate with our culture, yes? So, there is a filter, [and] what fits will be adopted” (Interview, 18 February 2011).

Interestingly, the practice of filtering was as valid for global or foreign influences from the West as for inflows from the “Islamic East”, but that is another matter. “As we are open, we learn more about Islamic nations or about Western nations ...; neither is a problem, so long as we absorb positive things and throw away the bad things ...’ (interview, 18 September 2010). However, dealing with the process of globalisation, and especially with circulating ideas and images of ‘the West’, was not just a matter of sorting out the negative things. Once they were clear about this, people turned out to be busy learning how to incorporate what were acknowledged as positive examples or useful knowledge from the West in terms of modernisation.

Concerning education, for instance, lively discussions were, and still are, held in Muslim academic circles on how to benefit from Western science. There was no doubt about the need to learn from the West in terms of scientific culture. Yet, how to do so was a matter of debate. Muslim intellectuals and students were divided over this issue. Some thought of an explicit model of how to create and guarantee a “synergy of religion and sciences” (interview, 25 January 2011). It was Inspired by the debate on the Islamisation of knowledge – for an overview of prominent representatives and their attempts to synthesise

Islamic ethics and science (Zaidi, 2006), while others were in favour of the immediate introduction of Western sciences:

“Knowledge cannot be changed, whether it is a communist, an atheist, a religious person, someone from the West or someone from the East who discovers it. It is not necessary to Islamise knowledge. [...] We can adopt [Western, M.V.N.] knowledge immediately. What is global is [Western, M.V.N.] knowledge and methodology, these are very beneficial (Interview, 4 January 2011).

The admiration for Western methodological strength has even gone so far as to set a new trend. Studying Islamic sciences has thus recently shifted from universities in the Middle East to institutions in the West: The right methods to do research, the West has an advantage in this case. [...] Students of Islamic sciences are sent over there. [...] In the Middle East they do not know enough about the right methodology. How to read the holy texts like the Quran, you have to use the right methods; Westerners know how to do it (Interview, 4 January 2011; See also the discussion on where to study Islam in the *Jakarta Post* (Assyaukanie, 2010), *Where we go to study Indonesian Islam*. Available at: <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2010/06/25/where-we-go-study-indonesianislam.html> and Burhani, A. N. (2010), *Should we go to the West to study Islam?* Available at: <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2010/07/08/should-we-gowest-study-islam.html>).

Anyway, it was widely stressed that sciences generated in the West lacked the guidance of moral values to ensure an ethically responsible application – the latter being a task Islam could perform. The final aim was often to modernise by “becoming more Western than the West” (interview, 25 March 2011), as one member of the Muhammadiyah Students Association (Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah, IMM) in Yogyakarta emphasised. Acquiring secular Western sciences *and* combining them with respect for Islamic norms would advance the East, in particular Indonesia, to a leading position.

In terms of consumerism, practice was much less complex. Despite the danger of material hedonism, spending the weekends in shopping malls and eating at Pizza Hut, Kentucky Fried Chicken or MacDonald’s were popular leisure activities among middle- and upper-class Muslim Indonesians in Makassar and

Yogyakarta. Visiting shopping malls was actually mostly restricted to window shopping. However, However, the five big malls in Makassar especially are totally crowded from Fridays until Sundays. Being aware of their Western origins, some informants loved to go to these fast-food chains because 'it is modern, it is its modernity; eating in the Western Kentucky means being modern' (interview, 2 November 2010), as well as showing one can afford it.

Others said that they just liked the food. What could be observed is that Western food chains serve rice instead of French fries, and in the particular case of Kentucky Fried Chicken the food offer includes *perkedel*, Indonesian potato croquettes. However, none of them had any doubts about whether or not the food was in conformity with Islamic food rules and purity requirements due to the *halal* label<sup>xxi</sup> from the Council of Indonesian Ulama (Majelis Ulama Indonesia, MUI).

## Conclusion

Dealing with Occidentalism or rather Occidentalisms in contemporary Indonesia, it is striking that perceptions and images of the West did not differ significantly when comparing the selected research sites, Makassar and Yogyakarta. Something that can be ascribed to the similar sources from where the informants derive their knowledge of the West: first and foremost from the media, but also from contacts with foreign tourists and/or from travelling or staying abroad or from working relations with Westerners. What was revealed is a common tendency towards the ambivalence and ambiguity for which the West stands in the eyes of the research participants (apart from a few who looked on the West solely negatively and were only mentioned in passing in this paper).

The West is seen as a shining example on the one hand and is considered a source of danger on the other. This conflicting attitude towards the West is most obvious with regard to moral orientations, or rather the ideals of social behaviour. It manifests itself when the West is labelled both 'indecent' with respect to sexual liberalism and 'more Islamic' in terms of respecting human rights. Efforts to put into practice what is considered favourable concerning the West finally result in more or less elaborate modifications of Western life-style or concepts and demonstrate the important role that the active individual plays.



Moreover, it is now clear that *othering* concurrently leads to definition of not one but various Selves and does not necessarily have to result in cultural dissociation: there is also the possibility of cultural appropriation. People create their own paths to an alternative modernity out of a pool of possible references, one of which is especially the West. The process of negotiation shows that, despite the presence of negative opinions of the West, the majority of Muslim Indonesians in my research sites are not engaged by a general antagonism towards the West. They do not oppose everything that comes from the West but refer to it as example of modernity, though not its sole and undisputed model. What is remarkably is that in their evaluations many interlocutors overcame the binary of East and West by envisioning that Indonesia could combine the advantages of both, the Own and the Foreign in order to step into a desirable future.

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## DRAFT LEGISLATION AND “DERADICALISATION”?

*Proposed Amendments to Indonesia’s Terrorism Laws and  
The “Brainwashing” Of Convicted Terrorists?*

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### Introduction

As I write this paper, it is 12th October 2011. Exactly nine years, to the day, since Indonesia’s most deadly terrorist attack, in Bali in 2002. Which, in turn, was exactly one year, one month and one day after September 11, 2001. How the world has changed in one decade. The post-9/11 response to terrorism has had broad implications from security procedures at airports, hotels and shopping malls, to global politics and economics. It has caused wars to rage across the globe, and it may be said that there are very few people on earth whose life has not been touched in some way by those attacks and their consequences.

Indonesia’s response following the attacks in Kuta on 12 October 2002 was swift. Using her emergency powers under the Constitution, President Megawati Soekarnoputri enacted an interim law, which was later adopted by the parliament and remains the current anti-terrorism legislation (*Undang-Undang Nomor 15 Tahun 2003 Tentang Penetapan PERPU Nomor 1 2002 Tentang Pemberantasan Terorisme, Menjadi Undang-Undang 2003*). Using this law, Indonesian authorities have caught and prosecuted over 700 terrorism suspects, with an impressive successful conviction rate of about 85% (Anggadha, 2011; Soeriaatmadja, 2011).

However, terrorist attacks continue to occur. Most recently a suicide bomber attacked a packed church in the central Java city of Solo, on 25th September 2011. While the attacks appear to be reducing in size, coordination and deadliness (the last two attacks succeeded only in killing the bombers themselves) many civilians were injured, and some commentators warn that larger attacks are being planned (AFP, 2011).

While the numbers of terror suspects caught, prosecuted and/or neutralised by Indonesian authorities may be considered impressive, more concerning perhaps are the numbers which have been convicted, served their sentences and released from prison. As of September 2010, the number stood at 126 (Anggadha, 2011). One year later, the number is surely much higher. Even more concerning perhaps, are indications that, due to a laxity in Indonesia's correctional system, convicted terrorists are able to carry on communications with their networks from prison.

Sidney Jones of the International Crisis Group, a recognised authority on Indonesian terrorism related issues, wrote in 2006 that Indonesia's prison regime is open to serious criticism in terms of handling inmates but because it is too lax rather than too harsh. Virtually all inmates have hand-phones or access to them, some of them state-of-the-art communicators. Several appear to have regular access to internet chat rooms that they access through a combination of hand-phones and laptop computers. Some of the most hard-core ideologues have produced audio cassettes, CDs, and books from prison and have found ways of disseminating these to their followers on the outside and beyond (Jones, 2006).

Even more worrying than the numbers of convicted terrorists that have been released from prison, is the number that go on to reoffend and commit violent terrorist acts, or to recruit and train new members to assemble bombs and commit acts of terrorism. The International Crisis Group's report "Indonesian Jihadism: Small Groups Big Plans" (ICG, 2011) released in April 2011 outlined the changing strategies of Indonesian terrorist cells which appear to be moving away from large-scale coordinated attacks on foreign targets to smaller groups operating independently with a greater focus on local rather than foreign enemies. Dr Jones recently commented that "Every time we've seen one of these smaller networks emerge, there have been at least one or two members with links to

older networks.” (Alford, 2011) This includes several who have been convicted, imprisoned, and who then return to violence after their release from prison.

The current legislation has been frequently criticised for being too weak (ANTARA, 2010; Post, 2010; Suryanto, 2011). However it has been effectively used by law enforcement authorities to apprehend and prosecute hundreds of terrorists. If a criticism may be levelled at Indonesia’s legal system perhaps it would be more effectively directed at the later stages of the judicial process, i.e. sentencing and corrections.

This paper seeks to examine the question of whether it would be more beneficial to incarcerate convicted terrorists for longer periods (post-trial rather than pre-trial), and ensure a more effective, rehabilitative incarceration (including efforts to “deradicalise” inmates) rather than reforming the current legislation to give enforcement authorities more powers to apprehend suspects and detain them for longer periods during the investigative process. This will include an examination of what extra powers it is currently proposed to grant law enforcement authorities, and an examination of the current conditions inside Indonesian prisons, and the prospects for reforming and deradicalising terrorists based on recent studies and reports.

## Legislative Reform

To consider the question of whether amendments to the current anti-terrorism laws are warranted, it is necessary to consider what the proposed amendments are. Draft legislation has been considered by parliament and is still under consideration. It has not yet been finalised and it remains unclear as to when it might be ratified, if ever. However, there are several substantial amendments proposed, all of which grant greater powers to enforcement authorities, or create new offences in order to make it easier for authorities to arrest and charge suspected terrorists. I will briefly outline each of the proposed amendments here.

The following are English translations taken from the Draft legislation as downloaded from the Department of Law and Human Rights, with comments attached, as of 3 November 2010. (Author’s note: translations of the draft provisions are the author’s own translations into English from Indonesian and

do not represent official English translations of the draft legislation). *Rancangan Undang Undang Republik Indonesia Tentang Perubahan Atas Undang-undang Nomor 15 Tahun 2003 Tentang Pemberantasan Tindak Pidana Terorisme* 2010.

- a. Article 9A creates a new offence of “Trading materials which could potentially be used as explosives, or endangering the lives of humans and/or the environment.” This offence carries a maximum penalty of 12 years imprisonment. Further, in the event that the materials in question are actually used in a terrorist act the maximum penalty is raised to 15 years. A note attached to this article requests further clarification of the terminology used.
- b. Article 13A creates a new offence, with a maximum penalty of 7 years imprisonment, for any person who knows of a terrorist act that will be carried out and does not report it to the relevant authorities. Further, in the event that the terrorist act in question actually occurs, the maximum penalty is raised to 12 years. This section has been criticised for its implications for freedom of speech and the press.
- c. Article 13B creates a raft of new offences and provides a minimum of 3 years and a maximum of 15 years for any person who:
  - i. Becomes a member of a terrorist organization or group which plans to conduct actual terrorist acts (“secara nyata”).
  - ii. To request or loan money and/or goods to or from an organization or group which has plans to conduct actual terrorist acts (“secara nyata”).
  - iii. To organize paramilitary training with the aim of committing terrorist acts.
  - iv. To participate in paramilitary training within Indonesia, or overseas, with the aim of committing terrorist acts.
  - v. Spreading hatred or enmity which may encourage or influence a person or precipitate the commission of a terrorist act.
- d. Article 14 provides life imprisonment, or death, for any person who plans or mobilises others to commit terrorist acts as set out in Articles 6,7,8,9,10,11 and 12. A proposed amendment would add a subsection providing between 3 and 15 years imprisonment effectively for an attempt to commit the offence outlined in Article 14, where the actual terrorist act is not committed.

- e. Article 17, relating to terrorist acts committed by corporations, is proposed to be amended to add “authorised persons” to the category of persons who can commit terrorist acts in the name of a corporation. It remains unclear to the author what the actual effect of this amendment is.
- f. Article 25 is substantially amended to extend the length of time given to authorities to investigate and prosecute a terrorist offence. Previously the entire period given for both processes of investigating and prosecuting the offence was 6 months. In the draft legislation it is proposed that the investigation take no longer than 120 days. While the prosecution is given 60 days. Giving a total of 6 months. However, under the draft legislation a mechanism is provided where each period of detention may be extended by order of the Chief Judge of a District Court. Each extension is for a length of 60 days, so effectively provides for up to an extra 4 months – giving a grand total of 10 months. This article however appears unclear and may need further clarification to make its meaning unequivocal. I note that at least one commentator has read this section to mean that it provides a maximum detention period of 14 months (Imparsial 2011). How this length of time is arrived at is not explained.
- g. A proposed amendment to Article 26 would allow investigators to use intelligence reports as sufficient preliminary evidence for initiating proceedings against a suspect. The requirement for these reports to be inspected and approved as sufficient evidence, by the Chief Judge or Deputy Chief Judge of a District Court has been relaxed, to allow ANY District Court Judge to provide the requisite judicial approval. This effectively increases by a significant factor the number of judges able to sign off on an intelligence report as providing sufficient preliminary evidence for an arrest.
- h. A proposed amendment to Article 27 specifically adds Intelligence Reports to the list of acceptable forms of evidence which may be used at trial to prove an offence (For an excellent discussion of “alat bukti” and “bukti permulaan” under the Anti-terrorism legislation and a comparison to the KUHP general criminal code see Simon Butt’s article “Anti-Terrorism Law and Criminal Process in Indonesia (Butt, 2008).
- i. A proposed amendment to Article 28 increases the initial detention period from 7 days to 30 days. This is a significant increase, given that during this

period, suspects “are held incommunicado...and sometimes tortured.” (Jones 2006)

- j. A proposed amendment to Article 31 alters the wording of the section from giving investigators “the right” to open, inspect and seize letters and packages sent by post, to give them “the authority” to do same. The practical difference between the two is not clear to the author. Further, in the same article the conditions relating to “bugging” a suspect are altered so that any judge of a District Court may give authorisation, and that the period is for the judge to determine rather than being for one year, as is the case in the current legislation.
- k. Article 34A specifically provides for the use of video conferencing in the giving of evidence in court proceedings, without the witness having to face the accused. This type of evidence was objected to in the most recent trial of Abu Bakar Bashir, and was the cause of him and his legal team leaving the court during sessions when evidence was presented by video conferencing.
- l. Finally, a new chapter, Bab VIIA, provides for the establishment of a National Coordinating Body for Counter Terrorism. In reality though, this body has already been set up by Presidential Decree. It is uncertain whether including these Articles in legislative amendments would give the body any more weight or authority. It is likely that the draft legislation was simply written before the Presidential Decree was issued.

The proposed amendments as outlined above provide for a range of new offences, they relax some of the conditions tied to the current procedures and they increase substantially the periods of time that suspects may be detained before trial. The underlying aim is clear: to make the job of law enforcement authorities, in investigating, arresting and prosecuting suspected terrorists easier. It is a response to criticism, that terrorist acts continue to occur in Indonesia, and that the police are powerless to take pre-emptive action.

A common criticism of police is that they are only able to take action after a crime has been committed, however it would appear that these amendments attempt to address that issue, to facilitate arrests and investigations by providing greater powers than they already possess, and by implication



reduce the rights of those suspected of terrorist activities. It should be remembered that these are just draft laws at this stage and it is not sure when they may be passed into law, if ever. However, significant concerns and objections have been made on the basis that these proposed laws, if passed, could have implications for issues such as freedom of speech and freedom of association, especially the articles relating to the “spreading of hatred and enmity” and membership of a terrorist organization.

Criticism has been aimed at the draft changes on the basis that some of the terms used are vague and open to multiple interpretations. (Imparsial, 2011; Setara, 2011) It is true that at the draft stage some of the terminology and phrases such as “memperdagangkan bahan-bahan potensial sebagai bahan peledak, atau membahayakan jiwa manusia dan/atau lingkungan” “to trade in materials which may potentially be used as explosives, or endanger the lives of humans and/or the environment” indicate poor legislative drafting, and would require further clarification or judicial interpretation. In fact, the current draft legislation contains several notes to this effect. However, it would appear that the intention is generally fairly clear, and this does not represent an insurmountable problem to the application of the laws.

Perhaps the article which is most vulnerable to the argument of vagueness, is the new offence of “spreading hatred and enmity”. Such a provision appears to be open to a very wide interpretation, and given the vehemence with which some religious sermons are delivered is potentially applicable to a very wide category of suspects. Again, the intention is of course to make it easier for police to arrest those who incite others to terrorist acts and remain untouchable themselves, however the serious implications for freedom of speech and freedom of the press must be considered. Consider the case of a journalist who interviews a terrorist suspect but does not inform police due to a journalistic code of ethics which protects the identity of sources (Saragih, 2011).

In light of comments such as this one by Densus 88 commander, Brigadier General Tito Karnavian, the new provision may be warranted, “Recruitment is still going on. We cannot stop it. The ideology is still spreading. As long as they are doing the things not violating the law, like regrouping or discussing with one another, we cannot stop it. This is our weakness” (Allard, 2010)

A further objection raised against the draft changes to the length of periods of detention of suspects is that they are unnecessarily long. A period of 30 days detention without charge appears excessive, when compared to one day which is allowed under the general criminal law (the KUHP), and the 7 days which is allowed under the current anti-terrorism legislation. Given that the current laws appear to have worked well, as judged by the number of arrests made and the relatively high percentage of convictions, it would seem that police and prosecutors would need to demonstrate a strong justification for this extension over the current arrangements, other than just to make their job easier.

However, as Sidney Jones has noted “a week is relatively short compared to the periods of detention allowable under most anti-terrorism laws “(Jones, 2006) And the Indonesian police have been scrupulous about releasing those they cannot charge within a week, which has led to the release of several known JI leaders to “howls of protest from Washington and Canberra”. Perhaps this *is* sufficient justification to allow an extended period of 30 days detention before charge. The justification for the extended periods of detention are the result of comments from law enforcement agencies like this one from National Police chief General Bambang Hendarso Danuri who said “Seven days are too short. My men have difficulties uncovering a case in that time.” (ANTARA, 2010)

The increased detention periods for investigation and prosecution also appear to require significant justification. Given the high rate of convictions secured it seems hard to understand why these extended periods are necessary. The actual period also requires clarification. Is it 14 months or 10 months maximum? Either way, the period is significantly longer than the 4 months provided under the general criminal law, and 6 months under the current anti-terrorism legislation.

The article allowing Intelligence Reports to be used as “bukti permulaan” forming sufficient initial evidence for an arrest would appear to be cause for concern. The judicial oversight condition has been relaxed by giving any District Court Judge the power to sign off on this, however more of a concern is that intelligence reports are unilaterally created documents, which may contain biased or untested claims or information. An independent judge reading such a report may not always be in a position

to know whether all of the information presented as fact, is indeed reliable or not. Based on that report an arrest may be made and a person held incommunicado, and possibly tortured, without charge for up to a month. This would seem to represent a serious and potentially unacceptable threat to the civil liberty of the general population.

## Prisons - Breeding Grounds for Terrorists?

We turn from a discussion of the draft anti-terrorism legislation, to consider the current state of affairs in the Indonesian corrections system. What are the conditions like for prisoners convicted of terrorist offences? Are there serious attempts to rehabilitate terrorists while they are in prison? Are they effective? As we saw above it appears that, due to corruption in the prison system, prisoners are routinely able to gain access to mobile phones, laptops and the internet, and have even published audio recordings and books spreading their ideology. According to a Special Report by Carl Ungerer published in May 2011 (Ungerer, 2011):

*Terrorist convicts are often housed in the same block of a prison, although not always. They remain relatively free to mingle and congregate with one another, and this has actually helped to expand their personal networks within the militant circle. The men interviewed said they had the opportunity to meet individuals they wouldn't have otherwise met because of the small cell structures and high levels of secrecy.*

Also:

*Not only is the apparent further radicalisation of terrorist convicts in prison an issue, but the potential radicalisation of the inmate population and the prison officers is a problem as well. In 2005, Benni Irawan, a warden at Kerobokan Prison in Bali, helped smuggle a laptop into prison for the Bali bomber, Imam Samudra, who was then on death row. It was subsequently revealed that the laptop was used by Samudra to chat with other militants and help plan the second Bali bombing.*

In a shockingly perverse scenario therefore we find a convicted terrorist, in prison, conversing and indoctrinating others both within the prison and outside,

and planning the commission of further terrorist acts with the knowledge and aid of prison staff. Can there be any greater argument for an urgent reform of Indonesia's correctional system than this?

Religious classes held in prison are reportedly recruiting grounds for new followers to the jihadist cause (Karmini, 2011). Associated Press reporters who were granted access to Surabaya's Porong Prison interviewed Muhammad Syarif Tarabubun a former police officer sentenced to 15 years for his role in attacks on Christians. "He laughed easily and smiled broadly as he explained his extremist views. He said he plans to join a jihad in Afghanistan, Iraq or Lebanon after his likely early release in 2013 for good behaviour." (Karmini, 2011)

This type of report raises the question of the lengths of sentences handed down by the courts and whether they are sufficient for effective rehabilitation of inmates, and the related question of the length of sentence actually served after remissions for good behaviour. It would seem perverse to any reasonable observer that a terrorist prisoner who openly discusses plans to commit further terrorist acts upon his release, be granted a reduction in sentence due to good behaviour. More worrying perhaps are the "celebrity" terrorists such as Abu Bakar Bashir, and the effect that they may have when they are able to unleash their fiery rhetoric on a captive audience such as a group of prison inmates. "Experts say the imprisonment of Bashir...is unlikely to stop him from providing crucial spiritual sanction for terrorism." (Karmini, 2011)

## Attempts at Deradicalisation

Attempts to "deradicalise" terrorists in Indonesia have so far been somewhat haphazard. In the absence of a clear standardised government approach on this issue, it appears that the burden has fallen to individuals to take up the challenge. Comments from Nur Achmad, the chief warden at Porong Prison are illustrative. "He was shocked when he took over late last year to see regular inmates moving freely in and out of Block F (the cell block where terrorists are held). Some (general prisoners) had changed their appearance, lengthening their hair and beards in imitation of the militants. 'I have to stop this,' Achmad said. 'I don't want them spreading radicalism to other inmates.'"

Achmad implemented measures to segregate the terrorists and restrict access to the terrorist cell block. Prisoners are still able to study Islam with the militants but under tighter supervision and with closed circuit cameras watching. These study groups are a key element of the terrorist's strategy to recruit new followers, to invigorate their own jihadist spirit and maintain their movement in the long run. According to the "Jihadists in Jail" report (Ungerer, 2011) "that's why they continue to conduct their dakwah (religious outreach) in prison to ensure they can recruit new members and that their own zeal for militant jihad isn't diminished."

Any attempts to rehabilitate terrorist prisoners must address these issues head on. Alternatively when terrorists are released from prison, due to family and social ties, religious or social obligations or debt, individuals are likely to go back to the networks which put them in prison in the first place. Indeed the point has been made that many radicals *leave* prison with a greater sense of the jihadist imperative than they had when they went in.

Some attempts to "deradicalise" prisoners have shown signs of success. The "Jihadists in Jail" report contains several case studies of terrorists who have renounced their militant views and gone on to lead relatively normal lives, indeed several are being used to help deradicalise other prisoners (Ungerer, 2011). Further study in this area would be beneficial in determining which approaches are most effective, remembering that all not all prisoners respond equally to attempts to deradicalise them. That knowledge could then be used as the basis for a comprehensive approach to terrorist rehabilitation programs across the country.

Australia's Federal Police Commissioner Mick Keelty has noted the success of programs to de-radicalise or de-program terrorists in countries such as Indonesia, Pakistan and the UK (Barlow, 2006). Essentially the approach is to use a "reformed" terrorist, preferably someone with some standing as a leader, who then engages with radical inmates in an attempt to convert them back to a more moderate viewpoint. As Ungerer explains that in addition to offering financial incentives to some individuals, they've included elements of a counter-ideology program to convince militants that violence is not part of religion.

Accordingly, the police have spearheaded an initiative using former militants who've revised their stances on violence to engage other militants in prisons. This is based on the assumption that former hardliners have a more

lasting impact on supporters of violent jihad than appeals from moderates...Ali Imron, for example, is often sent into Indonesian prisons to convince other violent extremists, especially the ones newly incarcerated, that attacking civilians is forbidden in Islam.”

Civil libertarians label these deradicalisation attempts as “brainwashing” and reject them, however this response requires further explanation. Based only on the reports available, the deradicalisation sessions appear to be more like discussion sessions than “brainwashing”. Deradicalisation is based on the notion that if one can become radicalised, then logically one can also become “de-radicalised” through exposure to reasoned counter ideology. The reality is that, while these deradicalisation sessions have shown success in some cases, they do not work for everyone.

If one lesson can be taken away from Ungerer’s study, it is that the approach to reforming and rehabilitating militant terrorists needs to be tailored to the individual, and may involve several different strategies, from financial assistance to providing jobs and security to channelling their energies and focus away from jihadist activities towards something more positive. A “golden handcuffs” program in Saudi Arabia involves an approach of finding wives for captured terrorists and “enmeshing them in a web of personal, financial, religious and professional obligations once released is regarded as pioneering.” (Karmini, 2011)

These programs however appear to come dangerously close to “rewarding” terrorists. And would need to be closely monitored to ensure that prisoners were actually sincere about their reformed beliefs, and not simply “playing along” in order to receive the benefits offered by the program. Some of the so called “white” groups of hardliners expressly reject these attempts to deradicalise them, and refuse to take part. Indeed they have created their own “counter de-radicalisation” strategies. In these cases forcing an inmate to take part may actually have the reverse affect and reinforce entrenched militant views. “They reject rehabilitation programs and oppose any attempts to ‘tame’ them...They do this by banding together and reinforcing one another’s belief in the righteousness of armed struggle (Ungerer 2011).”

Therefore it is important to know the inmate and what their ideology is, and their motivating factors, in order to address them effectively. In some

cases simple disengagement and distancing these individuals from violence may be the most effective approach. Longer periods of incarceration may be warranted. Certainly individuals who express these sorts of recalcitrant views and the intention to commit terrorist acts upon their release should not be eligible for early release.

## Conclusion

According to Ungerer, “Counter radicalisation programs in Indonesia are having limited effect on the trajectory of terrorism and militancy. Recidivism rates are on the rise.” It would seem that little scholarly attention is being paid to these issues, and the police’s approach to deradicalising and rehabilitating prisoners has been “largely ad hoc and unsystematic.” Further study is needed on the sentencing of convicted terrorists, the numbers that are currently imprisoned and numbers that have been released. Closer monitoring of terrorists is needed to assess which individuals return to militancy and jihadism, and which go on to pursue relatively normal lives.

Further study should look at the motivations of terrorists and which rehabilitative processes yield the best results, bearing in mind that the same approach does not work for all. Police and prison officials with the assistance of foreign governments and stakeholders should commission further studies and monitoring and implement the results of those studies. What is clear is that the current approach is not working. However, the Indonesian police and government cannot be expected to do this work alone. Terrorism affects all of the countries of South East Asia, and the world, therefore governments should work cooperatively towards a solution.

The question of whether Indonesia needs amendments to its current anti-terrorism legislation is largely a matter that requires public scrutiny. Part of the aim of writing this paper is to raise awareness and discussion of these issues in the community. Legislation which has some serious implications for freedom of speech, freedom of the press and civil liberties in the wider community should only be enacted after public discussion takes place, and the community as a whole is aware of the changes that are being proposed.

It is possible to make the argument that, based on the numbers of terrorists that have been arrested and successfully prosecuted by Indonesian authorities over the last decade, the system is clearly not broken. Indeed Indonesia is often hailed as one of, if not *the* most successful country in the world in terms of its approach to tracking down and punishing terrorists and approaching it as a law enforcement problem - rather than an insurgency. Police and enforcement agencies, particularly Densus 88 have been allowed to go about their business and have achieved some stunning victories. This paper has not addressed the important issue of the numbers of terror suspects who have been shot and killed in police, particularly Densus 88, operations. Whether abuses of the powers granted to enforcement agencies, have occurred, and or will continue to occur if granted greater powers, is a question which also requires scholarly attention.

“SATGAS prosecutors have developed extensive experience prosecuting terrorism cases...and have developed long term close professional relationships with Densus 88. This has led to a new criminal model in Indonesia – police and prosecutors working together on cases from the onset instead of prosecutorial engagement beginning after a police investigation has concluded” (Unattributed, 2011).

So, to use the vernacular, if the system did not broke, why fix it? Instead of granting longer periods of incarceration prior to trial, perhaps it would be more effective to examine the question of longer periods of incarceration post-conviction in order to facilitate a more comprehensive rehabilitation program. However, on the other hand police point to their inability to act pre emptively, and the criticism from the public when terrorist attacks continue to occur and cry out for law reform to give them increased powers. A balance must be struck – and that is a question for the community to answer – given voice and effect through the country’s democratic institutions.

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# CONCEPTUALIZING AND POSITIONING RELIGIOUS HARMONY WITHIN THE MINISTRY OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS DISCOURSE

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## Introduction

Maintaining religious harmony is not only related to the issue of religion but also to the issue of politics, power, and economy. Therefore, governments have a role to play in creating religious harmony and many governments have adopted different methods to deal with the challenges of religious plurality. In Indonesia, the Ministry of Religious Affairs is especially concerned about maintaining religious harmony. Since this Ministry was established in 1946, its Ministers have given speeches emphasizing the need for religious harmony and highlighting the government has been involved in efforts to create religious harmony in Indonesia.

Despite that emphasis, significant conflicts involving religious issues continue to occur in some regions of the country. Although the conflicts were caused by many factors, they are also regarded as a part of the failure of the Ministry to deal effectively with religious plurality. The Ministry is often perceived as failing to address the authentic needs of Indonesian civil society for religious harmony.

The above facts lead to some questions on how the Ministry has conceptualized and positioned religious harmony; what kind of language has been used by Ministry of Religious Affairs in stating these conceptualizations and positions, how this language represents the Ministry's own ideological views on religious harmony. In my study, I ask what kind of power relations have

been involved in these conceptualizations. This research tries to answer such above questions by applying Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis to the speeches of the Ministers of Religious Affairs throughout the period under study (2009). By using this approach, the issue can be examined through looking at the Ministry's own institutional ability to transform concepts and ideologies into policy.

In 1960s, religious tensions and conflicts occurred in some regions in Indonesia and required the government to find a solution. The term 'religious harmony' was addressed as the answer for the solution by the Ministry of Religious Affairs. K.H.M. Dachlan, the Minister of Religious Affairs at that time, in his speech November 30, 1967, emphasized that religious harmony is needed for creating the stability of the state. The next minister, Alamsyah Perwiranegara continued this emphasis by adding three types of religious harmony, i.e. (1) intra religious harmony, (2) interreligious harmony, (3) interreligious harmony and the government.

The next years, the Ministry of Religious Affairs often mentioned the term 'religious harmony' in the speeches. They have also reminded Indonesian civil society of the role of the Ministry on creating religious harmony in Indonesia. Therefore, although the conflicts involving religious issues were caused by many factors, they were also perceived as the failure of the Ministry to create religious harmony in Indonesia. This fact leads to some questions such as What kind of language have been used by Ministry of Religious Affairs in conceptualizing and positioning religious harmony in Indonesia? How this kind of language does show Ministry's ideologies on religious harmony? What kind of power relation does imply in the Ministry's concept? In other words, what kind of religious harmony discourse developed by the Ministry?

In 2009, there are 91 speeches of the Ministry of Religious Affairs but not all these speeches concerned or talked about religious harmony, many of them related to the speeches for opening religious events such as religious festivals and religious programs in society. Since in Indonesia general election is conducted in every five years, 2009 is the last year before the election in 2010. Generally, many policies were created at the end of five years governmental period; therefore we find several policies by the Ministry in this year.

Concerning conflicts involving religious issues, the issue of heresy seems to become a central issue in 2009. In its annual report on religious life in Indonesia, Center for Religious and Cross Cultural Studies demonstrated 25 cases on the issue of heresy and 11 cases of violence towards the members of Ahmadiyah. This fact leads to the need for the exploration of the Ministry's concept of religious harmony described in the speeches of the Ministry in 2009 and how this concept dealt with religious cases in Indonesia.

As mentioned above, the analysis method of these speeches is Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis. For Fairclough, discourse is the combination of text, discursive practice, and social practice. Therefore, the analysis of discourse means the analysis of the three combination and their interrelations (Fairclough, 1995: 74) which then he called as three dimensional framework. In this paper I use this three dimensional framework by focusing on wording, intertextuality, and power and ideology. Wording has the ability to capture 'a great many overlapping and competing vocabularies corresponding to different domains, institutions, practices, values and perspective' because it involves processes of wording the world which occurred in different ways, in different times and places, and for various groups of people (Fairclough, 1992: 76-77).

Intertextuality shows the historicity of a text that the text is related to other outside texts which bring to interpretation process (Fairclough 1992). Meanwhile Fairclough believes that political and ideological practices are connected because ideology is significations which are produced in power relations and it functions as a dimension of the implementation of power and struggle over power (Fairclough, 1992: 67).

## Plurality as Potential for Conflict

In its speech, the Ministry asked people to think that the big population of Indonesia with its diversity in terms of ethnicity, culture and religion often brings problems in Indonesian society:

“Jumlah penduduk yang besar dan kebhinnekaan bangsa Indonesia dalam suku, budaya dan agama, seringkali menimbulkan permasalahan dalam kehidupan beragama di negara kita. Dalam

hubungan ini, potensi konflik horizontal dan gangguan kerukunan antar umat beragama harus selalu menjadi perhatian kita bersama di era perkembangan demokrasi dan otonomi daerah yang luar biasa seperti sekarang ini” (12 September 2009)

Big population and diversity of Indonesia in terms of ethnicity, cultures and religion often emerge problems on our religious live in our country. Related to this fact, the potency of horizontal conflict and disturbance of religious harmony among the followers of different religions have to become our mutual concerns in remarkable development era of democracy and local autonomy today (September 12, 2009)

The quotation above shows that for the Ministry not only diversity is potential for conflict but also democracy and local autonomy provide its own effects to contribute to come out a conflict. This statement shows the Ministry’s emphasis i.e. the Ministry cannot control the power of democracy and local autonomy in society which can bring a conflict in society. The statement also describes that changing power relations have occurred in society, i.e. democracy and local autonomy power, which is not available previously.

## Religious Harmony and Religious Freedom

The fact above leads the Ministry to reemphasize the need for religious harmony. The Ministry stressed that religious harmony is asset for Indonesia by wording it with various kinds of asset, *harmony is **fundamental asset** for us to develop dreams of the state*<sup>1</sup> (Februari 26, 2009); *religious harmony that we have now is truly **precious asset** for our survival as a nation*<sup>2</sup> (March 20, 2009); *..not only mean to avoid conflict but also have a broad meaning to develop **a strong social asset** to achieve a collective progress of a nation*<sup>3</sup> (June 29, 2009). In other words, religious harmony is a must for Indonesia which has diverse religions to be survived as a nation and to achieve good development.

Beside stressing the importance of religious harmony, the Ministry also related religious harmony to the issue of conversion and religious freedom.

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<sup>1</sup> kerukunan adalah modal dasar bagi kita untuk membangun cita-cita bangsa

<sup>2</sup> kerukunan umat beragama yang kita miliki sekarang adalah modal yang amat berharga bagi kelangsungan kehidupan kita sebagai bangsa

<sup>3</sup> bukan hanya berarti menghindari konflik, melainkan memiliki makna yang luas membangun modal social yang kuat untuk meraih kemajuan bersama suatu bangsa

*Harmony may not and will not abolish religious freedom* (“Kerukunan tidak boleh dan tidak akan membatalkan kebebasan beragama”) (March 20, 2009), *To become a citizen who is care about religious harmony and state unity does not mean to convert from his/her own religion*<sup>4</sup> (February 2, 2009). These statements were addressed to response opinions which regarded the ministry’s concept of religious harmony had sacrificed religious freedom in Indonesia or religious uniqueness for the sake of harmony. The Ministry also stressed the balance of religious harmony and religious freedom by mentioning a program which is aimed to maintain and develop religious harmony.

“Certainly, no wise person rejects the maintained harmony. If there a person who stated that PBM 2006 is to reduce the rights of religious freedom, this is not wise opinion. I want to stress here, religious harmony may not and will not abolish religious harmony. On the contrary, religious freedom does not ever case the collapse of religious harmony. Religious freedom and religious harmony have to be placed in the context of unity and oneness in inseparable and undividable Indonesia<sup>5</sup> (March 20, 2009)

This speech shows that the Ministry offered the culture, social relationships, and social identity for Indonesian citizens. The identity of wise person means not to reject the Ministry program of religious harmony; in culture and social relationship, Indonesians are inseparable and united. Besides, the Ministry also emphasized that the power of religious harmony and that of religious freedom in the society should be balanced and put in the name of unity.

As mentioned above, the Ministry asserted that *religious harmony may not and will not abolish religious freedom. On the contrary, religious freedom does not ever case the collapse of religious harmony*. As the result, the Ministry sees cults such as Lia Eden, Ahmad Mosadeq, Satrio Piningit (people who believed that they got directly God’s Revelation but used some Islamic terms) as the phenomenon of thinking pragmatically. According to the

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<sup>4</sup> Untuk menjadi warga negara yang peduli pada kerukunan beragama dan keutuhan bangsa, tidak berarti murtad dari agama yang kita anut

<sup>5</sup> Tentu tidak ada seorangpun yang bijak menolak terpeliharanya kerukunan. Kalau ada orang yang menyatakan bahwa adanya PBM 2006 ini mengurangi hak-hak kebebasan beragama, itu pendapat kurang bijak. Saya ingin menegaskan di sini, kerukunan umat beragama tidak boleh dan tidak akan membatalkan kebebasan beragama. Sebaliknya, kebebasan beragama jangan sekali-kali menimbulkan hancurnya kerukunan umat beragama. Kebebasan beragama dan kerukunan umat beragama harus diletakkan dalam konteks persatuan dan kesatuan bangsa di dalam Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia yang tidak terkotak-kotak dan terpisah-pisah.

Ministry, this phenomenon makes the Ministry realized that the challenge of the Ministry is to provide development, understanding, and appreciation of religious values to society (June 25, 2009).

On other speech, the Ministry stressed that one of fundamental religious problem in Indonesia is *'increasingly developing of new thoughts and religious beliefs which tend to be different with religious mainstream'*<sup>6</sup> (Mei 22, 2009). For the Ministry, this phenomenon of thinking pragmatically is also regarded as a social factor which brings to various tensions and often to intra and interreligious conflicts. Due to this fact, religious harmony in Indonesia cannot be created ideally until the present (June 25, 2009). Then, to increase religious quality and service to the followers, the Ministry created policies and programs (Mei 22, 2009).

The statement above shows that the Ministry provides the identity of mainstream and cults in Indonesian society. By providing the definition of the two, the Ministry has the institutional power to determine the development, understanding, and appreciation of religious values for Indonesian society and to create policies and programs. Such phenomenon above also demonstrates that there is a changing of social power relation in Indonesian society and the Ministry has the right to deal with changing since the Ministry is who has the institutional power.

Concerning religious freedom. In Indonesia, UUD 1945 (Regulation 1945) mentioned that the Government guarantees religious freedom and freedom of practicing religious teaching (verse 29). However, the Government only acknowledges six religions in Indonesia i.e. Islam, Protestant, Catholic, Hinduism, Buddha, and Confucianism. This acknowledgement has brought a big implication in religious life in Indonesia. For instance, in Citizen Card, there is a religious column. Before 2008, people should choose one of acknowledged religions although they are actually not the followers of the religion. Today, people who do not belong the acknowledged religions, they can leave the column empty.

Nevertheless, the problem also relates to the acknowledgement of the state on the marriages which are not conducted based on the acknowledged religions because people who get married in Indonesia need to have a note

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<sup>6</sup> makin berkembangnya berbagai pemikiran dan aliran keagamaan baru yang cenderung berbeda dengan agama mainstream.



from the government which in turn leads to the problem of the certificate of the birth. People can find other problems concerning the acknowledged and unacknowledged religions in Indonesia.

In new Era, religious harmony is stronger than religious freedom. Religious harmony is convinced as the most important role in maintaining a political and economical stability. Therefore, if there is a certain interpretation of religion which is different with the mainstream of the six religions, the followers of the interpretation will get a problem (Sairin, 2002). Thus, the limitation of what is true and untrue as religions is determined by the mainstream. In 2009, if we see the speeches of the Ministry and the cases of conflict mentioned earlier, there is no changing in this phenomenon. Although the Ministry emphasized that religious harmony may not and cannot abolish religious freedom, it also emphasized that religious freedom should not bring a religious chaos which threatens religious harmony. The questions are Who does determine which one is threaten and not? How does this issue not lead to the issue of religious discrimination and violation?

## The Cause of Conflict and the Role of the Ministry

The fact that Indonesia is pluralistic state in the term of religion and that religious harmony is a must leads the Ministry to identify the cause on religious conflicts and the role of the Ministry in creating religious harmony. In the speeches, the Ministry described the condition of religious harmony in Indonesia by reminding the achievement, *However, with the good and the bad, religious harmony in Indonesia is regarded as the best in the observation of international society*<sup>7</sup> (March 20, 2009).

Nevertheless, the Ministry reminds us that religious harmony in Indonesia has not been yet perfect (March 20, 2009) or ideal (June 20, 2009). The reason is various social factors, *...because it relates to various social factors which cause diverse tensions and often end with internal conflict and intra religions* (June 20, 2009). Unfortunately, the Ministry did not explain what those various social factors are, but we can find one

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<sup>7</sup> Namun dengan segala suka dukanya kerukunan umat beragama di Indonesia dianggap sebagai yang terbaik dalam pengamatan masyarakat internasional. Bahkan Indonesia dinilai sebagai laboratorium kerukunan umat beragama

of those social factors in other speech, ...*increasingly developing of new thoughts and religious beliefs which tend to be different with religious mainstream*<sup>8</sup> (Mei 22, 2009).

Based on these social factors which caused changes in society, the Ministry reminded Indonesian civil society that religious harmony is *very dynamic and can change rapidly* (March 20, 2009), but *eternal in nature* (March 20, 2009). As the result, the Ministry needs to make continuously efforts to create religious harmony and brings the issue of maintaining interreligious harmony in the governmental goal. To reemphasize the Government role, the Ministry stated, *we cannot forget the effort of the government in maintaining religious harmony as the pillar of national stability*<sup>9</sup> (July 4, 2009). The Ministry, then, believed that those efforts have brought good results and provided three phenomena as the evidences, i.e. religious conflicts decreased; interreligious harmony increased; and interreligious collaboration was developed properly (January 17, 2009).

Although the Ministry mentioned that the main task of the Ministry is maintaining religious harmony, it also emphasized that the task is more on the religious followers, *essentially the responsibility of maintaining religious harmony at first is in the followers of religions themselves*<sup>10</sup> (Sept 2, 2009). For this reason, the Ministry reminded that religious leaders have a significant position to create religious harmony, *especially religious figures, it is an increasing challenge and demands their togetherness and solidness in overcoming and preventing the negative accesses which can disturb harmony that we maintain all this time*<sup>11</sup> (Sept 2, 2009). The Ministry also stated:

Nevertheless, dealing with diversity is uneasy. On the one hand, every follower as the component of the state has its interest on maintaining the foundation of belief and identity as well as on struggling religious

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<sup>8</sup> makin berkembangnya berbagai pemikiran dan aliran keagamaan baru yang cenderung berbeda dengan agama mainstream.

<sup>9</sup> kita tidak boleh melupakan upaya Pemerintah dalam membina kerukunan umat beragama sebagai tonggak stabilitas nasional

<sup>10</sup> pada hakekatnya tanggung jawab pemeliharaan kerukunan umat beragama itu pertama-tama adalah di tangan umat beragama itu sendiri

<sup>11</sup> Terutama pemuka agama, semakin tertantang dan dituntut kebersamaannya dan kekompakan mereka dalam mengantisipasi dan mencegah terjadinya eksese-eksese negatif yang dapat mengganggu kerukunan yang selama ini kita bina

inspirations in national life. On the other hand, every follower is also demanded to provide a contribution to maintain harmony and the unity of the nation<sup>12</sup> (February 2, 2009).

The Ministry related the above issue to *Penetapan Presiden* (president decree) No. 1, 1965 concerning 'Pencegahan Penyalahgunaan dan/atau Penodaan Agama'<sup>13</sup> (combating abuse of religion) and convinced that this regulation is for guaranteeing a social harmony (September 9, 2009). By mentioning this decree, it brings people to the event of 1965 when the decree was created. At that time, Communists actively made a cult (*aliran kepercayaan*) in grass-root level. This phenomenon led to a tension between Communist and Nahdatul Ulama. Nahdatul Ulama regarded the Communist's movement as a something bothering and to overcome this phenomenon, the Minister of Religious Affairs who was from Nahdatul Ulama 'pushed' the President to create this decree (Mujiburrahman, 2007). This decree has still been applied in Indonesia until today.

The Ministry also mentioned the Letter of Decree by the Minister of Religious Affairs no 3 2008, Attorney General No Kep-033/A/JA/6/2008 and the Minister of Internal Affairs no 199-2008 in the speech. This decree consists of warning and commanding to the followers or the members of Ahmadiyah. As mentioned in the beginning of this paper, we found at least 11 cases of Ahmadiyah in 2009 when the members of Ahmadiyah were attacked by some people. The same incidents can also be found in previous years.

## Some Points for Discussion

If we look at again how the Ministry conceptualized and positioned religious harmony in Indonesia in 2009, at least three points need to be discussed. *First*, we can see how the conceptualization and position brings strong ideologies such as religious harmony is the most important in creating stability.

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<sup>12</sup> Namun demikian, mengelola kemajemukan bukan persoalan yang mudah. Di satu sisi, setiap umat beragama sebagai komponen bangsa berkepentingan untuk memelihara asas keyakinan, identitas dan memperjuangkan aspirasi keagamaan dalam kehidupan berbangsa dan bernegara. Di sisi lain, setiap golongan umat beragama juga dituntut untuk memberi andil dalam rangka memelihara kerukunan dan keutuhan bangsa.

<sup>13</sup> Setiap orang dilarang dengan sengaja di muka umum menceritakan, menganjurkan atau mengusahakan dukungan umum, untuk melakukan penafsiran tentang sesuatu agama yang dianut di Indonesia atau melakukan kegiatan-kegiatan keagamaan yang menyerupai kegiatan-kegiatan keagamaan dari agama itu; penafsiran dan kegiatan mana menyimpang dari pokok-pokok ajaran agama itu.

Then, in the practice, religious harmony seems to be defined as long as the religious conflicts are stopped. Thus, certain expressions of religion will be erased from Indonesia if the mainstream states that it is ‘heresy’. Then, we can question who the mainstream is. Although, sometimes, the Ministry tried to make a balance between religious harmony and religious freedom, it is more on religious harmony. What would be frightening is that if what the Ministry called as religious harmony is no religious conflict, then the Government can do anything in the name of stability and religious harmony, as Sairin wrote:

“Harmony resulted from discrimination, segregation and apartheid is false, evil and amoral because it is not based on love, truth, justice and freedom... the right and good harmony is on one hand it does not relativize differences, such as trying to acculturate and fuse religious beliefs and religious harmony, on the other hand it is not absolutize differences that close the door of relation, conversation and collaboration”<sup>14</sup> (Sairin, 2002: 26)

*Second*, the problem of religious freedom also inherently relates to the issue of the abuse of religion. As mentioned in the speech of the Ministry above, in Indonesia there is a regulation of combating the abuse of religion (1965):

In public space, every person is forbidden to tell, suggest or do efforts to get public supports, to interpret about certain religion which is adherent in Indonesia or to conduct religious activities which imitate the activities of that religion; the interpretation and the activities which deviate from the main teachings of that religion<sup>15</sup>.

This issue of religious freedom will relate to the acknowledged religions since in the explanation of the regulation mentions that the religions which are acknowledged by the Government are Islam, Protestant, Catholic, Hinduism,

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<sup>14</sup> Kerukunan yang dihasilkan diskriminasi, segregasi, dan apartheid adalah kerukunan yang palsu, jahat dan amoral sebab tidak didasari oleh kasih, kebenaran, keadilan dan kebebasan. Kedua, kerukunan yang benar dan baik adalah kerukunan yang pada satu pihak tidak menisbikan perbedaan, perbedaan yang ada, misalnya dengan mencoba meleburkan atau mencampur adukkan keyakinan agama-agama dan kerukunan yang, di lain pihak, tidak pula memutlakan perbedaan-perbedaan yang ada sedemikian rupa sehingga menutup pintu hubungan, percakapan dan kerjasama

<sup>15</sup> Setiap orang dilarang dengan sengaja di muka umum menceritakan, menganjurkan atau mengusahakan dukungan umum, untuk melakukan penafsiran tentang sesuatu agama yang dianut di Indonesia atau melakukan kegiatan-kegiatan keagamaan yang menyerupai kegiatan-kegiatan keagamaan dari agama itu; penafsiran dan kegiatan mana menyimpang dari pokok-pokok ajaran agama itu.

Buddha, and Confucianism. It is also stressed that it does not mean the followers of other religions cannot live in Indonesia. We then can find how this issue relates to the issue of cults and heresy as described in the beginning of paper. Unfortunately, then, many religious violence and conflicts in Indonesia emerged by providing the abuse of religion as the reason. The question is how this decree can bring Indonesian society to religious harmony and avoid religious violence and conflict among the followers? How is this decree not used as the legitimacy to do religious violence?

*Third*, concerning the cause of religious conflict and the solution, we found 25 cases of heresy and 11 cases of Ahmadiyah in 2009 and the Ministry said that the reason is various factors in society especially a part of society think pragmatically. This is related to the phenomena of Lia Eden and other figures. This statement seems to emphasize that the cause of conflict is not in the side of the Government, but that of Indonesian civil society. On the one hand, the Ministry stated that Indonesian civil society is who causes the religious conflicts. On the other hand, the Government/the Ministry asserted that conflicts which involved different followers of religion actually are not religious conflicts; it is caused by many factors especially economy and politics. This seems to be contradictive since we can find that the Governmental regulation has also play a role to cause a tension among the followers of different religions/beliefs. In addition, if the religious conflict actually related to the issue of economy and politics, this means that the cause of religious conflicts was also related to the Government.

The speech also mentioned that the cause of religious conflict is because of the phenomenon of thinking pragmatically so that the Ministry has a task to improve and increase the society's understanding on religious values. In addition, one of fundamental religious problems is the increasing of new thoughts and beliefs which tend to be different with mainstream. The questions are what is the measure of different understandings considered as abusing religion? And who will determine this?

## Conclusion

From the discussion above, we can take some conclusion how the Ministry of Religious Affairs conceptualized and positioned religious harmony in Indonesian

in 2009. Firstly, from the analysis of the speech texts, we found that the Ministry uses some words to define religious harmony, that is 'fundamental asset', 'precious asset', and 'strong social asset'. This shows how the Ministry wants to strongly remind of religious harmony has significant role to in Indonesian life. Nevertheless, the Ministry also stresses that religious harmony 'does not mean to convert to other religion.'

That statement aims to reject the opinion that for the sake of religious harmony, people have to combine their own religion to others' religion. In addition, the Ministry asserted that religious harmony 'does not lead to abolish religious freedom.' By saying this, the Ministry stressed that religious harmony will not sacrifice religious freedom because Indonesian Regulation states that Indonesian Government guarantees religious freedom for all citizens.

By having this definition, the Ministry determines its role i.e. doing efforts to create religious harmony and to decrease conflicts among religious followers. The efforts are forming Forum Kerukunan Umat Beragama (FKUB, Religious Harmony Forum) and warning and commanding to the followers of Ahmadiyah. The Minister convinced that the efforts are successful by giving the decreasing of religious conflicts and increasing religious harmony as the evidences. Besides, the Ministry stated that the cause of religious conflicts is various factors in society which lead to internal conflicts and interreligious conflicts.

Although the Ministry does not mention clearly what the various factors are, in other time it mentioned a phenomenon of thinking pragmatically in Indonesian society such as Lia Eden, Ahmad Mosadeq, and Satria Piningit who believed that they had got God's revelation and they have the followers. This fact led to conflict since part of Muslims believed that it is heresy. The Ministry regarded that this phenomenon causes religious harmony cannot be created ideally and perfectly.

Secondly, the concept of religious harmony above still brings to the problem on the issue of religious freedom, the abuse of religion, and the real cause of religious problems in Indonesia. Moreover, it seems that the solution is still top down approach. The Ministry is who decided when certain religious interpretation is threatened and when it is not. This leads to another issue that Ministry seems to create a centralization of power concerning religious issue.

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# DEATH AND URBAN MUSLIM

*The Islamic Funeral Service in Yayasan Bunga Selasih*

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## Introduction

The moment of death among city dwellers reveals social reality about different kind of death and community. The present of funeral service in city, which routinely and professionally take cares deceased, becomes one important sign of transformation in the meaning of death among Muslim communities. The deceased and the people who take care of him or her do not know each other. This is the problem that becomes the question tried to answer in this research. First why does YBS exist in Yogyakarta and second how does the role of YBS in funeral business in Yogyakarta. The important concepts used in this research are urban Muslim, deceased treatment, funeral home, city and social solidarity.

According to Moeslim Abdurrahman, the term middle class has caused controversy among Indonesian scholars (Abdurrahman, 2009: 5). The scholars preferred middle group rather than categorizing society into class analysis. The middle group refers to parts of Indonesian society that are secularly educated and have jobs in modern economy (Dick, 1990). The term Muslim middle class has emerged since New Order era. This term based on cultural and knowledge capital (Abdurrahman, 2009: 5). The knowledge here means social knowledge. This knowledge is functional to support and bear social order. Knowledge dissemination is an important factor on the formation of power relation in modern and capitalist Indonesian state.

Allan Kellehear said that the rapid development of cities has changed the treatment of deceased (Kellehear, 2007: 147). The important cultural observation to understand the rise of cities is social relations having structural transformation (Kellehear, 2007: 147). In cities, social relations present in the context of vast number people. These relations often take place between people who do not recognize each other. Special feature in city life is the vast development of job specialization. This is often called the anomy of city life. City life in many cases is very different because it is anonym, big scale, fragmentary, plural, and rapidly changed.

The YBS existence is also related to the rise of funeral service industry. Funeral service industry includes professional worker in performing funeral ceremony (Suzuki, 2009: 475). This definition includes activities in facilitating burial ceremonies, which are, but not limited to, funeral transportation, death registration, deceased make up, ointment, deceased security preparation, obituary, and equipments needed in funeral ceremony such as funeral home, room for the deceased, and crematorium. All theses activities are included in the term of funeral industry. The chief of funeral ceremonies, cremator, ointment, and staffs who work for that institution are professional worker.

A funeral industry phenomenon is not universal and homogenous in all cultures. The sort of funeral industry depends on management, deceased treatment and several services offered by various cultures. Funeral industry could be in the form of commercial or non-profit institution. However, they perform routinely and are specialized in treating deceased. They help mourners on pre-burial, burial and post-burial ceremonies. There three characteristics in defining funeral industry: (1) job specialization in treating deceased; (2) funeral ceremony standardization and (3) offering comprehensive service to family mourners (Suzuki: 2009). In conducting this research I took participatory method by internship in YBS from November 2009 until January 2010.

Since its founding, YBS is clearly oriented to be a modern funeral service institution. This is not only revealed from its critiques of traditional funeral service model represented by *kaum* (the official religious specialist of the village), but also from its institutional and organizational aspects by adopting modern management staffs and order in performing its daily operation. YBS has an office. Its location is on south-side of the Public Hospital Dr. Sardjito,

Yogyakarta. The office, which was successfully built because of donation supports from bureaucrats and the rich merchants in Yogyakarta, ceremonially opened by Governor DIY, Hamengkubuwono X, on November 14th, 2001.

The building structure consists of two floors. The first floor is the working room for administration staff, *mushola*, *wudhu* (ritual ablution before prayers) site, gardens and pond, permanent table equipped-room for washing the deceased, and garage for burial cars. Second floor consists of chief's room, head of office, secretary, and meeting room. YBS staff consists of administration staffs, deceased-treatment experts, clerics, and drivers. This staff division clearly shows fixed and specific division of labor in the performing pattern of that institution.

## Administration Staff

Office staff consists of head of office, secretary, and four administration staffs. Head of office is assumed by Aditomo. He is a retired civil servant and has long worked for YBS. He has started since he worked at UGM as administration staff and as cleric at RS Sardjito Yogyakarta. The head's secretary is a young man in twenties. This high school graduate-bachelor has just worked for one year in YBS when I started conducting field research. He began working in YBS after sending job application to the head of YBS. Theoretically, he helps administration tasks of the head of YBS and prepares sermon notes for the head of YBS. Nevertheless, he practically performs multiple tasks as computer technician, treating deceased, and cleric.

There are two female administration employees. The first employee is still young. She is university-graduate but has work for YBS since her student years. Until now, she has worked at YBS for five years. The other employee is middle-aged woman, diploma-graduate, and has worked there for two years. These two administration staffs are given tasks as guest receptionist, answering phone call, especially from customer asking for service, enlisting new member, and collecting monthly contribution.

When answering phone call from someone asking service, they must record three items of important information: the name of the deceased, the address of family mourner, and the name or phone number of related family of

the deceased for next communication. Then they will write on task announcement board, contacting the head of office, and driver. Administration staffs also keep documents of purchasing receipts such as petrol receipts and prepare document papers for funeral services. Additionally, they also prepare a wooden-tomb or a grave marker and carve the name of the deceased, tailor the white muslin and grind camphor.

Besides two female employees, there is one special male employee with the main task to collect monthly fee from YBS members. This institution indeed adopts less stringent rules in payment for funeral services. The due time for payment is about one to two weeks after burial. After treating the deceased, the head of office or the staff performing the treatment from YBS offers the deceased-relatives other necessities such as coffin, stretcher, funeral umbrella, grave marker or wooden-tomb, funeral car and clerical services. The staff notes the relatives' requests and informs total cost be paid on bill check.

The bill check is given to the client and its copy is kept by administration staff. Seven days later YBS collect the bill by contacting the deceased-relatives or heir. On this business, YBS usually proposes two options: the deceased-relatives will pay the bill on YBS office or YBS will send its staff to collect the bill at the client's home. If the deceased-relatives choose the first option, the collector staff will come with the bill to their house.

According to work schedule, administration staffs work from Monday to Saturday, from 7 a.m. to 2 p.m. However, YBS provides its services for 24 hours. There is also emergency call, using cell number of YBS chief and head of office. The administration staffs earn monthly salary according to regional minimum salary in Yogyakarta.

## Funeral Professionals (*Perawat Jenazah*)

The YBS front men are field staffs who are usually called funeral professionals. There are eight staffs. Their main tasks are deceased-treatment services which include washing, enshrouding, performing praying for the deceased (*shalat jenazah*). The field staffs are divided into two groups. The first group consists of four male staff while the second group is made from four female staff. The

male group staff performs services for male deceased and the female group to female deceased. The male and female staffs are forbidden to give services to deceased that have opposite sex. This is according to Islamic rules.

The four male staffs consist of a retired junior high school teacher in Yogyakarta, a former security guard, an English teacher in vocational high school in Sleman, and a retired civil servant from the Faculty of Geography, UGM. While the female staffs are comprise the head of office's wife and her neighbors. All of them are household wife. The status of field staff is not permanent employees but freelance ones. They earn salary based on hours of their work. They get IDR 15,000 for washing the deceased. This field staff do not work in office on daily basis, however, they available anytime when called to duty.

It can be said that their readiness is 24 hours. The male staff will come to the office after summoned by the head of office. The female staff never come to office but directly picked from their homes and then carried to mourner house. When performing their services, the field staff is always accompanied by the head of office. The latter communicates with the deceased-relatives about the bill and other requirements for burial services.

## Islamic Cleric

Cleric is one of important part of services provided by YBS because this kind of service is much related to religious rites in praying for the deceased in funeral ceremony and after burial services. The main task of cleric is to lead reading the sermon for the deceased. In YBS clerical duties are also performed by two male field staff and the head of office and the chief of YBS. Clerical duties are included in field staff category or freelance. The customers using clerical services generally are people from housing and communities where there is no *kaum* or *ulama* or official religious specialist, or people who do not socialize with community.

YBS clerics is a man and especially professional in performing his duties. When arrived in mourner house, YBS cleric directly comes to the deceased and performs praying for deceased (*sholat jenazah*). Sometimes he performs the praying by himself, thus he looks like standing alone among

the mourners sitting on the floor. Other times he performs praying as *imam* (leader) with other mourners. An YBS employee who has clerical duties often told me to wear decent clothes and took *wudhu* when I accompanied him performing his tasks. He said to me that praying and sermon for the deceased is part of *dakwah* (preaching Islam) so the deceased-family feels peace about the soul of the deceased.

According to the rules of this institution, if the deceased is a member of this institution, the clerical role is assumed directly by Mr. Mufti Abu Yazid, the chief of YBS. Besides that, the family background of the deceased, especially from prominent families such as high ranking government officers, businessmen, and university professors, directly request Mr. Mufti to perform religious services particularly for praying the deceased in funeral ceremony.

In the speech at the funeral ceremony, the YBS' cleric always ask apology for not performing maximal services because there are more than one client that has to be served. This is the common statement by YBS clerics although there is no other client need to be served. The cleric opens the sermon by reciting *Al Fatihah*. Then, he reads the sermon in Arabic language. The sermon is not only spoken in Arabic but also translated in Indonesian language. This is the standard rule and special feature for the chief of YBS and its clerics in performing their duties. The purpose is to make audiences understand what is spoken in the sermon. The cleric prays for the deceased twice: first, in the end funeral service at mourner house and second, at cemetery after the deceased is buried.

## Driver

After the internship in the institution I felt that the term "sopir" (Indonesian for driver) is not decent. Because of that, the term "sopir" is replaced by the term in English "driver." The term driver has nuance of respect and bears understanding that driver in YBS office is not a regular driver but an employee working professionally in giving services of delivering the deceased to burial sites and out of town.

There are three drivers in the institution. Their names are Toyib, Tembong and Prapto. Toyib and Tembong has worked at YBS for about twenty years.

Because YBS is a foundation and does not give big salary, Mr. Mufti recruited them with the religious intention and to help fellow muslim. Their positions are the same as field staff which are freelance staff. They do not receive monthly salary but depend on the service requests from clients to deliver deceased with burial-car. Their salary for each service is fifteen thousands rupiahs.

However, they often receive money from the deceased's family. When delivering the deceased from muslim family in Bachiro to home town in Muntilan, I saw one family member of the deceased gave fifti thousands rupiahs to Toyip, a YBS driver. After doing his job, with that money, Toyib treated me and Ruchan, the YBS funeral professional and also performing cleric, to eat at restaurant in Muntilan.

In addition to delivering the deceased, the driver is obliged to wash the funeral car every time after it is used. Eventhough it is used only for one kilometer in distance, the driver still needs to wash it clean. According to Prapto, one of the YBS driver, if the funeral car is not washed, some supranatural things will happen with it. This "supranatural activities" can disturb the driver when doing next duty. The funeral cars belong to YBS are indeed in clean condition, well maintained, and different from other funeral car in general.

## Facilities

As a funeral house institution, YBS actually has a special room and complete equipments for washing the deceased. However, this room can not be used because next door neighbors reject that YBS office is used for washing deceased. YBS office is located at relatively crowded housing. Its sewer is also very narrow. If YBS office is functioned as a modern funeral house, like the Chinese communities' ones, there is a problem in limited parking lot. The vehicles parked in YBS front yard will block the road access for the neighbors. Besides that, in Javanese tradition, deceased are scary business, including its waste water after washing deceased. Moreover, in the west side of YBS, there is an old cemetery.

While in north side, there is the mortuary of RS Sardjito. Because of this rejection, the special room has changed its function to become storage room. It stores five large coffins, a litter to carry the deceased to the grave,

umbrella, dozens of wooden-tomb, and coffin mantle with inscription of *la ila ha illa allah*. Consequently, when washing deceased, YBS staff use deceased-relatives' homes or the deceased in hospitals in Yogyakarta.

*Mushola* in YBS office functions not only as a place for praying but also as a temporary funeral room. This procedure is taken when the deceased will be sent to town in outer Java Island or the deceased house is too narrow. In the year 1998, YBS experienced difficulties in keeping the deceased. At that time, YBS managed the deceased of graduate student from Makasar. YBS yet did not have a room to keeping the deceased. When the deceased would be brought to his rented-room for temporary keeping, the landlord did not grant permission. Then, YBS put the deceased in the mosque. In the next day, the funeral car took the deceased to airport to be sent home to Makasar by air cargo.

Like funeral home in the West and Indonesian-Chinese communities, this institution provides coffin. There are two types of coffin, which are the ones for sale and the others for rent. Coffin is sold with varied prices that start from five hundreds thousands rupiahs, with simple carving and accessories, to ten millions rupiahs, with luxury ornaments and made from top quality woods. While the cost for renting a coffin is seventy thousands rupiah. YBS is a customer of coffin-making business in Kulon Progo.

If the YBS stock is empty, it will order coffin from that businessman. Sometimes YBS receive coffin donation from deceased-family who buried the deceased without its coffin. YBS also provides a stretcher or litter which is for rent only. Compared to coffin, burial stretcher is simpler and easy to bear. This equipment is made of steel with four handles and half cylinder shaped-cover. The rent costs seventy thousands rupiah. The stretcher has green mantle with inscription in Arabic *La illaha illa Allah*, There is no god, but God.

YBS has large stock of white muslin (*kain kafan*), white muslin. This is very different with funeral service done by *kaum* or deceased treatment in village or in old tradition where white muslin is bought after someone is dead. Recently in villages, a *kaum* also keeps white muslin in case somebody is dead. YBS deliberately stores large stock of white muslin because it takes orders for funeral services in one day from one to eight clients. To fill its supply, YBS becomes a customer of a garment shop in Beringharjo Market.



Normally, the shop sends five *pis* of white muslin. Five *pis* is about five bundles. One *pis* of white muslin covers the needs for three deceased. Therefore, five *pis* can provide the needs for fifteen deceased. The YBS employee cuts that *white muslin*. He prepare it into a bundle which consists of three layers of *kafan*, one layer of plastic and ropes to tie. White muslin is not sold separately but included in washing service cost four hundreds thousands rupiah.

Other important equipment to Islamic funeral service is a table for washing deceased. The institution has one table for that purpose. The table has for wheels so that it is easily moved and brought to other place. It has water container and channel to waste dirty water. It is functioned specially to wash the deceased in funeral homes. It is always placed in back of pick up truck covered by permanent tick tent. It is not rent separately but included in washing services.

Funeral car is other important equipment for daily activities in the institution. This is because of cemetery sites in the city are located quite afar from resident areas. YBS has five operational cars which consist of three funeral cars, one passenger van, and one pick up truck. The institution did not buy those cars by itself, but received them from various donators. That is why the cars bear the names of person or company that donated the cars.

One of routine and important activities of the institution is delivering deceased to other town by funeral car. By this delivery service, the institution also accepts delivery for non-Muslim clients. The cost for delivery service to out town is five thousands per kilometer. The delivery service ever sent deceased to several towns in Central Java and East Java such as Kudus, Lasem, Pekalongan, Ponorogo, Sumenep and Jakarta and even to outer islands such as Lampung, Bengkulu, and Pekanbaru. YBS also has a pick up truck. It is used as carrier for washing table, tubes, buckets, and washing apparatus. Operational vehicles in YBS are maintained by three freelance drivers.

The existence of funeral homes like YBS in our society is, arguably, unique. Therefore, the present, role and position attributed to YBS certainly need to be understood in the context related to the current social change in urban areas. In this case, urbanization, loosening community ties, emerging of nucleus family, and medication among senior citizens explain why the role of YBS as funeral home institution for muslim people in Yogyakarta is increasingly

important in the last two decades. In the context of funeral service, YBS is included in the funeral home category, precisely Islamic professional funeral home in Yogyakarta. The routine activities of this funeral home include washing, enshrouding, carrying the deceased into burial stretcher, conducting funeral ceremony, and delivering the deceased to the cemetery.

YBS also practice professionalization process by creating membership and donation system. Through this system, YBS has developed an idea of proper funeral service. This idea enables YBS to offer assurance to various groups in the city that when death comes; their body will be taken care of properly and professionally. The deceased will be washed, enshrouded, and prayed by the YBS professional staff. Incident of death is no longer a burden for family, or neighbors and community. Death has become technical business of special institution in funeral service. As a result, whenever death comes, its coming is already anticipated.

YBS provides its services for its members and no member alike. Request for service can be done by telephone. Administration staffs are responsible for answering telephone calls. They will introduce themselves and open the conversation with polite sentences like “Yayasan Bunga Selasih. What we can do for you?” In answering a request for service, they always ask three items of important information: the status of the deceased, whether he or she is a member or not, the name of the deceased, home address, phone number and the name of client for further confirmation. The staffs then note down those information in a form paper of request for service.

In addition to recording data, the form also functions as a bill. On the emergency situation, request for service is channeled to emergency call number and directly connected to head of office and the chief of YBS. Emergency situation usually happens at midnight and pre-dawn. Like the administration staffs’ procedures, head of office will ask those three items of important information.

The membership status is important to notice and always asked by YBS staffs. If the deceased is a member, then YBS staff will prepare funeral service in special treatment because the members contribute monthly donation. YBS members receive important facilities including tomb made from wood (complete with name, date of birth and death inscription), burial stretcher,

transportation to cemetery, and cleric. The clerical service, for YBS members, usually directly performs by the chief of YBS. This is privilege rights for YBS members. Administration staffs will also note the membership number and put the deceased information into membership data for those members who already past away and received funeral services from YBS.

If the deceased is not a member, the family must pay the funeral and other services. After telephone conversation is over, an administration staff put that information at announcement board. The information is important for the driver when he confirm home address of the deceased. Afterwards, the administration staff contact the head of office and report those three items of information. It is the head of office who calls funeral professional by text message and sometimes by phone call. As internship employee, I was often contacted by text message and sometimes at midnight. Four male funeral professionals will gather at the office. While female funeral professionals will be picked up at their houses. And then they come to the deceased home by YBS pick up truck.

At the funeral home, the funeral professional meets one of the deceased relatives to introduce themselves, especially to person who contacted YBS previously. They at once discuss the place for washing the deceased and enshrouding. The place for washing is usually at the front or back yard. After that, funeral professional immediately prepares that place and cover it with four-sided curtains. The other funeral professionals prepare white muslin and other equipments such as camphor, cotton, soap, shampoo, towel, and batik. When the deceased is readied for washing, funeral professional will ask family members to joining in washing process. This is according to Islamic tradition that the deceased is washed by family members.

After washing process, the deceased is dried, sprayed with camphor powder, and enshrouded. The funeral professionals and family members will take *wudhu* to pray for deceased. After funeral services are completed, the funeral professional will offer other services related to funeral ceremony. Three essential things offered to non-members are coffin or burial stretcher, tomb, and cleric. Funeral professional sometimes explains the cost of services. Most of deceased's family chooses to rent a coffin or burial stretcher, order tomb, and cleric.

It is not unusual that funeral services are conducted in hospitals. This is because of the deceased past away when treated in hospital. Compared to funeral home, funeral services in hospitals are slightly different. After contacted by the family of the deceased, YBS funeral professional does not come to the deceased's home but directly to the hospital. As a funeral service institution, YBS is known by almost all hospitals in Yogyakarta. When YBS was performing funeral services at RS Sardjito and Jogja International Hospital (JIH), parking men from both hospitals did not charge parking fee because they recognized the funeral car and YBS staff as Islamic funeral professional. Conversely, YBS field staffs know every corner of the mortuary and were known by hospital employees in RS Sardjito, RS Panti Rapih, RS Bethesda, and RS JIH.

YBS uses membership system as an important basis for delivering services. Membership system has been used since 1994. Until January 2010, the total number of YBS member is 5774. There are four classifications which determine donation. First classification is Group A with ages range above 61 years old and monthly minimum donation IDR 5,000; Group B with ages range from 41-60 years old and monthly minimum donation IDR 4,000; Group C with ages range from 21-60 and monthly minimum donation IDR 3,000; Group D with ages range from 0-21 and annual minimum donation IDR 2,000.

The purpose of minimum donation is that the members are allowed to contribute bigger donation. For administration convenience, some YBS members usually contribute once for a year. Besides that, YBS and some members choose someone as the representative especially in housing complex to help members in contributing monthly or annually. YBS representatives collect routine contribution, record it, and give it to YBS office.

Some people become YBS member because there is a guarantee and certainty that the deceased will be managed by this institution. It gives assurance to elderly people in waiting their time. When death comes, their body will be taken care of properly by YBS. In modern life in urban areas, elderly phase is a critical phase socially (Kearl, 1989: 467).

Explicitly, elderly people are considered unproductive. They experience social death because their social relations in society are increasingly limited. Their world is limited to religious gathering. This is reflected in the YBS religious gathering that most of its members are retired and elderly people. The existence

of YBS certainly can not be separated from its donators. There are mutual relations between them. The main donators are its members that contribute monthly as explained previously. In addition, there are individual donators, private business and government institution who donated their money to YBS.

The YBS office building was rebuilt from donations from donators. It building began in 25 October 2000 and finished in November 2001. YBS building is located at dusun Sendowo, Sinduadi, Mlati, Sleman. Its location is exactly on the south side of RS Sardjito. The next south of the building is Sekip housing complex for UGM lecturers. While across to east is campus complex for Medical Faculty, UGM. The building process was led by a team from YBS management. Former Rector of UGM, Prof. Koesnadi, became the advisor of building process. To gather public support, the plan of building, first building ceremony, and building process were announced to public by local mass media.

In the first building ceremony, YBS management invited prominent people in Yogyakarta. They are Governor of DIY, Sultan HB X, Vice Governor Paku Alam IX, Rector of UGM and several government officers in Yogyakarta. This is also the case with YBS funeral cars. YBS got all of them not from its expenditure budget but from donations. Three funeral cars in form of ambulances were received from private companies and one passenger van came from Bank Indonesia donation. The names or donators are clearly visible in the car' body.

The first funeral car is Mitsubitsi L-3000. This car is a donation from PT. Tugu Pratama Indonesia, insurance company owned by Bob Hasan. This car was donated in 1998. At YBS office, especially among employees and drivers, this funeral car is usually called Mobil Pratama. The second funeral car is Mitsubitsi L-300 donated from the Leader of the Mandate National Party (PAN), Mr. Amien Rais. This donation was at the same moment with his candidacy in Presidential Election to boost political campaign. However, YBS is neutral politically because the main business of this institution is death business, precisely funeral services for deceased. The car is named Mobil Piar. While the third funeral car is Mitsubitsi Diesel Besar donated from PT. BP Kedaulatan Rakyat, local daily newspaper in Yogyakarta. This donation is printed in a big feature by *Kedaulatan Rakyat* (KR) newspaper. It was ceremonially given by Major of Yogyakarta City to the chief of YBS, Mufti Abu Yazid and witnessed

by the chief of PT. BP Kedaulatan Rakyat, R. Wonohito. As published by KR, Mr. Mufti Abu Yazid was looked very happy about this donation.

No wonder, after accepting the car key, he instantly did *sujud syukur* (bow from kneeling position so that forehead touches floor for thankfulness) in the street without any cover that made the audiences touched and amazed. A big sized-photograph captured that moment and showed clearly that Mufti Abu Yazid was doing *sujud syukur* in the floor. This funeral car is named *Mobil KR* (KR Funeral Car/Ambulance).

Extensive networks have significant contribution to the existence of YBS as modern professional funeral institution. Because of its networks, this institution is well embraced by urban middle class in Yogyakarta. There are two network institutions which are hospitals and public cemetery. These are important poles in the networks built by YBS. YBS is known by several hospitals in Yogyakarta as Islamic professional funeral institution. YBS is frequently asked by hospitals to take care of deceased from their patients in the mortuary.

During my internship, I participated in taking care of deceased in RS Sardjito, RS JIH dan RS Bethesda. YBS funeral professionals are well informed about the mortuary in those hospitals. They understand about the location, administration procedures, how to open doors, and equipments in the mortuary. They also know employees in that mortuary of several hospitals. Mufti and Aditomo themselves ever worked at RS Sardjito as cleric. Their clerical duties are giving spiritual support for patients. They also managed and washed the deceased patients.

To gain access for cemetery land, YBS has made relations with The Sleman Regency's Housing and Infrastructure Service of (Dinas Pemukiman dan Prasarana). Sleman has provided vast cemetery land. They granted permission for non native people to be buried in that cemetery. In the case like this, YBS provides assistance to people who do not have cemetery land. This is done by helping them manage cemetery permission from local authorities. However, the right use of the cemetery land is not free. It has to be purchased and its retribution paid. YBS services mentioned above become important because it always tries to make cemetery land is accessible to everybody. In this case, YBS tries to get affordable and standard price for the family of the deceased.

### List of YBS Services and Costs Year 2009

1. Member contribution	minimum IDR 30,000 per year
2. Funeral service	IDR 400,000
3. Coffin (borrowed)	IDR 75,000
4. Coffin (bought)	IDR 500,000- 10,000,000
5. Tomb from wooden	IDR 100,000
6. Funeral Car	
- Open-close door service	IDR 50,000
- per 1 km	IDR 5,000
7. Cleric	IDR 100,000
8. Washing equipment	included in funeral service
9. Tent	negotiated
10. Chairs	negotiated
11. Sound System	negotiated

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# ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION AND NEW CULTURAL SPACES

*Sai Baba Movement in Bali as an Urban Phenomenon*

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## Introduction

Recent studies on Balinese religion discuss the emergence of *Agama Hindu* as a new religion and the proliferation of new religious movements such as Sai Baba<sup>1</sup>. Leo Howe, an anthropologist working on Balinese religion, stated that the proliferation of Sai Baba followers in Bali is a result of the introduction of various Indian religious traditions to the island by its intellectuals. A recent observation of the Sai Baba movement will clearly show that this movement is growing more popular especially since the transition to post-New Order Indonesia in 1998. In contrast with the New Order era when Sai Baba was under strict scrutiny, these groups are now warmly accepted by a far wider audience and especially from educated affluent urbanites.

The urban characteristic of Sai Baba followers is notable if we put it into perspective on current trends in Balinese religious life. According to Howe (2005) the critical questions posed by the Balinese today regarding current

<sup>1</sup> Howe argues that *Agama Hindu*, a form of modernized, state-sponsored Hindu which promotes orthodoxy, emerged as a response from Balinese intellectuals to fit state's definition of religion in Indonesia by producing a rationalized and theological version of its traditional religion. It was done by importing teachings of a version of Indian Hinduism to Bali. Another work by McDaniel gives accounts on the role of Parisadha Hindu Dharma Indonesia (Hindu Council) in the emergence of *Agama Hindu* as some sort of a new religious movement (McDaniel, 2010: 93-111). These two studies are actually in continuity with the discussion regarding symptoms of transformation within Balinese religion from orthopraxy to orthodoxy started by Clifford Geertz in the sixties (Geertz, 1964; Yamashit, 2003).

religious life center on the efficacy of their traditional ritual actions. Is the time and money spent on such rituals worth all the effort? High expenditure makes the poor even more financially disadvantaged, relative to their affluent fellow Balinese who might still be able to afford expensive rituals.

Another point that Howe points out is that as a consequence of the emergence of Agama Hindu and devotional movements such as Sai Baba, the financially burdensome *adat* as the traditional version of Hinduism is no longer the only existing religious system in Bali. As Howe rightly observed, the Balinese are currently living with these three competing religious systems and a compelling question is to see to which system the Balinese give their allegiance (Howe, 2005: 56).

A cursory response might be that the less-fortunate Balinese would choose to harbor their allegiance to devotional movements such as Sai Baba which put less emphasis on expensive rituals. This incentive-based thinking does not explain much of the reality I discovered in Buleleng, one of the poorest regencies in Bali besides Karangasem, where followers of Sai Baba were mostly educated, affluent urbanites. The poor in Buleleng, most of them villagers, are still bound to their traditional *adat* traditions, and still manage to articulate their traditional religion in the most basic format called *nista*<sup>2</sup>. In term of demarcating these three religious systems; *adat*, Agama Hindu and Sai Baba, the Balinese are very likely divided along educational and geographical lines. There is also no direct correlation whereby the poor will prefer the less burdensome religious system such as Sai Baba. A few questions to ask now are; why the followers of Sai Baba are mostly affluent urbanites? What specific condition that makes possible this allegiance to devotional religious system mostly found only in urban areas?

This paper will argue that Sai Baba movement is generally urban phenomenon which made possible by the economic transformation from agricultural to modern economy. The changing of occupations in the new economy has created: (1) Migration, as people move from their villages of origin to the new workplace in the city, and (2) two emerging cultural spaces

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<sup>2</sup> The family shrines of the poor are made from bare trees. There are three level of religious and ritual practices in Bali. Utama, meaning the greatest way which is very grandeur and expensive; Madya, meaning the middle way which is moderate in scale; and Nista, meaning the bare minimum which is very humble in scale.

of Workplace in the city and Home in the village of origin. The Workplace as a cultural space brought with it a new logic of time. Adapting to this new logic of time, Balinese urbanites find it hard to maintain their *Adat* religion which still uses traditional Balinese calendar. Strategically, they adopt a new mode of religious articulation in an urban context where Sai Baba movement is embraced due to its several features. I suggest that to understand the emergence of new religions and new mode of religious articulation in Bali we have to look at specific transformations at the economic and demographic level.

## Sai Baba Movement in Bali

Sai Study Group is a congregation of followers of Sri Satya Sai Baba, an Indian guru born in Putthaparthi, India in 1926 and recently passed away in March 2011. Since childhood he is believed to have been performing miracles which meant that he gained a lot of followers. Nowadays, his followers have been spread all over the world with the establishment of 1,200 Satya Sai Baba centers in 126 countries<sup>3</sup>. This makes the Satya Sai movement a remarkable globalized phenomenon. The more so as its nature as a movement that does not come from the West as the center, but from a geographically marginal India makes it an alternative direction of globalization (Srinivas, 2010).

The popularity of this movement also reaches Indonesia in which there are 92 Sai Centers in 9 coordinating areas<sup>4</sup>. Coordinating area VII which includes Bali, East Nusa Tenggara and West Nusa Tenggara has 36 centers, with 32 of them in Bali alone. This makes Bali the region with highest numbers of centers as well as followers. In Bali, there are approximately over 12,000 followers reported (Howe, 2005). Mostly the followers in Bali are the Hindus with a few Chinese members. The first Sai Baba Center was established in Denpasar in

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<sup>3</sup> Satya Sai Organization's website <http://www.sathyasai.org/organize/content.htm>, accessed June 8, 2011

<sup>4</sup> Coordinating area I includes North Sumatra, Aceh, Riau, and West Sumatra with 4 Sai centers, coordinating area II includes Jambi, Lampung, Bengkulu with 13 Sai centers, coordinating region III includes Jakarta, Banten and Western Java with 4 Sai centers, coordinating centre IV includes Central Java, Jogjakarta, Semarang, Surakarta with 4 Sai centers, coordinating area V includes Surabaya, Malang, Blitar, Banyuwangi and Jember with 10 Sai centers, coordinating area VI includes Palangkaraya and Kalimantan with 2 Sai centers, coordinating area VII includes Bali, East Nusa Tenggara and West Nusa Tenggara with 36 centers, coordinating area VIII includes South Sulawesi and Southeast Sulawesi with 5 Sai centers, coordinating area IX includes Central Sulawesi, North Sulawesi, Manado and Gorontalo with 15 Sai centers. Data taken from <http://saicenterindonesia.blogspot.com> accessed June 8, 2011

1984 and recently in November 2010 another one was established in Panji village, Buleleng regency, North Bali, where I conducted my fieldwork.

Looking at the characteristic of Sai Baba followers, an obvious feature of their profile is the high level of education, urban-based and non-agricultural job. My informants are high school teachers, university lecturer pursuing his PhD in religious studies, NGO staff, a very successful entrepreneur who has been to Putthaparthi twice and university student at a prominent university in Java. Only an insignificant number of them are in low profile jobs. One informant told me that there are actually a few of them working as a parking valet and labourers. These findings are substantiated by Howe's work (2001) who conducted fieldwork observing Sai Baba in Bali. As the followers education and occupation will be an important part in my discussion later, this information deserves a considerable quotation:

“Such educational qualifications provide entry into good jobs. Twenty eight of the fifty-three describe themselves as civil servant, professionals, private officials or entrepreneurs, with six more being students. The others are artisans, white collar workers, ordinary employees, labourers and a few unemployed.” (Howe, 2001: 171)

All my informants and the Sai Baba followers in general, work in the city of Singaraja; the capital city of Buleleng regency, and reside there. Only a few of them live in the outskirts. This makes the urban characteristics of the followers more obvious. This characteristic is also highlighted by Howe:

It is rare for a village to have more than a few individuals or families who belong to the Sai Baba movement. Center of worship are situated in the main towns and attracts devotees from the surrounding villages. Given their isolation from likeminded people, devotees often find it hard to maintain their membership in the face of opposition and criticism from suspicious villagers (Howe, 2005: 107)

## Economic Transformation and New Occupations

As mentioned above, the occupations of the Sai Baba followers are mostly professional, non-agricultural ones. New occupations is a characteristic of the economic transformation happened in Bali. The island known for its agrarian

characteristic where most of the inhabitants are farmers and working in the field has been gradually shifting to modern economy. Comparing statistical data from the year 1950 with the latest one in 2006 shows the total area of wet rice fields has decreased to only half of the total area in the fifties.<sup>5</sup>

No.	Region	Total Area (1948)	Total Area (2006)
1	Buleleng	34, 429	16,301
2	Jembrana	15,016	10,924
3	Tabanan	62, 198	25,903
4	Badung	47,732	13,708
5	Gianyar	39,022	19,505
6	Bangli	7,937	4,569
7	Klungkung	11,952	4,027
8	Karangasem	19,975	9,641
9	Denpasar*	n/a	1,491
	Bali	238,261	106,069

\* Denpasar was previously part of Badung before granted special status as a separated city.

\*\* All data in Ha. The 1948 data is taken from Swellengrebel (1960:10), and the 2006 data is taken from *Data Bali Membangun* 2006.

A glimpse on Bali's current regional GDP also mirrored the transition of its economy. While the early account of Bali's regional GDP is not available, description of its economy mostly mention the income from agricultural sector where 75 percent of the population are employed (Swellengrebel, 1960: 9-11).

No.	Type of enterprise	2003	2004	2005
1	Agriculture, animal husbandry forestry, fishing	5,666,835.82	6,011,427.77	6,887,173.89
2	Mining and quarrying	176,964.87	196,471.79	225,485.55
3	Manufacture	2,384,661.40	2,610,131.31	2,950,807.40
4	Electricity, gas and water supply	411,013.44	522,553.47	627,986.96
5	Construction	1,051,150.30	1,132,719.56	1,368,305.14
6	Trade, hotel & restaurant	7,439,345.43	8,452,944.75	9,968,548.41
7	Transportation & communication	2,930,517.78	3,275,453.25	4,022,667.63
8	Finance, renting and company service	1,725,224.41	1,969,622.09	2,399,259.06
9	Services	4,382,130.74	4,815,272.68	5,496,233.48
	Total regional GDP	26,167,941.90	28,989,595.67	33,946,467.52

\* figures are in million rupiahs. \*\* data taken from *Data Bali Membangun* 2

<sup>5</sup> Because rice is the main agricultural produce in Bali, for the purpose of this study only rice production is taken into consideration as agricultural commodity.

Nowadays, the agricultural sector contributes only 20.3 percent of the whole regional GDP. The tertiary sector of tourism industry and services has surpassed it and is now the most contributive by its 29.3 and 16.2 percent share respectively (Bali Membangun 2006). Below is the table of Bali's regional GDP 2003-2005.

From the table we can see that the three top earners are those basically under the umbrella of tourism industry (trade, hotel and restaurant), services, and those under the umbrella of traditional economy (agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry and fishing). However, if we divide the sources of regional GDP into traditional economy (agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry, fishing) and modern economy (mining, manufacture and the rest of it), we can clearly see how Bali has been shifting away from the traditional economy. The classification holds relevance since the traditional economy, mainly agriculture, has different disposition of time with the modern economy that will be discussed later.

Following the transition to the new economy, there are changes in terms of people's occupations. Prior to the economic development of Bali, which is directed toward tourism industry since the 1970, most of the occupations are farmers, builders, smiths, priests, puppeteers, and craftsmen (*undagi*) (Howe, 2005: 73; Swelengrebeng, 1960: 11). Nowadays in the diversified and modern economy occupations are varied, especially when it is noted that the high education of the Balinese youth foster their high expectations for jobs outside the agricultural sectors.

Buleleng regency, where I conducted fieldwork, is one of the poverty stricken regencies in Bali besides Karangasem. In Buleleng, the agricultural sector is still significant with 44 percent of the active workforce working in agricultural sector, however the rest of 54 percent are well integrated into the modern economy. The composition are as follows: agriculture (44%), manufacturing (12%), construction (9%), trade (21%), communication (5%), finance (1%) and services (8%) (Kabupaten Buleleng dalam Angka 2009). This change is remarkable as it marks the movement away from occupations in agricultural sector.

Of the Sai Baba followers that I interviewed, none was working in the agricultural sectors. Their occupations are mostly in business and education sectors. As an example, Pak Gusti one of my informants is a successful

businessman with main income from multi level marketing. He makes quite a lot of money that enables him to travel abroad regularly. He has been doing *dharsan*, seeing Satya Sai Bhaba physically or paying a visit to Putthaparthi India, twice. Another one is Pak Suendra, a lecturer at a local university. He is now pursuing his PhD in religious studies.

## New Occupations and Migration

While people's occupations in the traditional economy is based in their villages of origin, the new occupations forced them to leave their villages of origin to a new places usually in the cities. A life story from my informant illustrates this process. Ibu Putu is a teacher at a local high school in Singaraja who I encountered during a *bhajan*, at a house of a devotee. She has been teaching mathematics for more than twenty years. Previously she has been posted in the city of Tabanan before moved to Singaraja in 1995. She is married to a lecturer and they have three sons. Ibu Putu was educated in a local university in Singaraja which made her leave her village of origin in southern Bali to study in north Bali. She met her husband during college and they both found jobs as teacher and lecturer respectively. Their career made them migrate from their village of origin and finally live in Singaraja for good. Even though they are still visiting their villages of origin for ritual purposes they are now registered as Singaraja citizens.

This is not an exclusive story for Ibu Putu alone as all my informants have similar stories of moving from their village of origin to pursue their career in the cities. It is also not a new phenomenon as we can find generally rapid urbanization marked by migration of people from their villages of origin to the cities. However, in the case of the Balinese this is notable since the migration and the new occupations introduce people to a new logic of time in the workplace, and a distance from village of origin and its traditional logic of time.

## Workplace and Home: Two Cultural Spaces

Balinese have special relation with their village of origin. Anywhere in the world they eventually live, they cannot cut off the link with their family in the village. This is because the traditional Balinese religion puts so much emphasis

on ancestor worship and death ritual. All this ritual generally takes place at the original core family house in the village. As the Balinese are members of several temples' worships in their village, they are obligated to participate in any rituals take place there (Geertz, 1964: 228). Another thing that keeps them tied is that the Balinese traditionally want to be buried and cremated at the village where they originally belong. They want to come back and be together with the ancestors in the afterlife. This means they have to maintain harmonious relationship with fellow villagers back home in order to be still considered members and thus entitled to use the graveyard.

Life in the village of origin has its own unique atmosphere to the urban Balinese. The most obvious is that they speak Balinese more often if not entirely everytime with each other in the village. This is because they encounter people of primordial ties such as elders, close relatives and fellow villagers from similar temple groups. This familiar social relationship in the village also forces them to recognize the specific language strategies utilized to address different people from different castes. The Balinese use different classes of language to address different people. More refined Balinese to the higher caste, and middle vernacular Balinese to people of similar caste. This is in contrast with the situation in the city where they speak bahasa Indonesia more often than Balinese.

However the most prominent feature of life in the village of origin is its rituals and the logic of time regulating the schedule of this rituals. Balinese calendar is different to the modern Gregorian calendar in several ways. First of all, the Balinese use two parallel systems namely the believed indigenous *Pawukon* system and the *Sasih* or *Caka* system. The *Pawukon* system consists of 6 months and 35 days each month, which makes 210 days per year. The year is not counted as it mirrors the non-linear nature of its time philosophy. There are 10 different kinds of weeks in this calendar, from one day week to ten days week in which each day has its own name. Most of Balinese temple festivals are scheduled based on this calendar. Two big holy days Galungan and Kuningan are also scheduled using this calendar.

The *Sasih* or *Caka* system has something in common with the Gregorian calendar in that they have 12 months and they count each year. However, the *Sasih* system has invariably 30 days each month. This is because it is based on



the lunar cycle of full moon and new moon. Each new month begin the day after the new moon. Several temple rituals are based on this calendar and also the silent day of Nyepi is the new year day of this calendar.

As life in the village is colored by endless rituals, very often I hear an elderly woman talk to her married daughter about offerings that have to be made to this ritual event at this specific temple “*Kliwon* (a name of a day in Pawukon system) is coming in two days, have you prepared the offerings?” This kind of conversation illustrates much about what happens in everyday life of traditional Balinese. I would like to call this atmosphere in the village as a traditional sphere or Home. It is a cultural space in which the Balinese articulate their traditional identity marked by traditional disposition of time, Balinese language, and primordial ties.

The situation in the city is different in several ways. First of all the Balinese encounter people from more varied backgrounds in the workplace and rarely those of the same primordial ties. As a consequence they use more bahasa Indonesia or alternately with Balinese language. This language use of bahasa Indonesia is strategic as it promotes equivalent position with each other. The second feature of life in the city is that the logic of time is dominantly the modern Gregorian one. This is true since the modern life marked by modern economy uses the logic of Gregorian calendar. Students, workers, teachers and almost everyone start activities in weekdays and have days off at the weekend. They also share the same national holidays with others regardless of religious affiliation. In terms of identification the Balinese see themselves as “Hindus” in contrast to fellow Muslims, Christians and other religions they mingle with in the city. This is in contrast with what happens in the village where everyone is almost certainly Hindu so the identification tends to be directed towards clan, temple congregations and castes. This is to say that in the city life the Balinese adopt a modern articulation of themselves, including in religious life. They tend to identify themselves as Hindus and not by specific clan in encountering more people from diverse background in the workplace.

I would like to call this atmosphere in the city as modern sphere of Workplace. It is a cultural space in which the Balinese articulate their modern identity marked by modern disposition of time, involvement in modern economy, bahasa Indonesia as a national language, and non-primordial ties. The urban

Balinese immerse themselves in these two cultural spaces while the agricultural villagers are relatively not very much exposed to the Workplace as a cultural space as they are still a part of agricultural economy. Life within these two cultural spaces has its own challenges which the urban Balinese found very much difficult and influences their mode of religious articulation. The challenges mainly come from the different logic of times in those two cultural spaces.

## Arising Problems: Juggling Between Work and Rituals

As has been mentioned above the logic of time in the traditional sphere is very much different from the modern one. The traditional calendar of Pawukon is used to schedule temple festivals and all the rituals in the village. This scheduling then collided with the workdays disposition of Balinese urbanites which uses modern calendar in the workplace. As a consequence the Balinese urbanites almost always cannot participate in the rituals in the village of origin. This is a dilemma as most of them want to participate in order to keep harmonious social and religious relationships with the fellow villagers and ancestors spirit. However, leaving their work will definitely jeopardize their career and in most cases their income. A Sai Baba follower that I interviewed, a journalist named Mustika, says:

“Let us imagine, if we always leave our work for attending the temple festival, it means we miss our income for a day. This is serious for those who make a living from opening a shop or as construction workers. And the temple festivals are many, should we leave our work frequently? No wonder there are no one who wants to employ the Balinese. Exactly because we have too many holidays!”

An observation on a Balinese household wall calendar will give a good illustration. A Balinese household wall calendar is different from other calendars as it has all the systems that the Balinese recognize put together in the printed paper. So they have Gregorian, Pawukon, Caka and even Chinese one. The calendar will tell the Balinese when a temple ritual will be carried out as in each days there is information on the Pawukon feature of the day. However, most likely those temple festivals happen during weekdays when the color of the day is black, meaning workdays. Most of the day that colored red, meaning

holidays, are national holidays and there is only one Balinese national holidays that is the Caka new year. This means the urban Balinese need to choose between going to work or skip a day to participate in the temple ritual.



Photos: author's archive

The inability to participate in rituals has been a source for problems to the urban Balinese. It might be a trigger for social conflict between fellow villagers which has been discussed a lot in studies on Balinese traditional conflict or *kasus adat*. Those who can not participate are risking becoming socially ostracized by their fellow villagers in the village of origin and might be denied access to the village graveyard. This anxiety of being socially ostracized is a perpetual theme arising in my interviews when the discussion touches upon difficulties of not being able to participate in the rituals in the village of origin. An interview with pak Made, a lecturer, tells me a lot about this anxiety:

“There was once my fellow lecturer passed away and his family had the death ritual carried out in his village. During his life he was a prominent figure and he contributed a lot financially to his village in order to compensate for his absence during ceremonies. However still he was less respected in his own village by his fellow villagers. It can be seen from the fact that the family need to pay people to shower his dead body because people from the village hesitate to do that. Shame to us that we treat our fellow Balinese like that. Just because he is unable to participate in the village ceremonies.”

## Modern Disposition and Religious Tolerance in Sai Baba

This situation of difficulties maintaining the traditional *Adat* religion in the village of origin forces the Balinese to adopt a new mode of religious articulation. They seek for a simplified version of religion that fits their modern disposition. This is also a theme that appears during my interview with my informants. They seem to talk about the financial burden of the ritual, but given their affluent financial status, they actually express their puzzlement why rituals should be that meticulously impractical. After all, if they still follow the logic of their traditional counterparts, carrying out an expensive ritual is actually a theatrical show to express status. But it is very unlikely, as they are actually very modern and educated. An interview with pak Made the lecturer give me the following information on this non-traditionalist perspective:

“The traditionalist still want to use a lot of *banten* (offerings) with the argument to preserve culture. They don’t accept the fact that Bali has already imported all the resources to make *banten* like fruits, palm leaves and coconut. Bali is no longer able to provide all this resources in carrying out rituals. After all the *banten* is actually symbols that can be substituted by *mantras* (verses). For those who can perform *mantras* they don’t need *banten*.”

This need of new mode of religious articulation, I suggest, draws the Sai Baba followers to embrace the movement as it has specific features that fit their need.

Sai Baba movement has a very simple ritual of *bhajan* which is carried out every Thursday evening<sup>6</sup>. This schedule of doing *bhajan* every Thursday evening is important because it is aligned with the modern disposition of time. It is regularly carried out in the evening after work hours and it is not compulsory

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<sup>6</sup> In Singaraja, the center is located in Panji village, an outskirts to the west of the city. The Sai center in Panji village was formally inaugurated on the 84th birthday of Satya Sai Baba on November 23, 2010. The approximately 5 acre land where the center is build is a donation from a local sympathizer who happened to be an influential politician named Rai Yusa. The center itself is moderate in term of its two storey construction. The hall to do *bhajan*, a singing ritual to worship Sai Baba, is upstairs while the first floor is a multifunctional room for the members. Outside the building at the yard is a statue of Ganesha and a Padmasana shrine.

Members come every Thursday evening to do *bhajan*. According to my informant, there are approximately 70 to 100 devotees come every Thursday. Once during my fieldwork, I counted the small mattress on which the devotees sit during *bhajan* and it counts up to around 73. Besides the center which devotees call Sai Study Group (SSG) there are also small congregations at devotees’ home consisted around 5-7 devotees per group which they call Sai Devotional Groups (SDG). Members coming every Thursday to an SDG is around 5-7. There is also no strict dress code to come to do *bhajan* quite different with traditional Balinese custom which uses specific dress code.

as the members can do bhajan at home. Also there is no sanction of being ostracized if a member cannot attend. It is flexible in nature. This simplicity of ritual is a strong feature that appeals to the urban Balinese besides also the religious tolerance that Sai Baba promotes

The religious tolerance can be seen from its inclusive teaching. Its inclusive teachings make Satya Sai movement a rather open organization which is easy to join with. Followers come from every religions as Satya Sai's teaching does not offer a new theology which might replace his followers' original one. Instead Satya Sai enforces the idea of oneness and demands his followers to ignore differences between religions. In his own words:

“The main objectives of the Satya Sai Organization...is to help you organize the divinity inherent in you. So your duty is to emphasize the One, to experience the One in all your do (sic!) or speak. Do not give importance to differences of religion, sect, status or color. Have the feeling of oneness permeate all your acts. Only those who do so have a place in this Organization; the rest can withdraw (Satya Sai Speaks IX, 35, 187-88)” (<http://www.sathyasai.org/organize/content.htm> accessed on June 8 2011).

There is also no commitment to always participate as members come and go as they like. They can come to enjoy the religious atmosphere during bhajan and not come the week after. Another important thing is that the members are suggested to help each other who have difficulties. At the end of each bhajan there is usually a notification and news about members. The news can be good news or bad news in which there are members who happen to get accident etc. Other members are encouraged to give help as they feel like and according to their ability.

All these features of the movement which promotes religious tolerance, help each others who find difficulties, modern disposition of time in scheduling events, and simplified rituals are exactly what the urban balinese need as their new mode of religious articulation in city context. The religious tolerance is important as the urban Balinese are anxious about their fellow villagers that being intolerant to them who cannot participate in village rituals. Helping each others and modern disposition of time are the demand of life in the city context. While simplified ritual is the perspective they adopt as a modern and educated who understand religion closely to its great tradition namely the Vedas.

## Conclusion

The economic transformation from agricultural to the modern economy has made the Balinese change their traditional occupations and leave their village of origins to the cities. The migration and change of occupation introduce them to a more dominant logic of time in the workplace and city context. This new logic of time makes them difficult to participate in the traditional rituals taking place in their village of origin. However, the Balinese still want to maintain their relationship with the village of origin. This is true because of the obligation of ancestral worship and their need to be buried at home. As a consequence they are anxious about their situation and longing for a mode of religious articulation that fit their modern disposition. Sai Baba movement with its simplified rituals, religious tolerance, and modern disposition of time appeals strongly to be embraced as a shelter and a new mode of religious articulation.

Urban characteristics of the Sai Baba followers in Bali has been much overlooked by the previous study conducted by Howe (2001, 2005). Observation on Sai Baba followers tend to look at the relationship among followers which is non-hierarchical. This is so since the perspective being used is the one that tries to understand Sai Baba followers in light of perpetual theme of caste antagonism in Bali. The theme of hierarchies in Balinese religion and religious life is a classic discussion that has been started since the early studies by the philologist and ethnologist. The researcher will be baffled by the fact that Sai Baba followers are not exclusively commoners only as there are also members from the high castes.

This paper suggests that to understand the new mode of religious articulation of the Balinese we need to look at the changes happening at the level of material infrastructure. The transformation from agricultural economy to industrial economy has changed also spatial dimension of social landscape in Bali. People are divided into those migrating to the city and involved in the modern industrial economy and those staying in the village and involved in the traditional economy. Involvement in different kind of economies affect the people's disposition of time which in turn change their cultural articulation. In this light we see change take places from economy to space and finally to cultural identity.

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# INDONESIAN ISLAMIC NATION (NII) MOVEMENT IN URBAN AREA

*The Dynamic and Its Strategies in Preventing and  
Dealing with the NII in three Biggest Higher  
Education Institutions in Banyumas Area*

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## Introduction

The outbreak of cases of deception toward university students associated with the Indonesian Islamic State (known as NII) in various regions in Indonesia forces us to rethink what happened to higher education institutions and its environment. Indonesian media reports that many of NII's victims are university students include universities in Banyumas also not immune from the movement under the mask of NII. At least there are 43 students already recorded in Banyumas universities are involved or become victims of deception. These numbers may sound so few. However, we can assume that this victims' number is the number that revealed by the media and therefore it is very possible the real number of the victims are more than 43 students.

Serious attention on NII movement, recently, has become very important because the consequences are very hazardous. For examples, on religion aspect, the followers of NII movement is legalizing all forms of criminality on the basis of the Quran and they also feel that their group is the most truthful and considered infidels for people outside their group. On social aspect, the impact is no less dangerous. The followers of NII movement justifies that all infidels' belongings are justified to be taken by them. Another social impact is that by following NII movement worsen relationships with family, neighbors, student's interactions, and worsen the

academic performance drastically. Furthermore, the NII followers tended to resistant to Indonesian government because, as a state, Indonesia is considered as an infidels state-nation.

At least there are two important dimensions of this action NII movement, which are criminal and ideological dimensions. Criminal dimension are acts of deception that usually occurs after ideological intrusion being done. Instead of exploring the realm of law, this article analyses the ideological dimension. Ideological dimension is a process that is a cognitive and beliefs that allow the actions of deception or other crimes occurred. This is a process that became the foundation for attitudes and actions taken by those involved in deception action.

Therefore, this article will give more attention to the matter of the importance of ideology in the process of recruiting members of the NII and the responses of universities as educational institutions in responding to the NII intrusion into the campus environment. Colleges that will be the concern of this article are three colleges in Banyumas, which are Jenderal Soedirman University (UNSOED), Purwokerto Muhammadiyah University (UMP) and the College of Islamic Studies (STAIN) Purwokerto.

Arguably, whether the group was behind the actions of deception truly NII movement, but there is no denying that we can trace it down to the NII group formed by Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosoewirjo on August 7, 1949. The NII group, which is often associated with acts of deception, is the NII Commandment Region-9 (well known as NII KW-9) led by A. S. Panji Gumilang. The goal of NII KW-9 was also similar to the NII that led by Kartosoewirjo that is to establish the Indonesian Islamic State. However, it should be noted that most of the NII KW-9 is not a successor of the NII led by Kartosoewiryo.

The recent NII KW-9 claimed the NII name symbolically, while their teachings have totally deviated from that taught by Kartosoewiryo in 1940s. Thus, the NII movement meant in this article is NII KW-9. In recruiting members, the NII lure potential members (which it also means potential victims) with promises of heaven or martyrdom. After potential victim is interested they will demand their victim to give some money as infaq (sacrificing money) and for sin abolishment.

## Indonesian Islamic State (NII): One Action Two Faces

The political history of Indonesia noted that NII became one of the most important symbols for the struggle of Indonesian Muslims in the fight for their ideology. Indonesian history noted that NII played as an antagonist actor that acts against the legitimate authority of the Indonesian Republic at that time. Although the founders of this movement have been killed by the Indonesian military, but it seems that the name of NII remains as a “ghost” that always haunt the Indonesian Republic political journey. Politically, the name of NII blamed, as a scapegoat, by certain groups who use the nation’s collective memory of NII as a paranoid of the right extremists. However, there is no doubt also that there are still people in the name of NII in fighting for the interests of their own group.

Historically, Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosoewirjo, a Masjumi figure in West Java, founded the NII in August 7, 1949. This movement then spread out through Aceh, South Kalimantan and South Sulawesi. Indonesian government, through military operation known as Pagar Betis Operation, managed to conquer this movement in 1962. In the same year, precisely on September 5, Kartosoewirjo eventually executed. The death of Kartosoewirjo did not make his followers stop fighting for their NII movement idealism. After the death of Kartosoewirjo, NII leadership held alternately and recently led by Abu Toto or Abdus Salam alias Panji Gumilang. This organization led by Panji Gumilang also well known as NII KW-9.

The purpose of establishing Islamic state from the NII movement is based on a belief in Islam that sovereignty belongs only to God, thereby recognizing and obeying government not based on God’s sovereignty is categorized as infidel. In realizing the Islamic countries, there are some principles that are held by NII, one of them is the principle of al-bathil - al haq, a strict separation between right and wrong. With this principle, NII believes that the state of Medina (prototype version of an Islamic state NII) as the only true power that this country should stands on the belief of God’s sovereignty. The implication, because truth cannot be mixed up with mistake, then the worship performed in the Kufir states, such as the Unitary Republic of Indonesia (known as NKRI), is a big mistakes. This principle

also creates the attitude of exclusive Muslim people among general Muslim followers who are not members of the NII. The NII followers considered whatever they say have been influenced by sleaze. (Ausop, 2009a; Nuskh, no year; Triana, 2011).

NII strategies to achieve its goals refer to a concept called the al-Kahf (al-Kahfi). This concept is the doctrine of confidentiality in practicing the NII's activities. The purpose is to cover up the activities of NII and thus, the out groups would not that easy in recognizing NII's activities. Furthermore, confidentiality doctrine is a strategy for the NII's members in hindering oppression possibility from infidels Indonesian Government. For example, any member of NII does not have to know who their leader is, but at the same time, these followers are obligated to obey and abide NII's leaders.

In fact, this strategy also requires different membership levels should not know each other. It implies that the confidentiality strategy for the NII's followers with different levels would apply even more strictly confidential for any out groups. Each member of NII forbidden to tell any information that related to NII to any out-groups. Therefore, if any NII members give any information about NII's activities to out groups, they will be considered as dangerous for the NII's organization and furthermore these kinds of people are allows to be killed. (Ausop, 2009a; Nuskh, no year; Triana, 2011).

To have better understanding about NII, we need to sort out the NII movement into two faces. First, it should be noted that NII ideology includes to religious fundamentalist movement. In general, religious fundamentalism is a form of reaction against secular modernity. The followers of religious fundamentalists want to bring religion, based on their virtue of religion, as public interest and revived religious communities (Zeidan, 2003; Haynes, 2009). As a politico-religious movement, NII launched the establishment of the Indonesia Islamic State as their goals. At this point, we can classify NII as a religious nationalist movement because NII unite between state and religion for Indonesian society.

At the same time, NII also considered all Muslim people, their worship and its clerics under the banner of NKRI is an infidel's state because they are not inside the Indonesian Islamic State that is under the God's law and thus NII also as a religious fundamentalist movement. In this perspective, NII religio-

political movement is a real threat to Indonesian nationalism because NII's ideology excludes all Muslims people who are not inline with them.

The first face of NII shows on their ideological doctrine. Their doctrine is an important factor in attracting prospective members. Prospective members will be assured of a doctrine that is based on Islamic lesson that referred to the verses of al-Qur'an. Through narrative and persuasive manner, NII's doctrines are able to destabilize the previously belief of the prospective member or at least be able to stimulate curiosity. Prospective members, who mostly lack the knowledge of religion, would not be difficult to be convinced by such doctrines, especially during the process of indoctrination from the NII recruiters that always referred their argument to the Scriptures of al-Qur'an.

The second face of NII is as a movement that collects funds from its members, especially new members for generating their organization. There are several types of fund raising through their new and fragile NII members, which are the moved out alms from the infidel's NKRI to NII, known as Sedekah Hijrah, and sin erasing alms, known as Sedekah Pembersihan Dosa. Hijrah is obligatory alms for prospective members who will move into NII. The second alms is a charity for the newly inducted members to clean their sins. It is a moment for new followers for cleaning up their sins before these new followers entering and moving into Indonesian Islamic State.

At this point, NII act as a movement committed deception utilizing religious legitimacy. Former member of NII felt that these two alms as a form of deception. Therefore, in this respect, we can say that NII members are the victims of NII recruiters' agents. However, it is difficult to identify in which levels of NII recruiters' agents taking benefits from the new members' alms.

## NII Victims' Hunting Modes

It is difficult in assuring when exactly NII movement began to get into college campuses in Banyumas area. The difficulty mainly because NII is basically underground movements that deliberately maintain the confidentiality of all things related to their activities. In addition, only a few former victims of NII are willing to reveals and share their experiences to public. They typically traumatized by what they experienced during their moment as member of NII

before and furthermore, death threats from NII agents towards those who come out from NII. However, the researchers never found any fact that shows NII former members being killed because of they went out as NII members.

Such threats allegedly are nothing more than psychological terror so that the NII former members traumatize and did not come out from their closet. Nevertheless, at least in the years of 2003-2004, data revealed that NII recruiters' agent have been recruiting universities students in Banyumas . One of informan is Yoko (not his real name).

Yoko, who is in the year of 2004, has just accepted in a faculty of Jenderal Soedirman Univeristy met one of his old friend in high school. Through this high school old friend, Yoko introduced to someone who then tried to influence him with certain religious doctrines, which were later known as the doctrine of NII. It was the level of the two (2) days initial indoctrination in his boarding house.

At that time, Yoko did not had many questions about the doctrine he received, and then he was taken by a car to an unknown place in Purwokerto with closed eyes. In that place, he was received an advance doctrine that one of them was arguing about Pancasila as the basis for Indonesia as a state. Yoko, at that point, did not agree and argued with a person who tried to indoctrinize him. Because of he was argued too much to the recruiters, and then instantly he was send home by his old friend. Eventually, Yoko never met his high school old friend again.

A slightly different way we found the victim who was recruited in the year of 2009. Initially similar way is through the path of a friend or old friend. Marwah (not her real name), potential victims, was also introduced to someone who would then indoctrinate her. The initial process of indoctrination occurs at a friend's house victims. The process is also carried out an intensive indoctrination, which is also takes two days. At this stage, the initial indoctrination is very similar to what happen to Yoko in 2004. Differences occur after a process of indoctrination at the victim boarding house.

For example, Yoko invited to continue indoctrination process into the next level in a secret place in Purwokerto with his closed eyes, while Marwah, in 2009, after agreeing to move on to the next level of indoctrination process, she required to went to Jakarta utilizing public transportations like buses or oftenly used trains

accompanied by the NII recruiter's agent. In Jakarta, Marwah began an initiation process as a prospective member and later inducted into the NII. Another different experiences between Yoko and Marwah are that Yoko was failed to be recruited in initial stage of indoctrination in a transition place in Purwokerto before Yoko brought to Jakarta. This failure happen because Yoko argued too much on the values and virtues of secular and infidel Pancasila versus religious NII and thus Yoko was considered not worthy being a member of NII.

On the other side, Marwah was considered as success recruitment because she obeyed all the instructions from the recruiters' agent. Seminar story with Marwah experience also revealed in research process with the informan Dhuha (not his real name) in 2010. Dhuha succeed being recruited as the NII followers with different variation of recruitment method. The method being used in recruiting Dhuha utilised the Emotional & Spiritual Quotient, well known as ESQ, annual event in campuses in 2010. He was recruited by his new fellow friend in ESQ event, which was actually the recruiter agent of NII, and the next process, is similar to what happen to Marwah.

In early NII indoctrination process or what they called as "casting" process. At this level they discuss about state and Hijrah based on al-Qur'an verses. There is indication that victim succeed being recruited because they can be convinced to accept ideas that are based on religious arguments. In other words, ideological factors played an important role in attracting prospective victims. It is shown from the statement from Marwah when she commenting on the doctrine communicated to her, which said, "Because I believe the contents of the al-Qur'an, so I simply trust and believe it,"

Similar experience with Marwah, Yoko also was interested to know more about the teachings of an unfamiliar Islamic group that always offering new lessons based on al-Qur'an. A research from Dewi Triana on NII in Jakarta also justified and confirmed this research that the doctrine derived from the al-Qur'an and stimulate the prospective victims' desire in deepening Islam.

## Hunting the Loneliness and Weak!

Small number of NII victims in Purwokerto Collage of Islamic Studies, well known as STAIN Purwokerto, indicating that religion knowledge factor

becomes important in NII prospective victims' recruitment processes. According to Muhamad Nuskhi, which he handled by himself, the ex-victims of NII are those who have less knowledge of Islam. Furthermore, Nuskhi argues that Muslim students who have no or less knowledge of Islam will be more easily recruited compared with students who have more or advance knowledge of Islam. He explain that Muslim student who lack of religion knowledge would be more easily brainwashed by NII recruiter agent because these student, he explain, do not know which information and lessons of Islam are true based on al-Qur'an and which information are distorted by certain interest like NII.

In addition, it would be so confusing for those student who have less knowledge of Islma because NII agent in charge of recruiting new vistims are always based their argument on verses of al-Qur'an. Therefore, the student, who lack of Islam knowledge and religion basics would be confused on wheater or not the interpretation of scripture of al-Qur'an that mentiened by NII recruiters' agent are the true, acceptable and common for Muslim scholars in general.

However, it also does not mean that the chances of students who come from Islamic Collage, like STAIN Purwokerto, being victims of NII less than non Islamic University, such as Jenderal Soedirman University. Great possibility arise because there always open opportunities if the student have no critical point of view and argument in challenging the arguments against NII recruiters' agent.

Muhamad Nuskhi and Abdul Rahman argued that if these less Islamic knowledgeable students worsen with less logic and weak psychologically, then NII agent would be able to suppress them. Arguing critically is important because there are indications that NII recruiters's agents utilised persuasive indoctrination. If the students have no ability in arguing critically, then NII agents have great chances in taking the student as their followers and obey the recruiters.

In addition, students ability in arguing critically is even more important because NII agents will not continue the recruitment process if the prospective victim dared to argue or disagree with them instantly. As soon as potential victims continued arguing, the NII agents will soon leave the prospective victims.



Fact shows that Yoko, a prospective student victims of UNSOED, initially did not ask many questions and follows on what is conveyed by the agent NII. However, when Yoko starts to argue with what is conveyed by NII agent, the agent did not continue the process of indoctrination to Yoko.

After the failure of the recruitment process, Yoko is no longer even contacted by his old friend, a recruiter of the NII. It implies that it is not too difficult to avoid the trap of NII recruitment. As long as the student hard to be convinced and ability in arguing critically about any statement of NII doctrines and eventually NII recruiters' agent would leave us instantly.

Inability of arguing others opinion and general character of victim or other potential victims of NII, Abdul Rahman M Nuskhi explain that NII agents hunt and mostly hunt college students who are often lonely, introvert and less friends. They, who are generally lonely, would be so easily become victims because they usually have no courage in arguing the doctrine delivered by the NII agent. In addition, this condition would be worsening if they have less religion knowledge.

For instance, NII agent approached Yoko because he was new collage student, so quiet and less interactions with his fellow students. Although in the early stages of recruitment, he almost just follows the opinion of NII agent, in the end he dared to argue with the doctrines of Islamic State that forced upon him.

In addition, uncritical, lonely, quiet, and weak student considered being better to be recruited because the kind of students would be able to maintain the confidentiality of recruitment process or the NII movement in general. As an underground movement, it was very clear confidentiality factor becomes very important for NII. Thus, in choosing any potential victims, these factors are the main consideration for the NII agent in recruiting victims. Even if this student is no longer the follower of NII, they would tend to silence and even it would be trumatic events that disrupt their lives. Therefore, this internal factor is a prerequisite in recruiting students as victims of NII.

These internal factors of students become the prerequisite for the process of recruiting members of NII and it would be more "efficient" if these internal factors meet the external factors. For example, students who tend to be targeted to be victims of NII are those with the status of immigrants or

those who do not live with their parents and stay in boarding house in other region or city. Relevance status as immigrants is, at least, in the context of communication with their parents or relatives of potential victims. The smaller communications space between students with their family will more likely be targeted as potential victims. NII agents will be freer to approach potential victims who do not live with their family. NII agent will not hesitate to ask to stay at the boarding house in order to recruit their victims. At the prospective victim's boarding house, initial indoctrination process takes place.

Limited communication room between prospective victim with their family, especially parents, are closely related to the mode of taking funds from victims by NII. The mode is usually practices after the victim indoctrinated and willing to migrate from the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI) to NII. Victim must give some money for cost of Hijrah from NKRI to NII. Since most students have no money as requested, then victim were instructed by the recruiter to take it from their parents even by lying in getting the requested money. Geographical constraint and limited or less communications space between students and their parents would mooter the process of victimization. Student victim will tell their parents that they needs some amount of money to buy again a laptop because their friend lost it and at the same time, this friend have no money to repay it because this friend have to help the hospital costs of the parents. The victim's parents would not be able to check the truth of the news and finally parent, in a short period, often directly send the money to their son/daughter.

Other external factors that contribute to the process of intrusion of NII in campuses is the lack of attention from stakeholders, especially the rector and its vice rector of student's affairs, as the leader, on NII issues in their campuses. The Universities' leaders concern is utmost important because of a hazardous impact toward the collage students. For example, the student rarely follows classes and its assignments and even worse the student, which influenced by NII, they likely to drop out. The universities' leaders can not let this problem only to the police because it is very difficult to impose criminal offense to NII recruiters' agents. The most likely carried out by the universities' leaders is act by creating and implemented tactical and measurable policies for preventing and dealing with the intrusiton of NII in campuses.

## Responses from Higher education Institutions in Banyumas

In a statement to media, Rector of the Jenderal Soedirman University (UNSOED) Purwokerto, Edy Yuwono, said that UNSOED would establish a special team in dealing with the intrusion of NII into campus. The team would consist of expert from lecturer or faculty members in advising students in dealing with the intrusion of NII network in campus. The team also will become a sort of NII crisis centers in UNSOED. In addition, Rector of UNSOED also issued a policy for students victims of NII would not be expelled from the university. However, if a student is convicted of a crime, certainly the students will have to deal with the police. UNSOED will only impose sanctions if a violation occurs is a form of academic violations.

Unfortunately, the plan is only a lip service because it never been implemented in UNSOED. Some lecturers, such as Muhamad Nuskhi and Abdul Rokhman, who have been dealing with the victims of NII in UNSOED, stated that UNSOED even have no system or specific policies in dealing with and furthermore preventing the intrusion of NII in campus. Their statement is indirectly confirmed and justified by the Vice Rector III for Student Affairs in UNSOED. In our interview with him, Prof. Imam Santoso, there are certainly no policies in forming a special team in dealing with NII in UNSOED. He stated that basically UNSOED only follows the National Ministry of Educations' policy for higher education student based on four (4) pillars of nationhood, which are the Pancasila, Unity in Diversity, the Unitary Republic of Indonesia (NKRI), and antiseparatisme. The four pillars are as a foundation for UNSOED in shaping nationalist character and personality of students.

For UNSOED, the four pillars deliberated into obligatory course and training for all students, which are Identity of Jenderal Soedirman University course, well known as Jati Diri UNSOED course that only exist in UNSOED, and PKK training. The main goal of these two activities is builds a nationalist characters, like the Indonesian national hero from Purwokerto Banyumas General Soedirman, in struggle for NKRI in achieving the Indonesian Independence. In addition, UNSOED also issued a policy in strengthening the student campus life discipline. One of the programs is to regulate hours for student in practicing their activities at night and they should asked permission in

doing their activities at night in campus. Such policy, according Imam Santoso, would hamper NII's activities and its intrusion to campus.

Although we respect the policy of campus life setting by UNSOED Vice Rector, which one of the purposes is to prevent intrusion of NII to campus, this policy is misleading in preventing the intrusion of NII to campus. It merely shows that policy makers and its stakeholders do not aware and understand on how the NII intrude the students in campus. Seeing the facts, the process of recruiting NII victims occurred outside the campus, which is in student boarding house. Even if the recruitment process on-campus, it happened in a place like the central university library instead of on-site student activities. In addition, it should be noted that NII is an underground movement who are maintaining confidentiality of their organizations so that they are unlikely engage with any formal student organizations on campus. In fact, the record of lecturers who had treated victims of NII, like Nuskhi, students, who become the victims of NII, are not active in any student activities.

In broader security context, UNSOED have been corporates with various stakeholders to work together to maintain campus life and surroundings. Their activities involves the police and community leaders surround UNSOED campus, this program called community police (polisi masyarakat, POLMAS). Utilizing POLMAS program, UNSOED through Vice Rector III receive informations and complaints from community about UNSOED students' behaviours off campus. However, the effectiveness of POLMAS program remains untested in preventing the intrusion of NII because no information reported that related with the cases of students victims of NII. The Vice Rector received information more issue of students' sexual immorality or violence between students.

In addition, NII victims who handled by some lecturers, they never get any information from POLMAS network about NII victims, instead they received the information of the victims through others lecturers in other faculties in UNSOED. Furthermore, in dealing with the students of ex-NII victims, POLMAS networks, at this moment, obviously not visible become the media in solving the problem of NII on campus because victims because their communication networks are more concern to society surrounding the University.

Purwokerto Muhammadiyah University (UMP) and Purwokerto Collage Islamic Studies (STAIN Purwokerto) gives similar responses. Nuskhi had been informed to UMP and some lecturers about the possibility of UMP students who are victims of NII. However, the policy makers in UMP give no responses. As what happen in UNSOED, UMP also does not consider and difine NII intrusion to UMP as a strategic problem that must be addressed specifically and systematically from the institution. UMP assume that religion education course in their corricula is considered enough in preventing NII intrusion to their students. Therefore, trivialities of NII intrusion to campus by UMP as education institution have risking themselves on hazardous situations.

## Conclusions

NII movement in Banyumas is targeting college students as their members. The students join NII generally because of ideological religious doctrine utilizing their own version of interpretation of the verses of al-Qur'an. Prospective vistims have no ergument in deniying NII doctrine because, it appear that they rely on the al Qur'an that they believed to be the word of God and rejecting the words of God would be considered as an infidel. It shows that ideological factors played an important role in migrating from NKRI to NII, called Hijrah.

There are prerequisite elements from the prospective victims in order to attach ideological factors, which are the prospective students are have less knowledge of religion, less critical thinking toward NII doctrine, weak in logic, limited communications time and spaces with parents or family and introvert personal character. More importantly, limited concern to the issue of NII intrusion from higher education institutions also contributing to the intrusion of NII to campus easily. Three higher education instituions in Banyumas have no concern toward this situations, while at the same time, they claimed that they are very nationalist but they do not practices their commitment in preventing and dealing with the Indonesian Islamic State, NII.

The low concern of three higher education institutions in Banyumas on issue of NII intrusion indicated by the absence of specific policies related to it. Existing policy is still too general, which is to prevent social problems and terrorism. In fact, the NII movement cannot simply equated with terrorism

based on religious teachings. There is a trend in NII utilization of religion for the sake of the material benefits. In addition, existing policies also shows that the leaders of higher education institutions in Banyumas were misunderstand and misinformation about NII movement.

This research suggest that strategies in dealing with NII, one could have done individually, however, the individual actions would not be efficient and effective because it consume lots of time and therefore it requires more systematic strategy by institutional structural supports. For example, the leaders of higher education institutions in Banyumas manage new students with practical knowledge in hindering the NII doctrines.

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# THE ROLE OF RELIGIOUS LEADER IN TEACHING OF TAFSIR IN INDONESIAN URBAN SOCIETY

*Case Study of Pesantren and its Neighborhood in Java<sup>1</sup>*

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## Introduction

Religion has a strong relationship to exegesis, both conceptually and historically. Conceptually, religion is assumed to be an “exegetic community,” therefore, the study of religion is basically the interpretation of exegesis. Historically, religion represents diverse interpretations from human beings closely related to the historical background of each perspective, even though the clash or pressure often rises up among the followers of same religious tradition. For example, the orthodox and the liberal adherents have different interpretation of their own religion (Aliade, 1987: 280; Siregar, 2005: 15). In the context of Quranic interpretation, Tafsir and Quranic studies can be viewed as an effort to develop the Qur’ânic interpretation at the present time in order to respond the challenges of the epoch.

In the Muslim world, the teachings of Islam are based essentially on two fundamental sources, the Quran and Sunnah. For Muslims, the Quran is the revelation of God, the central fact of the Islamic religious experience. It is the very word of God and the presence of the numinous in history (space and time). Quranic revelation is not that of the transcendent God, but rather of his Divine Will, which man is to follow: “This is a declaration for mankind, a guidance and admonition for the God-fearing” (QS.3:138) (Esposito, 2001: 3-5). The Quran for Believing Muslims represents unquestionably the very Word of God.

<sup>1</sup> This paper is part of my dissertation in ICRS-Yogya. The Promoter is Prof. Dr. Phil. M. Nur Kholis Setiawan and the Co-Promoter is Dr. Robert Setio

It is taken for granted by the conservative 'Ulama (Muslim Doctors of Law and Sacred Literature) just as well as by the most radical modernists (Baljon, 1968: 1).

In the history of Islam and Muslim in Indonesia, According to Martin van Bruinessen, the pesantren (or pondok, surau, dayah, as it is called elsewhere) is not the only institution of Muslim religious education, and the tradition it embodies is only one out of several tendencies within Indonesian Islam. Modernist, reformist and fundamentalist currents emerged partly in opposition to it, and to some extent developed into rigid traditions themselves. One of Indonesia's great traditions is that of Muslim religious learning as embodied in the Javanese pesantren. The main goal of these institutions is the transmission of traditional Islam as laid down in scripture, i.e., classical texts of the various Islamic disciplines, together with commentaries, glosses and super-commentaries on these basic texts written over the ages. These works, including the works of tafsir are collectively known in Indonesia as kitab kuning, "yellow books", a name that they owe to the tinted paper on which the first Middle Eastern editions reaching Indonesia were printed (van Bruinessen in Marschall, 1994: 121-145).

Pesantrens taught Quranic Studies with other branches of Islamic knowledge such fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), hadith (prophetic sayings), tasawwuf (Islamic mysticism), and kalam (Theology) Since the era of Quranic revelation up to now, in fact, the study of the Quran and its interpretative methodology have seen a significant development along with the acceleration of the social and cultural circumstances and the development of human civilization including Pesantrens of Indonesia. In the context of the Pesantrens as the Islamic institution in Indonesia, they have started to introduce and teach the several kinds of interpretive models and literatures.

Pesantrens is to continue to grow and many Indonesian parents support their children to go and study in pesantren. Statistik Pendidikan Agama dan Keagamaan Tahun Pelajaran 2007-2008 published by the Department of Religious Affairs showed that the total number of the students of the pesantrens reached about 3,818,469. The number of santri (male students) is about 2.063.954 (54,1%) and the number of santriwati (female students) is about 1,754,515 (45,9%). Besides, data from the department of Religious Affairs in 2003 shows a quickly growing number of pesantren and the students accepted in the



pesantrens. In 1977, there were 4,195 pesantrens with 677,384 students. Eight years later, In 1985, this number added to 6,239 pesantrens with 1,084,801 students.

Twelve years later, in 1997, it was reported that there are 9,388 pesantrens with 1,770,768 students. Six years later, in 2003, the number reached 14,647 pesantrens. M. Amin Haedari, the Director of diniyyah Schools and Pesantrens of General Directorate for Islamic Education of the Department of Religious Affair of Republic of Indonesia, said that the number of pesantrens is continuing to grow over the years. In 1980, its number is about 4,176 pesantrens and it became 14,000 pesantrens in 2007 (Haedari, 2008: 1-2).

## Pesantren in Java

The term “pesantren” come from the words “pe-santri-an”. In Javanese language, the word “santri” means student. The term ‘pondok’ come from Arabic “funduq” meaning places to stay, hostile, hotel, or dorm. In Aceh, it is called “dayah”. Pesantren in common is lead by a kiai. To manage the life of pesantren, kiai usually chooses a senior student as a “lurah pondok” (executive management of pesantren). His main duty is to serve junior students. Since they come into pesantren, they are separated from their parents. This condition is to enable them to stay independently and keep in touch with the kiai. The other opinion states that “pesantren” comes from the word “santri” meaning the place of student. The “santri” comes from the word “cantrik,” a Sanskrit or Javanese language that means a man who always follows and obeys his “guru” (teacher). This is then developed by “Taman Siswa Schools” and called “pawiyatan.” The term “santri” also is in Tamil language that means religious teacher. In addition to that, C.C Berg states that the term come from “shastri,” that means an expert of Hindu scripture. In the other opinion, The term is from “saint” (good pople) and “tra” (happy to help others, so “pesantren” can be meant as a place to educate good people (Fatah dkk, 2005: 11).

In many places, the pesantren is characterized by the existence of (1) Pondok, a dormitory where santri (pesantren students) stay; (2) Mosque where prayer and other Muslim rituals are conducted; (3) Kitab Kuning, Islamic handbook written in the Arabic alphabets teaching; (4) Santri, students of a

pesantren; and (5) Kiai, the owner, leader and teacher of a pesantren. Pesantren as a traditional Islamic Education Institution has specific characteristics, which may be owned by other educational institutions out of Pesantren in general. Whereas term traditional being predicate of educational institution like Pesantren, according to Zamakhsyari Dhofier, is a condition still binding strongly to thoughts of ulama ahli fiqh, hadits, tafsir, kalam and tasawuf, living from 7th century to 13th century. Although it does not mean that traditional Pesantren stands living recently remained to fetter in forms of thoughts and aspirations created by ulama at the time. Because, although, from 13th century to 19th century, traditional formulation rather experienced changes, but, in fact, structure of Pesantren life had widely experienced many changes.

Abdul Wahid Zaini (1994) states that students as objects and subjects of Pesantren education have three main characteristics: (1) relatively having care for ainiah duties as God's servants; (2) keeping good relationship with the God as the Creator and Owner; (3) maintaining good relationship with peers. In addition, there are some other aspects being characteristics of life and Pesantren education, namely: (1) maintenance of specific values, which may be easily to be called Pesantren sub-culture. Sub-culture is emphasis on praying values in each activity done by the students, including adherence and nobility for teachers is instrument to obtain real religious knowledge; (2) teaching with methods, traditional literature and structure, both formal and madrasah educations with stratified education levels, and halaqah, slogan systems, whose main characteristic is emphasis on literal understanding of a certain holy book. It will make low analytic force of students.

Given life attitude created by Pesantren world based on the sub-culture, the students will have own life attitude independent of structural environment out of Pesantren, which, in turn, will be able to make students live autonomously and free from dependence on any social institutions. Ability to implant "pray" principle to each activity is really aspiration of each Moslem, which may only grow fertile around Pesantren. In addition, simple obedient and submissive life pattern and attitude to kyai or teachers are sometimes excessive. Kyai as founder, performer and teachers and students are given lessons by kyai, and living with them for some times in dormitory is a specific characteristic of Pesantren world life.

Historically, the dynamics of pesantren had also been examined through their involvement in the roles of change. Dealing with colonialism with the model of Western education, pesantren with their spirit of resistance had been successful in maintaining its socio-cultural functions. Pesantren is not only an educational institution, but also institution of religious service, practical trainings, social development as well as a symbol of Islamic civilization. To strengthen the dynamical functions of pesantren, it should be recognized that basic role of the pesantren supports the following roles, (1) formal, non-formal and informal education in religious and social fields, (2) social services, through activities, consultation, leadership as well as community development, (3) da'wah (distribution of Islamic values) through islamic councils, recitals and dissemination of information, (4) dedication to the pesantren as an institute of community service and development emphasizes common well-being above individual well-being, (5) the whole system of values of pesantren and its characteristic create and support the ability to be autonomous, independent, and self- sufficient (Wirosardjono, 1987: 84-85; Purwadi and Siregar, 2008: 11).

From the beginning, pesantren emerged as an institution that was deeply rooted in Indonesian society. Pesantren is not only an educational institution. It is a product of the indigenous education system that has socio-cultural-historical roots (Ismail SM dkk, 2002: xiv; Purwadi and Siregar, 2008: 1). Therefore pesantren offers a unique education system combining religious, educational and socio-cultural dimensions. These roots then influence internal and external functions of pesantren. Pesantren emerges as a community based education which is able to involve in creative activities offering alternative education by combining education, learning and community development (Wirosardjono, 1987: 218; Purwadi and Siregar, 2008: 1).

There a lot of Pesantrens in Yogyakarta. One of them is Pesantren Krapyak. Since its beginning, it also became part of the reformist movement in the early 20th century. The dynamics of pesantren had also been tested through actively involvement in the position as agent of change. Dealing with colonialism with the model of Western education, pesantren with the spirit of resistance had been successful in maintaining its socio-cultural functions. Pesantren is not only an educational institution, but also institution of religious service, practical

trainings, social development, symbol of Islamic civilization as well as one of centers of interpretation on Islamic teachings.

Kyai Ali Maksum (1915–89), the founder and the pesantren leader of Krapyak was recognized as a figure with a “modernist spirit.” Like Kyai Wahid Hasyim of Tebuireng, he also combined the madrasah into pesantren systems. This type of pesantren, culturally based on the Nahdhatul Ulama (NU) tradition, has been growing steadily and can be found in almost every city in Java. This NU-based pesantren adopted the madrasah system by opening a six-grade system consisting of a preparatory grade for one year followed by a madrasah grade for six additional years.

The study of the Quran in this Pesantren is only focused on how to memorize the Quran. For years ago, the program of memorization of the Quran also includes the study of Quranic sciences in which the students can learn the meaning and translation of the Quran, verses by verses. It is because many students come from universities around the city of Yogyakarta. The pesantrens record that 80 percent of them are university students studying in campuses. The pesantren perceives that it was difficult if they also are taught the Quranic sciences alongside with other university subjects. To fulfill their interest in the study of the other Quranic sciences, ustadz also teaches them in other informal time in additional need.

The quality achievement of santri/santriwati is usually measured with academic and moral indicators (qualitative), not quantitative indicators in form of number and grade an sich. While the characteristics above show the pesantren’s characters in its traditional and pure characters. The diverse images and performances of pesantren are caused by dynamics and development that continuously influence the pesantren, so pesantren should adopt and adapt with the situations. It is also irrelevant if those characters above are given to other pesantren who face reformation and adoption of other education system.

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functions of pesantren. Pesantren emerges as a community based education which is able to involve in creative activities offering alternative education by combining education, learning and community development (Wirosardjono, 1987: 218; Purwadi and Siregar, 2008: 1).

## The Position of Kiai in the Pesantren

Generally, a pesantren was originated from existence of a kiai in somewhere. Then, the people who want to study with him came. After more students were coming, the initiative then comes into mind to set up a small house or dormitory next to the house of Kiai. The dorm was very small and simple and they stayed there. In the beginning, he did not give enough attention to build places where they can stay. At that time, the kiai in fact did not plan how to build the dorms in his pesantren. What he thought is only how to teach religious lessons understood by the students. The more students were coming, the more buildings and small houses were built for the students. The students then told their family and friends about the existence of the pesantren so the pesantren became famous and were well-known like the pesantrens in the era of Walisongo (nine walis of java, wali is a religious expert like saint) (Wahab, 2004: 153-154).

Kiai is the founder of the pesantren in common. Martin van Bruinessen wrote:

“Highly motivated students went from pesantren to pesantren, studying in each the texts in which its kiai was specialised. After a few pesantrens in Banten, they would go on to pesantrens in Bogor, Cianjur, Cirebon, Central or East Java and finally, if their families could afford it, to Mecca, the most prestigious centre of Islamic learning. The pesantrens were typically (although not uniquely) located in rural districts, away from the major roads. Their geographical isolation symbolised, as it were, their ideological distance from the state. The pangulu, as a state official, and the independent teacher, the kiai, were two contrasting types, in Banten as well as elsewhere in Java.” (van Bruinessen, 1995: 165-200).

Some Indonesians refer to a widely regarded kiai as an ulama. This word is actually the plural form of the Arabic word alim which means knowledgeable person. Through common usage in Indonesia, the word ulama grew to signify

a high-level kiai, even though this is a grammatical misuse of the Arabic word (Dhofier, 1994). A kiai is not a cleric in the same way as a priest in or Buddhism. There is no governing body that ordains or authorizes a kiai. Likewise, no organization can defrock a kiai or remove him from his position. The reason is that a kiai has his position and authority because people will listen to what he says (Lukens-Bull, 2005: 96-7).

In traditional community of Java, one can become a Kiai if he is accepted by the community as Kiai. The people could ask for advices to him, or send their children to get lesson from him. Becoming a Kiai does not need formal criteria such as academic requirements, diploma and others. However, there are some informal requirements must be fulfilled by a Kyai as informal requirements that determine someone could be senior Kiai. According to Abu Bakar Aceh, there are four factors making one become big kiai: (1) knowledge, (2) piousness; (3) descendant and (4) number of students he have (Steenbrink, 1994).

Generally, a kyai has full power to bring Pesantren journey into a specified target. Therefore, implementation of education process occurring in Pesantren is also highly dependent on kyai to regulate. Although operation is usually conducted by teachers or his assistants, but his ideas remain to not separate from kyai's intervention. In addition, Pesantren is value transformation institution having duty to form spiritual mental of students in all aspects of life. Knowledge transfer from caretakers to students is only one part of program systems owned and applied by Pesantren.

Influence of the kiai in learning process in Pesantren is quite dominant. Efforts to transform values of Islam will be disturbed when Pesantren tradition, including obedience to the kyai, is regarded something having negative impact. It was introduced by Wali Songo to Hindu-Buddhist community when they intended to create a Moslem Community by transferring Islamic values in it. When understanding of students for Pesantren tradition is not good, it is difficult for kiai to change and improve systems existing in Pesantren. It will result for weakness of the Pesantren which is recently assumed the provider of Islamic missions. Students assume that kyai as a personified figure, that, in many cases, has superiority, he feels that he is little and less significant, so that such feeling results in adherence, which is sometimes valued as excessive from his self,

kyai inhabits central position in Pesantren world because its existence as one only figure who is extremely well-thought of and respected, kyai is also believed to give blessing to students because kyai is assumed as holy man near to the God.

Attitudes and behaviors to respect and obey the kyai are certainly maintained in the Pesantren community. The respects are due to the excellences of the kiai, not to the individual and private aspects. When the Kiai does not meet requirements and do deviation from religious teachings, the respect and obedience are no longer to do. According to Pesantren education systems, a new change can be made if at least two following requirements have been met. First, values of idea and firmness to hold Pesantren principle in order to achieve Islamic aspiration. Second, behavior self-adapting to the values. Obedience to follow the “standard” rules followed by Pesantren community.

## Kiai and the Teaching of Tafsir

According to Pesantren tradition, knowledge is usually measured by number of learnt books and from ulama they have learnt. The standard books which must be learnt and mastered by students have been determined by the Pesantrens. Other books chosen by students to study would be taught by teachers specifically. In fact, the books taught in Pesantren are limited in number. It does not mean that Pesantren learning want to limits ways of thinking by students. Fiqh is one of sciences widely containing religious prudences and arguments. Books on fiqh contain various aspects of life such as behavior, personal relation, society, and human relation to God. Educational systems used in Pesantren widely prioritize to create of students’ personality and morality according to Islamic demands. For some, Teaching of knowledge by the Pesantren is dependent on demands of student. It consists of main subjects of religious sciences such as Arabic languages, nahwu, sharf, and others considered important. The fiqh, hadits, tafsir, and tasawuf are main subjects taught in Pesantren.

Methods of teaching commonly used in Pesantren consist of: (1) sorogan. It is a way how the students attend the lectures of teacher individually by bringing books which would be taught. The term sorogan is derived from word “sorog” (Javanese word), which means to put holy book to read in front of the

kiai or teachers. It is said that this method does not only transfer knowledge for students, but also to give values as cultural process to transfer the knowledge; (2) wetonan. This term, according to the history, is derived from word “wektu” (Java) that mean the embodied. The teaching is done in certain times. This method is also called bandongan or halaqa.

In the pesantren and Moslems, generally, It was mentioned that *buku kuning* has signify meaningful symbol. In Islamic literatures, buku kuning is kind of book having religious authority because the book is associated with writers who were close to the prophet life. Thus, classical or old characteristics of buku kuning are associated with authoritative subjects contained in it. Mentioning of *al-kutub al-muqarrara* (selected books) reflects the authoritative position. Kiai assumes buku kuning like calculator. What is important is how to find or estimate what is needed. kiai and *kitab kuning* are very close. *Kitab kuning* is a tool to find contents of the Quran concerning fiqh, tahwid, and other Islamic sciences. To use the *kitab kuning*, a kiai does not need to discuss it in deep concern. It is necessary to use sayings of salaf to understand contents of the Quran. If it is discussed, one never reaches what he/she will seek. One is impossible to do everything.

Tafsir al-Jalalain is one of the *kitab kuning*. The Kiai has special treatment in how to read and teach tafsir al-Jalalain. This interpretation will be accepted as a tool to study the Quran without questioning whether it is relevant or not. Obligation of a Kiai to obey the specified book is one expression of their full comprehension on spirit of ahl al-sunna wal jama'ah. According to 1926 Basic Budget Year, NU people should “examine the special books, including the selected books of ahl al-sunna wal jama'ah or heresy books. Kiai has determined tafsir al-Jalalain becomes one of the kitab kuning to show presence of certain authority of the kyai in selecting what are true selected books and what are heresy books. Responsibility of a kyai for interpreting al-Quran through classical ulama is not only seen in their activities when they teach tafsir to their students.

This responsibility also appears in their efforts to study other classical tafsir works to support what they teach. Interpretation of the kyai only helps students to understand what is existing in tafsir work. It means that responsibility of a Kiai is to present orthodox opinions as included in tafsir al-Jalalain. Teaching



of al-Qur'an is firstly directed to process formation of Islamic values. Interpretation in Pesantren setting widely intends to get experience than scientific interest. Pesantren does not give diploma to those who graduate. It reflects the spirit of each activity in Pesantren.

The kiais have capability of speaking Arab language. For them, minimal requirements to teach tafsir al-Jalalain is not difficult to get. It means that teaching Tafsir al-Jalalain is like teaching Arab language sciences and its grammatical aspects. To understand a paragraph or a group of paragraphs are first based on logistic analysis conducted by rigorous extract of the Arabic words. According to statements, one reason why writers of Tafsir al-Jalalain chose discussion method is intended to make Arab people consistent to use Arabic it was because that Arabic was threatened to destroy by other cultures.

In the Pesantren, tafsir al-Jalalain is classified into one of buku kuning. In terms of age, this work was written five centuries ago. Tafsir al-Jalalain is well-known by Moslems in Indonesia from period of Demak Kingdom (Yunus, 1960, 192). It was usually taught in basic level as introduction to Quranic interpretation. However, in university level, this work is still frequently used for one of reference books. Buku kuning is kind of book with yellow color. This color reflects age of the book which naturally changes from white color into yellow color. Thus, gradually yellow color is always associated with classical books. Although, technically, one can currently print classical books with white color and more advanced editing techniques. One is able to choose to printed books with old or classical appearances using yellow papers in size and format (Sunardi, 1995: 17).

Deep recitation of a buku kuning (yellow book) in discussion is also intended to help students understand other books individually. Therefore, a student needs to be required to recite buku kuning in analytical discussion. Knowledge on Arab language in recitation of buku kuning is expected to be provisions to recite other buku kunings. These ideas motivate kiai to suggest students to depend on their knowledge on translations of buku kunings increasing day by day. They are not only weak of translations, but also they should be required to trace sources through more authentic ways. However, it does not mean that they are forbidden to read other works of translations provided. They have to return to the original ones. Thus, they are possible to understand details contained in buku kunings.

For a kyai, teaching an al-Jalalain interpretation seems to be easier than other interpretations. In addition to be brief and practical, this interpretation follows logical norms expressed in discussion norms. To widen and sharpen explanation, a kyai usually finds other sources, such as, Baidhawi's interpretation. However, this explanation intends to strengthen and confirm opinion of al-Jalalain and not to give alternatives to interpretation, because al-Jalalain has been found as legal interpretation free from various possibilities of heresies. Until now, al-Jalalain interpretation still becomes the main source to understand the Quran. This interpretation is taught from basic level to advanced level (Ibid, 16).

In Pesantren, tafsir al-Jalalain is a kind of tafsir fulfill the criteria. The process of learning tafsir al-Jalalain is also intended to discipline a Moslem in understanding freedom aspect of the holy texts. it is not surprising if this kind of tafsir is given to students who are still in basic study levels. Even, there was one of Indonesian Islamic institutions that state trivially: "tafsir al-Jalalain is only for senior high school's students." This comment implies that tafsir al-Jalalain is intended for introduction to the quranic tafsir in general.

The goal of interpretation in is recitation of the text in real meaning. Traditionally, recitation is religious activity associated with Moslem. Usually, recitation does not only concern intellectual activities, but also devotional activities. However, early recitation was associated with religious-scientific activities conducted in Pesantren. Recitation or specialization is intended to understand and specialize materials of certain religious sciences. Usually, in Pesantren, recitation is classified into two: recitation of books and recitation of the Quran. Materials of book recitation consist of materials such as sharf, nahwu, fiqh, tafsir, etc.

Materials of recited book are selected under supervision of the Kiai. However, in practice, the kiai's knowledge on Islamic teachings is recited. The goal of tafsir is highly oriented for education and implantation of values which less and does not motivate kyai to write a book containing teaching bases or teaching methods. Even, until now, recitation of the book on tafsir al-Jalalain is not found. Compared to other recitations of buku kunings like work of Imam al-Shafi'is or works by other Muslim thinkers like Imam al-Ghazali's, recitation of al-Jalalain interpretation is not so developed. It looks like something ironic

because the Quranic interpretation is guidance for Muslims and the Pesantren; on the other hand, need kind of alternative interpretation method which has been awaited for long time.

Teaching of tafsir in Pesantren is conducted in a meeting called *halaqa* or study circle. Halaqa is one form of meeting between teachers and students in typical form. In al-Azhar university, halaqa system is also maintained. A Muslim Scholar (ulama) sits down near a pillar of Mosque and students sits around him while listening to the lecture. In halaqa of the Pesantren, Kiai reads the text line by line, then translates and explains it. It was a main activity when the kyai teaches tafsir for the students and people attending the pengajian (Kiai's lecture). In some cases, the space for the pengajian is not so big. There are critics that this system will lead the listeners would not know what is taught by the Kiai. For them, *halaqa* system is unproductive (Ibid, 19).

Halaqa is also a social meeting to discuss a specific topic. However, if viewed from aspect of belief, halaqa has higher position. Halaqa is not only scientific circle. One who enters halaqa has certain expectation of the meeting. Thus, to understand what is halaqah, one has to examine what they discuss and do in it. Speech and talks in halaqah are gestures of faith and expectation by the involved people, both individual and group. This reality makes us not to reduce halaqa in the only action and saying. Halaqa, thus, is not only a medium to deepen knowledge of religion. It was kind of expression or stimulation on how belief of knowledge of religion flows from a kyai as personification of salaf. It means that knowledge must be studied from religious history and experience of Moslems before (Ibid).

In context of education in Pesantren, the purpose of tasir study is for education for life. It means that interaction between santri (students), People surrounding it, and kyai or interaction between students are directed to prepare students and people to face life in society. Main focus of Pesantren education is widely on direction of practical things than theoretical and speculative things. Abdurrahman Wahid said that what was conducted in Pesantren was to process formation of value setting. Without ignoring importance of knowledge, its value gets highest portion in Pesantren. For that reason, education in Pesantren has different focus of point from education in other institutions. Such life orientation will affect how kiai treats students in teaching the Quranic interpretation.

## Conclusions

Tafsir al-Jalalain becomes text-book taught in Pesantren. However, Kiai also use other books as far as they do not make conflict against existing text-books. Selection and loyalty to tafsir al-Jalalain cannot be separated from the notion of *Ahl al-sunna wal jama'ah* of Nahdhatul Ulama's (NU) requiring Moslems to comply with what has been conducted by Muslim generation of salaf. This notion also is personified in personality of the kyai. Kiyai is the keeper of Islamic tradition and respected teacher as well. Main goal of education in Pesantren is to develop and cultivate the pesantren values for the students dan people surrounding it. The Kiai teaches tafsir through the halaqa and in the Pesantren. The Kiai recite, reads and translates the text into bahasa and sometimes in Java language (*boso jowo*) through the interpretation activities in the Pengajian.

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# EDUCATION AND URBAN





# “SEMUA TEMPAT SEKOLAH”

*Creative communities in Java*

ELLY KENT

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## Introduction

The title of this talk is taken from this illustration in a book by community activist and writer Roem Topatimasang. The book is called “School is an Addiction”, and the comic describes a time before formal schooling was introduced to Indonesia, when every place was school, and every person was a teacher. I must admit, I have not read the book fully, but I chose the expression as a title because this concept, and the book that discusses it, were cited repeatedly by members of the organizations I will be discussing here.

In 2010 I travelled to Java on an Asia link residency, investigating arts programming for families and children. Hosted by Indonesian Visual Art Archives, I intended to examine how arts institutions were programming for children and families, on what pedagogies their work was based, how programs were developed and evaluated. Instead I encountered community based practices that regard arts and culture as an educational tool, and grass-roots activity aimed at filling perceived gaps in a formal education system seen to be focused on quantitative assessment and rote learning. This paper discusses experiences and observations from my residency, foregrounding four innovative projects: Anak Wayang Indonesia, Sekolah mBrosot, S14, and Tlatah Bocah.

Through these initiatives I will demonstrate a revitalization of the arts as a source of education and community cohesion. Is this revitalization led or imposed by an educated middle-class, in a contested imagining of contemporary

Indonesian culture? How can organizations successfully collaborate within the communities they seek to engage?

## Anak Wayang Indonesia

Anak Wayang Indonesia (AWI) has long been established as a cultural support network for children and young people. Founded in 1998, AWI strive to provide stimulating, educational and constructive activities in urban areas along the river Code in Yogyakarta. Through performance and art, they enact didactic social welfare interventions with the young people in their communities. When I visited, activities were focused on Juminahan and Jagalan areas, through guided programs for older children, and an 'open house' next to the Rumah Susun where younger children could gather for workshops, use a computer or read from the collection of books.

AWI also publishes a small magazine with articles written by participants, regarding topics introduced by facilitators. Although many of the activities are creative or cultural, AWI's director, Vini Oktaviani Hendayani explained that they do not regard themselves primarily as a children's arts organization. Rather, she identified children's rights, health and education, and building capacity for self-expression as goals. Art in this context is a tool for introducing these concepts.

Last year I saw this process unfold during the rehearsals and performance of a Ketoprak play. The play was chosen specifically for its anti-violence message. A professional ketoprak actor was hired to direct and coach the older children towards a professional outcome. A core group were regular attendees of rehearsals, and two AWI facilitators (who are called pendamping) were present throughout in a support role. Meanwhile, younger children would occasionally gather at the open house, either spontaneously or for 'meetings' publicized by hand written and distributed invitations.

According to Vini, AWI intends to avoid the externalized model of an NGO, and be a member of the community. This is achieved by locating facilitators in the field, submitting written proposals for programs to the RW and RT for their approval, and inviting parents and children to give feedback. Programs also include support workshops for parents, facilitated by AWI staff and

conducted by experts such as health workers.

“We encourage the neighborhood community to work together, map the roots of the problems at their level and encourage them to actively find a solution for their problems. We don’t “teach” communities, because the communities already possess a wealth of experience and great intelligence. ... As far as the “values” which we bring, they have to be adjusted to the values that exist in the community. And this strategy can minimalise friction which can otherwise occur.”

## Sekolah mBrosot

Sekolah mBrosot’s first mission was literacy, establishing a library from a private collection of children’s literature. Now they regularly run theatre, dance and visual art workshops facilitated by practicing artists. In September 2010 when I first visited Sekolah mBrosot, artist and facilitator Risky was staying in the library three or four nights a week, spending the days preparing for an upcoming exhibition of the children’s work. Enthusiastic children dropped by regularly to work on their creative projects. Another facilitator, Yanto, lives there permanently. Their commitment to their work with the children was admirable.

Another thing I was moved by during my visits to Sekolah mBrosot was the daily visits of a mother and her three children aged four and under. Ibu brang the little ones from their house behind the library; the eldest two would flick through books while their mother and baby sat watching. In our conversations, Ibu revealed how isolated she felt, juggling day and night with such tiny children, away from her family while her husband worked.

In Australia we hear an idealized version of raising children in Asian communities, in which family and community are supposedly always available, supporting women in their role as mothers. Instead, this young woman was experiencing the same isolation I have felt raising children in a “Western” community. It struck me that this library offered a sanctuary for her, another world for her children, who were revelling in the joys of early exposure to books.

But it has not always been easy for the Sekolah mBrosot team to integrate into the community they want to serve. According to members of the team, finding their place as a group and as individuals in the community is their

biggest challenge. “We are still regarded as guests in the community” Tensions have arisen on religious grounds, when some community members perceived infractions. Another member of the team described it to me thus: “Religion becomes an issue in social life when it exists in the formal level. Sekolah mBrosot’s problem with tensions between religions began when entering the formal structures of society. Understanding when Sekolah mBrosot needs to act as an organization and when the people of Sekolah mBrosot need to act as social individuals in a community, is very important to know. It becomes a kind of social mapping ....”

## S14

S14 operates in suburban Bandung, run by artist Herra Pahlasari. From her home, she facilitates exhibitions and public programs for children and adults in her middle-class neighborhood. Programs are grounded in engagement with art and artists.

In late 2010 galleries across Bandung held a series of exhibitions called “Sang Ahli Gambar dan Kawan-kawan”, celebrating the work of Indonesian master painter and “father of modernism”, Soedjojono. S14’s response was to involve their neighbors, who previously had little interest in art or knowledge of the painter’s work.

Through a series of public programs and workshops, students from a Cigadung Preschool and housewives from the Cigadung health centre (PKK) visited Galeri Soemardja, which exhibited Soedjojono’s drawings, and the Selasar Sunaryo Art Space, which exhibited contemporary responses to Soedjojono. As well as listening to curatorial and artist talks, these two groups of largely first-time gallery visitors returned to S14 to create drawing and embroideries in response to their experience. In December, their work was exhibited in a “Tribute Sudjojono Workshop Exhibition”.

By bringing S14’s own neighbors into the art space, it encourages them to feel ownership of its activities. S14 becomes their local gallery. The experience introduces these groups, to ‘high art’ in a co-constructivist, social, environment – they develop responses to the artworks together with their peers, but with the benefit of ‘expert’ guidance. The workshop process deepens the participant’s

engagement and demystifies the creative process. The whole process deconstructs other art history paradigms, including the dominance of the male gaze and the ‘artist as genius’. Here, the women and children of Cigadung become artists, critics, experts. Art is no longer the domain of the ‘other’, it becomes something they can have dominion over.

It may seem that S14’s focus on the socialization of art is a completely different goal from those of the other organizations I have discussed. But I see the activities of S14 as the same kind of community building as performed by the other organizations, albeit in a middle-class, well-educated suburb. S14 engages creatively with established community units, breaking down gender and age roles in regards to high art. Most importantly it is embedded geographically and socially in its surroundings: it is of its place.

## Tlatah Bocah

Tlatah Bocah is based in Muntilan and engages largely with economically disadvantaged children on the slopes of Mt Merapi. Their goal is to create a space for children to play and explore their creativity, in collaboration with their communities. Key in Tlatah Bocah’s mission is increasing younger generations’ understanding of their own cultural traditions, but as these images show, these are sometimes traditions re-invented and re-imagined. For the past few years, Tlatah Bocah have held a children’s arts festival which showcases performance and visual arts developed by different communities. Each community decides their own direction; participants, choreography, music, costume, cultural references and what kind of commitment is required of participants. Some take it very seriously; the children you see here rehearsed daily until late at night, for four or more hours at a time.

These kind of intergenerational community performing groups are far from uncommon in and around Yogyakarta. What distinguished Tlatah Bocah for me were the events in the aftermath of the volcanic eruptions that occurred around this time last year. Tlatah Bocah’s team were first evacuees and then evacuators. In the increasing chaos, many communities’ first contact was with Tlatah Bocah, who directed and drove vehicles, assisted authorities to find remote communities and encouraged reluctant individuals to leave. Like many,

they set up a posko, distributing aid to refugee camps that authorities were yet to reach. In the following months, they regularly visited the very elderly and mentally ill who had been left behind. In the recovery phase, they coordinated gotong royong to clean up ash. When families began to move back home, Tlatah Bocah initiated a “chicken scholarship” where people made a small donation to provide a child with a chick to raise, training children in animal rearing, responsibility, economic management and collaborative farming.

This kind of social intervention exemplifies the success of Tlatah Bocah and other community cultural organizations. Their integration into the community and their willingness to facilitate expression of the values of that community, allows them to operate effectively. That established trust also gives them the flexibility to operate outside their normal parameters, to step in where NGO’s and state authorities do not have the local knowledge or relationships to penetrate. It is a positive example of civil society in action, an example I saw repeated in so many outstanding instances during the 2010 eruptions.

In his thesis on *Taman Bacaan* in Indonesia, Stian Haklev indicated that several individuals had raised the prospect that reading gardens are mostly set up by the educated middle-class, in the process merely perpetuating class-divides. I propose a parallel likelihood of this occurring among community-oriented arts groups in Indonesia; there is always the danger of imposing values on a community that does not share or need them.

In the Modern age (capital M), desire to create universal values has failed to recognize the importance of diversity to any and all systems. We know that ecological systems fail when their diversity is compromised, but we are only beginning to recognize that different sets of social values can co-exist and indeed, build a stronger, more resilient society. While literacy is very important, not everyone needs or wants a tertiary education. Contemporary and traditional arts are integral to cultural expression; communities need to be involved deeply in creating that expression.

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# “THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF EDUCATION IN INDONESIA”

*Comparative Look at the RSBI  
Project in Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta  
and West Sulawesi*

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## Introduction

During the later half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century throughout the world both developed and developing nations began to feel the impact of neo-liberal economic policies and the spread of globalization. With the spread of this new neo-liberal paradigm came the implementation of specific market-oriented reforms and the rise of urban cultures. While such reforms pushing for privatization and decentralization were considered key to development by the international financial institutions, civil society organizations throughout the world were working to counter such reforms that were already showing signs of continued inequality and uneven development. In Indonesia, the strength of such civil society organizations including NGOs, student groups, and religious organizations played an important role in bringing the authoritarian New Order regime to an end.

At the same time that civil society organizations were calling for more democratic governance Indonesia was also dealing with the effects of the 1997 Asian financial crisis. In order to satisfy demands for democracy giving greater autonomy to the diverse regions of Indonesia two specific decentralization policies were enacted in 1999 and put into action in 2001. Shortly after the implementation of these policies the Ministry of National

Education (MONE) initiated another project in 2003, which further supported efforts to contend with the influence of globalization in the area of education. This project that seeks to develop schools referred to as RSBI (*rintisan sekolah bertaraf internasional* – pioneer international standard school) and SBI (*sekolah bertaraf internasional* – international standard school) throughout all of Indonesia's provinces is one example of the influence of globalization on Indonesia's education system.

While it is of course important to encourage the development of higher standards of education throughout Indonesia, many individuals and groups have criticized the effectiveness and necessity of such a project to "internationalize" education in all regions of Indonesia (Fatma, 2011; Kustulasari, 2009; Siswadi, 2011). In examining the development and reception of this project I argue that it has led communities throughout Indonesia to accept the impetus of urbanization and supposed necessity to reach certain international standards. With focus placed on the development and success of RSBI schools, it can be argued that there is often a lack of attention paid to the efforts of civil society groups in the development of other alternative and effective educational initiatives as well as the impact of other more appropriate forms of education in Indonesia's more remote regions.

In order to gain a more in-depth understanding of educational development throughout Indonesia my research begins by looking specifically at RSBI schools in two provinces, namely the Special Region of Yogyakarta and West Sulawesi. Through an ethnographic examination of three RSBI schools and one national standard school which is currently working to obtain RSBI accreditation, I seek to establish a better understanding of the context of RSBI schools and the way they are received by the communities in which they exist.

Before examining the specific guidelines of the RSBI project it is necessary to take a look at the historical trajectory of educational decentralization in Indonesia. Although the RSBI project was implemented separately from policies of decentralization, the development and success of this project in different provinces has been strongly influenced by processes of decentralization. While specific decentralization policies namely, Law No.22/1999 and Law No.25/1999 were enacted in 1999, in the mid-1980's Indonesia's education system began to feel the influence of global trends to decentralize.

Prior to 1999 the management of education in Indonesia was described as “largely centralized, highly bureaucratic, and complex” (Kustulasari, 2009, p.36).

In the mid-1980s having achieved universal enrollment in primary education and compulsory education of nine years for all citizens informal discussions began based on the necessity of integrating a local component into the national curriculum. However, it was not until 1994 that Indonesia saw the implementation of a policy known as *local-content curriculum* or LCC (Kustulasari, 2009: 38). The goal of this reform was to give local regions more control in the planning and delivery of a certain portion of curriculum. In a country as large, diverse, and unequally developed as Indonesia such reforms were seen as a way in which to balance inequality and diversity.

Yet, as Christopher Bjork (2005) discusses in his ethnographic analysis of the LCC project, this initiative was not as successful as hoped for and faced many challenges in its implementation. One of the greatest obstacles identified in the implementation of local content curriculum was the willingness and participation of local actors. Bjork (2006) argues that the difficulty in changing the way that curriculum was implemented was based on the deep-rooted traditional top-down system and the lack of desire to take on higher levels of responsibility (p. 136).

Thus when official policies of decentralization were put into place the challenge of motivating local actors and ensuring even development persisted. As is argued in many discussions of decentralization in general and educational decentralization specifically, such policies were initially implemented based on economic perspectives and desires to create equality or greater efficiency with little attention paid to local context and historical systems of governance and control (McMichael, 2008).

Still working through new policies and responsibilities associated with increased autonomy and the difficulty of encouraging local actors, the MONE introduced the RSBI project in 2003. The RSBI project is based on conditions of Law No.20/2003, which state that, “The government and local government organize at least a unit of education at all levels of education, to be developed further as a unit having international standards of education” (Act of the Republic of Indonesia No. 20, year 2003 on National Education System, pp. 26-27). This statement translates into the goal of the RSBI project to establish

one class or more in a primary and/or secondary school in each province and/or district that satisfies certain international standards (Kustulasari, 2009: 2). As Ag Kustulasari discusses in her policy analysis of the RSBI project the difficulty with the implementation of international standards in Indonesian public schools is the definition of what “international” education signifies (Ibid, 10).

Looking more specifically at the goals of the RSBI project in her policy analysis Kustulasari describes the definition of an international standard school in Indonesian policy documents as “a national school that prepares the students based on the national education standards and offers an international standard (education) by which the graduates are expected to have international/global competitiveness” (Ibid, 53). In order to achieve SBI status each school must achieve official accreditation through fulfilling requirements stipulated by the MONE. The process of becoming an SBI school begins with a school’s initiative to apply for status as RSBI.

Following the completion of such an application, approval is required from the Department of Education of the regency/city and the provincial Department of Education. Upon gaining local approval the application is submitted to the MONE, which is responsible for verification and evaluation of the applicant school. Following the initial round of accreditation, RSBI schools must work to achieve SBI status. While the processes of obtaining SBI accreditation are laid out in various policy documents created by the MONE, when actually discussing this process and the steps necessary with those involved such as teachers and staff at RSBI schools, the difficulties and lack of understanding associated with this process become clear.

A few of the stipulations necessary to achieve SBI accreditation include a partnership (formed individually by each school) with an institution abroad that uses some type of international standard curriculum such as IB or Cambridge, math and science classes taught in English, and more complete facilities (i.e. full computer labs, Internet, and air-conditioning in each classroom) than regular national standard schools. In order to achieve such standards RSBI schools are granted additional funding from the MONE for three years following RSBI accreditation. However, both the amount of money a school receives in a given province as well as what happens after three years if a school is not yet SBI remains unclear.

As stated previously at this point in my research I am focusing on the experiences of three RSBI schools and one school that hopes to soon apply for RSBI status. Having had experience teaching at a RSBI school in Majene, West Sulawesi I have chosen this province as my first comparative site in relation to the Special Region of Yogyakarta (*Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta*) or DIY. As part of one of Indonesia's newest provinces, Majene serves as an interesting comparative site for a number of reasons. Formerly part of the province of South Sulawesi the *kabupaten* or regencies of Polewali Mandar, Majene, Mamasa, Mamuju and North Mamuju became the province of West Sulawesi in 2004. These regencies which, comprise West Sulawesi remain considerably less developed in comparison with DIY.

In addition, DIY serves as a strong example of an area with high education standards largely a result of the number of prominent universities located in the city of Yogyakarta. As has been stated by teachers at both research sites in DIY, schools in Yogyakarta are doing fine in comparison with other regions of Indonesia (Sugianto, personal communication, October 10, 2011). Yet, despite the fact that Majene remains both rural and less developed in comparison with DIY the *Bupati* or Regent of Majene has stated his primary goal for this region is the development of education.

Thus one can say that both DIY and the regency of Majene within West Sulawesi serve as examples of two areas, which place a strong importance on the growth of education. I argue that this will be an important detail in examining the trajectory of educational development in Majene in comparison with other more remote areas of Indonesia, which I intend to add later in my research as additional sites of comparison.

In the province of DIY my research is focused at SMAN 1 Kasihan, Bantul and SMKN 6 Yogyakarta. SMAN 1 Kasihan has held accreditation as an RSBI school for five years. Located in very close proximity to the city of Yogyakarta, SMAN 1 Kasihan was the first school in the regency of Bantul and the third school in the province of DIY to achieve accreditation as an RSBI school. The second research site in DIY is SMKN 6 Yogyakarta located within the city of Yogyakarta. This school has not yet received accreditation as a RSBI school; however, this has been set as a goal for the development of SMKN 6.

Upon entering SMAN 1 Kasihan the high standard of this school is apparent. All classrooms are equipped with LCD projectors and air-conditioning while wireless Internet is generally available in most classrooms. Science and math classes have implemented the usage of bilingual textbooks and teachers talk eagerly of their desire to have stronger ability to teach these subjects solely in English.

At SMKN 6, a vocational high school, which offers students the option to study computer technology, tailoring, beauty, or tourism - staff, teachers, and students are proud to point out the active hotel, which serves as part of this schools facilities. While SMKN 6 does not tout air conditioning and LCD projectors in each classroom, wireless Internet is available and there is talk of implementing bilingual instruction in additional classes besides general English language classes. Taking a quick look at the facilities available at these schools in the province of DIY it can be said that they have achieved relatively high standards of instruction and facility management that is in comparison with schools in Majene, West Sulawesi.

In Majene, West Sulawesi my research is focused in two schools that have each held accreditation as RSBI schools for three years. These schools include SMAN 2 Majene and SMKN 1 Majene. In contrast to the schools in DIY with wireless Internet and other forms of technology in many or most of the classrooms, the majority of classrooms at both SMAN 2 and SMKN 1 Majene do not have electricity. In 2008 when I began teaching at SMAN 2 as a Fulbright English Teaching Assistant it was generally impossible to find a fast Internet connection anywhere in the town of Majene. While now three years later Internet cafes are popping up throughout Majene, Internet facilities are not yet available at Majene's RSBI schools.

Touching on English instruction in these schools bilingual instruction books have not yet been implemented and at times it can be said that English teachers continue to struggle with their levels of fluency. In pointing out these contrasts between basic characteristics at RSBI schools in DIY and Majene it is not my intention to criticize the efforts or abilities of teachers. In general when speaking to teachers at both SMAN 2 and SMKN 1 Majene there is a high level of motivation to improve standards of instruction, however, they are also quick to point out that the resources necessary to achieve higher standards are not always available.

In understanding the development of RSBI schools and their role in the development of education in Indonesia it is important to touch on what types of attitudes are held towards the existence of RSBI schools in both DIY and Majene. As I am just beginning my field research on this topic the information presented here can be considered preliminary data that will be used as a basis from which to formulate further questions for families and community groups in both DIY and Majene.

Touching first on DIY it is important to consider both the size of the city of Yogyakarta and the long tradition of educational excellence that is an important defining characteristic of this province. In the city of Yogyakarta there are a number of options available for educational advancement, namely the presence of private courses covering subjects such as language, science, math, and music. In addition, as a much larger area than Majene, there are a great deal more schools to choose from at all levels of education. Looking only at SMA (*sekolah menengah atas*) or general secondary schools within the province of Yogyakarta there are a total of fifteen SMA with RSBI accreditation. In terms of higher education Yogyakarta is also home to Indonesia's oldest and one of its most prestigious universities – Gadjah Mada University or UGM.

In contrast West Sulawesi, a significantly larger province than DIY presents a much different context in terms of educational opportunity. While in larger cities such as Majene and Mamuju courses are available for subjects such as language instruction, most commonly English, these courses are generally run by community groups or individuals and thus do not have the same facilities or resources available as those in DIY. In addition, throughout the province of West Sulawesi there are not as many options for varying levels of secondary school instruction. In comparison to DIY, which has fifteen SMA with RSBI accreditation West Sulawesi has only two SMA with RSBI accreditation. Comparing the different opportunities available in DIY and West Sulawesi one can say that the “education market” is much larger and diverse in DIY.

In Yogyakarta when discussing RSBI education with general community members who are not affiliated directly with my two research sites I have gotten a general impression that individuals are both unimpressed with such schools and do not necessarily see that RSBI is what sets certain schools above others. Rather, it is a longstanding reputation of certain

schools even prior to RSBI accreditation, which is described by many individuals as more significant than status as RSBI.

In DIY individuals generally respond that while a RSBI school may provide the opportunity for a higher standard of education this is not the only option available for educational advancement. In addition, it is not seen as necessary for a student to attend a RSBI school if they hope to attend a prestigious university in Indonesia or seek opportunities abroad. Many individuals have commented that if a certain school, which holds RSBI accreditation does not have a longstanding reputation of excellence the requirements of a RSBI curriculum, specifically more subjects taught in English may negatively affect the experience of a student.

In contrast in Majene when having general discussions regarding RSBI education and the RSBI schools in Majene there seems to be a passive acceptance that simply because these schools are RSBI they are the best schools in Majene. There is also a perception held that these schools provide each student with a RSBI education. However, in contrast to the RSBI schools in DIY, which do in fact provide a RSBI curriculum to every student and class at that school, in Majene the RSBI accreditation is in reality only applied to a select few classes. Yet, when talking to general community members about this fact very few individuals are aware of this detail.

In addition, many individuals in Majene are generally unaware of what a RSBI school is supposed to provide to its students. A general statement regarding students at Majene's RSBI schools is that they are "smarter". While it is not necessarily negative that these schools have afforded students the reputation as smart, I do argue that the effect this has had on other schools in Majene is negative. With such a large focus of the local government placed on the development and prestige of these two schools attention has been taken away from the success and efforts of other schools in Majene. This has created a certain amount of tension between students, teachers, and staff of RSBI schools and non-RSBI schools in Majene.

At that point in my research I argue that the smaller education market in Majene creates a great deal more competition between RSBI status and non-RSBI status and the importance placed on these RSBI schools. Finally, one could also argue that this focus on developing RSBI classes within particular



schools is influencing the continuation of uneven development throughout the province of West Sulawesi.

At this point these are preliminary thoughts and details regarding schools in the two areas where research is initially being focused. In expanding my research in each site interviews will be conducted in order to provide a more in-depth understanding of the views that both staff and teachers at schools hold towards the development of RSBI education as well as the perceptions of community members towards internationalized education in Indonesia.

I am eager to gain a better understanding of the way that other initiatives are framing the educational context in remote areas such as Majene. During my time in this area I was continually amazed at the initiative of community members in creating their own educational activities and opportunities. On one side the development of RSBI or international standard education has provided a positive impetus for competition in these areas and a desire to improve educational standards, however, it has also created a situation for the uneven disbursement of funding.

Thus when looking at the influence of neo-liberal economic policies and globalization on the development of Indonesia I argue that it is important to consider the effect and influence of an initiative such as the RSBI project. As is argued by Ag Kustulasari (2009) this project can be seen as a result of globalization and a desire of the Indonesian government to compete on a global scale (Ibid, 63). Yet, the lack of clarity in policy documents, which explain the process and requirements necessary to achieve SBI accreditation following a period of development as a RSBI school has created a situation in which a large number of schools have applied for RSBI status, received funds, and now stand largely where they were before.

In areas such as Majene I argue the presence of RSBI schools has the potentially to take attention away from the development of other schools or educational initiatives perpetuating uneven development. While more areas in Indonesia are now being influenced by the necessity to internationalize and become globalized due to the presence of “international” standard schools I argue that it is important to step back and take a closer look at what impact this is having on local communities.

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# COMMUNICATION COMPETENCIES OF PROFESSIONAL TEACHERS AS EDUCATION COMMUNICATORS IN BANDUNG

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## Introduction

**E**ducation sector particularly teachers are issues that interesting and important to be studied continuously, moreover these are reinforced by some various phenomena that occur such several issues concerning to unprofessionalism of the teachers reported widely as were allegedly by a book author of Professional Teachers (Kunandar, 2007: vi). Similarly, Salahudin Wahid, leader of Pondok Pesantren Tebu Ireng Jombang, said that the quality of teachers in Indonesia is relatively low despite the world's fourth ranked in the teachers number (Pikiran Rakyat, December 8, 2010).

Indeed, the discourse of teachers in Indonesia will be continually needed, in addition it is an attractive issue, proved by many discussions, seminars, workshops and other scientific meetings have been done which are essentially talking about how complicated the problems of teachers in this thousands-islands country. Indonesian teachers often stand at a real dilemmatic position because they hold the continuity of future hopes of the nation in education, but at the same time, the teachers hard to get out of twisting classic problems, such as welfare, awards, and professionalism issues.

The presence of teachers in school also amongst the people, recently, often gets incisive attention. This happens because the teachers' world is still captive by two problems which have mutual correlation that the solving requires

wisdom from some stakeholders mainly the policy makers. There are two problems: (1) teachers profession is less ensure the welfare because of low salary. The low salary has implication on teachers' performance; (2) the professionalism of teachers is still low. Based on that information, it can be said that teachers' professionalism is the most serious issue among others facing by Indonesian teachers. Furthermore, there is an issue concerning teachers problematic who "haven't been confident yet" to call their profession as an equal profession with others.

With no doubt, progress in education has been ensued, over the past three decades Indonesian education quantitatively has developed very fast. In 1965, the numbers of elementary schools were 52.233 with the number of students and teachers of 11.577.943 and 274.545, then it increased rapidly as many as 150.921 elementary schools, with 11.577.943 students and 1.158.004 teachers (Information Center, R and D Bureau, Education and Culture Dept, 1999). Therefore, in 30 years the number of elementary school students had increased about 300%. This education development has to be grateful. Unfortunately, the education development is not followed by appropriate increase in education quality.

As the result, there are many education disparities among the society, the very prominent including: (1) disparity between education output quality and labor qualifications needed, (2) disparity of education quality between rural and urban, between Java and outside Java, also between the rich and the poor. Besides, in education sector occur two problems that cannot be separated from education problem mentioned previously.

Teacher is one of education performers whose position is strategic in achieving the expected education quality. Teacher is professional educator with primary tasks are educating, teaching, guiding, directing, train, assess and evaluate the students on early education in formal way, elementary education, and secondary education (Law no. 14 of 2005). Teachers are the spearhead of national education development. Mainly, in developing and improving the quality of human resources through formal educations.

Professional and dignified teachers become everyone hope because it will create intelligent, critical, innovative, democratic and faithful children. Professional and dignified teachers set as the role model for the formation of

strong human resources. This issue was also hinted from teacher certification couple time ago which became interesting discourse in the society. Realization of this dream is not an easy thing, yet it needs hard work and synergy of all stakeholders namely, central government, local government, society, and teachers themselves.

Teacher as a profession has actually regulated and mandated in the Law of National Education System chapter IX article 39 subsection 2:

“Educator is professional in charge of planning and carrying out the learning process, assessing learning result, coaching and training, also conduct research and service to society, mainly for education in college.”

Therefore, the demand of teacher become professional profession is an ordinary matter, moreover the profession will get profession allowance if the teacher professionalism is able to be shown by certification process.

## Education Communication

Education is a communication activity, where the teachers as the spearhead of formal education activities serve as the communicators. Furthermore, the activities are done by the teachers in teaching and learning also others which will be called as education communication as the consequence of communication activity in education sector. Education communication has important position both in study context in the realm of communication science and education science as a practical skill which can support the education process itself. There are at least two important basic considerations to answer why education communication becomes imperative.

*First*, educational world in really need of understanding that is holistic, comprehensive, fundamental and systematic of communication use in the implementation of teaching-learning activities. Without good communication spirit, the education will lose the way and orientation in developing expected output quality. In this context, the importance of education communication can be equated with teaching methodology, education management and others. If it is estimated almost 80 percent of teachers' activities in the classroom are communication either verbal or nonverbal. Therefore, poor materials acceptance

by the students, not necessarily because the teachers are unintelligent, it could be caused by their terrible communication method in front of the students.

*Second*, communication education will show the direction of social construction process of education reality.

Being a professional teacher according to National Education Ministry of Indonesia Bersatu Cabinet Volume 1, Bambang Sudibyo at the greeting of 61<sup>st</sup> PGRI anniversary suggested that a professional teacher at least has four competencies. The competencies are pedagogic competency, social competency, personality competency, and professional competency as embodied in Government Regulation no. 9 of 2005 on Education National Standard. From Communication Science perspective, a teacher as education communicator needs communication competency which is *conditio sine quanon*.

## Professional Teachers Meaning

Qualitative research seeks to explain the phenomenon from various perspectives or approaches. The subjects of research were teachers from elementary school, secondary school, high school or vocational school whether public and private schools in Bandung. Teachers are formal education spearheads, in every school from various education levels both public and private schools, teachers are the pillars of education activities because without their presences the formal education process in schools will never happen.

In Bandung, the number of teachers reaches more than 12.600 persons for elementary school until high school levels both public and private schools, whether civil servants or non-civil servants. While the teachers who became the subjects of this research were teachers from preferred schools with some purposive criteria, such favorite schools which have been chosen more by student applicants, including the schools that have high passing grade using final examination grade. The schools in Bandung for such kind of these criteria are 3, 5, 2, 4 and 20 Public High Schools.

Besides, there is favorite private school like Taruna Bakti Secondary School which has well-defined educational system starts from new students' acceptance by doing independent test conducted in advance even before the graduation examination done. In addition, there are some schools which have

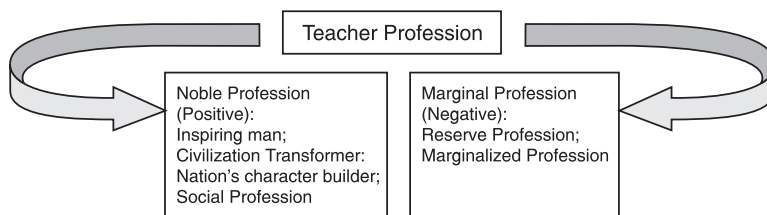


teachers with specific criteria that were appropriate as the sources, namely teacher having a concept about teaching even their not serve in favorite or pre-eminent schools, as teachers in 12 and 9 Public High Schools also in 10 Public Vocational School.

Furthermore, there were some teachers from school located in the suburbs of Bandung even with the fewer number of students because lack of the applicants due to unpleasant school buildings and spaces, yet here can be found teachers who are simple in speaking but have polite behavior that ought to studied because of their good moral values, they were teachers from Taruna Karya I Public Elementary School, 45 Public Junior High School, and Pasundan 1 High School.

The discussion about professional teachers meaning starts from the research result which emerged two categories (second level of construct) of professional teachers' identity meaning. The result was classified in two categories, namely teacher as noble profession (positive) and teacher as marginal profession (negative). Noble profession or positive teaching meaning is expressed by the term: teacher is an inspiring man, teacher as social profession (serving), teacher as medium for the civilization transformation in order to develop nation's character.

Moreover, the intent of teacher as inspiring man has wider and deeper understanding. Whereas, the meaning of teacher profession as marginal profession or contain negative connotation is expressed by the term: teacher is reserve profession, and teacher as marginalized profession.

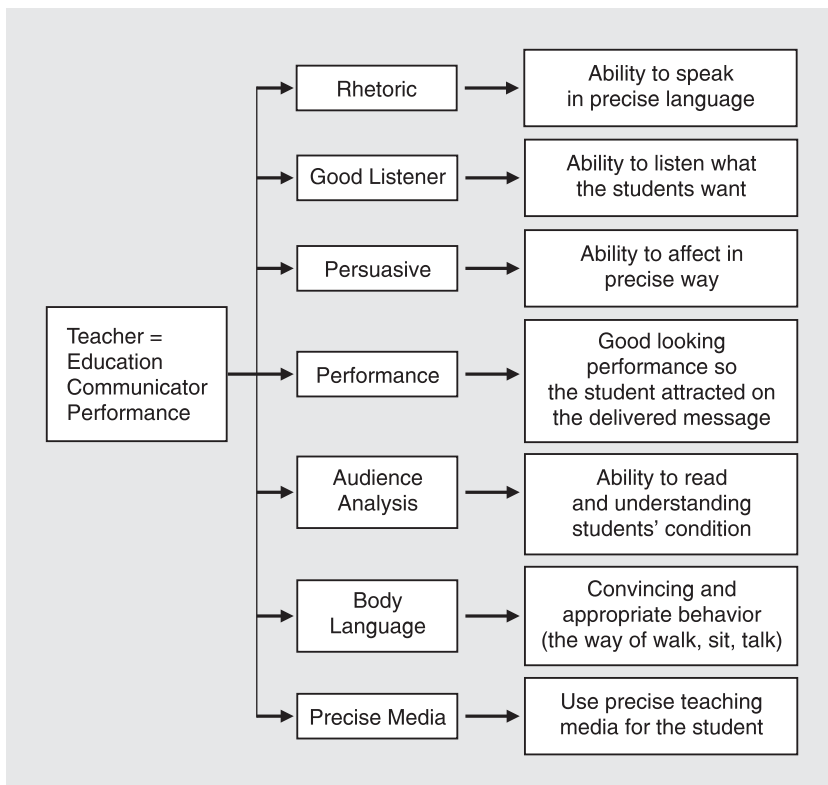


**Picture 1: Categories of Teacher Profession Meaning**

Source: Research Result Tabulation

## Teacher Profcommunication Competencies of Professional Teachers

Another competency required by the teachers as education communicators besides pedagogic, personal, professional, and social competencies is communication competency. Communication competency is an important thing considering to no matter how well the message if it is not delivered properly by reliable communicators it will not have any significance. It similar with the statement from a famous businessman Lee Iacocca who said that: You can have brilliant idea, but if you cannot reveal the idea, it does not mean anything. As resulted in the research that revealed communication competencies have to be possessed by education communicators as follow:



**Picture 2:** Construction Model of Teacher Communication Competencies as Education Communicators.

This finding along with the previous statement that the relationship built in education communication is between teachers and students where the occurred communication competencies are individual inherent action in social process. When viewed from communication science, competency is part of communicators' ability, in this case the teachers as education communicators. Then, the teachers must meet the criteria as credible communicators which are expertise and trust. Expertise is an impression formed by the communicant about the communicator ability in relation of the topic discussed. Communicators who are considered high in expertise are considered as intelligent, capable, expert, knowledgeable, experienced or trained persons.

Meanwhile, trust is communicant impression about the communicators associated with their characters. Credibility according to Aristoteles, can be obtained if a communicator has ethos, pathos, and logos. Ethos is the power possessed by the speaker from his personal character, so his words are trusted. Phatos is the power possessed by the speaker to control the listeners' emotion. Then, logos is the power possessed by the communicator trough arguments.

## Conclusion

That is the fact about education world in Indonesia currently, which is an interesting phenomenon with the whole problems that are related with various life aspects. Teacher as the spearhead of education world success is a profession interpreted in two categories, namely teacher's meaning identity as noble profession (positive) and marginal profession (negative). Noble profession or positive teacher's meaning is expressed by the term: teacher is the inspiring man, teacher as social profession (serving), teacher as medium for the civilization transformation in order to develop nation's character.

Moreover, the intent of teacher as inspiring man has wider and deeper understanding. Whereas, the meaning of teacher profession as marginal profession or contain negative connotation is expressed by the term: teacher is reserve profession, and teacher as marginalized profession. Furthermore, teachers as communicators of education communication need to posses communication competencies which consist of: Rhetoric Ability; Ability to be

good listeners; Persuasive ability; Good performance; Ability to analyze audiences; Having precise body language; and Use proper teaching media

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# INSERTING LOCAL CULTURE IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING TO PROMOTE CHARACTER EDUCATION FOR THE INDONESIAN URBAN SOCIETY

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## Introduction

It is commonly believed that education plays the most significant role 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 a country not to mention our country, Indonesia. Our government even has given explicitly the definition of the term education in the Act of *Republic Indonesia on National Educational System* that may be considered 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 Republic Indonesia on National Educational System” (Chapter 1 Article 1 and 2).

In line with this definition, education has also often been defined in terms of practices that schools and teachers use to influence student learning and development (Nucci and Narvaéz, 2008: 5). Therefore, it seems very important

to pay great attention to the practices of our educational system in our country, considering the fact that it would be impossible to reach the goals of our national educational system without involving all aspects determining the success of educational practices. Those are parents, schools' elements (not to mention: teachers, students, facilities, etc), and also the government. Hence, it is urgently needed to have a critical study on the practices of education in this country for the sake of providing better generation in the future who can maintain religious, national, and cultural values of this country and at the same time remain actively responsive to the needs of the ever changing era.

This particular study, however, tries to have a closer look on the common practices of English language teaching in our country, owing to the fact that education is considered having the greatest chance of providing the learners to have a direct contact with a foreign culture. In line with the national education objectives, this particular study also tends to propose a new perspective in the practice of English language teaching by inserting the local cultures to promote character education in Indonesia.

## The Common Practice of English Language Teaching in Indonesia

The need to learn and use English in communication has put English as the most important foreign language in the worldwide and not to mention in this country, Indonesia. Our scholars commonly agree that our young generations need to master English well in order to be able to actively participate in the global world. This has made English becoming one of the most important subjects in schools. Most parents even believe that the earlier children learn English the better. This has been becoming the main reason of introducing English as local content in elementary school or even in some kindergartens.

These days, foreign language programmes tend to start at an increasingly early stage not only in Europe but the same trend is observable on other continents as well (Nikolov, 2009: xiii). Following Nikolov, Gonzales (1995: 58) states that the domains in which English is used as an international, an auxiliary language for intercultural and intercountry and regional communication, are mostly those of international diplomacy, scientific discourse, and in international trade and

business, for it is the language of financial and global financial transactions and the language of trade negotiations and the medium of discourse of international business. This has led English as one of the *lingua franca* and also encourages the spreads and developments in the English language teaching in the non English speaking countries (Woodford and Jackson, 2003).

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 language. 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 attempts to fulfill 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 best fitted 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 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 English teachers could act as a cultural agent as well. Every English teacher needs to realize this, if not they will not only be the cultural agent but also be the agent of the new form of imperialism.

The current English language teaching practice may lead the students to have better understanding on foreign culture rather than their own culture or even in the extreme way could lead them to make the foreign culture as their

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 English language teaching practice is the loss of our own culture since our young generations 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 engage 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.

In doing so, they need to start with understanding the notion of the word 'culture'; itself, for this term has various definitions. One of the definitions is proposed by Mesthrie, Swann, Deumer and Leap (2009: 28) who define culture as '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. The other definition of culture is the one proposed by Foley (2001: 14) that views culture as transgenerational domain of practices through which human organisms in a social system communicate with each other. These definitions particularly see culture as something inherited from generation to generation.

On the contrary, Nieto (2010: 136) defines culture as "the ever-changing values, traditions, social and political relationships, and worldview created, shared, and transformed by a group of people bound together by a combination of factors that can include a common history, geographic location, language, social class, and religion". This definition provides a new idea of the term culture. Nieto also makes it clear that everyone has a culture because all people participate in the world through social and political relationships informed by history as well as by race, ethnicity, language, social class, gender, sexual orientation, and other circumstances related to identity and experience.

In addition to this definition, Nieto (2010: 137-144) also mentions some characteristics of culture. Those characteristics include the followings. *First,*



culture is dynamic, in the sense that it is active, changing, and always on the move, that even in its native contexts, culture is always changing as a result of political, social, and other modifications in the immediate environment. *Second*, culture is multifaceted. This means, for one thing, that culture cannot be conflated with just ethnicity or race. *Third*, culture is embedded in context meaning that it is influenced by the environment in which it exists. *Fourth*, culture is influenced by social, economic, and political factors. It is commonly agreed that culture is bound to a particular context, that it is greatly influenced by the political, historical, and economic conditions in which it is found. *Fifth*, culture is created and socially constructed. The main underlying reason for this is the fact that human beings as the cultural agents change it. *Sixth*, culture is learned. It means that culture is not handed down through our genes, nor is it inherited. This is very clear to see, for example, when children from a particular ethnic group are adopted by families from another ethnic group.

Nieto (2010: 144) adds that culture, especially ethnic and religious culture is learned through interactions with families and communities. It usually is not consciously taught, or consciously learned. That is why it seems so natural and effortless. Lastly, *culture is dialectical*. Nieto also mentions that a culture is neither “good” nor “bad” in general, but rather embodies values that have grown out of historical and social conditions and necessities. As individuals, we may find elements of our own or others culture uplifting or repugnant.

Following Nieto (2010) that culture is not merely seen as something inherited but also it can be something learned, it seems urgently needed to have an innovative way of improving the practice of English language teaching in this country for the sake of maintaining the national identity and achieving the goals of national education stated in the *Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 20 Tahun 2003* owing to the fact that this particular subject provides students with a direct contact with a foreign culture.

## The Notion of Character Education and Urban Society

Following Nucci and Narvaéz (2008: 5), education may be defined in terms of practices that schools and teachers use to influence student learning and development although children’s and adolescents’ moral development and

character formation, however, are not simply the result of schooling but this is widespread agreement that schools should contribute to students' moral development and character formation.

Although the term "character education" has not been explicitly mentioned in the Act of Republic Indonesia on National Educational System, but it has been becoming the biggest issue in various seminars or any kinds of academic meetings on national education topic. The needs to build the national character have also been becoming one of the central concern of the government. Our government, through the *Badan Penelitian dan Pengembangan Kurikulum, Kementerian Pendidikan Nasional* even has published two books in January 2010 concerning the practices of improving the development of culture and character education.

The first book is *Bahan Pelatihan Penguatan Metodologi Pembelajaran Berdasarkan Nilai-nilai Budaya untuk Meningkatkan Daya Saing dan Karakter Bangsa* whereas the second book is *Pengembangan Pendidikan Budaya dan Karakter Bangsa*. The first book is mainly a kind of teachers' guideline to conduct the character education in schools while the second is mainly a general supplement for schools to conduct and integrating the character education. Although these two books have merely provided some general overviews of the notion of character education, it shows evidence of the government's deep concern on integrating the character education in schools. Therefore, it would be much beneficial if there is an additional discussion on the notion of character education.

In addition, Nucci and Narvaes (2008: 2) state that in broad terms the debates over moral and character education divide along some dimensions. One broad distinction is between those who view character formation and morality as centered on the cultivation of virtues and those who argue that morality is ultimately a function of judgments made in context. Traditional character educators generally fall within this perspective. On the other hand, those who emphasize the role of reason and judgment draw their philosophical arguments from rationalist ethics with its emphasis on autonomous justification for moral actions based on principles of justice or fairness. This definition provides to terms concerning the notion of character education that can be considered as the moral or the character education. While in the *Cambridge*

*Advanced Learners' Dictionary* (2008) the origin and literal meanings of *character*, however, are the particular combination of qualities in a person or place that makes them different from others.

The other definition of the term character coming from the point of view of someone who is moralistic, that is, a person who wishes to treat moral categories as broadly as possible and to give moral terms the most frequent possible use, character will appear to lie entirely within the domain of morality. The education of character, then, will seem coextensive with moral education, and to have a good character equivalent to being morally virtuous to a high degree. Most of us in the latter part of the twentieth century are not moralistic and, thus, will have a less simple and reductive view of what good character is (Kupperman, 1991:9).

In line with these definitions, character education also can have some other definitions as mentioned by Berkowitz and Bier (2005: 8), namely: (1) character education is a national movement creating schools that foster ethical, responsible, and caring young people by modeling and teaching good character through emphasis on universal values that we all share. It is the intentional, proactive effort by schools, districts, and states to instill in their students important core, ethical values such as caring, honesty, fairness, responsibility, and respect for self and others; (2) character education is teaching children about basic human values, including honesty, kindness, generosity, courage, freedom, equality, and respect. The goal is to raise children to become morally responsible, self-disciplined citizens; (3) character education is the deliberate effort to develop good character based on core virtues that are good for the individual and good for society; (4) character education is any deliberate approach by which school personnel, often in conjunction with parents and community members help children and youth become caring, principled, and responsible.

Meanwhile, Kementerian Pendidikan Nasional (2010: 4) mentions that the term character is closely related to attitudes, behaviours, or personalities of a particular person formed as the result of internalization of believed virtues commonly used as the foundation of his/her views, ways of thinking, attitudes, and behaviours. Therefore, the development of nation character must be done in the form of building individual character. As individuals live in a particular social and cultural environment, the effort of buiding individuals character must

be done in his/her own social and cultural environment. In addition, the development of national culture and character must be done in an educational process which consider learners as parts of their social, culture, national cultural settings.

The need to promote character Education in this country is unavoidable as the result of the society condition. Our society may be considered as one kind of urban society, in the sense, it is the one resulted from industrialization, as mentioned by Lefebvre (2003: 2) that the term ‘urban society’ can be used to refer to the society that results from industrialization, which is a process of domination that absorbs agricultural production.

■ He also mentions that the term ‘urban society’ is a term that refers to tendencies, orientations, and virtualities, rather than any preordained reality. By this, it means that although our society remains far from being considered as modern or industrialized society but it is the one having a better condition than its previous condition. This kind of society is quite unique, in the sense that they may be reluctant to changes or even very enthusiastic to them. Therefore, it seems necessary to conduct some efforts in order to maintain their nation identity. One of the efforts can be in the form of integrating character education which can possibly carried out through serious steps. Knowing the local culture is one of those important steps.

## The Significance of Inserting Local Culture in English Language Teaching

In line with the notion of character education, the practices of foreign language teaching, particularly English language teaching in this country need to have much attention in terms of the internalization of 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.” Therefore, it is considered an important thing that educators and all individuals involving in the practice of a foreign language teaching 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.

The government even has done their best to provide chances of developing the practice of educational practices in schools not to mention for the English subject by providing *KTSP (Kurikulum Tingkat Satuan Pendidikan)*. This curriculum supports the idea of integrating the local culture in the school curriculum not to mention the English Language curriculum. The practice of this curriculum gives more opportunities of inserting the local culture in the practice of English language teaching. This insertion of local culture in the practice of English language teaching may be considered essential due to the fact that this subject is commonly believed to provide the learners having a direct contact to the foreign culture.

One thing to be noted is the fact that language can be seen as an unseparable element of culture. Foley (2001: 19) mentions that:

“Language is often treated theoretically as a sub system of culture within cognitive anthropology but in practice and structure of language as revealed by modern linguistics has generally served as the paradigm for analyzing other aspects of culture.”

Following Foley, Linton (1945 in Mesthrie, et al., 2009: 28) defines culture as, “the way of life of its members; the collection of ideas and habits which they learn, share and transmit from generation to generation.” By these definitions, it can be stated that culture can be seen as a *‘design for living’*, that gives meanings to ways and forms of commonly accepted behaviours of a particular society, while language can be seen as, *a cultural activity and, at the same time, an instrument for organizing other cultural domains* (Sharifian and Palmer, 2007: 1).

Cultural differences are the main questions of intercultural communications. Grant and Lei (2001: 10-11) propose four main problems in the intercultural communication concerning the sociocultural aspects of language, namely: (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 communicative, action-oriented skills; and (4) accepting socio-cultural diversity and the plurality of ideas as a challenge for democracy.

Hence, it is commonly agreed that the practice of a foreign language teaching, particularly English will not be effectively carried out without giving explanation of its culture. English Language Teaching educators are practically required not only to teach the language but at the same time are required to present the cultural context in which this particular language is used. Meanwhile, the learners are also need to learn not only the language but also learn the culture of the society using it. This phenomenon is particularly common in the practice of a foreign language teaching owing to the fact that to be able to actively communicate using a foreign language, one needs to have not only a good proficiency of the language but also a comprehensive understanding of its culture.

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 the learners may consider the 'new culture' is better than the 'previous one'. 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 new perspective on the practice of English language teaching by inserting the local culture is unavoidable. The underlying reason of applying this new perspective towards language teaching, is the fact that teachers need to integrate the spirit of character 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 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 inserting 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.

Looking at these definitions of local culture and considering the need to maintain the nation identity, it will be much beneficial to insert the local cultural values and norms in the practice of English language teaching. The insertion of

the local cultural values can be an alternative way of preparing the learners' cultural background and identity that hopefully also improving their nationalism awareness when they contact or learn a foreign culture ideology internalized in the practice of English language teaching.

It is widely believed that cultural aculturation through the intercultural communication between Indonesian and a foreign culture particularly Western culture, has commonly unconsciously followed by the internalization of the foreign culture by means of various media, not to mention the English language teaching. This cultural intercultural communication mainly results in the emergence of the construction of domination and hegemony of Western cultural values towards the Indonesian identity and and nationalism. The fact that nationalism is really crucial in the sense of maintaining the nation identity, has been proposed by Anderson (2006: 1-15) that views nationalism not only as a imaginary phenomenon (but not imaginative), whose existence always requires to be continually reconstructed and maintained by the whole society.

Consequently, the internalization of a foreign culture (Western culture) in the practice of English language teaching needs to be critically concerned as this may make us the victims of a new practice of Western imperialism and colonialism. In relation to the importance of developing, maintaining and preserving the values and the spirits of nationalism for the sake of the naton-state of Indonesia, the whole insertion of local culture in the practice of English language teaching meets its relevance and significance.

The insertion of the local culture in the practice of English language teaching can be in the forms of selecting materials containing the local culture norms and values and also giving additional explanation on any foreign cultural norms found in the process of teaching and learning English. This insertion of local culture, however, will not be successfully carried out without the supports of all individuals involved in the practice of English language teaching, such as, the teachers, textbook publishers, parents, as well as the government.

## Conclusion

It is widely known that the common practice of English language teaching has been focused on preparing the students to be able to communicate effectively

by using the language. Most people agree that the practice of English language teaching of English will not be effective without discussing its culture, therefore teaching a language will be impossible without teaching the culture. This, however, may lead the students to have better understanding on foreign culture rather than their own culture or even in the extreme way could lead them to make the foreign culture as their own culture and make them internalize the norms as well as foreign cultural values in their daily lives. All individuals engage 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 fact that the practice of English language teaching cannot be separated from teaching the accompanied culture and by considering the need to maintain the nation identity, it will be much beneficial to insert the local cultural values and norms in the practice of English language teaching. The insertion of the local cultural values can be an alternative way of preparing the learners' cultural background and identity that hopefully also improve their nationalism awareness when they contact or learn a foreign culture ideology internalized in the practice of English language teaching. This sense of national cultural awareness is actually one of the character education goals (Kementerian Pendidikan Nasional, 2010: 7).

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## DEWA RUCI

*An Offer System of Learning  
by Multicultural Perspective*

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### Introduction

*“Ngelmu iku kelakone kanthi laku  
Lekase lawan kas  
Tegese kas nyantosani  
Setya budya pangekese dur angkara”*

“Science must be done by apply it  
Begins with the strong will and hold it firmly  
It would be achieved peaceful condition  
And would eliminate the bad habits of human at the end  
By applying keep in mind – believe – loyalty attitude,  
*memayu hayuning bawana* would be done by human.”

**T**hat advice of pocung stanza above was ever taught by KGPAA Mangkunegara IV in Serat Wedatama. The advice above was also played on purwa pakeliran padat puppet led by Ki Manteb Soedharsono with Dewa Ruci story as the theme. It is one of the puppet story that give moral values especially on the way to get the science. If we appreciate the stanza above, of course, we will know how important the science towards our life. We can use formal or non formal institution in getting the science. These activities could make someone smart and capable if it is done by high motivation

and wisely. So that it would be beneficial to others, even develop the nation position.

It can be said that the education system in Indonesia was not fully successful so far because there are many problems as the barriers. However, in some points, there are some things that could be pride. There are many Indonesian students who win the world science and sport Olympiad. These achievements should be maintained and continued by the next smart generations. Here I use pursue knowledge prologue in order to describe the condition of Indonesian education system especially on learning process because many policies have been made by Government so far. It is made to overcome the problems arise in education system. However, the results of these efforts do not reflect the successful learning process. Therefore, on this bad condition should be found the progressive solution to reach the achievement hoped.

## The Power of Story

The power of story is one of the alternative solutions to overcome many educations problems. It also influences the culture of a nation. Many stories contain life optimistic, heroic, the brave to change life, honesty, humanity, etc. can be used as a power tool to gain the achievement. In 1972, Ismail Marahimin (lecturer of UI letter faculty) asked by Titian magazine to translate the beneficial article written by McClelland entitled “The Need for Achievement”. On this article, McClelland described the various problems faced by many nations. In fact, the nations of the world are divided into three big categories; they are industrialized countries, developed countries and underdeveloped countries.

Then McClelland did research and took sample from two big countries that grow fast in the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, i.e. United Kingdom (UK) and Spain. On the next development, the UK grew more advanced while Spain grew into its darkness. What did cause it? McClelland did research and finally found the answer which lied on its fairy tale. In the UK, a fairy tale in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century contains “a virus” that infects all people to achieve, *the need for achievement*, which was then the term was symbolized by n-Ach.

This virus contains the elements of brave to change the fate, not easily give up attitude, and high optimism.

Those elements did not exist in the Spain fairy tales. Therefore, most of the fairy tales in Spain did not contain spirits to have achievement. So, the Spanish at that time were so lazy because of the wrong fairy tales. McClelland also did content analysis of documents from ancient Greek literature such as poetry, plays, speeches at the funeral, a letter from the ships chief, epic story, etc. He also collected more than 1,300 fairy tales from many countries since 1925 until 1950s. After did observation, it can be concluded that the fairy tale containing high n-Ach in a country, was always followed by high economic growth also in these countries over a period of 25 years.

McClelland's research results had also been shown the Dragon Asia, Japan. In 1945, after the atomic bomb by the allies (US) destroyed the city of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan was completely collapse. The economic expert predicted that Japan would be bankrupt. However, this disaster did not kill the spirit of Japanese. Evidently, the Japanese per capita income and standard of living attempted the second highest position the world. In the mid-1990s, Gross National Product (GNP) of Japan reached U.S. \$ 37.5 billion, or 33.5 trillion dollars. The figure showed that Japan attempted under Switzerland, which had the highest GNP in the world, namely U.S. \$ 113.7 billion. In addition, Japan also has no foreign debt (Ann Wan Seng, 2007: 61).

This rapid economic growth only need the time less than 20 years. Incredibly, based on research results by McClelland, it took 25 years. Moreover, when it started to arise, Japan condition was on bankrupt. Why did Japan could arise? The main reason was because it had a strong culture or character. Children in Japan were always storied with high n-Ach. For example, fairy tale which told about a king who was cursed into a frog. The animal must be able to ascend the big rock if he wants to become a king again. Finally, the frog kept trying to jump up to become a king again. This story taught Japan children to have brave to change the fate (from a frog to be a king), without despair, and have high optimism to go forward. From this point, we know that a story have an incredible power towards the progress of a nation. What about other countries, including Indonesia, which also have stories with a high n-Ach! But why Indonesia is getting worse?!

## The Condition of Literary Learning

The answer is that we are not valuing the stories in the literature when we convey the story to our children. This also supported by our weakness education system. Actually, Indonesia has a huge potential story, ranging from novels, short stories, plays, poems, roman, folklore/folktales, fairy tales, legends, and also fables which taught nobleness, human values, beauty, education, religiousness, etc. Those were found in the literature that represents the reality of life (mimetic/universe), describes the author's views about the world (expressive), objective (literary work itself) so that the readers could make an appreciation of literature (pragmatic).

For the pragmatics domain, the students (and also the teachers) were not optimum in literary appreciation. It is supported by experts' statements in the field of literary that mention the problem of literary learning: (1) the low reading interest of the students and the teachers toward literary have made lack their competence and knowledge to literary. Since the establishment of the first curriculum in Indonesia until KTSP nowadays, the teacher are forced to be competent in the linguistics field and also literary knowledge because both are interrelated. Therefore, the teacher competence sometimes felt very lack; (2) the lack of literary books in schools so the students and the teachers do not do effective appreciates to literary; (3) the students' interest in literary appreciation is very low; (4) the school circumstances and conditions do not support the appreciation; (5) the evaluations do not based on the curriculum because it considers as the cognitive domain than affective or psychomotor domain. These can be seen from the implementation of National Final Examination on the multiple choice questions, although literary have many interpretations.

## The Dewa Ruci Contributions

One of the Indonesian stories containing high n-Ach is the story of Dewa Ruci Purwa puppet that could contribute to the progress of the nation especially in education field. Puppet is a national culture that has been recognized by UNESCO (The UN organization of education, science and culture) since 7 November 2003 as a World Master Piece of Oral and Intangible Heritage of

Humanity. In April 15, 2008 a large performance art culture Indonesian puppet show, Wayang Shadow Puppet Theatre of Indonesia has been staged at the UN head office in Geneva.

In addition, the puppet is also as an icon in the World Heritage Cities (WHC), a world-class conference that was held by the OWHC (the Organization of World Heritage Cities), an organization under UNESCO. WHC itself has been held in Surakarta on 25 to 28 October 2008 and to welcome the event, Surakarta thinking about the slogan Let's Go to Solo the Spirit of Java. A pride for Surakarta because the UN gave the credibility to develop local culture that one of them is a puppet then consider as a multicultural wealth.

Unfortunately, many young people today do not like with their own culture. They prefer to follow the western culture than local culture. Most of them assume that local culture is ancient and obsolete. We rarely meet young people that can act as a puppeteer. And it also rarely that young people be able to see the shadow puppet that is usually performed during the whole night until morning. Of course it makes young people feel bored. Therefore, the appearance of "pakeliran padat", the puppet show lasts in a short time, is one of the solutions to innovate and develop the local culture.

Dewa Ruci is one of the story icon that performed by pakeliran padat. The story has been store in the video compact disc with one hour duration. The shadow puppet show puppeteer by 'the evil puppeteer', Ki Manteb Soedharsono, well known as an evil puppeteer because he is so astute in making the slashes when on the stage. The writer interested in the story because it contains an experience of a student i.e. Bratasena to get knowledge. The writer also interested in the puppeteer i.e. Ki Manteb Soedharsono as a high skill puppeteer and internationally recognized by UNESCO because of his credibility as a high skill puppeteer rewarded in April 2004.

Dewa Ruci is one of the local literary that still exists with other literary in Indonesia. Dewa Ruci story was taken from the story of purwa puppet as one of the adiluhung Java literary and it content could be used as a life hold. The story of Dewa Ruci wayang purwa taught many life values and the most important of the story is the persistence of a student who wants to pursue knowledge until it success. This kind of idealism is very interesting to be discussed.

It also in line with Rahayu Supanggih (2002: 17-18) stated that the education values inside Dewa Ruci purwa puppet are: (1) the importance of persistence, perseverance, believe and someone confidence towards the choice of science (art), then profession, education office, and the teacher only as a facilitator or a mean to achieve the educational goals. Without belief and trust towards those elements, people could not reach their dreams. Therefore, Columbus had a strong belief to keep walking to the east so that he discovered Cuba; (2) working hard and seriously, brave to take any risk to the steps that have been taken to purse the knowledge until successful.

The story of Dewa Ruci is taken from the Mahabarata story which still favored by people especially Javanese people. Therefore, the Mahabharata story (Dewa Ruci story) of educative values still has relevance to the conditions nowadays. Because of its function as a mean of education, the moral values of the puppet are good materials to be taught to the young learner. By the innovation of pakeliran padat, such as puppet show with a short duration (e.g. one hour) and packaged into a compact disc, the puppet show would be easy to learn and it seems attractive to the young learner.

The young learner at the past did not like to see the puppet performances, one of the reason was the media used was not attracting to them. However, this paper wants to introduce the moral values of the puppet taken from Dewa Ruci shadow puppet story of pakeliran padat version puppeteer by Ki Manteb Soedharsono. It is expected to give the contributions towards literary learning by multicultural perspective.

## The Nature of Puppet

In Javanese, wayang means “wayangan or kites” while in bahasa Indonesia means “shadow, vague, unclear”. In Aceh known as the term *shadow* which means “wayangan”, while in Bugis known as the terms *wayang* or *shadows*. Lukman Ali (KBBI, 1999; 1127) states that puppet is a doll like as human made from wood or artificial leather carving which could be used to portray the characters in the traditional drama (Balinese, Javanese, Sundanese, etc.) and played by someone who called puppeteer.



Kern (Mertosedono, 1986: 28), the puppet in the Bikol language (Old Javanese) means “shadow,” “dim”. Puppet comes from the word *wod* which means “the repetitive motion, do not static” so from its origin can be inferred that the puppet is the shadows that sway back and forth (repeatedly) or pacing which do not fixed into one place. The puppet definition according to the Encyclopedia Van Nenderlands Indie (Mertosedono, 1986: 30) are moving shadows and sometimes frightening, like as leather doll, falls on the white screen and the edge of it is red, staged on the strong board.

According to Mulyono (197: 51) the word ‘*wayang*’ originally from Javanese which means “shadow” or shadows that comes from the word root with a prefix *wa-* becomes *wayang*. The word *wayang*, *hamayang* at the past means “performing the shadows” and then “the shadows” at last the shadows show or *wayang* (puppet). Indie Nenderlands Valk Land Geschiedenis En Bestur Bedijr Samenleving (Mertosedono, 1986: 31), puppet is a shadows game on the stretched screen. Based on the opinions above, it can be concluded that puppet is a perform art of doll shadows made from leather, woods, etc. to portray the characters in a play which is played by the puppeteer on the stretched screen.

## The Division of the Puppet

According to Bambang Murtiyoso, et.al (2004: 1) the division of puppets can be classified into some classification, those are: (1) based on the origin regions, supported communities, language styles, and performing art tradition, the classified puppets are: Palembang puppet, Tambon puppet, Sundanese puppet, Javanese puppet, Banjar puppet, Balinese puppet, Madura puppet, and Lombok puppet; (2) based on the materials, the puppet can be classified into a wooden puppet, leather puppet, metal puppet, paper puppet, grass puppet and cloth puppet; (3) based on the story cycle, the puppet can be classified into rama puppet, pandawa puppet, panji puppet, damarwulan puppet, mouse deer puppet, menak wayang, etc; (4) Bambang Murtiyoso, (2004: 2) states that only *purwa* puppet which famous among the various puppet in this country except in the West Java.

## Puppet As an Educational Phenomenon

The emergence of puppets can be used by anyone and can be used as a means of anything. Purwa puppet show can be used in moral guidance, convey certain messages that educate and motivated the society's spirit. Purwa puppet show is a high quality and complex Javanese culture because it contains various forms of arts i.e. literary works, language, play, music, and fine arts. In the purwa puppet show contains *adiluhung* values because not only used as an entertainment, but also used as a culture art guide of "the way of life". They are education and the rules of life. The puppet show can be used as a media of education especially on moral guidance for the youth.

## Dewa Ruci: Educational Studies

The Nature of Educative Value. Lukman Ali (in Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia, 1999: 690) stated that value can be defined as the important characteristics and useful things for humanity. In English, the word value derived from the Latin term "*valere*" which means useful, has ability, powerful, up to date, and strong. On this occasion, the word value relates to the word "useful". Value can be defined as something that is considered good, loved, the truest, and can be accepted by society group or individual.

There are many experts who give the definition about the value. The definitions given are essentially the same that there was an agreement that value always has correlated with the goodness, and majesty. Value is a respectful thing, seen as a high esteem, and always pursued by humans to reach the happiness life. Humans would be satisfied by value, not only outward but also inner satisfaction. Humans would become a real humans by apply the value.

Value is an abstract thing, as it functionally has the characteristics which could distinct with the other. A value which fully comprehension would affect the way of thinking, the way of acting, or how to act of a person in achieving his life goals. A value is always to be considered for determining the truth and justice in pursuing the achievement. The religious, ethics, esthetics, and intellectual reasons are the basis which taken from the religious doctrine, logic, or norms in a society.

Based on the description above, a value is identical with something good and true. The most effective education is actually through exemplary, charismatic leaders should be able to control himself and exemplifies the positive mindset and attitude to his environment. The propaganda about morals, ethics, and the doctrines would not be significant to personality development, except done in the form of exemplary (Maria Ardhie, papers in PKMM FKIP UNS, April 12, 2003).

John M. Echols and Hassan Shadily (English-Indonesian Dictionary, 1982: 207) said that education means education, while those who worked on education called educator. Meanwhile, according to Lukman Ali (in Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia, 1999: 232) defined education as the process of changing attitudes and ethical behavior in individuals or groups in order to human maturing by teaching and training: processes, actions, how to educate.

Literary, education, and values are something which can not be separated. Literary is essentially a reflection of life. Relation to education, literary and values of life are the two social phenomena that are complementary. Education is an effort to establish the value of life, attitudes, and personality. Literary works sometimes reveal the reality of life with the existing problems. Puppet is a Javanese literary work, not only as an entertainment, but also as a means of communication, information, and education (Haryono and Mahendra, 2001).

The similar definition is stated by Haz (<http://www.jatim.go.id/news.php?id=2369&dant=082259>) that Javanese literary could cultured the students' characters and could be applied in the society, the nation and the states life, and also respectful to the Javanese literary and culture which fully characters norms. Therefore, those views should be supported by the related government i.e. Department of Education and Culture and also local government. Dewa Ruci purwa puppet as a Javanese Literary work, implicitly and explicitly contain educational model. Purwa puppet is a world cultural heritage which has enormous benefits especially to give exemplary characters. It proofed by the statements, "purwa puppet pakeliran was awarded the highest civilized world of education and culture, Unesco Award." (Solopos, April 8, 2004).

Based on the explanations above, it can be concluded that education is an effort, activity, or influence that given planned and consciously by providing

guidance and assistance so that human can do their life duties. The educational value is a value which important to pursue the life goals.

## The Educational Values in Dewa Ruci Story

Dewa Ruci puppet purwa story contains educational values. The educational values were taken from its characters. The characters' behaviors were good as the life model for our daily activities. The educational values represent the accumulated of create, sense, and intention which implemented in the attitude, and behavior of someone. In the daily life actualization, the educational values consists of good and bad behavior. We follow the good behavior and we left the bad behavior. The educational values of the Dewa Ruci purwa puppet story are:

*First*, like to study and hard working. Bratasena likes to study although always face the obstacles and barriers. The teacher required to find *Kayu Gung Susuhing Angin* and *Tirta Pawitra*. Bratasena always try to find it if he really wants to get the life perfection.

*Second*, peaceful life. The peaceful life is needed in our life because human roles as individual and social being. Peaceful means the conditions of harmony, cooperation, mutual assistance and there is no chaos. These peaceful life principles driven from the traditional expression: *crah agawe bubrah rukun agawe santosa*. It means that chaos would be destructive things and peaceful would be the strong united. The peaceful life could be beginning from the smallest community i.e. the family. Between family members are expected not to be *cecengilan iku ngedohake rejeki* means that the quarrels among the family members or anyone else would further the fortune. The peaceful life principles could be seen in the Pandawa family. Dewi Kunthi was very love to her children; the pandawa were also caring each other in a strong family.

*Third*, honest. The honest attitude basically very needed in communication among others. In the Dewa Ruci purwa puppet story, it could be seen that Durna did not do the honest attitude to Bratasena. Durna asked to Bratasena to look for *Kayu Gung Susuhing Angin* and *Tirta Pawitra* which actually did not exist, while Durna himself did not know what it was meant.

*Fourth*, sincerity and *Sepi ing Pamrih*. Sincerity can bring a person in attaining the life perfection. Everything what is done by someone and it is based on the sincerity (sincere, selfless) then he did not feel afraid to solve many problems although the problems were very difficult to solve. Someone who apply the sincerity would has *lila legawa kelangan ora gegetun* characteristics means that act as fully sincerity or would not regret although losing something precious. The sincerity attitude would bring someone acts *sepi ing pamrih* means that the basic reason for someone to work with a purity of heart in any occasion.

Therefore, by means of sincerity attitude, someone would be applied the sincere hearted, selfless, does not want to be praised, and does not expected the other awards but only expected from the God rewards. Similarly, someone who applies the sincerity in pursuing the knowledge would give the benefits to others without expected the rewards. Bratasena applied the sincerity attitude to look for *Kayu Gung Susuhing Anging* and *Tirta Pawitra* and finally he could get it. The result could be gained because of the purity of heart from the bad feeling.

*Fifth*, developing *Eling* characters. Human in his life must always remember to The God because *Pangeran iku ora sare* so that human life is always known and watched by the God. So human should not live with their free but must obey the rules of the God. Human who always remember to The God, his life would be filled by the good behavior because *wong urip mung mampir ngombe*, means that human is temporary live in this world so that should be always remember to The God. The *Eling* attitude would protect human not to do bad behavior like that are always done by Kurawa. They always spread evil attitude toward Pandawa, especially Sengkuni, that all of his life only think about the world matters, never *eling* to The God.

*Sixth*, obedient to the Teacher. The teacher should be *digugu* and *ditiru* by the students. All of the teacher's speech, attitude and behavior should reflect *keadilan* because the main duty of a teacher is to educate the students to be perfect human. Teacher also an ordinary human being so that his speech, attitude and behavior not always in a correct way because there is no eternal ivory means that there is no perfect human being. We take the good things from our teacher and left the bad things behind. Durna was considered

a good teacher by Bratasena. All of his commands were done by Bratasena although the bad Kurawa characters were in the heart of Durna. Otherwise, durna taught independent motivation to Bratasena in pursuing the knowledge.

*Seven, Ora Ngaya and Nrima.* *Ora Ngaya* describes not to force to others. This attitude describes the human's attitude in the working area. Human who does *ora ngaya* principle would be calm but sure and not to be rushed in work. *Ora ngaya* attitude would deliver human being to the *nrima* character. He walks in the world properly as his position and always avoids doing evil things. *Nrima* character will deliver human to thank God. All the *Kurawa* always *ngaya* in their life because they want to kill the Pandawa because they were not accepting if the Pandawa have control over the Astina Palace. Therefore, the *Kurawa* always spy the Pandawa in order to kill them. Sengkuni and *Kurawa* always *ngaya* and *ora nrima* if Bratasena success in pursuing the knowledge.

*Eight,* have a strong minded. People who have a strong minded not easily vacillated by the outer conditions. He has a high idealism to avoid the influence of other people. People who have a strong minded is man who sure that he has a correct idealism. While a man who always stands on his minded but sit on the wrong position, could be said that he is a doubt man. The *Kurawa* are the portrait of doubtful men, while Bratasena is the portrait of a man who has a strong minded. Bratasena persistence can be seen from the way he walk straightly and never turn, loose hair decorated with eagle buckle turn one with a bun adorned symbolizing that Bratasena not vague to the gods and his own soul. Bratasena persistence also can be seen from his struggle to look for *Kayu Gung Susauhing Angin* and *Tirta Pawitra* although many obstacles faced by him.

After Bratasena found *Kayu Gung Susauhing Angin*, then he looked for *Tirta Pawitra* in South Sea. When he reached the edge of the South Sea, Bratasena fell afraid because of the wild sea in front of his eyes, but he still at his believe that he could do that, without waiting anymore, he decided to enter the wild south sea.

“Kamisayan ingkang makripati, den kaasta pamantenging cipta, rupa ingkang sabenere, sinenger bawaneku, urip datan ana anguripi, datan ana rumangsa, ing kahananipun, uwis ana ing sarira, tuhu tunggal sasana lawan sireki, tan kena pinisaha.”

“Dipunweruh sangkanira uni, tunggal sawang kartining bawana, pandulu lan pamyarsane, wis ana ing siresku, panduluning sukma sejati, pan datan mawa netra, pamyasarnipun iya datan lawan karna, netranira karnanira kang kinardi, iya aneng sira.”

The point of the above stanza is that humans have reached the highest knowledge. He would see the real truth. On this occasion, humans could be united to The God. Actually, humans could do reflect by themselves. But, the reflection does not use the five sense. This condition had faced by Bratasena when he united with the Dewa Ruci. He has found his own self and be more confidence because he had known the real life.

*Ninth*, the respectful attitude. The respectful attitude is much needed to our daily life especially on the interaction among humans as social creature. The implication of this respectful attitude relates to the character of *ungguh – unnguh* and good manners especially on the Javanese culture. The relation between children – parents, teacher – students, brother – sister, indirectly has reflected the respectful attitude. Bratasena always show off his respectful attitude to *Dewa Ruci*, Durna, Dewi Kunthi, and his brothers. The respectful attitude could be seen at the language use when communicate to others.

## Conclusion

Puppet is one of the Indonesian local cultures which enrich the Indonesian culture. It is also a mean of religion or moral education, social entertainment, earn living and for reflecting the values and esthetic. As a mean of education, puppet could present the values and the way of life that could apply by the viewer. Nowadays, the puppet shows are presented with any innovations. One of the innovations is that the Dewa Ruci purwa puppet show which puppeteer by Ki Manteb Soedharsono was transformed into a video compact disc for one hour in Javanese language includes the Indonesian text. The puppet shows are always modified by innovative creation in order to avoid the viewer bored. Especially for the youth viewers that do not interested anymore to Javanese culture i.e. the puppet show. By the innovative modification, it is expected that the viewer especially the youth would be interest with the puppet show, then the values and the way of life could be implement in the daily life.

Nowadays, the youth are falling and contaminated by the destructive foreign culture. And it is the time that the youth should be affected to love their own culture especially the puppet that contains *adiluhung* values. The students who interested in the innovative puppet show modified (Dewa Ruci purwa puppet show puppeteer by Ki Manteb Soedharsono) could take the educative values which implicit on the puppet story then implemented in the daily life to reach the national education goals based on UU Sisdiknas number 20 in 2003. Most of people stated that the orientation of the ideal learning is the closest learning orientation to the students. The puppet could fulfill this view. It could be used as a mean of learning by watching the show on video compact disc. It is also expected that students would easy to follow because the psychological theory i.e. behaviorism stated that the children development would be affected by the surrounding environment.

This paper is expected to give the beneficial to all the society, from students, parents, teacher and also general society. The students could study from Bratasena in pursuing the knowledge and implement the educative and values in the Dewa Ruci purwa puppet story. It is suitable with the national education goals (UU Sisdiknas no. 20 in 2003), parents could study from Dewi Kunthi who always democratic and patience to face the daily life's problems. They could let their children to choose their own life. The society could also implement the education values. The teacher could role as Durna in teaching the students (Bima), the government could give the special attention because purwa puppet is one of the local cultures that could enrich the Indonesian culture.

In the globalization era, there are many foreign culture contaminate the local culture. It would happen the competition between foreign and local cultures. Therefore, the local cultures should be show their existence, and also should be a means of modern culture values transformed which could compete with the other modern works. The Dewa Ruci story could give the contribution towards our education system nowadays. The Indonesian education only does transfer of knowledge from teacher to students, without explain the understanding the meaning of the knowledge itself. The government's policies have reduce the independence of the school, the teacher and the students to have creativity and innovation. Therefore, the Indonesian education output are verbalism and individualism.



Our education could imitate from the autonomy of a student whose name Bratasena in pursuing the knowledge to reach the goals by motivation and guidance from the teacher. The teacher should be creative in order to affect the learning process. Various approaches, strategies, methods and techniques could be applied according to the school's policies. All of them should be supported by the education systems.

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# MEDIA AND URBAN



# JAWA POS's DetEksi, THE YOUNG URBAN SOCIETY'S NEWSPAPER

*Escaping from the Propaganda Model*

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## Introduction

When Jawa Pos with its DetEksi is considered as an innovative newspaper and awarded The World Young Reader Prize 2011, the judges must have thought that it has presented the best project or activity in their criteria of young reader development. According to the judges Jawa Pos has done an outstanding job with an enduring, substantial, successful commitment to engage young people on and off the printed page. "Its daily three-page DetEksi effort is more than a standard newspaper youth section. It's a complete strategy for finding, engaging, and retaining young readers. Most importantly, it has worked." Besides having been the Newspaper of the Year 2011, it also wins the top prize for enduring excellence. How this success has contributed to the newspaper business has made me think about the propaganda model proposed by Chomsky and Herman in their book, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of Mass Media*.

Propaganda Model has been introduced by Chomsky and Herman since 1988 to explain the behavior of the mass media in the States. The propaganda model proposes 5 'filters' in society which determine what 'news' is; in other words, what gets printed in newspapers or broadcast by radio and television. Herman and Chomsky's model also explains how mainstream has little or even nothing to do with the coverage of the media to public, while the government can convey its messages to the public without being filtered. After more than

20 years, however I am doubtful that the five filters are still effective and influential. This paper tries to argue that Jawa Pos with its DetEksi, as the young urban society's newspaper, has escaped from Chomsky and Herman's propaganda model despite the fact that corporate ownership of Jawa Pos shapes the editorial content.

## Chomsky and Herman's Propaganda Model

According to Herman and Chomsky, in the property-oriented world and the world of the conflict of interests, mass media needs a systematic propaganda to carry out the function as a system to communicate messages and symbols to public. Besides the fact that media has been monopolized, it is clear that media devotes itself to the dominant elite in the countries where the power of the media is in the hands of state bureaucracy. Herman and Chomsky (1988) suggest a propaganda model. The model seeks to explain how people are propagandized and how consent for various economic, social and political policies are "manufactured" in the public mind due to this propaganda.

It presents "a free market analysis" of mainstream media, resulting "the outcome of the working of the market forces." Instead of being liberal and dedicating itself to the public interest, media serves as the propaganda functions for the dominant elite and capitalist society. They further assume that the mass media helps the ruling elite to manipulate the opinions of the media readers. News is subject to commercial competitions for profit; therefore, there is a profit motive that requires a stable profitable business. When Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model proposes the five filters that determine the media to be printed or broadcast, they have the assumption that mainstream media is not given a freedom what to write and to expose.

## The Five Filters

Herman and Chomsky's "propaganda model" describes the five filters applied to news reporting in mass media. The first filter of the propaganda model is size, ownership and profit orientation of the mass media. Since the media are owned by the elite class that manages the media to cater their interests and manufacture consent in the public, they must fulfill the financial goal of the

owners. So, they run for profit. In other words, the media are large businesses that are controlled by wealthy people who have the common interests with other big corporations, bank, and governments. For an example, there are twenty-four giant companies such as ABC, NBC, CBS, New York Times, Washington Post, Time, and Newsweek that are owned by rich people who have the assets in excess of \$ 1 billion (Herman and Chomsky, 1998;13). They do the business with commercial and investment bankers, getting loans and credits. They are interlocked in the sense that they are fully integrated into the market.

The second filter is the advertising license to do business. Advertising is a news filter. Mass media, especially newspapers have to attract advertisers in order to cover the costs of production. Without advertising, the newspapers will be very expensive, and will soon die in the marketplace. In other words without the support of the advertisers, any publication or commercial radio, or TV station will not be able to survive, because the majority of the revenue of the mass media come from advertising, not from sales or subscriptions. Consequently there is a kind of competition throughout the media to get advertisers, since the media will endanger themselves if they get less advertising than the others. It is clear, therefore, that the media has to cater the business interests.

For an example, the power of the advertisers to television programming is obvious. The advertisers can buy and pay for a program. They are the “patrons” that provide the media subsidy. They also can interfere and direct the content of the program. On the other hand, stations and television networks maintain the flow of the audience, by making the audience keep on watching the programs, thus maintaining the rating and the income from the advertisings. According to Herman and Chomsky, even when there is a threat of withdrawal of advertising, the editorial content will be affected. Therefore, the content of the news has to be in line with the interests of the advertisers.

Another example is that the public television WNET loses its financial support from a multinational company, Gulf + Western when the station shows a documentary film, entitled “Hungry for Profit” that contains a critical exposure about Gulf + Western’s activity in the third world countries. The company says that WNET is anti-business and has behaved such as the enemy of the fund supporter (Herman and Chomsky, 17). I think WNET will never try to do the same mistake again. Thus, advertising acts as a news filter.

The third filter that Herman and Chomsky propose is the sourcing of mass media news. What they mean by sourcing of the mass media news is that there is a “symbiotic relationship between the mass media and the powerful sources of information” (Herman and Chomsky,18). From the economic point of view, media cannot afford to place reporters everywhere. At the same time, media needs to have a flow of credible news. Therefore, they only put the reporters in the places where the resourceful and trustworthy news are likely to happen, such as in the Pentagon, the White House.

Besides, it is assumed that getting the credible news from these institutions will be able to decrease the investigation costs, or even to save the costs for checking, re-checking and cross-checking when they get information from the untrustworthy sources. Like these institutions, business companies and organizations are also considered as the centers of the trustworthy news. Mass media companies also think that these centers provide accurate news. On the other hand, the centers of the sources of information also gain advantages from this relationship. They get the dependency of the media in order to manage and to manipulate the media to follow their specific agenda. The journalists and reporters are not supposed to offend these powerful sources of information. If they do by even questioning the bias or truthfulness of the news, they will be threatened by not having the access of fresh news.

As a consequence, this dependency on the official sources make those who have the power to determine what is news and what is not news. Those who are in power even hire the experts who functions as the ‘think tank’ to straighten out the biased statements given by any sources outside the official sources. They help the official sources to convey their messages and to structure all biases, despite the fact that mass media also have their experts to give opinions and analyze the news. So, in this third filter, it can be concluded that those powerful sources that have helped the mass media in minimizing the costs have become the trustworthy sources of information and have got the privileged access to manage the news.

The fourth filter is “flak” and the enforcers. What Herman and Chomsky mean by flak refers to a negative response to a media statement, or TV and radio program. Flak can be in the form of letters, telegrams, phone calls, petitions, lawsuits, speeches and other modes of complaint, threat and even “punitive



actions” Herman and Chomsky, 26). When these actions happen, media can lose its revenue from the advertising. The advertisers will withdraw themselves when the media offend their clients. Therefore, when flak is produced, it can be costly to the media. Television advertisers, for example, might withdraw their financial support. Programs that are likely to elicit flak might be a deterrent to the kinds of facts or opinions that they put on media.

Further, in his Introduction of his book entitled *Images of American Life*, Joel Spring says that “advertisers and broadcasters avoid programming content that might generate large amounts of flak. Advertisers are concerned that flak will hurt the sales of their products, while broadcast owners fear that flak will threaten their government-granted licenses” (Spring, *Introduction* 6). This will cause a loss of their funding. Besides, flak is also threatening, because it has something to do with powerful sources. The powerful sources might question the content of the program and ask for a reply on why a certain program is put on air or printed.

According to Herman and Chomsky, “the government is a major producer of flak, regularly assailing, threatening, and ‘correcting’ the media, trying to contain any deviations from the established line.” (28) They give an example that during the Reagan years, “Mr. Reagan was put on television to exude charm to millions, many of whom berated the media when they dared to criticize the ‘Great Communicator’” (28). Thus, flak is a means of disciplining the media.

The fifth and final news filter that Herman and Chomsky propose is ‘anti-communism’, despite the fact that Chomsky argues that since the end of the Cold War (1945–91), anticommunism was replaced by the “War on Terror”, as the major social control mechanism. Anti-ideologies are portrayed as endangering freedoms of speech, movement, the press, and so forth. They argue that such a portrayal is often used as a means to silence voices that criticize the elite interests.

## Escaping From the Propaganda Model

The five filters suggested by Herman and Chomsky to analyse how the propaganda model performs are diminished in the case of DetEksi, a special

page of *Jawa Pos* that is intended for young people. In DetEksi things analyzed by Herman and Chomsky's five filters are somewhat different. The five filters that are supposed to serve as descriptions of the media as they existed in the United States as they exist today, have been challenged by the fact that DetEksi has screened out all those assumptions. DetEksi has proved that it exists in the beginning of the democratic era (the year 2000) in Indonesia by empowering the young people through its column, consisting of news, interviews, discussion and any topic related to the young people.

In a democratic country like Indonesia, DetEksi challenges the propaganda model because it does not experience the filters that have been discussed by Herman and Chomsky. With regard to the media ownership, it has been known that during the Suharto era conflicts of interest are common in Indonesian Media. The media's role as a watchdog becomes problematic when it clashes with the owners who control the news. However, in post Suharto era, it seems there is separation between ownership and the management of news organizations. Endy M Bayuni of the *Jakarta Post*, as quoted by Darudoyo in his article "Editorial Dependence" says that there is 'a wall built separating the editorial from the commercial department'.

That is true when Azrul Ananda, the President Director of Jawa Pos has the idea of establishing DetEksi as a part of Jawa Pos. He does that to increase the image and sales of the newspaper. In the interview with SWA magazine, he says that DetEksi is run for and by young people, especially the urban young people at the age of 10 to 40. The contents of the DetEksi varies from the life of young people, automotive, style, technology, to anime (<http://www.jawapos.co.id/profile/index.php>). This DetEksi takes about 3 pages and it is free from the owner's interference. The topics are purely written without the filter that might influence the content.

In addition to that, DetEksi as one of the main strengths of Jawa Post has never been bothered with the advertising. Since it is for young people to actualize themselves, there is a commitment in the management that they will not accept any advertisement concerning energizing drinks, alcoholic drinks, and cigarettes. Without those three sponsorships DetEksi still exists. The rationale behind this is that DetEksi column is fully managed by very young journalists who work as part timers because they are students. In his further interview,

Ananda says to SWA that because the DetEksi staff are mostly students, even their school achievement will be his consideration, not the revenue from the advertisement.

Like advertising that has not been the filter whether the topic is put into print or not, reliance on official sources that has been discussed by Herman and Chomsky has not become the problem in DetEksi. DetEksi has given rise to a phenomenon called “student journalism” that assumes that any amateur students can be a journalist, from the reporters, editors, to the photographers. Most of the traditional journalists rely on official sources, but these student journalists do not. Anyone can be the source of news. They bypass the filter of official sources. After corporate ownership, advertising, and sourcing, the fourth filter, “flak and the enforcers” that talks about flak—negative responses to a media statement or program— and how it can be a powerful force influencing which news is filtered before publishing has not been the concern in DetEksi. The audience of DetEksi is young people. They are not involved yet in political matters.

The last filter that is proposed by Herman and Chomsky is ‘anti-communism’ which later is changed into ‘war on terror’, has become an “ideal controlled mechanism” (Rampton, 2007). Although it is considered as a potent filter, it does not affect DetEksi at all. With the method of precision journalism, DetEksi tries to embrace the young readers by using a quantitative social research. Since most of the topics discussed are about the life of young people with its problems as young urban people, DetEksi tries to accommodate the relationships between parents and children, between young people and their peer. According to the polling done by DetEksi on February 11, 2010, the column that discusses about the social and psychological life of young people, becomes the daily reading of young people in Surabaya. In other words, the published articles in DetEksi has been escaping from the ideology that might make it impossible to put into the newspaper.

## Conclusion

Although the propaganda model remains a useful framework for analyzing the media, it does not work in the case of DetEksi as a part of Jawa Pos. People

believe that the propaganda model and its five filters often decisively influence the media behavior and performance. It is true when people spell out that a propaganda model sees the media as serving a societal purpose. However, when the media serves the society, it does not have to defend the economic, social, and political agenda of the privileged groups, particularly, the owners of the media, and the government. In the case of DetEksi, it has succeeded to be awarded.

Another, important factor that can be noted is that the specific filtering mechanisms that Herman and Chomsky describe in *Manufacturing Consent* may not apply in the same ways to DetEksi. The analysis has elicited evidences that there is an independence on the operations of the publishing DetEksi, including the ownership, advertising, official sources, fear of flak, and ideological influence that might interfere the content.

In the analysis it has been proved that the operation of the five filters is weak or even does not work at all. For example, without the advertising the audience and readers of DetEksi has significantly raised since it has first published in 2004 into 713 young readers everyday (<http://www.jawapos.co.id/profile/index.php>) Besides, DetEksi follows what is called student journalism. Everyone is a journalist. Nobody can interfere with what they do in covering the media, especially topics that have been selected by them. In other words, DetEksi has succeeded in escaping from the propaganda model and it bypasses the five filters.

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# DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINITY IN INDONESIAN TEEN MOVIES FROM 1970s TO 2000s

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## Introduction

This study aims to analyze the shifting discourse of teen's masculinity in Indonesian movies targeting adolescent from the period of 1970s to 2000s. In this regard, movie is considered as a social text which provides important cues regarding dominant discourse of masculinity in a certain period. This study focuses mainly on how discourse of teen's masculinity is constructed in teen movies and how the discourse has interrelationship with social and political context in Indonesia. To be more specific, this study attempts to analyze the way in which teen's masculinities are represented audio-visually in the chosen movies representing each decade. Afterward, this study attempts to identify and analyze shift on the discourse of teen's masculinity from 1970s to 2000s.

This study assumes that there are changes in the way in which teen's masculinity is constructed from decade to decade in line with the social changes occurred in Indonesian society. In this regard, other discourses such as discourse of religion, of gender and of ethnicity apparently play a significant role in the construction of teen's masculinity. The result also illustrates the role of shifting political context in Indonesia from the New Order to the Post-New Order era in the construction of teen's masculinity is analyzed as well in this study.

Teen movies become an important entry point to scrutinize the dynamic of adolescent's life. Ashadi Siregar (2008) asserts that any mass media that

are specifically addressed at teenage audiences is basically an indicator of the thinking, values and perspectives of young people in a society where media is produced and distributed. It is interesting to understand the discursive construction of masculinity in mass media since adolescence is a crucial phase in seeking their self identity, including the identity of becoming a man, and mass media becomes the window for adolescent to comprehend the problem of masculinities. Movie is one of the most consumed mass media among teenagers. Based on the aforementioned reason, this paper will explore some Indonesian teen movies from 1970s to 2000s to understand the discursive construction of masculinity in each period.

## Teen's Masculinity

Masculinity is a term that refers to social roles, behaviors, and meanings assigned to men in society and in certain time. Kimmel defines masculinity as a term that refers to social roles, behaviors, and meanings assigned to men in society and in certain time (Kimmel and Aronson, 2003: 503). Men was understood and taken for granted as powerful, rational, and aggressive. Then, how is the construction of teen's masculinity? Teenager or adolescence is mentioned as critical period since this period is the time when adolescent starts to face problems and dynamics of life. Adolescent is defined as transitional phase from childhood to adulthood (Brown *et.al.*, 2002: 2).

In that phase, individual experiences physical, cognitive, social and psychological changes. According to Hebdige (Barker, 2005 : 426), adolescent is often related to their rejection of the daily norms and values, so they are constructed with figures like hooligan, motorbike boys or street gangs associated with criminal, violence, and delinquency. They are also represented as fashion consumers with certain style and leisure time activity.

## Men in Movies

Adolescence is also a period in which the adolescent search for identity (Widyastuti, 2006). For that purpose, they need role model to form their identity, including gender identity. In that case, mass media plays its roles as the source of information about life style, how to get along and to appear attractively.



Research conducted by Roberts *et. al* (2005 in Kirsh, 2006: 77) showed that adolescents spent his/her time almost nine hours a day to consume media. In this case, movie is one of the most popular and most wanted media among adolescent.

In general, Shary (2005: 1) points out that teen movie has become the most influential entertainment media in the world since it plays a major role in the notion of cultural formation processes associated with adolescent's history, behaviors, and values. Thus, teen movie can be a window to see the reality of adolescent's life, gender identity, and in this case, how masculinity is constructed in a certain period.

### Teen Movies's List

Movie text is considered capable of recording the social dynamics and power relations that took place in the society when the text appears. The object of the study is Indonesian teen movie texts produced and distributed in 1970s-2000s. There are 8teen movies as the representation of each decade, started from 1970s to 2000s, as followed.

**Tabel 1. List of Analyzed Teen Movies**

No.	Movie Title	Year of Production
1.	<i>Ali Topan Anak Jalanan</i> (ATAJ)	1977
2.	<i>Gita Cinta dari SMA</i> (GCDS)	1979
3.	<i>Merpati Tak Pernah Ingkar Janji</i> (MTPIJ)	1986
4.	<i>Lupus I: Kejarlah Daku Kau Kujitak</i>	1987
5.	<i>Ricky Nakalnya Anak Muda</i> (RNAM)	1990
6.	<i>Olga dan Sepatu Roda</i> (OSR)	1992
7.	<i>Ada Apa Dengan Cinta</i> (AADC)	2001
8.	<i>Ekskul</i> (Eks)	2007

In order to explain the discursive construction of masculinity in Indonesian Teen Movies from 1970s to 2000s, this analysis is divided into two categories namely appearance and attitude and behavior.

## Male Teen's Apparences: Rebellious Guy

### *Male Teen in 1970s*

In 1970s, the discourse of good-looking and ideal physical appearance of men was not exposed too much in the movie. Men were constructed as masculine and virile. It made men identical to rebelliousness. Their appearance was influenced by the American youth's fashion style in 1970s, especially during the anti-Vietnam war movement in 1972 (Herald, 2007: 9). Men often used bell-bottom jeans trousers with tight shirt, jacket with badge, and scarf. This model inspired by Jacket with badge which was inspired by military uniform of American soldier sent to Vietnam. Bell-bottoms jeans trouser also became trend fashion in western countries during 1960s and 1970s (Pendergast *et al.*, 2004:902). The scarf and thick-soled leather shoes were also trend and inspired from the style of the singer or rock star, such as Rod Stewart and David Bowie (Heral, 2007: 41).



Youth adoption of western culture was the form of Anti-Soekarno movement which was marked by their acceptance of prohibited things, such as rock music (Vickers, 2005: 164). In this period, teenager that tended to follow western life-style was considered as rebellious. It closely related to the government's anxiety to the mass media, especially television and its advertisements which disseminated life styles as opposed to national identity (Kitley, 2000: 69). The aforementioned construction of rebelliousness was strengthened with gang-style and the use of the trail bikes as their vehicle to speeding on the road. These signs the phenomenon took place in Indonesia in 1970s that is called as "the beginning of liberalized of youth culture" (Vickers, 2005: 164).

### *Male Teen in 1980s*

Men in 1980s were depicted to aware to be looked at attractively, especially for women. Teen movies in 1980s started to show men appearance though it was not too dominant. Men were shown to see themselves in the mirror. In LKDKKJ, there is ascene which showed Lupus set his long hair with foam in front of the mirror. It indicates male character in the movie also tried to be attractive.



Even though men started to attain attractive look, men's appearances were not too problematic. Their appearance was categorized as rebellious. Men could have style at his will. Guntur and Lupus as the main actors in both movies used to wear high school uniform that was different from his friends. They let the top shirt button opened and nobody objected, or even, let their shirt seemed untidy.

Lupus and Guntur's style and appearance were almost the same, untidy with long hair as typical of rebellious youth. It is socially perceived that long hair for men was bad. Its negative image is closely related to the agenda of New Order regime that assumed men with long hair were potential enemies. New Order government released the anti-long hair regulation followed by in-place haircut as a punishment to anyone who disobeyed the regulation.

At the same time, there was a youth movement of resistance in western countries followed by hippies and counter culture signified by eccentric fashion, such as long-hair. Later on, this movement dispersed to Indonesia via mass media. Youth started to wear loose clothing and lengthen their hair (Yudhistira, 2010:104). Guntur and Lupus were depicted as the figure of rebellious adolescent who rejected everything that was not suitable with their point of view.

### *Male Teen in 1990s*

Men's appearance started to be both verbally and visually discourse in this period. Ricky in RNAM was represented as a good-looking and cool man. It was mentioned in the conversation between Ricky, Lita, dan Lita's grandfather when Ricky was introduced to him. He said that Ricky was good-looking. His

good look was also confirmed by the camera movement. The following figures are examples in the bathroom scene.

The above illustrations describe how man started to notice the way he looks. Mirror becomes the symbol on how someone cares to his appearance. Movies in this decade began to consider that appearance was not only for women. It was related to the emergence of the discourse of metrosexual man in the early 1990s.

David Coad in his book entitled *The Metrosexual: Gender, Sexuality and Sport* (2008) explain that the terminology of metrosexual man was mentioned in Mark Simpson's publication, "*Here Come the Mirror Men*" in *Independent* newspaper in November 1994. Simpson (1994) said that a metrosexual man was *the mirror man*, man who cared and gave attention to his appearance and did self-caring. Ricky in the above scenes explained what Simpson defined as the mirror man. In addition, Ricky's masculinity was also supported by his style. In this sense, jeep was Ricky's vehicle which supported his masculinity. Jeep as *off-road* car had masculine characteristic from its toughness inspired from American military heavy vehicles.

Another attribute attached to Ricky's masculinity man on how he never stopped smoking. Smoking was symbol of men's masculinity. Here, smoking is often associated with masculinity and virility.



### *Male Teen in 2000s*

Men in this period were depicted as cool and ignorant that made them different from men in general. The main actors in both movies characterized as guys

who were alienated from the community of adolescents at school. Audience accepts this unusual character as a portrayal of masculinity. It is closely related to the beginning of the reform era where society started to accept some norms, values, and ideologies that were prohibited in the previous era. It influenced the dynamic of youth's life where different discourse, even in contrast to mainstream, started to be accepted.



## Male Teen's Personality and Behaviour: Active and Protective

### *Teen Male's Personality and Behavior in 1970s*

Teen movies in 1970s raise the discourse of smart and excel teens as ideal personalities. Ali Topan and Galih represent this ideal. Ali Topan is smart at math and playing basketball, and so was Galih. Galih is also good at singing and playing guitar. In this sense, men are also depicted as active and aggressive figures. Men tend to show their power upon women, through their material ownership, achievement in school and recklessness. Men are being characterized as women's protectors.

In GCDS, some of Ratna's male friends always offered to take her home. Women in those movies placed themselves as the one who needed to be protected. In one scene, Ratna asked Galih intentionally to take her home when it was too late at night. Galih was willing to offer his jacket for Ratna without being asked, so she would not feel cold. He also took care of Ratna from her father's anger.

Another example is when Ali Topan as an aggressive guy showed his being gentleman by protecting Anna. When his classmate tried to disturb Anna, he reprimanded directly to the distracting guy, and asked him to ask for apology to Anna. When the distracting guy got so scared, it illustrated Ali Topan's domination. On another scene, Ali Topan and his friends helped a woman who was snatched by two bikers. Ali Topan fought with one of them, and he got a terrible injury. Hence, the aforementioned scenes show Ali Topan's heroic character. His aggressiveness to challenge and involve in fight for protecting women is typical of masculine man.

According to Julia Grant (Donnelly, 2008: 15), men fight to show his physical power and it is a symbol of masculinity. Ali Topan aggressiveness is the implication of power he has. He has a high self esteem encouraged by his socio-economic background and academic achievement. Those factors make him dominant. Kimmel explains that masculinity is constructed in the arena of power and resistance, both men power over women and to the other men (2005: 6-7).

Ali Topan's effort to protect women makes him a hero. The label 'hero' attached to men, in Bellicchi's standpoint, has become one of the most visible and refers as archetype of masculinity. All men, especially children and adolescent, dream to have bravery, recklessness, expertise, and ability as soldier or hero (<http://johnbellicchi.com/seminars/the-mens-workshop/masculinity-and-male-archetypes>).

Men in the movies in 1970s are depicted as gentlemen. It is mentioned explicitly in ALAJ. When Ali Topan took Anna home, Anna asked him to leave immediately or he would get a problem with her father. Nevertheless, Ali Topan refused and took a risk for it, as illustrated in the following conversation.

Anna : *Nanti kamu kena marah.* (I'm afraid if you will be scolded)

Ali Topan : **Gentleman** *itu harus mengantar gadisnya sampai ke pintu.*

(**Gentleman** has to take his girl to the door).

The term 'gentleman' comes from French word '*Gentil homme*' means man with value, character, and high status. In Webster Dictionary, gentleman is defined as (1) A man well born; one of good family; (2) One of gentle or refined manners. In French, the term 'gentleman' is identical with royal status, referring to the knights and European soldier in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century who dedicated their life to king and to defend their countries. This term is the expanded meaning of being a good and polite person in opposite of the term 'ladies'.

From the context of the conversation between Ali Topan and Anna, gentleman refers to Ali Topan's attitude and responsibility to make sure that Anna will be fine. It indicates that Ali Topan's courage to face potential anger of Anna's father related to their action against him. Masculinity is represented by the figure of Ali Topan and then signified with aggressive and courage

personality to confront against his opposition. Moreover, the construction of active and dominant men signified by his aggressiveness and traits as protector related to the discourse of new order politic, state of *ibuisism*. It is about how to be ideal women whose roles as wife, housewife, and mother (Suryakusuma, 1996:101). Those roles posit women in domestic area, whereas men in public area; as breadwinner implicated to the construction of men as active and dominant side.

### *Male Teen's Personality and Behavior in 1980s*

The two movies still firmly hold traditional gender construction that tends to place man as person who has an active role. For example, Poppy in LKDKKJ disagreed if she had to pick Lupus up on the date-day as he suggested. She preferred to wait for Lupus's initiative. It also happened in their second plan to date. On the other scene, Poppy decided to end up their relationship and tried to make him jealous. Poppy actually just waited for Lupus to be active to pursue her and asked for apology. It means that man is conditioned as the person who has to be active and has the initiative in approaching woman.

Movies in 1980s still tried to emphasize that men are rational and women are emotional. It is mentioned in the scene of LKDKKJ when Poppy felt jealous with Lupus as illustrated in the dialog as followed.

Lupus : ... *Dalam berpacaran kitaharus pakai rasio, pikiran yang matang.*

(in relationship, we have to use ratio, a mature mind)

Poppy : *Jadi, kamu anggap saya nggak punya rasio?*

(So, you think that I'm not rational?)

Lupus : *Punya, punya .. Cuma ketutup ama emosi kamu...*

(Yes, you are but it is covered by your emotion)

The above dialog shows the way men are being rational and logical which is taken for granted. In western tradition, Janet Saltzman Chafetz explains seven points on traditional masculinity areas, such as, men are prohibited to be emotional and intellect. It means that men are logical, rational, objective, and well-experienced (<https://www.valleychurchia.com/uploads/Challenges.pdf>).

The two movies tend to place man as a protector. Man has the capacity to take his girl home, as mentioned in the case of Poppy and Lupus above. It proves that man is a trusted initiator. Men in the two movies are depicted as women's heroes. Another example is a scene in MTPIJ when Guntur tried to attract Maria attention. He hired three men to disturb her and Guntur acted like a hero to save her.

The heroic figure of Lupus also illustrated in a scene where he helped the canteen owner and her daughter, Indah. He conducted a demonstration with his friend to protest the school policy to close the canteen. Indah and her mother was the victim of defamation. When Lupus succeeded in helping them, he was a hero. Lupus is also a hero for his family. As the only man in the family after the death of his father, he had responsibility to protect his mother and sister. That made him took the job as a reporter to earn some money for his family.

### *Male Teen's Personality and Behavior in 1990s*

Men's capability in sport makes him masculine. This is shown in the figure of Ricky. His excellence in softball is the factor that strengthened his masculinity. According to Drummond (2008: 32), sport and sport activity play major roles in the construction of men's sight of masculinity. Sport is a domain where the construction of masculinity applied. Men notice if they master any kind of sports, especially sports that identical with champion power, aggressive and violence, they will be considered to have masculine character.



Connell (1995) gives example that a man who has sport skill was attached with certain social significance, and becomes symbolic proof of men's superiority (Stibbe, 2004:32). Besides excellent in playing softball, Ricky also did kickboxing to support his aggressive and superiority.

Men's masculinity emerged from men's aggressiveness and rude behavior, for instance, Ricky's desire to show off his influence through physical



power. His virility and assertiveness were accentuated from his courage to do fighting. It means that movies in 1990s still put emphasized on traditional masculinity which demonstrates physical power.

Teen movies in 1990s also mentioned how men disagreed to women who thrived for success. In *OSR*, Bang Ucup was the representation of men who wanted to hamper women's success. There was men's fear of women's success and intelligence. Jean Killbourne (1999) asserts that men tend to imagine that intelligence, success and empowered women possibly petrified and threatened their credibility as men. Traditional masculinity requires men to be dominant and subsequently, it forces men to repress and counter everything that can erase their masculinity. Admitting women's intension can be considered as a threat to men that can possibly decline men's level and domination.

### *Male Teen's Personality and Behavior in 2000s*

Men in 2000s are not always depicted as active figure. In the two analyzed movies, men and women have equal position and opportunity in public domain. For example, in the domain of romance and relation, men are not the one who had initiative or active. Additionally, women have used to do it. Cinta in *AADC* initiated to sent a letter or read Rangga's favorite book to attract his attention. She is also the one who proposed the idea to come to Rangga's house and said that she loved him. Cathy and Sabina in *Eks* also came close and gave attention to Joshua.



The construction that women are emotional and men are rational has broken in the 2000s teen movies. That dichotomy gets more fluid. In *AADC*, Cinta and Rangga became emotional and rational figures in certain times. It also happens in *Eks*. When Joshua was emotionally hostage his friends to take revenge, and Cathy reassured him precisely and asked him to think rationally that it would harm him. Those two movies placed men and women as human beings with both emotion and ratio.

This decade is also marked the fluidity of the boundaries between domestic and public space. In patriarchal society, there is a construction that

public space is men's part, and domestic space is for women. Women are attached with the duty to serve husband and take care of the children. Kitchen is the area for women to do the duty. Women who are unable to cook considered as unideal women since she failed to function as the stated dichotomy. On the other hand, AADC offers difference depiction. Rangga was very competent in cooking. Moreover, he often teased Cinta's disability in cooking. When Cinta said that her inability of cooking was not a big problem, it didnot mean any problem for Rangga too. Rangga was more dominant in the kitchen than Cinta since he directed how to cook to Cinta.

Even so, the two movies in the 2000s still placed men as the protector of women. In AADC, although Rangga was depicted as a quiet and ignorant person, he still cared and gave protection to Cinta. For example, he held her hand, hugged her to calm her when his house was attacked by unknown people. He also offered to take to her home after dating.



Men is also discoursed as the one who had to be ready in facing problems and should not easily give up. As shown in AADC, Rangga's quiet and ignorant character was not considered as an ideal man since he became passive and too easy to give up. For example when Rangga did not want to chase her when they argued in second-hand book-shop. Limbo, the shopkeeper pushed him to chase her.

Limbo : *Rangga, Rangga...bodoh kali kamu, Rangga. Jangan kau pikir cewek yang marah itu benar-benar marah. Nggak, itu cuma taktik buat memancing inisiatif kamu. Ayo, kejar!. Ayo... Kau perhati'in ya kalo sampe dia menengok kemari, itu berarti dia mengharap kau mengejarnya ... perhati'in ... tuh, ayo kejar cepet. Kamu ini laki-laki bagaimana sih?*

(Rangga, Rangga ... you're so stupid. Do you think that she's really angry ? No, it's just a trick to provoke you. Chase her! Come on... Just notice, if she look back to us, it means that she wants you to chase her... Come on, chase her. **What kind a man are you?**)

It also happened when Rangga was in the airport and he would go to New York with his father. His father pushed him to call Cinta to say goodbye. When Rangga was doubtful, his father said that he was easily giving up.

Ayah Rangga : *Yakin kamu nggak nelpon Cinta?*  
(Are you sure not to call Cinta ?)

Rangga : *Nggak*  
(No)

Ayah Rangga : *Sekedar say goodbye?*  
(Just to say goodbye?)

Rangga : *Dia udah say goodbye duluan*  
(She just already said it)

Ayah Rangga : *Payah, gitu saja nyerah!*  
(Why do you just give up? Fool)

The above examples show that there is a construction in which men should protect women and not easily give up does not change from 1970s to 2000s although women in 2000s has already depicted as independent and equal to men in public and domestic space.

## Conclusion

There is a shifting discourse of teen's masculinity in Indonesian movies targeting adolescent from the period of 1970s to 2000s. Men's masculinity does not change much. Teen's masculinity is closely associated to rebelliousness, and men are depicted as active, aggressive, and protective figures. The difference is only the package of appearance and also the form of personality and behavior in each period. However, those package and form still placed men in the same discourse.

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# QUESTIONING RACISM OF ADVERTISING AESTHETICS

*In Indonesia Postcolonial-Urban Society Culture*

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## Introduction

Discussing the current urban culture phenomenon, it is commonly believed that it has a significant strategic meaning as it meets the reality that there are more than fifty percent of world society currently live in urban cities. Seen from the cultural-sociological perspectives, urban culture phenomenon is mostly the result of modernization phenomenon (Zijderveld, 2009: 51; Parker, 2004: 13) One of the main positive characteristics of the urban city society compared to the rural society is their ability and potentials to take control on the production construct, reproduction and distribution of knowledge as the main pillar of dynamic process and change of culture.

There have been so many historical-cultural facts showing, a long with the history of this nation's journey starting from the colonial era, the urban's society life and culture which has not only influenced the country life but even become the main founder of a set efforts in building and growing strategic ideas of what so called nationality and freedom awareness which mainly based on a wide perspective of the principal idea of civil society (*masyarakat madani*). *Masyarakat madani*, or commonly considered having similar meaning to 'civil society', is derived from the term 'societas civitas', translated from Latin from Aristoteles idea *koinonia politike*. In Indonesian context, the idea of civil society is mainly proposed by Nurkholis Madjid referring to the historical facts

of Islamic society after Muhammad, the prophet moved to *Madina*, which can be identified from the civilized society having noble characters. The word *madani* is similar to *madaniyah* meaning civilization ((Azra, 2006: 40).

What has been becoming the main concern is the urban's current strategic position and role in the current contemporary culture which often invite sharp criticism as in fact this group of society tends to live in a uncircuit ordinate and circle which cannot be said to be 'enlightening'. This condition is the result of their current culture paradigm which tends to be considered as under the hegemony of the grips of a typical classical curses of the modern age, namely, capitalism and neoliberalism, which tend to have an opaque narration as its main spirit against the enlightening principles of ideal civil society (Santoso, 2006). This phenomenon mainly concerns with, how the values that characterize the classical marker-urban society, seemed to fade slowly amid an atmosphere of contemporary national life.

One crucial issue appears opaque to the fore as the record of contemporary urban culture, although subtle, is associated with the issue of 'racism' which increasingly increased. As one of the ancient diction that can be said to be the most sensitive in the long history of human culture, it turns out that the term-of course with all the typical stereotypes of absurdity that always moisten it-until now barely unmoved from necessity. This racism phenomen in the current era, even, meets its comprehensive justification space, particularly, in urban society with all of its various representations. One of the reflective-comprehensive references which could be used to look closer to this phenomenon, is whenever we relate it to one of the main pillars that construct the city urban society, that is through the advertisement discourse. Hence, before coming to the discussion on the problem of racism within the advertising discourse, it seems necessary to have a little discussion on the urban historical treatise in Indonesian context.

## The History of Urban Society in Indonesian Iontext

In Indonesian context, the existence of urban society, which is often closely related to the middle class society, has its most significant history starting from the end of the 19s to the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, particularly related to the



practice of the Dutch's 'ethical politics'. Within that period, the Dutch's exploitative-dehumanitative stereotype profile, experienced its historical radical orientations, that is, when it noticed treatise concern over the colony (Ricklefs, 2009: 327; Poeze et al., 2008: 25).

One of the various criticism and condemnation to the Dutch Colonial government came from an *Indo Belanda* called, 'Ernest Francois Eugene Douwes Dekker' (Anshoriy and Tjakrawerdya, 2008: 71), in his novel entitled *Max Havelaar* (1860), followed by C.Th. van Deventer, a lawyer who once lived in Indonesia during the year 1880-97, who published an article in the Dutch journal-*de Gids*, in 1899 entitled 'Een eerschuld' (a debt of honor). All of those criticisms began in 1901, when Queen Wilhelmina announced/declared an overall investigation on the colonial colony inhabitants' welfare, particularly those living in Java island, and at the same time the 'ethical politics' was declared, as one of the solutions ((Ricklefs, 2009: 328).

This politics which came into practice in 1902, when Alexander W.F Idenburg became Minister of Colonial Affairs (1908-1909) and then became the Governor General of Hindia Belanda (1909-1916), with its main pillars, that is education, had given a chance to some colonial inhabitants to get an enlighten access. Those inhabitants, later became the first urban generations in the Indonesian history. Their live style totality, taste, awareness, and beliefs within their period can be said to be the main determination of the struggle to get the long historical entity of Indonesia.

However, it can simply say that, it is a history, as we currently deal with difficulties as we have to draw a map of imperial sites of the urban cathedral's achievement in the context of contemporary Indonesia. The contemporary city urban society's traces can only be seen and bemoaned from ruins of houses having the *Art Deco* style which have become unclearly seen. The current contemporary metropolitan urban society have been trapped to a series of tragic epic betrayal (Supangkat, 2005: 2-18).

## Racism Aesthetics of Advertising and the Urban Betrayal

One of the betrayal epic treatise of the urban whose comprehensive reflections are the most transparent can be clearly identified as we reflect on the culture

of advertising. Being one of the phenomenal findings in the culture of urban society, advertising has become the most important variable, in terms of its reflection and also in terms of its ability to construct the living awareness of the modern and postmodern urban societies (Brumfield et al., 2001: 125; Schwartz and Przyblyski, 2004: 160). Imagine, in the totality of life and culture of contemporary society, advertising has become a dramatic kaleidoscopic sensation landscape mainly covering the entire face and body awareness of urban sites, that it seems not even a single space is free from its influence and power (Williamson, 2007: 1). Advertising has truly become a kind of central institution in modern society (Griff, 1969: 17, 120).

Therefore, it is not excessive as McLuhan has considered advertising as one of the 20<sup>th</sup> century greatest masterpieces, containing what Raymond Williams once called 'the magic system' (Williams, 2005: 170), or what Sutherland mentioned as 'the mystique system' (Sutherland, 2008: 3), having an amazing force to persuade or even to construct society's awareness massively-ideologically. Through this context, advertising has become a form of superstructure agent having the powerful force to determine the cultural tendency, trend, as well as mode in the society (Ewen, 2001: 7-8). Advertising is an important category and social key to explain the treatise of the construction of production and reproduction of various supremacist ideology of commodification in this modern era (Goldman, 1992: 2).

Beyond all the ideological critique of the various negative impacts of advertising discourse, whose traditions much anchored to the base of analysis related to issues surrounding the growing hedonism and consumerism which need to be concerned. The other important impact of advertising also comes from its aesthetic representation which has been deeply contaminated by racism whose main spirit is dehumanism. Racism phenomenon hegemony in advertising as mentioned could be easily verified, by means of two main categories, namely obsessions towards western body or 'Indo' and white skin (whiteness).

*First*, in relation to obsession towards Western body performance or 'Indo' in this contemporary advertising representation context, can be seen from the hegemony of using the model in terms of the gender: men or women, or the age category: children, adolescents, elders which tend to use those coming from the descendants of Caucasian race or those who are 'Indo' used as the

illustration attraction of the offered product (Vestergaard and Schroder, 1985: 49-50; Beasley and Danesi, 2002: 22). The Western models or 'Indo' are used as the main attraction, or what commonly called as 'eye catching'/'eye catcher' (Berman, 2010: 2-4; Shimp, 2008: 247-248).

The concept of Western body performance idealization which has implicitly considered as the universal body performance idealization is based on particularly in relation to face proportionality character, resulted from the '*index cephalicus*' (Bakker, 1984: 71). *Index cephalicus* is a concept or theory of proportionality of human structure and face form resulted from a measurement process based on the comparison of the length and width of their head. "The cephalic index (index cephalicus) is numerical expression of ratio between the head width (biparietal) and head length (frontooccipital diameter) of a person." This form of measurement results in three very racial human face structure characters, called: 'dolichocephalic' (human face of people coming from Caucasian race and North America), 'mesocephalic' (Afrika), and 'brachycephalic' (Mongolian, Asia) (Naini, 2001; Berkely: 1980: 534).

The result of this face proportionality character measurement is then completed by an observation on other secondary characteristics, such as, the differences in skin color pigment, proportion of body performance, crease of the eye, tissues of hair and feather, which are then become the scientific legitimation to justify this theory of racism (Bakker, 1984: 72). The ideal Western body performance images, which are quite popular, are: white skin, blue eyes, pointed nose, and blond hair. The ideal standard basic measurement of humanity, which has been provoked and manipulated by means of the euphoria-hegemonic Western bias in advertising, has in particular led to problems, since the existence of human beings has been absurdly reduced into the most superficial body performance dimension.

*Second*, the other category, which also has sensitive relationship to the racism terminology and hegemony in the contemporary advertising representation is the obsession of having the white skin (whiteness). The main underlying reason for this obsession is the tendency of considering that Western *whiteness* body existence as the only standard for beautiful skin and universal contemporary myth of beauty. This phenomenon can be clearly seen in various advertising of

cosmetic products either those produced by Indonesian or those imported from abroad countries.

In most of the contemporary advertisings for skin cosmetic products, the words, 'white', has become a magic word having a miraculous power to chane the previous words describing beauty commonly used in Eastern countries, not to mention Indonesia, such as: '*kuning langsung*', '*kuning gadhing*', '*nemu giring*', or '*sawo matang*', which have been becoming the ideological belief in Javanese society and culture.

It can be seen from various cosmetic and beauty products, such as, Sari Ayu Martha Tillar in 2007 promoting a series of cosmetic product called 'putih langsung'; Mustika Ratu in 2008 promoting its product called 'Bengkoang Whitening Series'; and also other cospetic products, namely, 'Viva White', 'Citra White', 'Fanbo Whitening Arromatic'; 'Pixy UV Whitening'; 'Hazelin Natural White'; 'Nivea Pure White'; 'Pond's White'; 'L'oréal White Perfect'; 'Revlon Absolut White'; 'Vaselin Healthy White'; 'Shinzu'I'; 'Lux White Glamour', 'Give White', and many others. This phenomenon can also be clearly seen its further derivation, for instance, by looking at how many beauty salon bussinesses established in big cities whose income could reach billion rate.

Based on this *whiteness* hegemony, then, the humans' dispute to survive in this contemporary modern era, is not based on Darwin's evolution theory, that is, '*the survival of the fittest*', but goes further with an additional term of, '*the survival of the most white*'.

This representation format of advertising aesthetics, in turn, results in aesthetic awareness which can be considered as '*racism aesthetics*', which can be said to be a relatively new subject in arts discipline, which appears in line with the development of postcolonial theories (Roelofs, 2009: 489). Indeed, it is commonly believed that racism is one of key terms in postcolonial theory (Amoko in Wake and Malpas, 2006: 127; Said, 2003; Fanon, 2008; .Bhabha, 1994; Spivak, 1999). This advertising aesthetic typology, stuck in a puddle of racism, can be categorized into '*bad taste advertising*', since its aesthetic representation puts forward the 'aestheticism' concept; that is a form of aesthetics which has no connection with the domains of goodness or truth (Whewell, 2009: 128-130; Foster, 2002; Madoff, 2009: 60-63; Croce and Ainslie, 1995: 87-93).

This model of aesthetics, in particular, can be considered as the anti aesthetics owing to the fact that from its history, the understanding of the word aesthetics either in Eastern or Western countries, cannot be separated from the terminologies of ‘beauty’ and ‘truth’. The term aesthetics, etymologically is derived from the word ‘beauty’ (English), ‘beau’ (France), ‘bello’ (Italian) and ‘bellum’ (Spanish), which means goodness (Gie, 1997: 17).

In the ancient Greek times, when Aesthetics together with two other philosophical domains, namely Logics and Ethics became an integral concept, the education spirit commonly adopted during the periods was based on the concept of *kalos kagathos* (*kalos* = beauty; *kagathos* = virtuous); aimed at developing smooth taste and at the same time providing young people to become virtuous ones. A similar concept, has implicitly inspired *kakawin* literature, epics written by ancient Javanese writers or those commonly called as *kawi* during 10-15<sup>th</sup> century. These epics are commonly called as *kalangwan*, whose underlying concept is a combination of beauty, goodness, and truth (Hartoko, 1986: 8).

In Chinese philosophy, for instance, there is only one term representing the idea of beauty and morality taste, that is, *tao*, meaning ways. Those taken the right ways, they will have capability to differentiate goodness from badness, between beauty and ugly (Ibid, 78). Consequently, it is not surprising as Sahakian claimed that “The aesthetic soul, who loves truth and pursues the good” (Sahakian, 1963). In line with that concept, Santayana stated that “The beauty is truth, that it is the expression of the ideal, the symbol of divine perfection, and the sensible manifestation of the good” (Santayana, 2008: 14).

## The Sustainable Genealogy Roots

Genealogically, racism roots, have firmly planted in the long intercultural historical treatise. Two anthropologists, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach and Georges Curvier, were those who initially divided human race origin into three parent fathers, namely: *Mongoloid (Oriental)*, *Negroid (Ethiopian)* and *Caucasian (white)* (Herman, 2007). Each of these groups has different physical performance as the result of their origin where they previously lived, that is, Caucasus mountainous area to the south of Russia, the area of Nigeria, in Africa, and the area of Mongolian in Asia. This reality of physical-biological

difference of each race was then used by Blumenbach and Curvier as the foundation to justify permanently the differences on the domain of psychological ability (Banton, 2000: 55).

The existence of racism ideology, attitudes, and behaviors, have been absurdly recognized by many philosophers even since the ancient Greek period. Aristoteles, through his book *Politics*, for example, stated that commonly people coming from Asia or commonly called Asian have less capability to think and to compete, that they have been continuously under colonized and considered as labors or even slaves. It is natural that human beings are created having different shape and colour of skin. Therefore it seems very common that some of them were born to be free people, while some others were born to be slaves. He noted that it is a fair division (Aristotle, 2006: ,17-18).

Besides Aristoteles, an ancient historian Herodotus, through his writing entitled "History" in *The Greek Historians*, mentioned the stereotypes of the black Ethiopian people, as people who eat snakes, lizards, and other reptiles,. He also mentioned that these people cannot speak as other human beings do, and the only thing they can do is producing a particular sound as the one belongs to bats (Herodotus, 1942). In line with these two historians, a famous Roman historical writer, Tacitus, adored the German nation (North Europe) for their physical characteristics (light skin, blond hair, blue eyes), which are considered as the pure race, having no mixture with other races (Tacitus, 2007: 406-410. Downloaded from [www.forgottenbooks.org](http://www.forgottenbooks.org), on August 2011).

Meanwhile, Carlous Linnaeus, a Swedish botanist, in 1758 called the human species formally as *homo sapiens*' and at the same time he also suggested a basic racism idea. He divided human races into four sub categories, namely: Red American, Yellow Asian, Black African, and White European. Based on his theory, he also classified the four subcategories further as: (1) *Homo Sapiens Americanus* as those who are 'bad tempered, stubborn, light-hearted or cheerful, free'; (2) *Homo sapiens Asiatus* as those who are stubborn, arrogant, and stupid; whereas, (3) *Homo Sapiens Europaeus* as those who are active, highly intelligent, and inventive (Olson, 2006: 89; Olson, 2003).

Meanwhile, a French, Joseph Arthur Comte de Gobineau, in his book entitled *Essai sur L'inégalité des Races Humaines* (An Essay about the

Differences of Human Races) published in 1853 proposed his views, which tend to be very ultra-Eurocentric and fatalistic, that all humans' civilization come from the white race that he called as 'Arya' (Barzun, 1937: 78). He mentioned that it is the only race having all the beauty, intelligence, and strength (Lobban, 2006: 106-108).

Charles Darwin, through his phenomenal writing *The Descent of Man* (1874) also expressed his legitimization of the question of races, by saying, "At some future period, not very distant as measured by centuries, the civilized races of man will almost certainly exterminate and replace the savage races throughout the world" (Darwin, 1874. Downloaded from [www.forgotten-books.org](http://www.forgotten-books.org), on August 2011). The term *civilized race* obviously refers to the white skin race, Arya. All of Darwin's evolution theory ends in his masterpiece thesis, which at present tends to be canonical, that is, 'the survival of the fittest' (Darwin, 2010: 93). The Darwin's thesis has similar meaning to the classic *adagium* proposed by the Roman comedy writer Titus Marcius Plautus (254-184 SM), with one of his writings entitled *Asinaria*: '*homo homini lupus*'. In its original words, it was *lupus est homo homini*, meaning that: 'human beings tend to be wolves for other human beings.'

In terms of literary domain, however, Rudyard Kipling, an English controversial poet living in the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century, has once published a very racist poem entitled *The White Man's Burden* (1865). In his poem, Kipling claimed that all dark historical phenomena of Western atrocities against East within the domains of imperialism and colonialism, can be considered as Western white man's burden or a very hard task and at the same time it is also a glorious task for the sake of making Eastern civilized, that he mentions in his poem—in the eighth line of the first stanza—as nations and societies: '*half-devil and half-child*' (Hubbell and Beaty, 2008: 92-94).

Meanwhile, the European ocean explorer, Christopher Columbus had also made a racist note as he came back from Caribbean islands (America), mentioning that he met the indigenous people whose characters are very different from his society coming from the White man race. He considered the indigenous people as a wild, savage, rude, and cruel group of society (Columbus, 1492: 25-31). In addition, he also mentioned that each of them has nose similar to the one belongs to dogs and they love to eat one another (cannibals), and

they like to behead their enemy and drink their blood (Columbus, 2010: 68; Phillips and Phillips, 1993: 175).

There is also a myth in the form of a legend to strengthen and complete and legitimate Aryan's power and strength. In Europe legend, there is a famous character called 'Mannu'—the son of Tuisto, who is well known as Aryan ancestor. It is from the term 'Mannu' that derives the word 'Mannusa' meaning the descendants of Mannu. As Mannusa has experienced various victory, those who are not the descendants of Mannu are not human. The term *Manusia*, *Man*, *Mensch*, *Hu-Man*, then become the hegemonic term for human. Therefore, it is widely believed among the White race, Aryan that people having other colour of skin are not descendants of Mannu meaning that they are not humans but monsters, demons, fairy, animals, or any other creatures rather than humans, that they deserve to be killed (Sunyoto, 2006: xliv).

Having a long process of research, particularly through a research project known as *Human Genome* conducted by *National Institutes of Health and Department of Energy*, United States of America in October 1990, it has found that there is no human gen known as race (Reardon, 2005: 45; Davies, 2002). It was mentioned that the project spent almost 3 billion US dollar.

Bill Clinton, the president of USA at that time, on June 26<sup>th</sup>, 2000, as he gave an introduction of the *Human Genome Project* result, stated that "Human beings, regardless of race, are 99,9 percent the same" (Whitmarsh and Jones, 2010: 262).

Consequently, a series of claims proposed by experts to justify race division is false (Ibid, Olson, 89-90). Race claimed as a scientific discovery in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century, is merely a part of social construction (Landsman, 2009: xvi). Indeed, racism is actually a prejudice that human species have certain characteristics inherited from their ancestors that enable them to be divided into smaller groups by which each of them tends to have different characteristics (Appiah, 1990: 4-5).

This prejudice, is then, becomes more absurd as it meets with the concept of power, that "*Prejudice+power = racism*" (Rattansi, 2007: 2; Back and Solomos 2000: 30). This format of understanding is in line with the statement declared by UNESCO on July 18<sup>th</sup>, 1950, stating that: "The scholars resist



against any theory which use the racial thesis as an operational tool the interpretation of culture” (OpCit, Bakker, 72). In 1965 UNESCO invited 22 famous scholars from anthropological institution from all over the World to rediscussing the race theory culturally, and the result was that all of the participants supported the UNESCO statement. In addition, Sartre has also mentioned the similar thing that: “That there is no biological, cultural, or metaphysical reality to ‘race’; it is a social construct (Marcano in Bernasconi and Cook, 2003: 214–26). Therefore, any campaigns to determine human races, even when they are conducted through scientific methods, are particularly false ways. Race, has rather blurred out rather than explained the multidimensional humans’ history (Olson, 2006;90). ■

However, the scientific discoveries that try to break all theories of race are not sosiologically-culturally enough to construct a new positive perspective towards the present racist issues. Image towards black colour, for instance, including similar clours, such as brown or yellow has strongly constructed in the wide and complex sociocultural spectrum, with its negative and bad stigma mainstream. This colour, is not merely the symbol of negro and slavery, but this term has already been used in daily language with its negative image.

There are some expressions using this words with its negative meaning, such as: ‘black death’, ‘black magic’, ‘black market’, ‘bete noir’ (bahasa Prancis), and ‘schwarz fahrer’ (Deutch). Those terms have also been absorbed in Indonesian terms together with their negative meaning or sense, for instance: *pasar gelap*, *pedagang gelap*, *pendatang gelap*, *penumpang gelap* (not *pasar hitam*, *pedagang hitam*, *pendatang hitam*, *penumpang hitam!*).

In the Indonesian context, racism has become a crucial and hard issue regarding to the curse of postcolonial syndrom, as the result of the long history of the White men colonialism, particularly those coming from Dutch. It is widely known that all of the narrations, either in the form of fiction or scientific, concerning the colonialism experienced by this country in the past are always connected to the tragic stories of racism and dehumanization. This fact has been experienced not only by those originally coming and born in this nation but also by people commonly called as ‘Indo’ , that is, those born from intermarriages between the local and Dutch people. The long stories of racism and dehumanization in this colonialism era, spread in almost all of references

about colonialism studies in Hindia Belanda, either those written by Indonesian or Dutchman. Some of them can be seen in Sastrowardoyo (1983) telling the racism phenomenon in literature (Hellwig, 2007; Bosma and Raben, 2008; Thosibo, 2002; Gouda, 2007; Baay, 2010).

Ironically, although all Indonesian have experienced a hard colonialism trauma, which has put them into deep misery over generations they cannot even stay away from the Western enchantment with all its great narrations. This is what commonly called as the ambivalence curse, that becomes one of the unexplained key words in postcolonial theory (Budiawan, 2010: vii-xxii). In one side, we do hate the White men but at the same time, we do miss and adore them.

One of the example showing the madness of Western image or Indo, and obsession of having white skin can be clearly seen in advertising. Through this context, we have becoming the victims of Western beauty theory, which mainly based on a superficial perspective, that is on the physical appearance towards the meaning of beautiful body, which becomes a rational modernity tradition “Conventional beauty is often as a commodity keep only for those who are perceived to be incredibly attractive and good-looking” (Listowska and Nicholson, 2011: 1).

In fact, in our culture, not to mention in Javanese culture, for a long time, it has ideologically been believed that the meaning of beauty must be put in a whole frame between physic and non-physical beauty, between body and soul, and also manners of treatment to get the harmony, which in ancient Javanese term called as ‘*Rupasampat Wahyabyantara*’ (Tilaar, 1999: 24). The concept of beauty concerning mainly on the outside domain, is not the real beauty, as its meaning is mostly connected to the comodification projects. “Beauty is only skin deep is not beauty of all, because a pretty face, hair, and body, or nice clothes are all surface attractiveness, with no depth. Societies stereotypical thinking has created an unrealistic idea of beauty to sell product” (Tompkins, 2010: 1-2).

## When the Urban Society Become *New Ambtenaar*

This phenomenon of the dominantly represented racism aesthetic hegemony in the awareness of Indonesian’s contemporary advertising tends to lead to a

very deep concern as it is seen from those who become the actors and agents of the hegemony. Those roles are not played by the Western people but rather by ourselves, the urban society. This prototype of the present cultural colonialization tragedy, reminds us to the ancient Dutch colonialization modus called the indirect method, through the 'priyayi' group coming from the local Indonesian and commonly called 'ambtenaar'. *Ambtenaar* is a Dutch term meaning, the government official, particularly under the Hindia Belanda government. The term *ambtenaar* tends to have negative image (Anderson, 1998: 30-31; Cook, 2002: 32), people who were loyal to Dutch. In the long history of Dutch colonialism historiography, it was through these *ambtenaar*, the destruction and radicality of Dutch colonialism was effectively carried out.

At present, these *ambtenaar* have changed their performance into the contemporary urban society and covered themselves with the jargons of modernization and capitalization, living in certain sites and metropolitan habitats. Similar to *ambtenaar* in the colonialization era, the *new ambtenaar*, the contemporary urban society, have the same performance in cultural perspective as terrifying. Their position and roles are no longer as the leaders of agents of social and cultural change and enlightening projects, It happens as the urban society is placed in its ideal meaning, that is, as the educated society whose position and roles are said to be '*berumah di angin*' mentioned by WS Rendra (Hartoko, 1980), on the contrary, they tend to be the main compradors of anti-civilization. It reminds as with the intellectuals' betrayal, urban-intellectuals in France, the one mentioned by Julien Benda (2009). This book was firstly published in French entitled *La Trahison de Clercs* in 1927.

Consequently, it seems necessary to go back to Levi-Strauss thesis in their books entitled *Tristes Tropiques* (1955), *The Savage Mind* (1962), and *Totemism* (1963), which implicitly mention that the dynamic process of culture is always repeated and tends to be similar. Therefore, the patterns of cultural behaviours of the primitive society and modern one tend to be similar except in its representation. Primitive society is commonly called 'cold society', while the modern society is commonly called 'hot society' (Paz, 1997: ix). Strauss even has concluded that the logics of primitive-myth thinking is particularly the same as the positive thinking in modern science. He noted that it is the same intellectual logics and operation which take control over the two, and the possible

distinctions we could make between the two are in terms of their orientation and objects (Cremers, 1997: 65).

Concerning the racism aesthetics in contemporary Indonesian advertising which based on Western syndrom, this kind of racism is particularly a small reflection of the top reality, as we see it through the perspective of iceberg theory. It means that the problem of Western race syndrom, has in particular haunted almost every domains and infrastructure of our civilization, that it is absolutly influenced our civilization. As a result, the existance of our basic humanitarianism becomes lost. It is by means of advertising that every day we are sitematically, unconsciously and continuously colonialized by various ideological Western images and symbols and learn to hate our own natural body performance. We learn to hate the colour of our hair, our skin, our eyes, our form of nose, chin, lips, cheeks, and many others. It is this fact that verifies Anthony Synnot's thesis as he mentions about body performance in social context, which cannot be seen only from its biological domain but also its political domain (Synnott, 1993: 1; Turner, 1996; Gleeson and Frith, 2006: 11, 79).

Even this self hate politics has becomes more completely done, as this covers not only the physical domain but also the psychological and mentality domain, starting from the ways of thinking, feeling, imagining, and even our ways of dreaming. These phenomena are clearly reflected in this simple study context, that is on how Western racism aesthetic hegemony has destructed our power, ability, and awareness to formulate historical treatise and aesthetic historiography which are more Indocentral, not only in this small context of advertising discourse but also in the whole art domain (Purwanto, 2006).

Starting from this absurd reality, it is commonly believed that it may lead us to be a nation, having great or even absolute dependence to the Western countries, either in terms of managing our body performance, nature, or even our culture. Then, we are going to be the actors as well as the witnesses of one of Bung Karno revolutionary statements declared in his speech on August 17<sup>th</sup>, 1963, concerning his deep concern of the possibility that we may be the slave or labour country among other countries in the future. "*Een natie van koelies, en een kolie onder de naties*" (Utomo, 2004: 3).

Seen from this fact, our awareness as human as well as citizen has completely damaged. Therefore, understanding this racism aesthetic

phenomenon in advertising representation can be effectively and comprehensively used as one of the entrances to comprehend the projection portrait of the big narration of the contemporary Indonesian performance, which seems nearly powerless.

## Conclusion

Based on this simple narration, it seems that it is the time for us to find alternative solutions to build our self cultural awareness, and one of the starting point and quite urgent step to do is by breaking the the contemporary urban society's betrayal chain of awareness. The other step that seems very important, strategic and urgent to be carried out is the revitalization of the paradigm that has widely believed by the contemporary urban society in understanding advancement and modernity ideology, whose mainstream often confronts arbitrarily between the spirit of 'rurality' and 'urbanity'. How the concept of *rurality* in the urban society context is considered as a condition that must be and will be left behind.

Based on that perception, *rurality* is seen as having the same meaning and destiny as *traditionality*, which tends to be confronted with *modernity*. This problem in particular, becomes one of the urban society's main ideological problems that needs to be questioned and criticized. Why the contemporary Indonesian's urban society are not willing to and having the capability to think of ways of, for instance, making the 'rurality' terminology, which is identically similar to 'traditionality' as the current and future basic of cultural behavioural patterns?

Our willingness and capability to bring back all the wisdom and goodness, and also the spirit of 'rurality/traditionality' in the contemporary Indonesia's urban in particular, can be developed into a new promising thesis model, that is the one having no longer based on the Darwin's old theory, that is, *the survival of the fittest*; nor *the survival of the most white*, but it would rather based on *the survival of the wisest*.

The ones who will be the winners of the cultural evolution and the future life are no longer the ones who are as wild as the white wolf as commonly believed and proved during the long history starting from the past to the modern era and even contemporary postmodern one but they will be the best and wisest

people in terms of their morality-mentality: no matter whether they have brown, yellow, red, black, or white colour of the skin. This concept needs to be applicable not only in the small context of advertising aesthetics but also in the whole civilization aesthetics.

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# KAMASAN

*A Village in Bali*

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## Introduction

One day during December 2010 two new signs appeared on the roadway at each of the main entrances leading into Kamasan village. Consisting of a painted signboard hung between two metal poles and suspended high above the passing traffic, they differed little from the many road signs around the country which mark the spatial boundaries between villages, cities, districts and provinces. The text painted in white on a green background visible to persons entering into the village simply announced the name of the village, *Desa Kamasan* (Kamasan Village), while the message on the reverse, visible to those departing, read *Desa Kamasan Jangan Dilupakan* (Don't Forget Kamasan Village).

Even though the same message has appeared for decades on signs all around the country, including in Kamasan itself during the 1970s, I was curious about the new sign. I wondered who exactly the target audience of this appeal was. Was it specific to Kamasan or would the same message soon appear around the neighbouring villages in the coming weeks? Was it directed at the small numbers of foreign and Indonesian visitors who come to the village, a plea not to leave Kamasan off their travel itineraries or to take with them happy memories of their visit?

Perhaps it was a call to residents who have departed the village in search of employment in other parts of the island and beyond, not to overlook

their responsibilities to the village and the all-important remittances? Maybe it was a general entreaty on behalf of the village itself not to be neglected in government initiated development plans for the region. The few people that I asked about the sudden appearance of these signs dismissed them vaguely as part of some kind of local government initiative, although many more hadn't even noticed their appearance. But to my surprise, less than a month after they initially appeared, the new signs were revised. The intriguing *Desa Kamasan Jangan Dilupakan* had been removed and replaced with a sign simply stating *Terima Kasih* [Thank you].

My imagination charged, I pictured a delegation of villagers demanding the removal of the original slogan because it was considered contentious in some way. But despite my inquiries within the village and with the local village administration I failed to discover what or who was responsible for this short lived entreaty not to forget Kamasan village, and why it had been so suddenly removed. Just as the circumstances behind the decision to install and then replace this sign remain ambiguous, this minor episode encapsulates some of the ambiguities in the way villages are conceived and the kinds of relationships they have with the world outside.

Far from discrete entities, the villages of Southeast Asia are widely acknowledged to be part of intersecting urban and rural worlds (Rigg 1994). Kamasan village provides a particular example of how a space generally conceived of as rural is entwined in experiences of urbanisation, at the same time highlighting the ubiquitous nature of urbanisation in general.

Kamasan is located in the east of Bali, between the coast and the mountain ranges of Mount Agung. It is part of Klungkung, the smallest district of Bali with a total population of just 170,000 people. Only one third of the total district land area of Klungkung is located on the mainland of Bali, with the rest spread across the islands Nusa Penida, Nusa Lembongan and Nusa Ceningan. Administratively Klungkung is divided into four subdistricts, with Kamasan being one of eighteen villages in the subdistrict also called Klungkung. Although this is the smallest subdistrict in terms of land area it is the most populated with about 55,000 people or 1,896 people per square kilometre.

While today this part of Bali appears something of a backwater compared to the bustle which characterises the south of island, Klungkung has

great significance historically (Wiener 1995). From around the sixteenth century it was the seat of the Dewa Agung, paramount ruler of Bali, who established a new court in Gelgel during the sixteenth century. Technically, at that time, Kamasan was part of Bali's capital city as it belongs to the *desa adat* or customary village of Gelgel. Incidentally, the Gelgel court also included a retinue of Javanese Muslim retainers who established what is now the oldest mosque in Bali (Ambary 1985).

Kamasan remained part of the capital until the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century when the Gelgel court was relocated to Klungkung after rebellions forced the reigning Dewa Agung Jambe to establish a new palace. The new palace, in what is now the capital of Klungkung district, known officially as Sempura since 1992, is only two kilometres to the north of Kamasan village.

The village of Kamasan provided artisans to the royal court and today the most impressive and permanent display of Kamasan painting can be seen at the Kerta Gosa in Klungkung, the former palace of the Dewa Agung. Kamasan artists generally locate themselves within a lineage of painters descended from the nineteenth century artist Modara, who established the Pulesari descent group as artists, and is still considered the most important artist in the village for the high regard in which he was held by the Dewa Agung.

Kamasan village itself is divided into *banjar* or hamlets reflecting the specialised services once provided by artisans to the court, including the gold and silversmiths of Banjar Pande Mas, the metalsmiths of Banjar Pande and the painters of Banjar Sangging, whose name means Craftsman or Artist. This is not unique to Kamasan with many hamlets around Bali retaining names which denote the arts and trades practiced there, including several other villages in the district of Klungkung like the bronzesmiths in the village of Budaga, the gong makers of Tihingan and the cloth weavers of Gelgel. What does make Kamasan unique is the vigour of the classical painting tradition which dates back at least to the period of the great East Javanese kingdom of Majapahit.

The narrative painting for which Kamasan village is renown has roots in the *wayang* or shadow puppet theatre and is generally referred to as classical or *wayang* painting. Although a similar style of painting was once practiced

throughout Bali and still exists in a few other villages among small numbers of practicing artists (Cooper 2005), Kamasan remains the only village in Bali where the painting style has not been superseded by the adaption of newer styles and materials. Paintings are produced on cloth in a variety of formats and while in the past they were used primarily within temples or in the pavilions of courtly homes, they are now also found in art galleries, museum collections, hotels, government offices, private homes and souvenir shops throughout Bali and the world.

Kamasan is currently home to almost four thousand people spread across ten banjar. One of these, Banjar Sangging, with a population of almost one thousand people within one hundred and seventy five households is home to the majority of painters. Village authorities estimate that fifty percent of the whole village population derives an income from the painting industry.

It is probable that more people are involved with painting now than was the case in the past, when painting was rarely a full time activity and was combined with periods of farming, particularly as artists were provided with rice fields by the royal court in return for their services. While painting now represents a major, though certainly not the sole, source of income for many families, some still hold plots of agricultural land located at a distance of a few kilometres from the village. This land is largely worked by labourers and sharecroppers from nearby villages as well as by itinerant workers from the neighbouring islands of Java and Lombok during harvest times.

The most lucrative form of employment for young men in the village is the cruise ship industry with many families aspiring to send at least one son through a recruitment agent for training and eventual placement on a liner. This is an investment which requires substantial capital, and securing a placement is currently said to cost about eighty million rupiah.

Other young people are employed in the hotels, spas and resorts of the tourist centres, with some residing permanently in the south of the island while others make the daily commute to destinations as far as Jimbaran and Nusa Dua. While older residents frequently lament the lack of interest that younger people have in becoming artists, at present there are several young artists and many others involved in the marketing and trade of Kamasan paintings outside the village.

This movement of labour clearly ties the village into the continuous urban corridor that now links Bali to Jakarta, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Bangkok and beyond (Connor & Vickers 2003). This corridor is physically realised in the dual carriage Ida Bagus Mantra bypass which runs up the east coast of Bali from the south, passing through Gianyar and Klungkung towards Padang Bai, a major port serving ferries to Lombok and cruise vessels.

The road facilitates the movement of trucks carrying rocks and gravel dug out from the riverbeds of the Unda river around Klungkung for building development in the south as well as being the means by which the residents of Kamasan travel by motorbike to and from the tourist centres for work and to the capital for university and medical treatment. They share this corridor with tourists touring up and down the coast, whose major stop in Klungkung is the Kerta Gosa or in the case of busloads of Javanese pilgrims, the grave of Habib Ali in Kusamba, believed to be a Muslim advisor to the court of Dewa Agung Jambe of Klungkung.

But it is not just the movement of people that ties Kamasan into processes of urbanisation in Bali, but the art produced in this village, widely recognised as the centre of the classical painting tradition. This is a tradition which very much appeals to more urbanised Balinese who are major consumers of the art. Some of this appeal can be understood in the context of the Ajeg Bali campaign, a media initiated campaign designed to promote an adherence to traditional Balinese culture in the wake of the Bali bombings (Nordholt 2007; Picard 2008).

In his review of this now decade long campaign, Fox (2010) has argued that one of the particular problems in scholarly discussions around how Balinese are formulating a notion of Balinese tradition and of what it means to be Balinese, is the lack of attention to how the representations found in newspaper and television are related to the lives of people living in Bali. One tangible way in which the Balinese have responded to calls for a return to traditional cultural and religious practices, however problematic this formulation may be, is by consuming the products of Kamasan village in new ways.

Contemporary Balinese artist Nyoman Gunarsa, who comes from Klungkung and is himself a major promoter of Kamasan art with a private museum devoted to his large collection, has described the art of Kamasan artist Nyoman Mandra in terms which posit the artist as a kind of bulwark against the influences of foreign culture and tourism in Bali:

In the global era, where Bali is experiencing upheavals in the direction of its art from outside cultures, tourism and the varieties of art active in Bali, Nyoman Mandra remains consistent, convinced and firm in carrying out his Hindu-Balinese philosophical and cultural mission. His works have moved the world, and so elevated the reputation of Bali and the Indonesian people (Nyoman Gunarsa 2009).

This assessment of Kamasan's place and contribution to Balinese art and culture suggest how Kamasan painting can potentially be packaged to cater for a market consciously seeking a product to substantiate their own cultural heritage.

This view fits into the way Mark Hobart (2011) has conceived the Ajeg Bali campaign arguing that while Balinese supporters of the campaign may celebrate Balinese art for its steadfast adherence to tradition they obscure the intrinsic adaptability of the artists producing it. And it is this very adaptability explains why Kamasan artists are now able to produce work for other Balinese who, as a number of Kamasan artists have themselves commented, appreciate the work for being traditional but have limited understanding of the painted narratives themselves.

The classical paintings produced in Kamasan and other centres of painting in Bali have always been produced for ceremonial use by Balinese. Paintings commissioned for temples still account for some of the work produced in Kamasan, though most temples outside of the village have long replaced the painted cloths with cheaper screen printed versions, and artists producing work for temples usually paint for temples to which they belong within the village, most of which maintain good collections of classical paintings for use during particular ceremonies.

During the twentieth century foreign tourists have generally been regarded as the mainstay of Balinese art, a development considered to have resulted in the demise of traditional practice. While foreign international tourists have been important patrons of Kamasan art, over the past decade there has been a definite shift in the consumer base of Kamasan art in favour of the Balinese themselves not to mention the many affluent tourists who holiday in Bali from Jakarta and Surabaya. But historically as well, there are well documented examples of Kamasan paintings moving around the archipelago.



A portrait of Mangkunegara VII and his wife taken in Surakarta during the 1920s shows the royal couple seated on the floor of their residence in front of a large Kamasan work. Other photographs from the 1920s show the placement of Kamasan work in the modern homes of aristocratic Balinese, including a portrait of the wife of Tjokorde Raka Gde Soekawati from Ubud showing her seated in front of a painting which hangs as part of the interior decoration of their home. A second photograph shows her again, this time with a European female standing besides the chair she is seated on.

The Balinese who commission Kamasan art today are individuals, schools, university campuses, government departments as well as commercial ventures like hotel and villa developments. One of the largest commissions received by Nyoman Mandra in 2011 was from Mangku Made Pastika, the current governor of Bali, who requested a custom cloth for his private residence of almost forty metres in length depicting scenes from the epic Mahabharata.

Although this order was particularly long, it is not uncommon. As well as purchasing paintings of a standard size that are framed and hung on a wall much like a conventional picture, Balinese consumers seek cloths to hang within specific interior spaces, particularly as ceiling panels. This development has seen Kamasan artists moving away from painting single format scenes, usually associated with tourist work, to producing works on much longer and narrower lengths of cloth, known as *ider-ider* which consist of many scenes and are customarily hung around the eaves of pavilion structures within temples.

The size of these works also requires a large number of artists and colourists and it is not uncommon for up to ten people to be employed in the production of one painting. While the communal nature of production adds to the integrity of these works as traditional products, the practice of artist Nyoman Mandra (1946) shows that it is possible to become the most well known individual name in Kamasan art while heading the most important collective and studio in Kamasan today.

It is not just the way that Kamasan artists work that is subject to ongoing modification, but the ways in which artists present the narrative subjects of their paintings. Many of the narratives depicted in classical work are scenes from the Indian epics Ramayana and Mahabharata as well as indigenous narratives including the story of black magic witch

Rangda, the courtly tales of Prince Malat Rasmi, the Tantri animal fables and the family of Pan and Men Brayut. The story of the Brayut family relates the tribulations of a poor commoner and rural Balinese couple with eighteen children. A version dating from around nineteen hundred shows scenes of domestic life, including husband Pan Brayut carrying water, bathing his children in the river and cooking on a wood fire.

A recent painting of the same narrative by Ni Wayan Wally (1954) of Banjar Tabanan in Kamasan shows how one artist has responded to the changing Balinese landscape. The invited guests to the wedding of the couple's son Ketut Subaya include a trio of civil servants in their khaki uniforms while tourists also stand on the periphery with cameras. Another Brayut painting, an *ider-ider* on display at the Gunarsa Museum in Klungkung, shows that classical artists of the 1930s engaged with new and urban settings.

The first scene on the Gunarsa painting is a wealthy Balinese couple, seated on chairs and facing each other in conversation across a round table. Each is smoking a large cigarette and a meal lies before them on the table. This is juxtaposed against the next scene which continues the story with the more convention depiction of the poor and rural Brayut couple. The inclusion of the wealthy and modern couple is probably intended by the artist to emphasise the differences between their two worlds. From around the same period, another fragment of an *ider-ider* painting from Karangasem shows an orchestral group accompanying a Barong Rangda performance. Here the drum players seated in the front are dressed in sarongs with white European shirts, one whose left shirt pocket contains several pens.

Of course Balinese artists are not alone in incorporating contemporary commentary in their work and there are many examples in the traditional or classic arts around Indonesia of engagement by artists with the urban world. Closely related to the painting tradition of Kamasan, the Javanese *wayang beber* or narrative scroll paintings of Pacitan, East Java are now maintained through performance using digital copies of the originals which are considered too precious to be used in performance (Chan, 2010).

However, at least one young artist in the city of Solo, Dani Iswardhana, is creating new scrolls for use in performance. His painted and performed narratives are concerned with issues such as the urbanisation of the village

economy, the migration of young people to cities for employment, environmental degradation as a result of chemical fertilisers and the use of village water supplies by commercial water companies. The Brayut couple also feature in his scroll on Semar in Singapore: In Singapore the Brayuts are lost. The babies escape from the baskets and wander aimlessly about (Chan, 2010).

In contrast with this Javanese take on the Brayut couple who are bewildered when faced with the chaos of the metropolis, the artists of Kamasan have demonstrated that they are part of an innovative and adaptable artistic tradition that is not overwhelmed by dealing with the world outside their village. It is precisely the qualities of this tradition, often perceived as the antithesis of the urban world inhabited the contemporary consumers of Kamasan art, which explain how Kamasan has successfully embraced the realities of urban Bali.

Understanding the kinds of engagements that artists have with urbanisation allows for a reformulation in our understanding of how traditional artists work, according greater agency to artists in responding to their changing audiences. This ensures that Kamasan village is unlikely to be forgotten in an increasing urbanised world.

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# PERFORMATIVITY OF BODY AND MUSLIMAH SEXUALITY

*In Aquila Asia Magazine*

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## Introduction

**A**s the first international magazine for muslimah<sup>1</sup> in the world, *Aquila Asia* may be a magazine pioneer that present today and represent urban people. *Aquila Asia* sold in Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, and Brunei get great attention from West society because it appeared very interesting, representing class, modern with Islam background. Reuters, for example, stated in its web site:

“SINGAPORE (Reuters Life!) - There’s a beautiful model on the cover, a teaser about an article on sex and a swimsuit spread, but what makes Asia’s newest women’s magazine stand out is its audience: stylish, modern Muslims”.

*Aquila Asia* magazine call itself as guidance magazine for cosmopolitan Islam society, that identification of cosmopolitan and urban society is presented in the magazine. The matters include, among others, relation of Islam with other religions, modern lifestyle but relate to locality of Islamic society in South East Asia, high mobility of women, and interpretation of cosmopolitan society in viewing and practicing Islam is part of *Aquila Asia* identifying the magazine for cosmopolitan and urban society. Cosmopolitan claim is also viewed as marketing strategy of the magazine.

<sup>1</sup> A call for muslim women that author use in this research

Islam lifestyle discussed in *Aquila Asia* has also difference from construction presented in other muslimah magazine. Using English, *Aquila Asia* magazine is look like “crispier” in interpreting religion as life principle and view. Language used also represents higher social class in urban society. Use of English is also part of the magazine’s strategy targeting high class in the four countries. For example, Special Features title *Sex and the (Muslim) City* discuss what Islam view on women marrying at not virgin condition and what the magazine offers in discussing and renewing vagina.

What body and female sexuality was constructed is matter discussed openly. The reality is far different for other muslimah magazines in Indonesia such as Paras, Alia, or Noor. Modern urban society emphasizes various rational and open views. However, is it true? Or muslimah representation the magazine offer offered again idea on traditional muslim women ideality. Based on the issue, this research formulate following problem: what is body performativity and muslimah sexuality in *Aquila Asia* magazine?

This paper emphasized on how muslimah body and sexuality is represented in *Aquila Asia* magazine. Therefore, column in first volume of March-April was *Special Feature: Sex and The (Muslim) City*. The column was selected to see what the magazine position is when discussing women sex and body issues. Text problem including text and picture will be viewed to get description on matter as research object. This research will use critical discourse of Norman Fairclough (1995: 56) that state “A discourse is the language used in representing a given social practice from a particular point of view”.

According to Fairclough there is three dimensions in critical discourse analysis: text, discourse practice, and socio cultural practice. Text dimension contain how language is used in sentence to state idea by media producing text. Second, discourse practice is when production aspect and text consumption is done simultaneously. As Fairclough (1995:59) write, “The discourses practice dimension of communicative event involves various aspects of the processes of text production and text consumption”. Socio cultural practice view how text is made based on context of society and culture where the text is made and consumed.

Commodity is all matters that can be exchangeable. Appadurai (1986) explain that commodity exchange is often used to protect social hierarchy system

in society. Due to exchange made a thing to be commodity because it has not only as functional value but also exchange value over other symbols in society. Commodity is part of consumption of identity and social status forming (Fearherstone, 2007). As part of habitus, consumption is prerequisite of individual or group existence with “I shop so I exist”. Comodification may also involve body that becomes commodity. Body is human physical structure organism that has five senses that systematically move cooperating that is physical, organic or material (Synott 1993: 1).

In Islam issue, for example, women body is media in offering muslim dress, hijab or other praying tools. Through body presented using dress in the name of religion, body is part of religion commodity. Appeared body is presented and present because body is physical site relating to social structure living in society. As Beverly Skeggs state in Holiday and hassard (2005: 3).

“Bodies are physical sites where the relations of class, gender, race, sexuality and age come together and are embodied and practiced’, adding that’ class is always coded through bodily dispositions: ‘the body is ubiquitous signifier of class’.”

Classification can be determined through body using expensive brand dress or hijab. Body is considered having class when appear cared, clean and presenting social identity. Body is site where construction on body is really a social construction that is not given (Turner, 2008:11). Therefore, body in media is part of comodification and significant commodity to understand and analyze further.

In *Special Feature of Sex and The (Muslim) City Aquila Asia* No. 01 Maret-April 2010, there was argument indicating view of *Aquila Asia* magazine on muslimah body and sexuality they have. Although in early paragraph *Aquila Asia* explains in Islam shariah<sup>2</sup>, sexual course between man and woman (that cause penetration of penis into vagina) is *haram*<sup>3</sup> (unlawful), next text show emphasis of the magazine viewing female virginity as part of society construction that desiring women being able to keeps esteem than man.

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<sup>2</sup> Shariah is Islamic law, precisely formulation of historic Islam law. Four sources of shariah are Quran, prophet sunnah, ijma, and qiyas. Progressive view on shariah meaning is provided by Abdullahi Admed An-Na'im (1990), for An-Na'im shariah is not whole Islam, but interpretation of nashs understood in certain historical context.

<sup>3</sup> Law in Islam that state something sin when done



Picture 1

With sharia, premarital sex is haram-non permissible, not allowed or unlawful and it is an equally severe sin, whether a male or a female performs it. Despite this, it is usually the females left to bear the brunt of the social stigma attached to premarital sex while the males are largely overlooked.

The above text indicate clearly the magazine's disagreement in viewing women position that in social construction is demanded to keep their virginity, but in other side, men are allowed to do whatever they want without any demand by broad society. In an ideological discourse on sexuality, expose of media, particularly Islam media, often place muslim women as part determining happiness of a marriage. View of women having to serve, understand husband desire or as household queen often place women as determinant of marriage existence.

Sexuality in perspective of majority Islam also place women as part of men (husband) when exist in a family- an interpretation of letter Al-Nisa verse 4 in Al-Quran (Inayah, 2008: 220) or it means women as wife is follower or men (husband). Marriage in virgin condition is demand for women but not for men. As view of Melinda Binte Junaidi, an informant quoted by *Aquila Asia* as follow:

“This unfair reality is not lost on Muslim women, such as 28-year-old Singaporean Melinda Binte Junaidi. Says the managemant assistant officer at a local university, 'I feel that is a huge double standars. It's okay for men to go around spreading their wild oats, but it's a requirement



for the woman to be a virgin? How hypocritical! I would understand completely if there was societal pressure on both men and women to remain virgins until marriage, but that is not the case in a lot of Muslim circles”

Through above text production *Aquila Asia* has broken unbalanced discourses on women sexuality. *Aquila Asia* provides space for muslimah view disagreeing over double standard against women in society. Presentation of Melinda as office employee (administration in a university in Singapore) can be said representation of middle class either in economic or education, indicated how the magazine represent its segmentation in responding social discourses on female body.

In Fairclough approach (1995: 58), it is called as discourse practice where magazine institution incorporates text production aspect and text consumption in an article. Basic idea of text production of *Aquila Asia* is disagreement against social discourse on virginity demand over women. This magazine has produced discourse over unbalance relation between women and men and in same time representation of middle class women is presented as representation of modern urban muslimah through life style or thought to support idea or discourses that is spread by the magazine text.

Discussion of female sexuality is also given with unusual title *Let's talk About Sex, Baby Virginity-according to some muslims*, which present in cover of *Aquila Asia* magazine. Issue of sex in the article is also positioned as part of private and public issue that place individual privation when making selection over their vital organ. Vital organ of woman that previously is owned by certain religion and culture is shifted by *Aquila Asia* to be private ownership of women as personal choice. Vagina as female genital is presented as the most essential female authoritative part. Therefore, there is no institution or regulation that control against it.

So, in *Aquila Asia* magazine, text produced on female virginity is more positioned as myth of good women. Myth is construction under certain cultural interest, so virginity is considered one of myth weakening women position in social reality. In context of vagina discourses in Indonesia, Gadis Arivia (Jurnal Perempuan, 2000: 75-77) has written discourse of Indonesia society in naming vagina just appear ten years ago. She said word “*anunya*” become aid for

Indonesia society when they want to name vagina. Shame, taboo, and placing vagina as dirty vital organ make saying vagina avoided. However, critical though can be used not only saying vagina, women have been freed from patriarchal value. The simplification that saying 'anunya' shifted to word vagina means previously existing taboo and pressure against women sexuality gradually change is also less appropriate.

The author should not infer immediately when see a Islam magazine such as *Aquila Asia* have stated vagina even position vagina as female vital organ that is talked, discussed as choice of women in treating it as positive discourses over position of muslimah in media. It appears when author observed article following discussion of women vagina in next page. In next page of *Aquila Asia*, there is special column offering ways to care and renew vagina. In the text discourses on virginity appear freely giving choices for muslimah to shape against their virginity with various vagina care in traditional and modern method. Vaginoplasty, Madura wood, vagina spa and Brazilian Wax are offer of *Aquila Asia* to position vagina as part not separated from women sexuality. It can indicate how the magazine positions vagina as important element of muslimah when selecting various choices to celebrate their freedom in treating their vital organ.

However, in other side, in the text there occur body normality the *Aquila Asia* offer as part of gender performativity to shape today women identity. Normal body is indicated, among other, with sterile, fragrant, "tight" vagina is identification of gender identity as way to perform their gender, according to value in society. The below text indicates the matter:



Picture 2

What can you do to keep your vagina happy?

Whether it is for yourself or your partner, here is a selection of treats for it

The above opening sentence indicates how to treat vagina to be better and happy. Happy means not only contentment but also *keset*, fragrant, or “tight”. The next sentence emphasize that happy vagina is not for themselves but for partner. Making partner happy can be done with sexual activity, and vagina is part of body that can be renewed for the happiness and partner. Partner in the context of the magazine refer to heterosexual relation. It means that female sexuality discourses is in frame of woman likes man, not woman likes woman (homosexual).

Tip of vagina surgery is one of method offered. Medical treatment is one of solutions making better and more perfect body. With surgery in hospital, women are invited to make better their genital. Even after bear children, women vagina is considered not close and it can disturb sexual enjoyment of the partner. Traditional method is also done by women when they feel medical treatment is very expensive and risk. Madura wood or Vagina Spa can be choice of women to appear more natural again.

Sexuality satisfaction of the partner is goal of the treatment. The reality indicates how women are discourses to be able to renew themselves to serve their partner. Women should improve their body if they want to consider as normal. Foucault though about docile bodies in *Discipline and Punish* (1979) explain how docility is result of discipline action. Discipline is different from force or violence, but discipline is way to control body working and position.

The Foucault though is developed further by Judith Butler in his book *Gender trouble: Feminism and Subversion of Identity* (1990). She views that sex not present as biological thins, but construction done repeatedly through norm, which then in sex matter there is regulatory practice that involve body discipline. The result is text on women body that early seem contradict with taboo in discussing vagina, still have taboo values as previously present. Then women appear having autonomy in selecting doing sex intercourse before or after marriage, including choice of women in treating their vagina.

## Conclusion

However, in other text, offer of renewing vagina in the magazine precisely state normalization of women body, in order to be virgin, new or young according to regulatory practice in sex matter. Based on the above analysis indicate how *Aquila Asia* magazine construct women body and sexuality that is still owned by social construction. It means that there is paradox. In one side, *Aquila Asia* gives support for muslimah to freely treat their body, but in other side, *Aquila Asia* gives various information to renew vagina. The conclusion author draws is that *Aquila Asia* indicate semi full struggle. In one side, they want to help position of muslimah but in other side they strengthen social construction on muslimah body that should be virgin, sterile and holy.

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### Web and Magazine

*Aquila Asia* No. 01 Maret-April 2010

<http://www.reuters.com/article/2010/04/22/us-muslim-women-magazine>

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THE PORTRAY OF URBAN JAVANESE  
ON WAYANG GOMBAL  
BY JAYABAYA MAGAZINE

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# URBAN IDENTITY





THE MEANING OF TATTOO IN  
THE CONSTRUCTION  
OF CONTEMPORARY IDENTITY  
OF TATTOOED UNIVERSITY STUDENTS  
IN YOGYAKARTA, CENTRAL JAVA,  
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## Introduction

In Indonesia, the existence of tattoo can be found in many traditional ethnic groups such as Mentawai, Dayak, dan Irian. Mentawai even believed as the oldest ethnic group in Indonesia that has a genuine tattoo tradition, since their arrival to Sumatera Island from Dongson, Vietnam and Mainland Asian around 1500 BC to 500 BC (Rosa, 1994: 60). In Indonesian tattoo history, the meaning of tattoo ever got a negative disarticulation when occur what is called “Petrus” (from Indonesian “penembak misterius” or mystery shootings) around 1983 to 1984 (Tempo, Juni 1983).

At that time, there was a massive shootings to criminal and street hoodlums which was called “Gali” (from Indonesian “Gabungan Anak Liar” or street kids groups) who have tattooed on their bodies. Their dead tattooed bodies found everywhere around some big cities of Indonesia such as Jakarta, Surabaya, Bandung and Medan. Almost 5000 dead tattooed bodies found at that bloody time (Berman, 2002: 63).

In this case, tattooed bodies have been used by the government to restrain the people’s need by the name of stability. This political incident then created a negative stigma and even phobia to tattoo as a part of criminal world. Since that time tattoo was always related with criminals, hoodlums or any

other negative groups that should be kept away from the society. Until 1986, the existence of tattoo in Indonesia seems disappear and the negative stigma spread around the nation (Ibid, 65).

However, during the latest decades, the existence of tattoo seems get a shift of meaning. With the decline of the Soeharto's New Era regime and the grow of popular culture in many big cities of Indonesia -Western music, movie, novel and others- tattoo now positively accepted as a means of self identity expression. More individuals and groups have tattoo on their bodies – women, middle class groups, and even university students who have a relatively higher economical and social status – also got tattoo on their bodies. This paper will the meaning of tattoo for tattooed students and how they create their construction of identity through tattoo on their bodies.

## Tattoo, Identity and Social Construction of Identity

Historically, tattoo has been existed since 2000 BC with the proof of a tattooed woman priest mummy called Amunet in Thebes, Egypt (Rubin, 1988: 22). Tattoo which is found on the body of Amunet has a simple pattern, with the dots and lines which form an abstract picture around her lower belly. In Egyptian culture, this tattoo believed as a symbol of women fertility. Another evidence of tattoo also found on a frozen dead body from Similaun, at Aspen Mountain, Italia. The body, which is guessed originally from Neolithic period and has been heaped up for 5500 years, has tattoo in his back and knee (Marianto, 2000: 9).

In anthropological researches which are done, then, it is revealed that the existences of tattoo are found in most cultures of the world. The existences of tattoo expand all over the world as what has been shown by some terminology of tattoo in some cultural vocabulary. For instance, Tahiti (*tatau*), Japan (*irezumi*), Maori (*moko*), Mentawai (*titi*), English (*tattoo*), Dayak (*pantang*), Tetun (*hedi*) (Marianto, 2000: 2). It also found in some other social live as in Indian Haida, Irian, Siberia, Eskimo and Hawaii.

In each period and culture, it appears that tattoo has various meanings and functions. Tattoo is not just a kind of picture found on a peel. Tattoo has an important role in human cultural construction. Through tattoo, the life reality of country, including social, cultural, religious, economical, artistic even political

aspect, can be read. Yet, in sociological discourse, identity is the result of individual interaction. Someone's identity does not exist inherently in his individual side, but it is the result of social construction (Falk, 1994: 12). Identity, then, is social thing, constructed through socialization process and exists in a certain social.

Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann have explained about social reality and how identity construction is socially formed. Both of them try to analyze the process of where someone creates daily social reality. They mention that the process is as a symbolic reality construction process (Berger and Luckmann, 1990: 23). According to Berger and Luckmann, social world is human's product. It is human's construction and is not something given naturally. Social life is constructed through some typicals which have major reference toward the object and evidence which are experienced routinely by individuals and experienced collectively by others in a *taken for granted* pattern.

On the other hand, the younger generation will learn this social reality through socialization process. For instance, they learn another thing which creates the world they find daily. The younger generation also learns the meaning of social system giving them cognitive validity and normative legitimacy (Berger and Luckmann, 1990: 34). Socialization involves simultaneous transmission process of knowledge and so on. In such socialization, understanding about social reality also experiences evaluation.

In this framework, identity construction, basically, is a kind of socially meaning process product. Group identity, culture, nation even individual, all are constructed on the meanings given by the covering society. Epistemologically, identity can be divided into two; individual identity and social identity (Barker, 2000: 165). Individual identity refers to the concept which we believe for ourselves. This sight is known as essentialism. It assumes that the picture about us reflects essential individual entity. Femininity, masculinity, Asia race, European race, the Black or young group are considered to have a standard and permanent essential.

On the other hand, the social identity refers to identity concept which is constructed by people's view and sight. This belief is also known as anti-essentialism. Referring to such view, identity is known as specific social and cultural construction based on the time and the place. Identity is not "something",

but it is a kind of language discursive construction which continually changes, following the change of time, place, and usage. However, as what has been mentioned previously, identity is fully a kind of social construction and it cannot exist outside the context of social culture representation giving its life.

In addition, according to Giddens, self identity is constructed through the ability to create a narrative about self with the creation of biographical continuity feeling consistently (Barker, 2000: 166). Self identity is an individual project which is understood and constructed based on his/her own biographical history. The history of identity creation, then, is a roll over process and an unstop process. Such identity project is formed on the basis of what we think about ourselves at the present, with past and present memory and experience reference, also with what we think about ourselves in the future. About social identity, Giddens explains it as an entity which relates to normative rights, obligations, and punishment creating certain roles (Barker, 2000: 167). Giving of attribute, typology, stereotype, even stigma is a part of social identity forming process.

Based on the research's purpose which is hoped to be reached, this research uses qualitative participative research method as the approach to get an understanding about the chosen phenomenon. Through the qualitative approach, the symbolic and non-verbal aspects which are felt and fully experienced by individual are hoped to be more deeply understood (Moleong, 1991: 23).

There are some reasons why the qualitative approach is used in this paper. *First*, this method can give deeper rooted description and explanation, especially about identity construction forming process, so that, the meaning construction and people's action process in that world can be observed. *Second*, qualitative analysis can probably also be used to systematically reveal the chronology of social process construction which relates to the meaning of tattoo and to the construction forming of the tattooed university students. It also gives an explanation about the relation between some matters which relate to the tattooed university students phenomenon, more deeply. The last reason, *third*, is that through qualitative method, further abstraction activity is possible to do, that, can result in sideline findings and new theoretical integration which are difficult to do through quantitative research (Nasikun, 1995: 19).

## Typology of Tattooed University Students Permanent Tattoo: Identity vs Ideology

The first typology of tattooed university students is they who use permanent tattoo in their body. Based on the deeply participatory observation and interview which are done, the characteristic of permanently tattooed university students are signed by high confidence, medium class social status, reclusive tendency toward family, careless tendency about the other's view and physical appearance, high desire to be free, the willing to privately choose the way of life. However, the users of permanent tattoo are reluctant to directly show the tattoo in their body. For this typology of the tattooed university students, the tattoo in their body is for themselves, for their own selves' fun, not for the other people. The significant others of this typology are their friends who previously have tattoo. Besides, the university students who use tattoo in their body are frequently well known as individuals who have desire to show masculinity features.

They, who have permanent tattoo in their body, often use certain symbolic identity such as cloth, body accessory, and life style. These symbols function not only as accessory but it is further as certain cultural ideology. The clothes which indicate certain sub-cultural ideology, are *hippies* (with long cloak, faded jeans trouser, sandal, long hair, and coat), *skinheads* (with jeans trouser rolled till ankle, military shoes, T-shirt with political jargon, jeans jacket, and bald head), *punks* (with torn jeans trouser, safety pin in the ear, rigid hair style), or *bikers* (with crust jacket, tight jeans, black t-shirt, and chain belt). The hair with caloric paint or the pin in the ear, eyebrow, nose, and chin are also the characteristic of who are tattooed permanently.

Related to identity forming to be tattooed university students, this kind of typology faces more complication rather than the two other typologies. Negative connotation and stigma from the society considering tattooed people as a crime or contrast with social norms cause permanent tattooed university students experience negative treatment from the society. Such social construction force them tend to hide themselves in the strange social interaction. Somehow, there are a few permanent tattooed university students who are brave to dismantle themselves. The high social economy condition and open minded in

the family extremely influence the bravery to dismantle them as the tattooed university students. Another characteristic which is much found in typology is their willing to gather with tattooed community. The role of such community is to give space for interaction and sharing information about tattoo, besides, to strengthen the same identity as tattooed people.

## Temporary Tattoo: Style, Mode, Fashion

The second typology of tattooed university students is they who use temporary tattoo in their body. Based on the deeply participatory observation and interview which are done, the major characteristic of temporarily tattooed university students is their high desire to show their tattoos to other people. The temporary tattoo usually made in the parts of the body which are easy to be seen clearly by others, such as neck, wrist and tarsus, and shoulder. This characteristic is not quit of their desire to actualize themselves through body appearance, tattoo. To be in the limelight, their identity is supposed to construct. The *significant others* of this typology are actors of film and music who are known to have tattoo in their body. The economic social status which is relatively high causes them quickly able to follow the development of world's entertainment information flow.

This typology tends not to be much bounded by certain sub-cultural identity symbols as the first typology. They use tattoo with more awareness that it is as the necessity of style, mode, and fashion without caring about cultural ideology existing in the tattoo they use. Even though they use certain sub-cultural identity symbols, the university students in this type mean it as *brikolase* practice, or it is just culture borrowing (Hebdige, 1988: 23).

The beauty and the exoticism of tattoo considered as consideration more than meaning and history behind each design of tattoo. Thus, with this consideration, the designs of tattoo they choose tend to be freer – in ideology association meaning. The tribal and *Celtic* motive, feminist motive (flower, porpoise or butterfly), zodiacal motive, even cartoon characters such as Donald Duck, Mickey Mouse, Shinchan, or Pluto, are chosen by this typology. The motive of prominent figures such as Karl Marx, Stalin or Che Guevara which explicitly has left ideology connotation is rarely chosen.

The temporarily tattooed university students are not much bounded by the existence of tattoo community. Indeed, they do not really care about the existence of such tattoo's lover groups. Only few of them who know the existence of tattoo community in Yogyakarta. Their motivation to use tattoo is just for style, mode, and fashion. The appearance of these tattoos makes them feel that they do not need any backing of specific community to strengthen certain identity.

In the relation to self identity construction, the temporarily tattooed university students face fewer problems than who use permanent tattoo. The temporary feature of the tattoo is the major reason of why they minimally face problems in social interaction. Commonly, their environment friend of study, friend out of home, or family – will understand more about their decision to use temporary tattoo.

### Sticker Tattoo: Enthusiasm to Play

The third typology of tattooed university students is they who use sticker tattoo in their body. Based on the deeply participatory observation and interview which are done, the well known characteristic of university students who use sticker tattoo is their enthusiasm to play and to amuse, high confidence, freedom expression, careless and willing to be different from the other people. Based on the gender or sex, most of the sticker tattoo users are female university students, although it is not impossible if the male university students use this type of tattoo.

The dominance of females to use sticker tattoo is at least urged by two factors. *First*, the picture or motive of the sticker tattoo which features more feminine than masculine. The motives of flower, star, zodiac symbol, and animal or symmetric shapes with conspicuous colors, are considered to be closer to feminist feature. *Second*, the function of the sticker tattoo which tends to be accessory, appearance of style and cosmetic is considered to be closer to the female world. Because of this function, the sticker tattoo is sold more in cosmetic shops rather than in tattoo studio.

The university students, who use sticker tattoo, commonly come from the family with upper- medium economic status. With economically established

family background, they easily follow and have various popular culture products which they want. The physical appearance which tends to set out mode and fashion is the way to make them popular through fashion product with popular brand. They also tend to be open minded in their interaction with the family or friend, and have broad environment of intercourse. This open-minded is shown in the attitude or behavior. Permissive demeanors and life style attitude and inclusive intercourse are the special characteristic of university students in this typology. The *significant others* of this typology are beauty headings and popular mode magazines. Indeed, through the magazines they get information about sticker tattoo and following mode.

As compared to the two previous typologies, the university students in this category have lowest level of tie to sub-culture or indeed have no tie to certain sub-cultures. They tend to be apolitical and pragmatic. The constructed identity of them is identity of popularity which borrows some existed sub-cultural symbols only for appearance. Besides, the temporary feature is also the characteristic which differentiate them from the two other typologies. The use of sticker tattoo for them is not more than just as accessory such as bracelet, necklace, ring, silk, ribbon, or glasses. The more the tattoos they use are conspicuous and interest others' attention, the more it is loved.

In the relation with tattoo community, this typology almost does not have any relation or tie. Indeed, it can be said that they do not know and do not need the existence of such community. The conspicuous characteristic of playing in this category makes them do not need to involve in a tattoo community. The need of self actualization through identity is enough to be got through using the sticker tattoo. Related to the social interaction, they who use sticker tattoo almost do not face any kind of problem. They have never got negative stigma from the society just because they use sticker tattoo in their body. This case is because of the type, the shape, and the appearances of these tattoos are different from permanent tattoos or temporary tattoos.



**Table 1. The Summary of Tattooed University Students' Typology**

No.	Characteristic	Permanent	Temporary	Sticker
1.	Motivation to use tattoo	As identity of certain cultural ideology	Just for style, mode, fashion	Just for play
2.	Interaction with society	Often get negative stigma	Relatively far from negative stigma	No negative stigma
3.	Open-minded with the family	Tend to be reclusive	Tend to be open-minded	Open-minded
4.	Economic social status	Medium	Upper-Medium	Upper-Medium
5.	The role of tattoo community	Very important	Not important	No role
6.	Binding with certain subculture	High enough	Relatively low	No binding
7.	<i>Significant others</i>	Tattooed friends	Film & music actors	Mode magazine

## Tattoo as Individual Identity

As individual identity symbolic device, in this point tattoo has tied relation to the world of fashion and style. Even though it also occurs in permanent tattoo, this case much occurs for temporary and sticker tattoo. In the contrary to permanent tattoo, temporary and sticker tattoo with its temporary, superficial, and flexible feature, it can be changed based on its users' willing and is very suitable with the demand of fashion and style.

“Kita cuman pengen beda aja. Lain dari hari-hari biasa. Tato temporer kan kayak aksesoris. Nambah aksen gitu. Penampilan jadi lain. Saya suka gambar lumba-lumba ini. Lucu sih. Kalo pake tato jadi beda sama orang lain, ya kan? Orang-orang ngelihatn kita. Bangga lho. Kita mau jalan ke Galeria nanti” (D, 20 tahun).

We just want to be different. Differ from usual days. The temporary tattoo is like a kind of accessory. We add our action. The appearance is different. I like this dolphin picture. It is funny. Using tattoo is different from the other people, isn't it? People look at us and we are proud. We are going to go for walk to Galeria (D, 20 years old).

## Tattoo as Social Identity

The use of tattoo in some sub-culture groups is a kind of symbolization of social identity through the body. As permanent typographic symbol of the body,

tattoo is considered able to be a social identity symbol of a group which differs from another one. Yet, the permanency feature of tattoo can also be the social's and culture's tie of any community. For instance, through tattoo the pre-modern society keep the identity of their individual and social community, and preserve the binding, value and belief of them. Thus, it also occurs for the use of tattoo in young-age sub-cultural groups. Tattoo is used as the device of social and cultural stability of such subculture and preserving the value and belief of culturally social which are practiced.

“Kita semua pake gambarnya Bordir. Gambar tengkorak sama tulisan DEVIL. Itu lambang kita, Yogya Punk. Kita pengen orang gampang tahu kalo ada gambar itu, ohh berarti anak Yogya Punk. Kita pengen seperti kalo orang lihat lambangnya Red Hot, ohh itu Red Hot. Jadi gampang dikenal, populer. Kita juga buat grafitinya. Buat kita sendiri, lambang ini musti dipake oleh semua anak Yogya Punk. Ini bagian kelompok kita, kayak rambut, celana, sepatu, jaket. Kalo nggak pake berarti bukan anak Yogya Punk. Wong, ini memang lambang Yogya Punk” (R, 23 tahun).

We all use Bordir picture. Crossbones picture with DEVIL writing. It is our symbol, *Yogya Punk*. We want anyone easily knows that the picture is there; oh... that's *Yogya Punk*. We want to be like when people see *Red Hot* symbol; oh... that's *Red Hot*. So, we are easy to be known, popular. We also have the gravity. For us, this symbol must be used by all *Yogya punks*. This is part of our style, like the hair, trouser, shoes, and jacket. If you don't have it, you're not *Yogya Punk* boys. This is indeed *Yogya Punk* symbol (R, 23 years old).

In this research, some subjects of the research mean tattoo as certain social identity. Some sub-cultural groups in Yogyakarta, who often use tattoo, are punk groups and street-boys. The groups of punk or street-boys sub-culture which have been found are *Realino Boot Boys*, *Yogya Punks*, *Black Boots*, *Joxzin* dan *QZRH*. While, there are also a number of community that use tattoo as their social group identity such as *Lembaga Budaya Kerakyatan*, *Taring Padi*, and *Serikat Tato Gampingan*. Even though it is different from Western sub-culture, the meaning of tattoo using in Indonesia is still identical to social identity of sub-cultural groups.

In the relation to social identity, tattoo also has meaning as a symbol of an opponent against parental culture and dominant culture (Hall, 1976: 22). A number of research subjects declare that they use tattoo – especially, permanent tattoo – as the opponent of their parent’s attitudes which are rigid and authoritative. In addition, they use tattoo to refuse their parents’ willing which contradicts their willing (research subjects’ willing). Using tattoo which is considered to be taboo for their parents, in fact it is intentionally made and openly shown. This refutation to parents’ willing, through tattoo, is also a kind of refutation against culture, value and belief practiced by the parents.

“Aku cuman pengen ortuku *ngerti*, *kalo* kita *udah* beda dengan mereka. Kita *nggak* bisa dikurung terus dalam rumah seperti mereka dulu. Kita butuh jalan. Kita butuh keluar rumah. *Nggak* bisa aku disuruh terus di rumah. Aku bisa pusing. Aku *pengin* ortuku *ngerti* *kalo* tatoan itu bukan *trus* jadi preman. *Nggak*. *Nggak* ada hubungan itu. Kita orang baik-baik kok.” (P, 24 tahun).

I just want my parents understand that we have been different from them. We cannot be always shut-in home as they did. We need to walk. We need to be out of the house. I cannot be always in home. I can be puzzled, then. I want my parents understand that using tattoo does not mean to be hoodlums. No. No relation to it! We are kind people” (P, 24 years old).

An opponent against culture through tattoo is also shown in the dominant capitalist cultural values. A number of research subjects declare that they use tattoo not for a fashion or mode. In the contrary, tattoo tends to be considered to have anti-fashion feature.

“Tato ini bukan untuk *gaya-gayaan*. Bukan. Ini bukan fashion. Ini anti-fashion. *Bikinnya* sakit. *Kalo* mikir lagi, dulu aku *bikin* tato ini sebenarnya cuman karena *pengin* aja. Ya *udah*, *pengin*. *Nggak* ada maksud apa-apa. *Nggak* buat pamer. Jadi *nggak* untuk ditunjuk-tunjukin. Paling cuman di kost *temen-temen* tahu *kalo* aku punya tato” (P, 24 tahun).

The tattoo is not for style. No, it isn’t. This is not a fashion. This is anti-fashion. It is painful to make. When we think twice, I actually made this tattoo just because of my wanting. Here it is, just want! No special

intention. Not to show. Thus, it is not to be ostentatious. Probably it is only in the boarding house, where my friends know that I have a tattoo” (P, 24 years old).

## Conclusion

### *The meaning of tattoo in the construction of identity*

The meanings of tattoo in the construction of identity of tattooed university students' Yogyakarta are divided into two. *First*, tattoo is an individual identity. Making tattoo in the body is a kind of self identity mirror and individual expression to exist through style, mode, and fashion. Tattoo is considered as body accessory, the popular cultural commodity product which is able to construct its users' identity as unique individuals and different individuals from others in modern culture reality. *Second*, tattoo is social identity.

Making tattoo is a kind of conscious decision with social implication to construct young-ages' culture identity and to show an opponent of negative stigma against tattoo. In this context of tattoo as social identity, intentionally or not, the tattooed university students consider tattoo as a symbol of refutation against dominant culture. It is not just an art work or accessory.

The tattooed university students' identity construction is constructed through process of interrelationship interaction (inter-subjectivity) between the research subjects, family, friends, *significant others*, and society. Thus, the tattooed university students' identity construction, as individual or social identity, is not constructed naturally in them. It is a result of social identity construction.

The research subjects' biography sketch has an important role in the process of the tattooed university students' identity construction. Stock of knowledge, the present condition and the future hope, is a reference forming the developing tattooed university students' identity construction. The research subjects' biography sketch is basically a kind of private life view of the research subjects about how the process of having decision to tattoo their body goes on, from the research subjects' own view.

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## *Festifal Malang Kembali VI* FOR CONSUMER SOCIETY

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### Introduction

**F***estifal Malang Kembali* or popularly known as *Malang Tempoe Doeloe* (old alphabet of Malang Tempo Dulu), shortened as MTD, is an annual event conducted by *Inggil Foundation* in cooperation with local government of Malang and the office of tourism of Malang. It is held on May each year since six years ago. The management of the festival and people of Malang are proud of this festival because it is unique and different from other festival in other cities. In most of its display the MTD always displays and explores the history of Malang and all of its heroism in the past. All of the elements in the festival are reconstructed to support the ideas of presenting the history. The elements of the festival consist of the stands that display the unique and antiques, cultural items, traditional food, clothing, and the stages with the art performance, and the workshop with the cultural activities. The open display outdoor also presents the cultural historical aspects.

The *Inggil Foundation* manager says that this festival is meant for the consumers who needs to learn the history in enjoyable ways. So, the learning the history can be done while having walk seeing many interesting cultural artefacts and art performance, and shopping some unique food and other things. This year, the festival of MTD was conducted on 19-22 May 2011, under the theme “Discovering Heritage”. *Inggil Foundation* and local government of Malang conducted the festival with the aim of character building through

historical education activities. The designer wants the people of Malang learn the history and culture through these festivals and learning the history in the most enjoyable ways.

The festival took place at Ijen street. The 2km street was changed into a long 500 stands and many reconstruction of building as well as simulation of the condition of old Malang. The 500 stands presented and displayed many unique and antiques, many kinds of traditional foods, traditional home wares, batik clothing, and other unique things rarely found in modern times. The reconstructed building can be found easily such as Benteng Malang 1767 completed with its accessories and tools that construct the meaning as a port. The simulated traditional transportation system of dokar, completed with the manager of the dokar that manage the system at the place called 'standplat'. People can ride the dokar to enjoy surrounding the festival. Many workshop took places with the agenda of workshop and performing traditional art. The stage performance also completed the festival with the scheduled art performance such as ludruk, ketoprak, wayang kulit, traditional song, etc. All of the elements are meant to build the atmosphere of old Malang.

## Meaning Construction in the Festival Context

The festival of MTD 2011 has the theme "Discovering Heritage", meaning exploring the heritage, any cultural forms existed in the past to be learned and preserved. To present this cultural heritage, it needs to present, reconstruct and make simulation of the cultural forms. From all of the display and activities the meaning is constructed. In the MTD festival there are several methods of display: (1) an open display. Around five hundreds of stands in the festival display many items (unique and antiques, traditional foods, traditional house wares, clothing/batik, etc); (2) reconstruction, such as "Benteng Malang 1767"; (3) simulation, some troops wearing colonial uniform, dress code for the visitors : traditional clothing kebaya or batik worn by the visitors, simulation of dokar (traditional means of transportation using cart pulled by horse) with its 'standplat', etc.; (4) workshop: workshop on stage performance (acting), workshop on kaligrafi, etc; (5) stage performance. For example the performance of traditional art such as ketoprak, ludruk, wayang kulit, keroncong, etc.



One of the most eye-catching in the MTD festival 2011 was the reconstruction of Benteng Malang 1767. The “Benteng Malang 1767” was built at the center of the festival area, among the 500 stands of many ‘small’ things. The port was becoming the ‘icon’ of the festival this year. The port was built from wood frame and Styrofoam. The cubic form of the fort is completed with some labels that tell the audience that it is a fort, Benteng Malang 1767: the written labels, some old canons inside of the fort that can be seen from outside of the fort, some guards at the door of the fort completed with the clothing and accessories of troops in the era of Dutch colonialism.

The guardians with the uniform and attributes of the soldier of colonial times ‘naturalizes’ the text, make the fort appear less as a construction of Benteng Malang 1767. The reconstruction of Benteng Malang 1767 with all of its ‘equipment’ (canons, written label written at each of its wall sides) tend to legitimate the designer (Inggil Foundation) that they have been there in Benteng Malang in 1767. This is completed with the documentary photos displayed inside the fort, that attract the visitors to pay ticket and standing in long queue to go inside the fort. Almost all of the visitors are aware of the building of “Benteng Malang 1767”. At night, the fort was decorated with the light of porch at each of the corner of the fort, building the atmosphere of oldies. Almost every young people coming to the festival documented themselves and the fort by taking photographs with the fort at the background. For the young, the constructed fort means something unique and very nice for their picture uploaded at Facebook.

This shows that the young people are more interested in their own interest, showing that they are involved in the important event, in front of the unique ‘fort’. Being involved in an important and popular event is meaningful for them, disregarding the history of the fort and other ‘historical things.’ So, the constructed fort does not make the young people closer to the history or something related to the history of the fort, instead it made them close to the unique and rarely found thing. They appreciated more on the creativity of the designer of the festival for presenting the fort there.

Mostly in a festival or exhibition, designers work with objects and contextualize them so that these assume a purposive roles, objects are selected as representative. However, in this MTD festival, the selection did not run as the

other 'formal' exhibition. The 500 stands did not have a strict rules on what they have to display. The committee of the festival just select the stands able to provide or display the 'old' or 'historical' things, without a clear definition of the 'historical' things. The stands with some antiques and unique things show many old stuff from the old times, not definitely sure that they are from colonial eras.

For example, the stands displaying old standing clock, old model of bicycles, old kitchen wares. Some of the stands sold old coins and paper, old books, antique clock, home decoration, old house ware, old kitchen ware made of pottery, stone, wood, and other material that is not common nowadays. In this case, the manager of the festival did not limit the things they could display. So, from the stuffs displayed in the stands, most of them interpret the historical things is the old things or the things that is rarely found anymore. They did not even mention the year or the era of the things was made or used.

Some of the stands sold wooden kitchen-ware as a souvenir instead of a functional kitchen ware. Why as souvenir? Many people nowadays cook with different stove and wares. They are not compatible anymore with the old kitchen ware such as pottery, bronze 'dandang' and others. So the souvenir functions as memorabilia, reminding of their older generation. The stand that sold old book attracted those interested to the old book disregard of the historical times. The similar happened to the stand of old coin or paper, that the visitors are those who like to collect old coin or paper.

The stands of traditional food did not represent people's consumption of a particular historical time. They interpreted that the food that is rarely found is the 'historical' or having 'cultural' meaning. Traditional food such as tiwul, lupis, klepon, arbanat, gula kacang, gulali, and other 'old' food is rarely found nowadays. Many snack sold in stores are produced by factories, not the home-made. It is rarely now to find out the home-made food / cookies or snack, even at the big ceremonies such as parties. Most of the food, cookies and other snack are factory-made. However, there is a trend that the traditional food now come up in many places (such as in many places in Jakarta) as a prestigious and more expensive food. Such food in 'prestigious' place is meant to fulfill people's longing for the old sweet time, as sweet as the food.

The traditional food displayed and sold in this festival can be said as a means for reducing the historical distance of the young people nowadays with

the older generation. They can enjoy the traditional food along with their memory of old grandmother or elder generation through enjoying the similar food that their grandma ever made or cooked. The stands of traditional food are one of the most favorite stands for young people.

However the stands that provided such things as clothing (batik, t-shirt), bags, shoes and other similar things did not represent the historical eras, because what they sold or displayed are the product that are available nowadays at other stores. Though it is not 'historical' or old stuff, the stands represented the 'atmosphere' of traditional when they provided 'batik'. Moreover, such stands are visited by much more visitors than other stands. They can buy clothing, bag, shoes and others product. These stands seems that the ones for meeting the trend of clothing and fashion with a bit 'traditional' touch. This fulfills the consumer's need. Some of the consumer happily bought clothing, t-shirt or other thing in this festival, especially the goods with the label of MTD festival. They did not just buy the t-shirt or fashion, they bought the label that gave the feeling of 'proud'.

As cultural expression and physical proof, many stuffs provided in this festival provided insights into cultural phenomena of which they are taken to be physical manifestation. The fort of Benteng Malang 1767, traditional food, antiques and unique, traditional transportation, etc are all giving insight of the old or historical times, without bothering the real history. The visitor is drawn into a new and different world in which unfamiliar objects might be made intelligible where the design reduced the distance between the visitor and the originating culture. The fort, for example, is just taken for granted as a fort, and for the young it is just a unique thing they need to take photograph on them. The purpose of the festival is primarily communicating the history through understanding and interpretation.

According to Barthes, 'myth' is a second order semiological language. This means that it does not work on the basis of an arbitrary, unmotivated relationship between the signifier and signified. With 'myth' there is always some form of 'motivation' namely purpose, intent or rationale underlying its use. So myth naturalizes speech, transmuting what is essentially cultural, historical, constructed and motivated into something which it materializes as natural (transhistorical, innocent, and factual). Myth's duplicity is therefore

located in its ability to naturalize and make innocent what is profoundly motivated.

In the MTD festival context, the designer, purifies all of their motivation through the purpose stated in any occasion, that the festival is aimed to raise awareness among the young people and all of people of Malang and surrounding, on the history, emphasized as 'discovering heritage.' The designer, having the symbolic power, construct and persuade through the involvement of all participants of the display, and visitors although it is ambiguous, which heritage need to be discovered and preserved. So the ambiguous motivation is covered perfectly through the myth of the statement of 'learning history' through fun shopping activities, or through the mantra of 'discovering heritage'.

## The Politics of Festival

The festival takes roles in the production of social knowledge. Surely, the MTD festival is a historical, social and political events. The MTD at this year 2011 brought the ideas of discovering heritage, meaning the exploration of heritage that existed in the history and aimed to be learned by young generation now. The question is which heritage is highlighted? Seen from Foucault theory, we can find the relationship between power and spectacle. There were two biggest artifacts displayed: the reconstruction of fort Benteng Malang 1767 and the big banner of the historical events in Malang that says a lot about the military events and colonial administration at that time.

Discussing fort Malang 1767 is talking about the great spectacle of Dutch colonial periods. The fort shows that the Dutch colonial is in power and supported by the history that put the colonial as the producer of the knowledge and power. Inside the Benteng, visitors were given many photographs and visuals of the history when the Dutch colonial firstly came to Malang and established the power. The fort tells much about the power of colonial in the colonial era.

Observing the fort further, we will find out a power asymmetry displayed between the colonizer and colonized, that the colonizer is represented with the big powerful fort that is 'eye-catching' completed with canons and guards. Many visitors interested in joining the 'benteng' tour inside, even they have to

pay a ticket. The long queue showed the people's enthusiasm in seeing the fort. On the other hand, the colonized is represented with their daily life that is traditional 'things' displayed in many stands and it is not reconstructed and represented as the power. So, we can find out in this festival, who have the power and who is the powerless. The history is the colonial military Dutch history. The contested parties is clearly exhibited. This derives from the unequal relationship between Dutch colonial power and the colonized people. Seeing such description, so, what kind of heritage need to be discovered? This is ambiguous then.

On the other side, the 500 stands displayed many things aimed at giving the ideas of traditional heritage owned by local people. The stands along 2 km at Ijen streets built the kampong atmosphere of old time Malang. There is a very interesting insight when we scrutinize the stands and exhibition presented in the festival. There are two different stands contested in covert manner. The first, the stands that present people's daily life are represented by the stands of many kinds of traditional food, unique and antiques, traditional public transportation, traditional tools and home wares, clothing, batik and souvenirs, stage performance for traditional music, art and theater.

On the other hand, the life of the colonial can be represented in the exhibition of old, antique cars that definitely owned by the rich or colonials. There is an 'exhibition; of antique cars, that is surely for exhibition, not for sale, because such cars must have been very expensive. The cars are only owned by the antique collector, not for its function as a means of transportation but as a status symbol, a pride. Some visitors are mostly interested in this antique cars because they got a good spot for photographs. They pose in front of the cars, and feel happy, though not owned the car at least they can document their 'closeness' to the antique cars. This is completely contrasted to the 'dokar' standplat. This traditional means of transportation is really functioned as a means of transportation in the festival.

The visitors can get on the dokar by paying 10.000 rupiah each person and strolling on the dokar around the Ijen street, where the stands and festival took place. The 'standplat' is like a station, a place for coordinating the dokars and where the passanger get on/off. The dokar drivers were happy because they got many passangers in the festival and this does not happen in their daily

life, because the dokar is getting fewer and fewer passenger and they are rarely found in the city.

The other interesting spot in the festival is the fact that the life of the colonial is also represented by the restaurant “Oen” that opened its outlet in this festival. This restaurant has been very popular among the Dutch people since its firstly open in 1930s until now, so that any Dutch – usually old people-tourist visiting this city, they must have visited this restaurant. So, the restaurant is closely associated with Dutch people. This old restaurant sold the ‘authentic’ ice cream and many other cookies and food of the colonial Dutch taste.

Seen from the place, the restaurant did not take place at the stands as the other traditional food stand. The restaurant opened its mini restaurant in this festival, so that it kept its ‘authentic’ attributes as ‘colonial’ class restaurant. This is extremely different from the other stands of traditional food that are similar to food stalls available at any street accessible by common people. All of other traditional foods stay in stands provided by the committee along the street.

## What Does it Mean for Consumer

Thousands of visitors came to the MTD festival everyday during the 4 days. Young people living in Malang and surrounding, family groups, or foreign tourists flocked in the festival. Mostly they came more than once, and they came in groups (with family or friends). What is presented in the Festival Malang Tempo Doeloe attracted them to come and build expectation of enjoying the old traditional atmosphere and things. Traditional foods, transportation, antiques cars, old and unique home wares, and other antique things is getting more and more rarely found out nowadays. In this modern time, we can find out that modernism refers to the cultural experience of modernity. The cultural experience of modernity leads people leave behind any traditional food, means of transportation, tools etc.

For most of the visitors, especially young people, this event is entertaining. They can enjoy many rare things and experience. Enjoying old atmosphere in fun with friends, taking photographs on antique or unique objects, and many of them as consumers really enjoy the shopping activities while strolling around

with friends and not necessarily spend too much money. Financially, the government was happy with the money circulation in this four-day festival. To meet with the target the government encouraged the stands to ‘meet the consumers’ satisfaction’. The stands provided with stuffs that the consumers like most.

However, according the consumer theory, people as consumer will pursue his own happiness without the slightest hesitation and consumer prefer objects which provide him with the maximum satisfaction. However, as a system, needs are also radically different from pleasure and satisfaction. They are produced as elements of a system and not as a relation between an individual and an object. So in this festival, consumer’s needs and satisfaction are built from elements of a system. The whole system of the festival determined the people’s consumption. Though the traditional food is a bit more expensive than in other traditional market, for examples, this did not mean anything for the customer when they got other element in the festival that support their satisfaction.

The MTD festival is associated with the old historical and cultural things and experience. This mental image has been attached along the festival from year to year. This image is very productive because thousands people expected this event in May every year. Though the enjoyment of the festival is mostly on the aspect of entertaining and shopping, the committee still kept the ideas of having historical teaching through the festival. Seen from the festival of 2011, this idea of discovering heritage manifested in the creative and productive process such as the reconstruction of fort Benteng Malang 1767, and other simulation and reconstruction. The producers thought that young people can learn the history while enjoying the fun activities including shopping during the festival. In the fact, most of young people came to the festival for enjoying the fun things, entertaining and discovering if there is anything new or different from their expectation, if there is a surprise.

The reconstruction of the fort Benteng Malang 1767 was successful as a surprise, that is different from the last year festival. However, learning history is mostly neglected by the visitors of the festivals. There are many reasons for this. The first is, the mental process that is needed in learning history seemed to be difficult to do in such crowded festival. What people can quickly absorb is the appearance or physical performance. The fort is successful

with its physical presence but it did not mean a lot for the visitors for learning history. The physical presence of the fort is meaningful for the young people only for taking photographs, posing with friends in cheerful atmosphere of festival.

The other things that made the festival's aims is ambiguous to meet is the presence of the contested representation of the people's and the colonial's. As explained in the politics of the festivals, it clearly contested both people's and colonial's cultural heritages and forms. Maybe such things are felt by many visitors and this lead to question, which heritage that need to be discovered and preserved? The people's culture or the colonial's culture? Maybe such ambiguous things are not noticed by most people visiting the festival, and this leads to another question, did people really learn history or cultural heritage? Or people just have fun times once a year while the government claimed that it educated the people? Both of the questions point out that the aim of the festival should be manifested in critical ways so that the cultural heritage or any other aims will be understood in clear ways instead of manipulative ways.





**Picture 1:** "Benteng Malang 1767" : take photo with the guard.



**Picture 2:** Dokar Standplaats at the MTD VI 2011



**Picture 3:** Pose in front of the antique cars

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# CHALLENGES IN DEVELOPING A CREATIVE CITY

*A Study of Jember Fashion Carnival (JFC)*

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## Introduction

Developing a city to become a creative city is not an easy thing; it does not only require cooperative participation of all related sectors, but also good qualification of all aspects of the city development. The creative city is a concept which was initiated by Charles Landry in the late 1980's and since then this concept has become a globally accepted paradigm in city development planning. As it has been defined by Landry (2000), the creative city may inspire the regional government, scholars, business workers, and people in general because this concept tries to explore the creative potentials which are possessed by each city.

In addition, this concept can be implemented in all different city scales: small, medium, and large scale cities, respectively. Thus, it can be assumed that all individuals will be able to be creative individuals when they are exposed to potential opportunities because creativity is the product of imagination. All individuals, no doubt, retain imagination in their minds.

Jember Fashion Carnival was initially created under the similar concept. In the beginning, JFC made people wonder of its unusual exhibition where people were parading in unique dresses or what people labeled as uncommon style. They also reckoned this event as the usual carnival that will last temporarily and soon be forgotten. At that very time, they did not realize that there was bigger agenda that JFC tried to accomplish.

JFC tried to create an identity for its city to become a world-scale carnival city of which economy will be based on creative industry. After several annual appearances, the people of Jember started to realize how unquestionably serious the initiator of JFC was after all the publications that they watched from the media.



Source: <http://citizenimages.kompas.com/>

Jember is defined as a small regency of a semi-metropolitan class because of its function to provide the regional governmental service for Besuki Residences that is supported by modern facilities. This city also gain its fame as the city of tobacco as Jember is the biggest tobacco producer in Indonesia. There are many local companies which do their investments mainly in tobacco packing and storing before the tobacco is distributed to cigarette companies in East Java and Central Java.

In general description, Jember has fertile land spreads all over its area which is a reason for its well-developed agricultural sector. This condition has made Jember as one of the biggest contributor of rice in Indonesia. Jember is



Source: [www.eastjava.com/tourism/jember/map](http://www.eastjava.com/tourism/jember/map)

populated by 2,146,571 people of Madurese and Javanese in majority, and some others are Arabs and Chinese. As the center of the surrounding regencies, Jember also has some well-known state and private universities in East Java.

As it is located in the west corner of Java, it is not very easy to reach Jember from Surabaya (the capital city of East Java). It may take 4-5 hours by bus (198 km from Surabaya). Eventhough Jember already owns an airport, it only operates in a small scale and it does not have regular flight hour. These transportation constraints affect negatively to the development of tourism sector in Jember.

Unlike Malang and Surabaya which show significant progress in their tourism resort, Jember shows slower progress because of this spatial problem. This situation, however, does not stop the regional government of Jember from developing its tourism sector. The regional government has initiated a program to promote its tourism to attract more people to come to Jember. BBJ is a month in which the regional government has prepared series of exhibitions to show its ultimate tourism attractions.

The most important factor in developing the creative city is the creative participation by all elements of city stakeholders (Florida, 2002). Developing the city economy sector by solely depending on its agricultural and agrobusiness foundation cannot guarantee people's welfare in the future. One of the obvious case is the anti-smoke movement that cause serious threat to tobacco production in Jember. JFC debut, thus, signs the strong willingnes and initiation to develop Jember to become a creative city. As it is mentioned before that by encouraging and legitimizing the use of imagination within the public, private and community spheres the ideas bank of possibilities and potential solutions to any urban problem will be broadened (Franke, 2005).

In developing the creative city, a city should be supported by good infrastructure and suprastructure. Therefore, it can be said that creative infrastructure is the combination of the hard and the soft. The latter includes a city's mindset, how it approaches opportunities and problems; its atmosphere and incentives and regulatory regime. To be a creative city the soft infrastructure includes: a highly skilled and flexible labor force, dynamic thinkers, creators and implementers. Creativity is not only about having ideas, but also the capacity to implement them (Landry, 2000).



Source: [www.iddaily.net](http://www.iddaily.net)

The intention to develop Jember as a creative city is not explicitly declared by the regional government, however, one can clearly see this considering the significant support that has been regularly addressed to JFC and BBJ. In addition, there has been a dialog which was conducted in Tanggul, Jember which discussed the probability that BBJ can be conducted for several months within a year. However, this will remain only as an idea if the stakeholders refuse to participate to make the idea happen.

That idea, in addition, needs serious attention from the society because the idea of a creative concept is more than the monthly exhibitions. The bigger challenge will appear when the people do not pay much attention to the program. In the following descriptions, the writer will explain some of the strategies that have been taken by JFC to accomplish the goal to make JFC as the world class carnival that lays its foundation on the development of creative economy sector.

## Jember Fashion Carnival and Its Challenges to Develop the Creative City

Jember Fashion Carnival is the longest fashion parade in the world (3.6 km long). The members of the carnival wear the dress they create themselves and they parade along the road in rythmical music. This concept evolves through a very long process as follows:

- 1998                      Dynand Fariz established 'Dynand Fariz' to fulfill his dream as a fashion expertist who mastered both fashion knowledge and fashion in practical level.

- 2001 Dynand Fariz initiated Dynand Fariz's fashion week where all of the employees in that fashion house were required to dress in the most updated international fashion style.
- 2002 Dynand Fariz's fashion week was open for people in general by parading through the main road and the town square. This was also the time where JFC was firstly initiated.
- 2003 On January the first, JFC was firstly conducted along with the celebration of Jember anniversary. The theme of the parade was Cowboy, Punk, and Gypsy fashion. On August 30th, JFC 2 was conducted along with TAJEMTRA event in the Arabian, Maroco, Indian, Chinese, and Japanese style.
- 2004 On August 8th, 2004, JFC 3 was conduted in 6 defiles. Starting from this point, the promotor of JFC was JFCC (Jember Fashion Carnival Council) which was non profit organization which consisted of some people who are seriously concerned with this event. They proposed a professional management and good auditing by the authorized beareau to ensure the qualified development of JFC in the future.
- 2005-2009 JFC was developing progressively and was participated by 500 participants each year.
- JFC Vision JFC tries to make Jember as the first fashion tourism center in Indonesia and in the world level. This concept is generated by the implementation regional autonomy that allows every region to explore the potentials they possess in order to improve the regional welfare. To win the competition from the other cities, JFC should come with an utterly different idea which can uniquely prevail over the others. JFC is absolutely different for it tries to bring up the world fashion trend that can create multiplayer effect to other possible potentials.
- JFC Mission JFC is expected to contribute positively in the development of academic sector, art, culture, and creative economy sector in Jember.

## The Challenges Faced by JFC

Reflecting to the progress that has been made by JFC in the present day, it is hard to believe that JFC also experienced bitter rejection from few elements of Jember society. This happened in JFC 3 where most of the people in the parade were wearing dress which shows their bellies. People who were watching saw this as a parade of mini clothes. The local government also found it hard to permit JFC 4 to be conducted in the following year (Kompas, January 6, 2008. This situation was caused by cultural and religious value which was hold by the people.

Most of Jember residences are muslims, and exposing certaiip parts of the body is considered as a sin in their religion. In addition, some members of the local house of representatives also stated their rejection on this event. This condition, eventually, led them to meet in a hearing where the promotor tried to explain that the situation was unavoidable because the theme of the parade was indian style. The people could accept this argument.

Later, in the development, people who are in parade used creative costumes that covers their bodies in unique designs. In addition, there were more media publications that started to spotlight this event. This made the people aware taht this event was something worth watching and it soon became their pride.



(Welcome to Jember JFC world fashion carnival, 2009); (photografers)

Source: [www.Jemberfashioncarnaval.com](http://www.Jemberfashioncarnaval.com)

However the rejection was also claimed by HTI during the long march that they did in the beginning of Ramadhan month (<http://hizbut-tahrir.or.id/category/muslimah/page/30/>). They mentioned that the people should save the youths



from liberal culture that threatened them. JFC was claimed to open the channel of this liberal culture. One of them clearly stated “ BBJ and JFC do not have any positive contribution toward Jember”. This, again, is a natural phenomena where the cultural and religion value are the major roles considering that people in Jember are mostly muslims.

Besides the challenges that come from the local government and HTI Jember, there are still some other challenges to get through to be able to be bale to bring Jember into the world class fashion city. There are at least four major challenges that we can see:

*First*, the objective challenge that includes basic problems faced bay Jember local governmnt such as the low quality of the human resources. In some areas, there are still many children wo do not have the chance to go to school and get proper education. In addition, the rate of unemployment is very hihg in those areas. There are also many people with very low income because they mostly work as farmers who cannot make much profit from their works.

*Second*, the concept of developing Jember to become the creative city is not supported by good infrastructure and suprastructure. On one hand, there are many problems which are faced by the local government in infrastructure. The spatial distance is an unavoidable problem, in addition, the condition of the roads that lead people to the tourism resort is not satisfying. The transportation also has another problematic trouble with the airport because the air transportation is not a regular transportation means. It cannot provide reular flight for the potential tourists. There are also some tourism facilities that needs developing such as the comfortable transportation facilities, adequate hotels, and good culinary. On the other hand, there are also problems dealing with the suprastructure. In this setor, there is an urgent need for developing creative mentality of the bereaucrates, the people in general, the enterpreneurs, scholars, and stakeholders in Jember in order to take Jember to a better standard. The biggest challenge to develop Jember to become a cretive city can be best explained in a simple analogy. The term”Sleeping giant” will be perfect to describe the condition of the people because they are very used to a stagnant life standard. It is not easy to et them involved in the visionary idea of how to make Jember to become a more prosperous region through the creative economy activity.

*Third*, there are elements of society who tend to reject JFC, especially those who come from religion-based community, traditional art workers, and some people who experience decline in their business because of this program.

*Fourth*, the limited amount of operational fund which is possessed by JFC.

Based on this problem identification, the strategies which are created are: (1) JFC tries hard to get the support of the local government, the people, and the stakeholders. JFC should be also open for every possible criticism and suggestions which come from all elements of the society; (2) JFC tries to improve good cooperation with media both electronic and printed kind media. This cooperation gives tangible benefit for JFC. The media has helped to promote JFC to a broader level. Moreover, in the present day, there are more number of media producers that cooperate with JFC to promote the event. This good cooperation can be seen during JFC 8. In this event, the media still did the publication of JFC a month after the event took place. The media also helped JFC on the publication during the road shows in several cities; (JFC tries to spread the spirit of the world carnival by conducting monthly mini fashion carnival which can be conducted in Jember town square. This can accelerate the creativity and help to develop the concept of developing Jember to become the city of the carnival; (3) JFC perpetually arranges several road shows in some cities. This can be an effective way to promote the program because these road shows are financially supported by the institution or cities that invite them; (4) JFC develops the creative economy by doing producing the merchandises or prototypes of JFC style. This business is open for the people; this can strengthen their sense of belonging to this program; (5) to help to minimize the operational fund, JFC will strengthen the good cooperation with the media. This will help JFC to get free promotion. The uniqueness that JFC has exposed is the attracting factor for the media. Besides, there should be continuous effort to regenerate the fashion tutors of JFC. This regeneration can make sure that JFC will permanently last. The senior trainers can give proper training to junior tutors. Thus, JFC will not have to spend additional fund for trainers; (6) JFC tries to initiate business cooperation with some producers which share the same vision with them. JFC can cooperate with Sari Ayu which also tries to lift up the national potential through its cosmetic products.



JFC road show to Surabaya, East Java; (2) JFC On Shanghai

Source: [www.jemberfashioncarnaval.com](http://www.jemberfashioncarnaval.com)

## Conclusion

There are some major points that we can conclude based on the above descriptions. The main point is that developing a city to become a creative city needs a long continuous process because it needs good cooperation of all stakeholders in that city. What should be realized is that this can be done through perpetual creative process, thus, the city should start from this point and cannot quit the process. The main challenge of JFC as the initiator of creative city in Jember is how to change the mindset of the people. The fact that the creative idea is a concept that is different from their usual living value is a real challenge. People of Jember who mostly rely their economy on agriculture will soon face the condition where they have to shift to the concept of economy which is based on creative industry. This concept will bring Jember to become the city of world-class carnival.



Source: [www.jemberfashioncarnaval.com](http://www.jemberfashioncarnaval.com)



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## THE POWER OF STREETS

*A Discourse of Power Formation in the Spatial  
Construction of Urban Streets*

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### Introduction

Writing about a city and what is happening or is currently happening in it would certainly require assessment on the historicity of the city itself. In this context, the city is placed in a productive space, meaning that the city is not placed only as a space in which the inside and outside becomes a passive entity or a city is just positioned as a person's creation or power order. Exceeding its passive form, city is an active space in which the subject is positioned as an object. At this point the discussion of city will begin. In this case, the city is positioned as a formed entity from which the city is able to form what is in it.

### Teritoric Space: A Spatial Discourse of City

Territory, region or territoriality is a fundamental problem for the society to preserve and maintain its life. Territoriality, to Marx (2008), is a part to be achieved and accumulated as a capitalist's capital. In this context, territoriality is part of the reproduction of means of production, which puts the region not only as part of the means of production but exceeding that; territoriality is a natural control for the bourgeoisie. The important location of a territory has a function as a means of production in producing commodities. And, through the region, the distribution of commodities would be disseminated.

The consequence of this territoriality lies on how a capitalism system finds and controls areas outside its territory. Meanwhile, prior to the formation

of capitalism system, Caesar in his will to control the Minor Asia proclaimed “*Veni, Vidi, Vici*” (Ronan in Zander, 2005: 71-90). which can be translated literally as Come, See, and Conquer. Beyond the utterance made by Caesar, the discourse that can be built is a part of him -Caesar- for projecting or objecting the world. The word “come” signs a form of physical presence. In this case, it is not just a form of self-presence but the power that plays the self-presence; that is, in this context, a militaristic power owned by Caesar.

Meanwhile, the concept of *Vidi* or see shows a distance of subject toward its object; a distance which indicates an existence of a form of sensing limited by the senses of the subject, so it brings up the part which is capable of recognizing and then perceiving the form. At this point, the limited sensing ability changes by bringing up the strengthening of this limitation in form of the reinforcement brought through a military power. And on *Vici* or the concept of conquering, assumes a full control of an object; that is, on the world objected as its own.

The emergence of the concept of property or ownership assumes and forms an authority beyond the owned object. The control and ownership presupposes the existence of power in receiving and retaining a form of ownership of the object. And, in this context, the intended object is its territoriality and spatiality. When a territoriality is controlled and owned, what is inside is a form of means for the accumulation of subject power. This is what can be drawn on what then happened in the battle in the struggle for territory and ultimately culminated in colonialism. Control and ownership of a territoriality is a form of power in maintaining the form of power. This means that the power will lead to the control of anything outside. Power delivers to the fight and struggle for a territoriality outside what has been controlled.

The power exists when it can bring certainty to the subject-object relation. Then, how does this certainty appear and how does this power come from it? At this point, human being as an entity that has a sense is in a direct contact with nature. Sense that is in the sensing organizes and recognizes as well as categorizes the nature. The arrangement is later at a stage of perception, when the social one began to exist and recognized as a part of a referent in recognizing the nature. At this point, sense and perception are in spatiality without the certainty of it. The assurance that comes up from it will arise when

it acquires the category of nature. It is a form of category which ensures and draws all uncertainty in the certainty space of knowledge that exceeds sense perception (Hegel, 1997; Kojève, 1969).

To bring a certainty requires the existence of space; that is, a space that ensures that the power operates in shaping knowledge. The world was created through the emerging certainty and categories. This space was later placed by Marx in form of material in the form of production space. And from this production space, the space for reproduction of production needs is expected. Therefore, space is built and accumulated where the breadth and coverage is based on and through the mastery of the territory and space.

Through this Marxian argument, fights and battles in expanding the territoriality found its theoretical bases. Then, what happened in subjects that were objected as objects, as labor in a capitalistic relation? Marx put them in alienation of distance between the natural forms had been transformed into commodities and value attached to formed commodities. The formed world created the Being of labor in alienation (Marx and Engels, 1998).

In the era together with Marx, it was formed an era defined as modernity where production centers formed industrial circumstance and presented urban atmosphere (Marshall, 1982). Baudreire interprets “*Modernity is that which is ephemeral, fugitive, contingent upon the occasion; it is half art, whose other half is the eternal and unchangeable*” (Baudreire, 1965). Modernity forms the subject individualized in space and time; that is, individuality which is in itself and deprived from the traditional rituality, which then presents itself in a room that moves quickly, contingently leaving no space for subjects to perceive all present with them (Prasetyo, 2011).

Alienation as an unconsciousness of the modernity atmosphere is inherent in the immutability. What was formed in modernity could not be released by the European tradition that grew and was formed through the differentiation between rural and urban atmosphere (Spybey, 2009) when urban areas and industrialization developed in Europe. Coloniality became an option to assume that the world was centered in Europe and what was outside of Europe as an uncivilized.

Assuming the supremacy of European nation, the form of civilization and cultural roots outside of Europe were in a destruction room, including what

happened in the East Indies, that later called itself as Indonesia. The never-ending spatial landscape became the battle for supremacy of European nation, ranging from the Netherlands, France, Spain and the UK which had ever placed their spatial traces.

## Discontinuity Without the Center: Imaginary Fabric in the Urban Symbolization

The formation of coloniality as residue of spatial battle formed the materiality order for positioning the subjects inside, positioning for the formation of the objectivity of the production relation. In the form of European coloniality, the mentioning of the believed traditions was based on scientific knowledge and modern aesthetic forms presenting its material form such as the constructions of buildings, transportation facilities, factories, ports and everything associated with the creation of production facilities for Europeans.

Spatial layout was presented here. The life order was created from it, a form of a small world for all European matters. What was formed was not only to show the European supremacy, but at the same time the supremacy would negate what was available in the colony. System of ideas relating to the way of life directly faced the supremacy of Europe. When Galileo's revolution put an end to the dogmatism of the earth as the center of the world, which was precisely through the supremacy of the European Human, everything was centered on the knowledge of Europe.

The world and the practice therein were objected through coloniality. Even for a form of local life, its existence was sustained by this coloniality. Imagine that the history of the Indonesian kingdoms that had to deal directly with their coloniality and specifically assumed their existence with the forced submission to the colony. Even if the resistance emerged, it uncommonly experienced a defeat and finally got back to leave a room for the submission.

Ujung Galuh or that later turned into Surabaya is a witness for the formation of European discursive space and becomes the defense as well as the space for the local fight against colonialism from Majapahit, Mataram to Pajang (Raffles, 2008; Toer, 2006). This local fight left the big question: should the conquering obtained use the help of the Dutch? Then, what



were the consequences that later emerged as the Indonesian kingdoms fight, one of them, by providing space in which the Europe was in their power?

Europeans first set traces their traces when Mataram was ruling; that is, when Mataram was being confronted with the fulfillment of its destiny to control the Indonesian archipelago. The fulfillment of destiny that did not only suppress the Mataram's desire to become the only ruler, but at the same time placed Mataram at the point of recognition of a power outside itself; that is, kingdom in the region of Palembang. At this crucial point of Mataram, the Europeans came to offer assistance by requesting autonomous rights for themselves (Raffles, 2008). Armed with a military force, knowledge and modern weaponry cannons the Europeans could get their desires.

A new round of the Indonesian history began from this. The Europeans presented their civilization materiality that started with building a fort for the strengthening and affirmation of their presence, then arming and presenting themselves with the accumulation of power imported from Europe. By looking at the conditions, the battles to establish territoriality and supremacy happened. The battles brought about defeats and ended in recognition of the supremacy of European nations. Mataram as the kingdom which wanted to be a single authority delivered its false power because it was sustained by power outside itself; the power that only showed the weak power possessed by Mataram. Europeans seemed to be the host for the kingdom of Mataram when facing the problems of the struggle and recognition of its territory, including when Mataram wanted of the submission of *Adipati* (Regent) Surabaya (Ibid).

Along with the fading of full power of Mataram in Javanese region, the Europeans, especially Dutch, increasingly positioned themselves as outsiders in the area of Java, the outsiders and controlled over Java. The Javanese kings in submission of the European power were just to maintain their royal status as the kings. Meanwhile, in other part of Europe at the end of the 18th century, a struggle for territoriality had occurred. By the reign of Napoleon Bonaparte in France, the Netherlands became the part of the subject within the power of Napoleon. At the same time, the territory of East Indies controlled by the Dutch turned to France (carpentier, 2011). In this era, Governor General Daendles was sent as the ruler of the East Indies (Toer, 2006).

Daendles' short era of power between the years 1808-1811 was not in meaning of that the inheritance in his era did not need to be marked. Precisely Daendles' era left a lot of interesting things to consider. Especially when Daendles was ruling, there was road construction, widening and arrangement of Anyer-Panarukan. It was a 1000 km-long road that stretched from west to east, the north island of Java, namely the so-called Post road or Daendles road: roads equivalent to those between Amsterdam and Paris (Ibid).

The construction of this road began when Daendles was in a trip in Javanese island which was then considered too time-consuming because of the length of the journey that had to be taken. The building of Post Road became the initial node of the stretched road and the start of acceleration on the basis of European centric. On the other hand, this development led to the massacre of indigenous people and the helplessness of local authorities when confronted with the will of European nations. In this context, Pramoedya writes "Indonesia is a land of slaves. Slaves among nations and slaves for other nations" (Ibid). A phrase that represents how the nation state was engaged in its historical consciousness where territorial fights were associated with war, subjugation, and status placement in the formation of supremacy and inferiority when facing with the European matters.

The idea of the French Revolution *Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite* (Ibid) that was believed by Daendles, evaporated in the control it had. Meanwhile, what was done by Daendles was is a form of presenting Europe and the strengthening of the European centric. The choice of the northern coastal strip was associated with the acceleration of commodities delivery to the economic centers in Europe. Road construction was also accompanied by the construction of fortifications to defend the supremacy of French before English, Portuguese and Spanish that had controlled over the other parts of the East Indies.

The Development of port cities happened in the control of Daendles. Surabaya became an important city reinforced by Daendles since it had a port that could accommodate small or large ships to sail to all corners of the archipelago. In addition, the city of Surabaya could become a military defense base. By the strategic location of the Surabaya city, Daendles began to build defenses, forts, warehouses for storage of commodities and weapons factories (Thorn, 2011).

Daendles initiated the formation of Europe-imagined modern cities. The setting of Javanese cities based on Anthropomorphism<sup>1</sup> was arranged for the acceleration of production and reproduction of production conditions. Mataraman urban design with the four room division<sup>2</sup> turned into a city of production and military base centered on European design. The centering of Mataraman cities that were in the reign of King turned into a centering brought by civilization outside itself; that is, European civilization.

Meanwhile, the design of a city torn from the natural harmony by centering on the King, Europeans, particularly the Netherlands came to the East Indies on a large scale. Their arrival was due to the events of the opening of the Suez Canal in 1867 (Ibid) which affected the ease and speed in distributing commodities from the East Indies to European countries and then caused an increase in demand for commodities. The high demand for commodities led to the opening of private estates in the East Indies and ultimately caused the increase in the arrival of Europeans.

The arrival of Europeans required the colonial government to build housing for the newcomers. Regional housing and spatial planning in the Surabaya city were present in the centralized split based on Ethnicity and the conditions of Political Economy. The city was divided by the villages in accordance with the Ethnicity of the newcomers the establishment of Arab village and Chinese village, which was in Dutch fort (Santoso, 2006). In a smaller scope, Thomas Karten, a Dutch architect, changed the spaces of cultural practices and the design of Javanese houses (Abidin, 2007). Henry Maclaine-Pont in 1920 continued the construction of the Surabaya city in

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<sup>1</sup> Anthromorphism is a manifestation of human consciousness of the existence of cosmological relationships that will be presented in human life. It is an consciousness of the existence of the city as representation of the universe and about to be unified with the cosmological forces of the nature. By creating the city based on the life and the human body, humans put themselves and the established city in cosmological relations.

<sup>2</sup> Four discussed spaces are: the first space as the space of the King which was the heart of the city and state. In this first room, the King was in the palace and surrounded or the palace was occupied by the king within the core circle of family. As for the problems of administration and the state, in the space occupied by the king did Parentah jero (internal instructions) also occupy. The second space is called as a State. In the second space did the State officials and the scope of kingdom profane live that had important roles for the empire economically, politically, and militarily. Administratively, Parentah jero was associated with Parentah Jaba (outer instructions) that was available in the second space. The third circle is called Great State Territory which was a State's territory or kingdom under the control of mahapatih (Prime Minister). In each of the controlled territorials, mahapatih divided it into a surveillances of patih (territorial military commander) and directly responsible to the mahapatih. Patih had the right to manage his territory and collect taxes that were deposited to the king. The last territory was referred to as Manca Negara (Global State). This territory was located in the royal power and directly bordered to the State outside his control, so that it tended to experience a change in territorial control. This territory was headed by a regent appointed by the king, while those related to tax issues and surveillance were the responsibility of Mahapatih

line with what had been pioneered by Daendles. Pont built housing for employees and workers of the East Indies as the growing population of newcomers in Surabaya.

Seeing what happened, the discourse created from the Europeans put the Javanese people, in particular, and the colony nations, in general, in the space of inferiority where the nodes or cultural representation centers were destroyed and arranged to be based European centric. Cultural practices space from the city up to the house designs had been transformed into the European style. By the building of the fortress and residential buildings, offices and centers of European culture, it was formed an inferiority within regional formations; that is, the discourse space of *debouwde* with its European composition against his *inlandse gemeenten* confronted with the natives inferiority.

By the building of cities and roads connecting one city with another, between one region and another, between one spatiality and another, leaving spaces for power/knowledge motion that were not only on the subjects and materiality formed. The street became a space for presenting subjectivity. In this context is the so-called Power of Streets defined. The power of streets was formed from the streets and was centered in the mass movement. At its points, the power of street created an explosion of resistance to the authority that operated and created categorization of life practice. Categorization in what it could and what was forbidden, what worked and what was not useful. This categorization appeared in the mass space and mass movement. In this context, the revolution of independence as part of an explosion in the power of streets was a revolution for the placement of the mass subjectivity in the spatial categorization and creation of conditions of inferiority.

Meanwhile, the post-independence state, urban warfare of November 10 on the streets in Surabaya was a form of spatiality formed by concentration of power in rejecting the representation of European categorization. The explosion of power in the mass particularity was collected sporadically hitting the return of categorization space brought represented by the European matters; a power of street against the totality of power in the formation of European universality.

## Contingency in Human Historical Recurrence

In the Era of Independence, the streets in Indonesian cities offered different forms in each era of the supported power. Soekarno established himself more as a milestone in trying to put as a distinctive and capable nation when faced with the European matters. In the Sukarno's Era were buildings, monuments and modern city settings built by relying on the power of the nation's image. And, the politicization of the street was practiced as a space for him to get closer to the mass of supporters of his ideas.

Politicization of the masses by putting mass closer to the ruler turned when Soeharto came to hold the power. Politics and surveillance of the masses were no longer imagined in opposition of the power toward European strengths as the subordinated nation was focused on the figures of rulers and the rulers were in submission toward the world outside himself (Prasetyo in Falk, n.y: 53-60). In this case, the mass was formed in layered supervised submission, from the family residence to the State ([www.communication-geography.org/abstracts/lim.pdf](http://www.communication-geography.org/abstracts/lim.pdf)). The Mass was kept away from political activities and the streets were controlled by placing the terrors inside. Forms of terrors in the formation of mass power were indicated by the events of "Matius" and how to control the state apparatus (Abidin, 2007).

Meanwhile, the design of building that wanted to show the ability of a nation initiated in the Soekarno's era, on the other hand showed similarities with models of buildings that formed in America (Kentgens-Craig, 1999). Models of skyscraper buildings as a representation of ability of a nation in facing the forces that operates outside itself. Model of building and economic development which was immediately adopted by Soeharto economically followed the termed development model (Robinson, 2009) and in terms of city planning, followed the spatial distribution models (Jennks, 1997).

The existing design left two appearances (Domer, 2008), surface appearance was a dimension that could be perceived by subjects with its shallowness; that is, the shallowness associated with the enjoyment of the designed commodity. And inner design dimension which was a space for designers to show the complexity of the commodity arrangement in the viewable outer design. The building design saved itself with two dimensions moving the

architecture in form of spatiality and bringing the formation of the subject consciousness (Le Corbusier, 1986).

In a design, a subject consciousness of a design will position itself in a social spatiality; the social space that requires the presence of obedient subjects in the social body (Foucault, 2007). Meanwhile, the social body formed is a form of social body which is moved in an individualized and shallow form in perceiving and shaping the world.

The shallowness accumulated in the post-collapse of Suharto in which the subject in social spaces obtained a spatiality to display its subjectivity; that is, obtaining spatiality for the power explosion. On the other hand, the power of the subjects could present in similar shape when exposed to the Soeharto's appearance. While, on the other hand, when subjects were confronted with the absence of form for presenting power, subjects were running around in individual bursts. The subjects made themselves as controls of themselves by placing the social matters as referents for the fulfillment of his will. Superficiality in the form of individualized satisfaction is a daily form occurred in cities and on the streets; this superficiality is intersection to the fulfillment of subjectivity.

The emergence of unconsciousness of the social space, the appearance of evil practices, all lead to the individualized fulfillment. This individualized satisfaction is only from the inner part and through the subject of reality created for it. At the same time, the comodification of urban spaces looks lined without leaving space for the subject to digest it. Urban spaces and streets that connect between spatiality turned into commodities display. The advertisements that offer fulfillment of the will of the subjects come to call the power of the subjects.

The spatiality arranged functionally no longer forms a city with a category of functionality but becomes the temporality in subjectivity satisfaction. In the formed overall, subjects shallowly perceive the world, have a shallow consciousness and only focused on self-satisfaction. Meanwhile, the unconsciousness of the subject power was muted to instrumental consciousness fulfillment, the consciousness self-centered on the subjects in the form of a reification order (Lukas, 1990; Honneth, 2008).

When the urban design displays functionality in the arrangement of work spaces division and social spaces surrounding it, the streets are present as spaces of subject consciousness. Consciousness space of a form of its

functionality, of how the subjects function socially, while the social functionality is referred to materiality created in the form of production order. From formed conditions, the streets no longer display the space in power circle velocity and power counter (Foucault, 1977). The streets no longer show the social spaces for the subjects. The streets become spaces for the cross of instrumental consciousness, self-consciousness of the subjects and the fulfillment of their subjectivity.

The city is laid out through spatiality. And among the spatiality is the street presented, from street is the pedestrian or sidewalk displayed. The formed relationships from it then bring about the forms of mechanization of nature through commodities. The production machines present commodity, create motors, cars and other transportation facilities. What is to be achieved by the subjects by the creation of this transportation? The acceleration of itself in presenting its subjectivity satisfaction is a form of the created relation. Through the acceleration of subjectivity satisfaction, the consequences presented from the comodification of itself in fulfilling its will; that is, the will which was formed through the instrumental consciousness.

The surveillance model of the subject practice is subjected to the power relation that lives it. Power relations that organize and discipline the subjects through the crossing of the subject will in satisfying its instrumental consciousness. The surveillance is present in full presence of spatiality, surveillance that historically appears with fear and was presented by the power which operates; fear of all evil practices, death and loss of the subject.

The surveillance is present in the architectural building and the consciousness created in spatiality (Foucault, 1991). The meaning is the surveillance on the subject discipline in the created power relations. In urban design, surveillance does not play on a solid architectural setting as conceived by Foucault in prison. The surveillance actually plays in the leveling of surveillance against the subject practice and the historicity inherent in subject consciousness in form of traumatic historicity and subject will in the subjectivity fulfillment.

In the fulfillment of subjectivity, the subject wishes to present himself as the subject moved in the arranged categories of power and, at the same time, blows up its will in subject individuality spaces. A form of explosion for the subject will in the arranged categories of power without being able to change

or form a counter power; it is apparent from the patches and streaks of advertisement papers found throughout the urban buildings. And then, the movement of human historicity in the formation of its subjectivity is present in the repetition of the surface dimension. It is found in the practices of power that show its supremacy in shaping the categories on the social matters. Meanwhile, those of social matters are faced with the natural formed into the cultural in a commodity; at this point, the social then establishes itself in the commodity itself.

## Conclusion

Urban design and all the spatiality of the city formed either in form of building or street that runs between the spatiality presents a practice for the subjects in the form of subjectivity fulfillment. It is formed within the instrumental consciousness; that is, the consciousness which in practice tries to fulfill the subject will to be present in the created spatiality. In the formed space, the subject is driven by a passion to fulfill themselves and, at the same time, the self-fulfillment is formed in the objectivity that is able to repress the subjects to be arranged in categories of power.

In the relationship built up in the city, where the production strength of the social matters becomes an integral part; the city and entire existing entities are formed and represent the productive condition. The conditions that work socially and massively move in a conscious subject in which the subjects place themselves, present their subjectivity as those centered on themselves or individualized; it is much more precise in this condition that the subjects in their spatiality and power are the formation of the social and, at the same time, the formation of the social changes and streams counter power in the arranged individuality in a social production force.

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# THE MEANINGS OF KNOWLEDGE IN MINANGKABAU PHILOSOPHY

*Its Relevance to the Communal Forums*

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## Introduction

**M**inangkabau society is one so many ethnic groups in Indonesia and uniquely embraces matrilineal system and its people are famous for their non-sedentary habit. It is also worthy to note that Minangkabau culture is also based on Islamic teachings. The religion has been considered very crucial to shape one's personality. The harmony between matrilineal system and the adherence to Islamic teachings has made a differing characteristics of Minangkabau society when it is compared to other Indonesian ethnic groups.

Minangkabau society is well-known for using their custom values and Islamic teachings as the references for their life or as the basis for their behaviour, attitudes, expressing ideas, socializing and dressing. The blending of custom values and Islamic teachings, recognized in its philosophical *Adat Basandi Syara', Syara' Basandi Kitabullah*, has profoundly become the foundations for its social systems and philosophy for Minangkabau society. *Adat Basandi Syara' Syara' Basandi Kitabullah*, henceforward referred to as ABS-SBK, is the custom or norms that has been used by the ancestors of Minangkabau society and is based on *syara'*. *Sendi* means 'principles' or strong grounds and *syara* and *kitabullah* refer to Quran.

Even though there has been some differences, but there is not any contradictions between the customs and the teachings of Islam. While Islam is a religion which bases its teachings on Quran and the Prophet's *Hadiths* or

what Prophet Mohammed did and said, Minangkabau customs are based on teachings which use the parables taken from the nature's regularities (*alam takambang jadi guru*, so that there has been a law which says *syara' mangato adat mamakai*, which means that whatever taught in the religion is conceived within the customs. The coming of Islam which was complemented Minangkabau customs and the philosophical expression ABS-SBK makes it clear that Minangkabau customs has used Islamic teachings, Qoran and the Prophet's hadiths as its sources of rules and regulations

Recently, the people of Minangkabau are worried by the fading understanding of the people towards the values of Minangkabau customs which have been considered as their uncontested guidance. It seems that the shallowing processes not only affected the grassroots, but also the political elites and the custom exponents. The devaluation towards Minangkabau cultures may have been resulted not only from the conflicts within Minangkabau societies, but also due to some external influences resulting from technology advancement in the global era. The globalization which is signified with the technology, information and communication and materialistic, consumeristic, hedonistic and capitalistic behaviors have contributed to degradation of the custom and religious as well as ABS-SBK within the livelihood Minangkabau society.

Philosophically, the issues within Minangkabau culture cannot be solely reviewed from axiological aspects, but it needs to be investigated through epistemological perspectives, because Minangkabau has played an important role in the nation's political, socio-cultural, literary, religious aspects as well its contributions of critical thinking and knowledge. In the history of Indonesia, Minangkabau has left valuable educational legacies through its *Sumatera Thawalib Padangpanjang*, *INS Kayu Tanam*, *Adabiah* College, the Madrasa of *Diniyah Putri Padangpanjang* and it is, in fact also has become the places of origins for a number of national figures such as Mohammad Hatta, HAMKA, Haj Agus Salim, Sutan Syahrir and Tan Malaka.

As Minangkabau custom philosophy fades away, so does the thinking skills and the knowledge. Syafri Sairin (2007: 10) claims that Minangkabau used to be a 'constantly rich sources' for those who were always seeking knowledge, whereas now, people are more apt to find other knowledge sources outside Minangkabau and worse, become the agents of the knowledge outside Minangkabau. The

discussions on epistemological issues around Minangkabau customs, especially those related to its meanings of knowledge and philosophies, needs to be made relevant to practical issues, because by finding the implementations to present realities, the philosophical studies will be meaningful and useful.

Minangkabau epistemological studies which contain the truth, meaning and depth of Minangkabau culture needs to be grounded, in order that it will not merely becomes a discourse, rhetorical materials or nostalgic pasts, but can be used to relate the present and the future. One of the efforts to seek the relevance of meanings of knowledge within Minangkabau philosophy is orienting the epistemology of Minangkabau philosophy into its empirical forms within its communal forum.

This approach is necessary because decision makings within communal forums in Minangkabau is considered unique. Decisions are usually made based on *bulek aie dek pambuluah*, *bulek kato dek mupakat* adage (the water is bulbous due to its tubes, but discussions are unanimous because of agreements). In realities, however, there are many decisions made through other methods such as voting, legal processes or using a third party as a mediator. Then, why is not decisions made by the communal forums popular anymore? Are there any factors that hamper the decision making processes? Have the communal forums lost their effectiveness?

Most public figures and authorities in West Sumatra have always embellished their speeches with rhetorics and ABS-SBK philosophy. There have been many seminars and simposiums held around ABS-SBK philosophy, but they were meant more for conceptual rather than actualization and implementation purposes. This study becomes important because it can be used for investigating the meanings of knowledge in Minangkabau philosophy and its relevance to its custom philosophy and for complementing spaces which are left opened by previous studies, in order that Minangkabau customs can remain viable and sustainable amidst the globalization and advancement.

## Epistemology and Culture

In general, 'core philosophy' in Nusantara philosophy tends to function as a way of life so that it is materialized into some axiological dimenstions of the

local wisdoms. The premise, however, may not be perceived as ‘difficulties’ for Nusantara or ‘east’ philosophy to display its epistemological aspects. According to Pranarka (1987: 22-23), one of the exposed liabilities is that epistemology as the philosophy of science is related to cultural systems for epistemology discusses the human knowledge. On the other hand, discussing cultures means discussing humans themselves. Thus, epistemology is actually looking at the relationship between knowledge and humans. Knowledge can never developed without humans and vice versa. Additionally, besides technology, economy, society, arts and religion, knowledge is also considered as one of the basic elements (Koentjaraningrat, 1985: 2).

Every culture has its own perspectives on knowledge and its roles in the life of the humans. Through their knowledge, humans are able to sustain and develop their life to more qualified and civilized. Referring to this fact, the researcher will focus his study on the meanings of knowledge in Minangkabau philosophy seen from epistemological aspect.

Etimologically, epistemology is originated from Greek; *episteme* and *logos*. *Episteme* means knowledge while *logos* is often used to show the occurrence of any systematic knowledge or theories. Thus, epistemology can be understood as the theory of knowledge. The issue around knowledge sources, however, is one of the fundamental problems in epistemology. Hospers (1967: 123-143) exposes five human knowledge sources sense experience, reason, authority, intuition, revelation and faith. Thiroux (1985: 477-488) adds that traditions and common sense belongs to knowledge sources.

A number of Western philosophies try to answer the debates on the knowledge sources. According to empiricism, humans obtain their knowledge through their experiences by the mediation of their five senses. John Locke, one of the empiricists said that when humans are born, their minds are blank (*tabula rasa concept*) and later be filled with experiences from their five senses. Empiricism emphasises on experiences especially those based on observations or five sense experiences. The empiricists believe that a valid knowledge is obtained by the five senses since all objects are real and observable. It is however, theories which are resulted from ratio, according to the empiricists, must be related to facts so that the ideas are validated by the existing realities (Dancy, 1993: 110).

Rationalism proposes that the sources of knowledge lie in human reasoning. Rationalists see that knowledge was obtained through *apriori* processes. They believe that ideas are not obtained through experiences, but through reasoning. Empirical accounts according to this group, is to stimulate thinking. Rene Descartes, the father of rationalism, even proposed a method of doubts to be able to obtain clear cut truth of knowledge (Dancy, 1993: 411).

Beside the two mainstreams, another mention that heart is source of knowledge. Blaise Pascal (in Hamersma, 1983: 16) argues that reason is merely one of the sources of knowledge. Pascal places intuitive knowledge which starts from the heart as a higher knowledge source because the heart has all the explanations unrecognized by reasons, and it is through the heart that humans are capable to receive the truth from God. Bergson called intuitive knowledge as intuition.

Bergson (1946: 95-97) believes that intuition is the most important aspect in humans. Intelligence merely serves practical operative functions in humans. In his opinion, human intelligence can only capture the external truth, while intuition is able to penetrate deeper to reach the core of the knowledge. Intuitions enable humans to deal with the truth within the reality itself and lead humans to the deepest mind, the awareness to reflect on the objects. The intuitive knowledge can only be obtained through dexterities in developing the knowledge in order to create a new understanding.

## Minangkabau Philosophy

The discourse of Minangkabau philosophy can never be separated from the historical studies of the birth of the customs and its acculturation to Islam. When Islam entered Minangkabau in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, it already encountered communities with good structures called customs. Customs are referred to as all of the efforts, creations and will upheld by the community and passed down from generations to generations though habituations and repetitions manifested in attitudes, thinking patterns and behaviors.

The history tells that Minangkabau ancestors - *Datuk Perpatih Nan Sabatang* and *Datuk Katumangungan* – were the first persons to establish Minangkabau customs using the orders of the realm as he basic sources for

customs, which manage one's social positions and economic aspects. Beside that, nature order was also used to determine the order, the objectives and how to attain them in the society. These all were summarized in *petatah petitih* (Hakimy, 1973:5).

Nasroen (1971:38) says that Minangkabau philosophy is based on two regulations – nature and religion. Pre-Islam Minangkabau based its philosophies on nature laws, and after Islam came, it uses religious laws or *syara'* to perfect its laws. With the coming of Islam, the two structure systems which carry with them unique features from each met in Minangkabau. These two structure systems demanded observations from their adherents so that Minangkabau customs and Islam reciprocally attracted one to the other.

The adage *Adat Basandi Syara' Syara' Basandi Kitabullah* is the culmination of the whole interaction, frictions, adjustment and acculturation processes between the customs which already took their roots with Islam which came later to Minangkabau. Empirically, Minangkabau society base their attitudes and behaviors to Islam and the customs. The customs and *syara'* cannot and must not be separated, otherwise, each will nullify the other. Consequently, an authority in Minangkabau local communities must be a Moslem who obediently observes the laws of Islam, whereas an ulema must be a Moslem who obediently observes Minangkabau customs.

In ABS-SBK philosophy, Minangkabau customs are divided into four structures. *First, Adat nan sabana adat* is unchangeable realities in the universe which predetermined and cannot be changed by anything including time, place and condition. The realities contain the values, norms and laws. In Minangkabau it is expressed through *adat nan indak lakang dek paneh, indak lapuak dek hujan, diasak indak layua, dibubuik indak mati*. The source *adat nan sabana adat* is actually *syara'* in the verses of God's *qauliyah* and *kauniyah*, so that they are universally embraced.

*Second, Adat nan diadatkan* is any customs which are deliberately engineered and arranged by Minangkabau ancestors to be passed down to later generations as laws and regulations for all aspects in life based on *adat nan sabana adat* (*Syara'*). In this case, it is “*syara' mangato adat mamakai*” philosophy which matters most.



*Third, Adat nan teradat* is custom provisions which are arranged in the state to carry out *adat nan sabana adat* and *adat nan diadatkan* according to the situations of every state, thus, there might be differences in manifesting the provisions. This is confirmed with the expression *adat salingkuang nagari*.

*Fourth*, local customs are local regulations created within communal forums to accommodate the aspirations of the people of the state in accordance with *alua jo patuik, patuik jo mungkin*. Local customs are social systems in Minang society and are the result of cultural endeavors which can be modified over time and places in accordance with *adat nan sabana adat* limitations.

The four custom structures, further, are classified into two: (1) *adat nan babuhu mati* is the supremacy of custom truth which cannot be modified by any means which includes *adat nan sabana adat* and *adat nan diadatkan*. Both are understood as the main guidance for the local customs; (2) *adat nan babuhua sentak* (*adat nan teradat* and *adat istiadat*) which should change whenever it is seen necessary.

Minangkabau society addresses their area as *alam Minangkabau*. *Alam* or nature possesses a deep meaning. In Minangkabau perspectives, the nature represents an ultimate prominence. It is not only seen as the place to bear offsprings, to live, to die but it also bears a philosophical meaning as the source of knowledge and inspirations as implied in *Alam takambang jadi guru* (Navis, 1986: 59). The term *alam* Minangkabau shows that the Minangkabau people depend very much on the nature. In epistemological contexts, the social conception patterns are constructed from some observations of natural phenomena occurring around them. The shapes, the characteristics and the special qualities are metaphorized into all aspects of life used as the sources of inspirations, knowledge and way of life.

Minangkabau philosophy is understood through the idiom *pepatah petitih* in accordance with the social and metaphorical thinking patterns of the Minangkabau people. *Petatah-petitih* or *pepatah-petitih* is similar to the old proverbs in the Indonesian literature. *Petatah* originally comes from the word *tatah* or to carve, carvings, principles or guidance. Thus, *petatah* refers to carvings made of words or principles (norms) which are used to guide people in to be optimally functioning within the society. *Petitih* comes from the word *titi* or *titian* (the bridge) which means that words can function as a bridge or a

way which can be travelled to optimally perform in the daily life. *Petitih* is used to help explain *petatah* (Saifullah, 2008: 44-45).

*Petatah-petitih* may have been initially generated through the tendency of the people of Minangkabau to use satires or *tamsilan* (analogy), because *petatah-petitih* refers to broad, deep, accurate, refined and idiomatic understandings (Bakar, 1981: 6). A person's ability to convey messages in the form of satires as well as a person's ability to accept and understand them is considered as a sign of wisdom.

Referring to the observable nature phenomena, therefore Minangkabau philosophy has a real basis for its foundations. Minangkabau philosophy is not speculative in nature. The capturing of the natural phenomena through the five senses inspires the Minangkabau people on how to think, to understand to the deepest and to many analogies as the teacher. The nature is used as the starting point to think about the principles to be performed in their daily life. The natural phenomena are also used to arrange the norms and the values in the society in order that Minangkabau society may still be viable in the realm. The positions and influences of the nature on Minangkabau philosophy are written as follows:

“Panakiak pisau sirauik,  
ambiak galah batang lintabuang,  
salodang ambiak ka nyiru,  
nan satitiak jadikan lauik,  
nan sakapa jadikan gunuang,  
alam takambang jadi guru” (Madjo-Indo, 1999: 2).

The proverbs show that the knowledge system in Minangkabau philosophy is founded on the nature. The natural phenomena are all observed and studied and concluded. One of the examples which uses the nature to generate knowledge is the calendar to determine the time for working on the ricefields as shown below:

“Gabak di hulu tando ka hujan  
cewang di langik tando ka paneh” (Hakimy, 1988: 24).

The idea of learning from the nature for Minangkabau society – as illustrated above – becomes the sources for learning and inspirations to manage their life.

The closeness of Minangkabau society to the nature in their daily life enriches their life which in turn generates varieties of expressions and proverbs which have idiomatic meanings. This has become Minangkabau people personal which Hakimy (1997: xi) also claims as “*kato baumpamo, rundiang nan banyak bakieh*”, which means that if somebody wants to make parables or metaphorize, she or he should use a lot of idiomatic expressions.

This fact is similar to the a research made by Frederick K. Errington (1984: 45) entitled *Manner and Meaning in West Sumatera*, which says that Minangkabau people tend to be indirect in conveying their messages. This tendency, according to Oktavianus (2005: 653) can leave a bad impression, but on the oter hand, it also implies that the speaker does respect other interlocutors as well as shows that the speaker does not want to appear authoritative or arrogant.

Because Minangkabau people always use idiomatic expressions through their *pepatah petitih* for their interactions, consequently, people need to posses the knowledge to comprehend and to interpret the messages between the lines. If the idiomatic expressions are merely logically interpreted, therefore, meanings can be misinterpreted against the logic itself, as illustrated *duduak surang basampik-sampik, duduak basamo balapang-lapang*. Logically, the idiom is *duduak surang balapang-lapang, duduak basamo basampik-sampik* (if we sit alone, we will have more spaces than if we sit together).

## Epistemologi Minangkabau: Epistemologi *Raso Pareso*

Knowledge sources are closely associated with where or how the knowledge is obtained. According to Hospers (1967: 123-143) a person’s epistemological knowledge is obtained through his or her senses of experience, reason, authority, intuition, revelation and faith. Minangkabau philosophy places the combination of empirical experiences, reason, intuition and revelations as its sources of knowledge. The empirical experiences and reasonings in Minangkabau philosophy are understood as human endeavors called *pareso* (reflection), while intuitions which is understood as the understanding of heart is called *raso* (emotion). The four knowledge sources in Minangkabau philosophy cannot be disintegrated even though each has its own roles and functions. This combination is refered as *raso pareso* epistemology.

## Empirical Experiences

The concept of *alam takambang jadi guru* means that Minangkabau people capture the realities based on the real circumstances and empirical experiences of the natural phenomena. Observable experiences are used as sources of knowledge, as what is claimed by John Locke's *tabularasa* where humans are shaped by their experiences and to obtain the knowledge they need to undergo experiential processes, as illustrated below:

“Mancaliek tuah kanan manang  
maliek contoh kanan sudah  
manuladan kanan nyato  
alam takambang jadi guru” (Hakimy, 1997: 40).

“Karatau madang di hulu  
babuah babungo balun  
marantau bujang dahulu  
dirumah baguno balun” (Madjo-Indo, 1999: 193).

These adages are important for Minangkabau people for it contains the cultural values of exploring other places as a means of enriching personal knowledge, improving maturity including recognitions to ideas, attitudes, behavior and new norms. Exploring other places enable Minangkabau people to observe, emulate, make use and communicate with their new surroundings. Exploring other places also functions to increase the awareness to broaden one's knowledge in order to stimulate the *sense of belonging* in all aspects in life (Naim, 1979: 311).

## Aka l

Beside basing its philosophy on empirical experiences (*alam takambang jadi guru*), Minangkabau philosophy also places reason as its source of knowledge. In Minangkabau language, logics, creativities and thoughts are referred in an abstract and non-abstract term – *aka*. According to Navis (1986: 97) *aka*, means *thoughts* and *tree*. Often, the use of the word *aka* (reason) is to be associated with roots (of a tree), such as in: (1) a scholar may also be called a person who has a thorough reasoning (a long root) who can always be able to give solutions to problems future-oriented reasoning or visionary; (2) a scholar

may also be called a person who has a lot of techniques (*banyak aka*) to solve a problem with satisfactory results; (3) a cunning person is also called a person with crooked thoughts (*aka babalik*) to deceive other people; (4) an ignorant person is also called a person with a short wit (*singkek aka*).

Epistemologically, reason is recognized as creative ethical teachings to be used for the social and personal interests either in making considerations or using it properly according to Minangkabau philosophy. Since humans capabilities differ from each other, reason in Minangkabau philosophy is categorised into four: (1) *Aka sajangka* (a hand-length witted) is a term used for people who consider themselves who think that they are more intelligent than others; (2) *Aka duo jangka* (two hand-length witted) refers to a person who thinks that she or he is as intelligent as others; (3) *Aka tigo jangka* (three hand-length witted) refers to a person who thinks that she or he is not as intelligent as others; (4) *Aka bajangka-jangka* (many hand-length witted) refers to person who thinks that she or he always needs to learn from those who are more as well as less intelligent than she or he (Navis, 1986: 98).

Hakimy (2004: 85) explains that the potentials of reasons must be used for the welfare of the society. Reasons which always lead humans towards virtues are called *aka nan sabana aka* or reasons which are in line with ABS-SBK philosophy. It is also true that human reasons may be used for conducting bad deeds. Therefore, human reasons can be structured into levels: (1) *Aka sambarang aka* refers to reasons which only orients itself towards advantages and profits regardless of virtues and moral aspects of the actions; (2) *Aka manjala* refers to disoriented reason which leads to greed and envy; (3) *Aka takumpa* refers to reasons which fade and die especially associated with a person who likes to fantasize; (4) *Aka tawaka* refers to attentive reason which faithfully and obediently observe the norms stipulated by God; (5) *Aka sabana aka* refers to reasons which consider advantages and disadvantages, the alpha and omega, *the kosher* and the forbidden, optional and obligatory, Islam-based, death and life, high and low and justice and non-justice.

Minangkabau philosophy questions everything including the nature. The idiomatic expressions carried by *pepatah-petitih* cannot be sufficiently understood and interpreted using literal meanings only, but also some radical and critical thinking in order to reach the intended and proper meanings. In line

with Rene Descartes, the intended meanings can only be attained by presenting questions, as illustrated in the followings:

“Sadang baguru kapalang aja  
nan bak bungo kambang tak jadi  
kok hanyo dapek dek mandanga  
tidak didalam dihalusi  
mangauak tah sahabiah gauang  
mahawai tak sahabiah raso  
banyak pahamnyo nan tak lansuang  
sahinggo batuka dari makasuiknyo” (Hakimy, 1997: 18).

The implicit meaning of the idioms is that a person should ask questions about the issues in order that she or he understands the ideas comprehensively in order to attain the object previously set. Logical thinking in Minangkabau traditions is founded on four features namely logics or *alue jo patuik*, observations to legal norms or *anggo jo tango*, ethics (*pareso*) and dialectics (communal forums). The element of reason and in Minangkabau epistemology is the key word to understand every custom provision which is expressed *pepatah petitih* as expressed in *yang tidak lekang oleh panas dan tidak lapuk oleh hujan*. The idiom means that acceptable ideas are those founded on correct, proper and naturally legitimate and can be acknowledge by humans fine attitudes and validated by intellectual thinking.

Minangkabau rationality is also reflected with its acceptance to new ideas in religions, socio-culture, etc. Even though the innovations are always affected with conflicts due to thinking frictions, but they can always be mediated within the discussion forums to reach agreements and consensus. Thus, new ideas can be accepted after undergoing cultural selection processes and social acceptance in accordance with custom and religious values (Zuhro, 2009: 107).

The differences of the product of knowledge obtained by the people in Minangkabau philosophy has been caused by the differences of human knowledge levels, and it is indispensable, as shown in the following idiom:

“Pincalang biduak rang tiku  
didayuang sambia manungkuik  
basilang kayu dalam tungku  
baitu api mangko iduik” (Hakimy, 1988: 99).

From the adage above, it can be clearly seen that there are dialectic processes in obtaining a knowledge. The dialectic process in the idiom is the occurrence of disagreements as a form of thesis and antithesis as metaphorized in the criss-cross of sticks in a fireplace which causes the emergence of discussions as a dynamic synthesis. It is understood that there will never be fire if there are not criss-crossing firewood so is the discussion forums – there will never be any solutions if there are no disagreements.

## Intuition

The kinds of epistemology in Minangkabau philosophy which orients itself to ethical values also gives intuitive roles as sources to gain a knowledge. Minangkabau philosophy places *raso* (heart/*coeur*) as a balancer for logical thinking (*pareso*). Intuition as a means to justify a knowledge in Nusantara philosophies including that of Minangkabau is not separated from the position of the knowledge as one of cultural elements which are materialized into ethical activities and which stems from the heart.

Conscience as the source of knowledge, according to Blaise Pascal is another word for intuition (Bergson) or *vernunft* by Immanuel Kant. Intuitive knowledge can be attained through one's perseverance and totality in developing the knowledge so that she or he can get new understanding and new insights. A person who has the intuitive knowledge, can spontaneously answer a question due to an ability which surpasses the knowledge of reason or sense of experiences. The knowledge which is based on intuition can be observed on the following adage:

“Kilek baliuang lah ka kaki  
kilek camin lah ka muko” (Hakimy, 1988: 30).

“Baranang itiak dalam aia  
alah tantu jantan batinonyo” (Hakimy, 1988: )

The first adage means that a lightning which strikes from a hoe-like tool and a mirror as subjects can already describes the feet and the face as the object. This is the idiomatic expression that a wizard can directly capture the realities which will happen due to her or his intuitive knowledge which stems from her or his conscience.

The second adage is the metaphor of a person who has to determine the sex of a duck which will swim in no time. A person who is knowledgeable about ducks, will spontaneously determine the sex of a swimming duck. The idea is that the abilities to learn, read and socialize are obtained through *raso pareso*.

The importance of the knowledge in Minangkabau resulted from should become the competence possessed by a custom leader who is also required to have some empirical and thinking skills (*pareso*) as well as the ability to socialize with the society in the sense that she or he understands the knowledge custom through her or his conscience (*raso*). A person who does not have such a competence is called a person who does not have the knowledge *hereang jo gendeang* (courtesies, sarcasms and idioms). In living *raso jo pareso* principle, a person will always conduct a study before hastily making important decisions.

## Revelations

The acts of understanding the nature cannot solely be conducted under rational and empirical evidence, but also by using some divine guidance. The concepts of Minangkabau philosophy which are formulated within the custom norms, places *adat nan sabana adat* which bases itself on the divine custody (revelations) for reference in the next level, so that all of the custom norms and laws in Minangkabau epistemology always adhere to *syara'* (*Kitabullah*). The roles of the revelations as the source of transcendental knowledge gives some normative inputs for intuition which is found within the human conscience.

### *Alam Takambang Jadi Guru* as an Inductive Method to Obtain the Knowledge

To understand philosophies, Minangkabau philosophy uses the inductive logics, where everything is based on the observations in the surroundings, which in turn, will be assessed using the truth standards observed by Minangkabau society namely *alua* (the plot), *patuik* (properness) and *ungkinan*, so that *alam takambang jadi guru* philosophy will inductively verify the phenomenon.

The natural provisions later are interpreted into the custom provisions which are validated by the society. This is different from the Javanese provisions which is deductive in nature. the Javanese puts a strong



foundations towards its custom provisions. The next generations serve as the benefactors of the knowledge without having the opportunities to criticize or to re-interpret the existing custom provisions. Even though the Minangkabau culture has been built on a strong foundation of its customs, but it still gives spaces for reinterpretations in accordance to the dynamics of the time and the people. Epistemologically, this attitude brings about a more egalitarian society of Minangkabau which is reflected in *sakali aie gadang, sakali tapian barubah*.

The Minangkabau people observe the nature phenomena by using the inductive methods. In Minangkabau philosophy, the nature is categorized into four aspects – *alam batang* (plants), *alam binatang* (animals), thoughts and non-human realm (Sayuti, 2008: 169-171). In the realm of animals, the inductive method can be seen from the life of ants expressed in “*bak samuik bairiang*” (like the marching ants). Ants also ‘greet’ one another when they meet as expressed in “*tagak sapo manyapo, duduak tagua managua*” (when we stand, we greet, when we sit, we acknowledge), an attitude which is hard to find these days, except if the interlocutors have some interests to start a conversation.

Another characteristic of ants can be seen in the way they forage for food. In Minang, it is expressed as “*kok dapek samo balabo hilang samo marugi*” (together we will get food, and together we will not). Ants are also recognized for its defense systems. When ants are taking a rest or dwelling, they will build some gradual and systematic defense system. All characteristics shown by the ants for Minangkabau philosophy reflects *alam takambang jadi guru* which is inductively acknowledged from the realm of animals.

In plants, the inductive methods can be observed in the life of a banana tree. The shoot of a banana tree can still be a shoot if it still lives together with its ‘parent’ tree. But if the shoot is separated from the parent tree, it can become another parent tree. A similar thing also happens among the Minangkabau people where one’s freedom and independence are justified from her or his ability to live separately from her or his parents to create a new family. The habit of exploring other areas is used by a person to obtain her or his independence and competence.

The inductive method can also be observed in the non-human realm where the world is seen through good and bad dimensions. The human life is

always centered between the two polarities culminated in the concepts of heaven and hell. Minangkabau philosophy explains the meanings of good and bad inductively through the analogies of the life of plants and animals.

In the thinking realm, the Minangkabau people think and give meanings to their thinking products as expressed in “*pikia palito hati*” (one’s thought is one’s light) which means that there should be synergies between *raso* and *pareso* or between thinking and faith. *Raso* is within the conscience (soul, faith) and *pareso* is in the area of thinking or logics. *Pikia palito hati* means that whatever we are thinking must render meanings as what it means to live as a scavenger. If we do not find the meanings, therefore, we should use the adage “*haniang hulu bicaro*” (think before you speak) to gain the deepest meanings of one’s thoughts.

### *Alua, Patuik and Mungkin as the Standards of Truth*

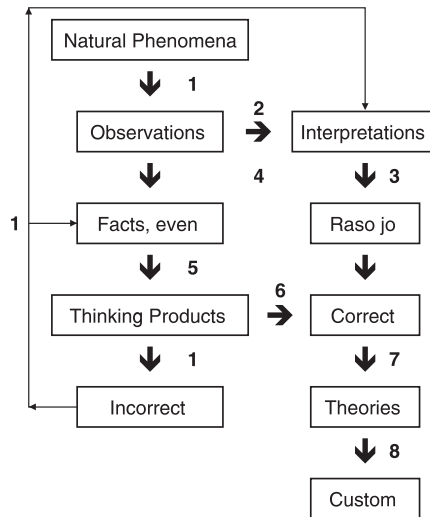
In the pre-Islam era, the standards of truth in Minangkabau refer to the synergy between the nature and the natural provisions as expressed in “*ka bukik mandaki*” (it is the hill we climb), fire burns and water cools things down. This is where the philosophy *alam takambang jadi guru* so is the *matrilineal* concept. For the people of Minangkabau, it is natural that mothers are the ones who bear children, understand them the best and have some psychological relationship with them even before children are born.

Minangkabau philosophy bases its standards of truth on three aspects – *alua* (system), *patuik* (properness) dan *mungkin* (opportunity). The knowledge is built through a system or a flow chart. Questionable, doubted, interpreted and decided ideas must undergo a proper and systematic thinking process. If an idea is proven to be *alua* but not *patuik*, thus the ideas cannot be accepted as a decision or truth as with a decision which is *alua* and *patuik* must be accepted as a decision and truth.

From the three aspects Minangkabau philosophy generates custom adages using natural phenomena as indicators, such as in “*gabak di hulu tando ka hujan, cewang di langik tando ka paneh*”. This adage is true due to the congruence among the three standards of truth. (*alua*, *patuik* and possible). This custom advice can be scientifically understood based on the

climatology that everytime people see *gabak di hulu* then it will eventually rain due to the condensation process when the vapor moves upward and hit a solid element. Meanwhile, when *cewang* is in the sky (clear sky) means there is no vapor and the high intensity of light which enables electromagnetic radiation which causes the vapor to disappear.

The following schema shows how the Minangkabau people base their knowledge findings on the systematicity of the inductive approach of *alua* and *patuik*:



- 1. Social Science : *lamak dek awak katuju dek urang*  
(justice value)
- 2. Political Science : *tagang badantiang-dantiang, kandua bajelo-jelo*  
(leadership value)
- 3. Manajement : *ka bukik samo mandaki, ka lurah samo manurun*  
(cooperation and synergy)
- 4. Natural Science : *gabak di hulu tando ka hujan, cewang di langik tando ka paneh* (climatology)
- 5. Religion Science : *indak bingkudu tak bagatah, antah kok birah jo kaladi, indak penghulu nan ta gawa, antah kok Allah dengan Nabi*  
(Human is erroneous, the Divinity is the perfect One)

Based on the schema, the process of obtaining knowledge in Minangkabau philosophy starts with observations through sense experiences (1). The sense experience results give stimulus to a person to interpret them (2). The interpretation process is assessed with *raso jo pareso* possessed by the interpreter (3). The results of the interpretation simulatively and interactively compared to the events (4) to generate a thinking product (5) which can be correct and incorrect. If it is correct, (6 ) then it becomes a theory (7) which will be materialized in custom advices (*kato adat*) (8). *Pituah adat* delivered covers all aspects of life and gives birth to a knowledge (9) in political, social, management and natural sciences. On the other hand, the thinking product can incorrect, (10) because it does not meet the concepts of properness (*patuik*) and impossible. If the thinking result is incorrect, the process should be restarted from the interpreting stage (11) until a correct thinking product is achieved. An incorrect thinking product may have been resulted from inaccuracies in doing the interpretation. The reinterpretation process shows the dynamics of the Minangkabau people in generating the knowledge. They do not stop with a stagnat and inaccurate thinking product because the nature as the teacher is continuously and consistently interpreted.

## The Epistemological Base of the Communal Forums

The Minangkabau society has two value systems in carrying out the communal forums known as *lareh nan duo* (a synergy of two). The first synergy is a forum which uses Koto Piliang customs and the second uses Bodi Caniago customs. The two differs in a number of ways since they were created by two Minangkabau historical proponents – Datuk Ketumanggungan dan Datuk Perpatih Nan Sabatang who have different views in managing the social and political aspects in the society.

The practices of custom forums in minangkabau shows that there is a public space to show disagreements either within the synergy of Koto Piliang or Bodi Caniago. The discussion processes in Koto Piliang is commenced with addressing the problem conducted by a *manti* to the local participants such as the tribe, *kaum* and *paruik* (families of one mother) as instructed by the custom society of Minangkabau.

Based on the constructions, there are levels of discussion forums such as the ones in the communal house (one *nagari*), in *rumah gadang* (one *kaum*), and

in *rumah gadang* which is led by a *tungganai* (a leader from *paruik*). Following the problem addressing, the *manti* will request opinions and responses from the participants. In the process, the *manti* gives some guidance and alternatives towards a resolution. This is the stage where discourses occur because everybody has equal rights to express opinions and to disagree. When a solution and an agreement are made, they will be announced to a *penghulu* to be officially reported and to be legitimized or said to have been acknowledged by the *penghulu*.

In Koto Piliang system, the spaces for disagreements are possible when the forums do not reach any agreements which is said to be '*diparambunan*' or given a recess in order that the participants get ample time to do further thinking and reflections of the problem and free it from any interferences. When an agreement is attained, the decision can then be officially reported to and be given legitimation by the *penghulu*. A problem which is *diparambunan* can take as long as three, seven, fourteen and twenty-one days. During the *perambunan*, all parties conduct some further negotiations prompted by a *tungganai*, called *memasukkan raso* (involving emotions).

This procedure shows the central role of the system and the competence of the *penghulu tungganai* in generating decisions from the aspirations of the *anak kemenakan*. The *tungganai* is the house leader which directly assesses the problem before it is presented to *penghulu pucuak* to be given a legitimation. the commonest problem occurs within the *patuik* level. It goes with the saying "*rancak rumah dek tungganai, elok nagari dek penghulu*" (the house is good because of a *tungganai*, the *nagari* is good because of a *penghulu*). *Penghulu* hold the sole authority to make decisions by previously paying attentions to dialectics. The authority rendered to a *penghulu* must be based on good and bad considerations. The decisions made by a *penghulu* must be respected by all social components in Koto Piliang communities.

At the normative level, the decision of a *penghulu* must be adhered and obeyed by all participants. Nowadays, however, a *penghulu* gets less respects due to individual interests. There are cases when a problem already resolved in *tungganai* level cannot be given official approval by the highest *penghulu* because the later has her or his own interest in the matter. The system poses a weakness – that a decision might have been quickly resolved, but it might be accurate.

In Bodi Caniago system, the *penghulu* participates in the discussions together with *anak kemenakan* in levels of problems (*duduak sahamparan*). When the problem occurs at one-mother level, a tribe *penghulu* will also be summoned to be able to give inputs to the *anak kemenakan*. The practices of Koto Piliang and Bodi Caniago systems share a similarity in which they open public spaces for disagreements.

While Bodi Caniago system follows *duduak surang basampik-sampik*, *duduak basamo balapang-lapang* (sitting alone gives people free spaces, sitting together less spaces) which means that everybody has equal rights to express their opinions and in making decisions. This system is considered ineffective since every body is given the opportunities to speak so decisions cannot be made promptly.

Koto Piliang system follows *bajanjang naiak batanggo turun* (gradually go upwards, gradually go downward) which means that a problem should be discussed at the lowest level (*paruik*) and led by a *tungganai* first, before it is presented to the levels of *kaum (mamak)*, tribe (*niniak mamak*) and finally *nagari (penghulu pucuk)*. If the problems can be resolved within the lower hierarchy, *penghulu pucuk* will only act as the legitimacy body. Because of this, the system followed by Koto Piliang system is also called 'hierachical democracy'.

Every custom discussion in Minangkabau including the custom ceremony *batagak pangulu*— will use *panitahan* or *pasambahan* system where the opening speech is addressed to discuss a particular issue. Custom speeches will be performed by a young man who has earned a degree or started a family to another young man from another group. Each will also address their speech in their respective groups. Following the discourses to the sitting *niniak mamak*, they will come to a resolution.

Every communal forum is commenced with an apology addressed by *sipangka* (the forum sponsor) to the *niniak mamak*, religious clerics, scholars and other people who deserve to sit in the forum. Using Habermas (1984: 101), the apology made by the *sipangka* can be viewed as a way to understand each other points of views before proceeding to the matters. The will to understand and to be understood is clearly *immanen* in the speech conducts and shared by all people. The medium that leads to understanding in a discourse

is the language. A language is a communication medium to achieve a reciprocal understanding.

According to Hardiman (2009: 36), the use of a language in a discourse in Habermas' perspective is to find the structure of communicative understanding and not a strategic action. In a strategic action, people do not use a language to understand, but to impose one's will to others which may also lead to a consensus.

The speech of *pasambahan* custom is commenced with addressing *balabeh mulo-mulo* (*belebas* at the beginning) which refers to an opening speech with a fixed structure to begin a *pasambahan* (a gift) including *pasambahan batagak pangulu*, as expressed in the following:

“Angku Datuk.....(disebutkan namanya), sambah dipuhunkan kahadapan Angku, sakali gawa baribu ampun, maaf dimintak gadang-gadang. Sambah sujuik jo simpuah, sabarek bungka nan piawai, naraco luruih main daun, indak basisiak jo basibak, indak bahinggo jo babateh, kok ketek indak basabuik namo, kok gadang indak babilang gala, ujuiknyo sambah nan taserak kapado hadirin kasadonyo. Dari sintuak ka saniangbaka, urang mamukek pagi pagi, dari ujuang taruih ka pangka, dari tengah sampai katapi, indak ba atok jo barompai, bukan bahinggo jo babateh, ketek indak basabuik namo, gadang indak bahimbau gala, ujuiknyo sambah nan taserak kapado hadirin kasadonyo ujuik nan hadir diateh rumah nangko. (*The next is ..... And then, it will be a gift by the audience in accordance with the authority levels and functions such as niniak mamak, ulema, scholars and government officials*)

“Sungguhpun angku surang jo baduo nan tasambah di hambo, nak salangkok ganoknyolah baliu Niniak mamak, Alim Ulama sarato baliu caadiak pandai dan badan pamarentahan nan hadia di ateh rumah nangko, tampek ambo mangarang maantakan sambah jo salam, kurang ka tabilang ka diatok, pambilang pa atok pasambahan. Sambah tibo diangku Niniak Mamak nan balingka duduak salam tibo diangku sagalo guru, kasudahan sambah dimintak rela jo maaf kahaadapan angku Datuk .....(disebutkan namanya) (Rajo, 1993: 34).”

The speech part of *pasambahan* is also called *batang pasambahan* which contains the statement of appreciation and respects to the people who give speeches in the forum. The appreciations and respects are shown through philosophical expressions using metaphors in *pepatah petitih*, as written in Minangkabau adage:

“Nan tuo dihormati  
samo gadang lawan baiyo  
nan ketek dikasihani  
tanaman suko dilambuak  
manusia suko disanjung” (Hakimy, 1988: 44).

In the opening of *pasambahan*, there has not been any dialogal processes because the part does not address the goal of the discussion. The objective of the discussion is stated in the body of *pasambahan*. The body of *pasambahan* is delivered reciprocally in turn between the messenger of the forums. Every speaker will respond to the other interlocutor’s messages after repeating the previous messages. *Pasambahan* speeches are delivered by quoting the custom procedures on the purposes and background of the ceremony in the form of riddles, idioms and metaphors, such as the one in the *pasambahan* forum of *batagak pangulu*:

“kok dikaji maso nan dahulu, takalo langik tasentak naiak, takalo bumi tahantam turun, Nabi Adam mulo partamo (etc. .... telling the origin of the Minangkabau people and their customs) itulah warih nan dijawek, pusako nan kito tarimo dari niniak moyang kito Datuk Parpatiah nan Sabatang jo Datuk Katumanggungan saibu sa ayah.

“Biriak-biriak tabang ka samak, di samak tabang ka halaman, jatuhah marahok masuk padi, dari niniak turun ka mamak, dari mamak turun ka kamanakan, adat bapakai kini, pertama hiduik bakarilahan, kaduo mati batungkek budi”

“Baa tatapek samacam iko kini, alah rapek mamak jo kamanakan sarato ibu jo bapo. Kok picak alah salayang, kok bulek alah sagolong, tatapek di mati nan batungkek budi. Siatolah baliu mati nan batungkek budi, Datuk Bareno dahulunyo kini bagala Datuk Majo Kayo. Itulah baliu nan kajadi payuang panji bandera basa dalam payuang nangko, kok pai tampek batanyo, pulang katampaik babarito, utang nan ka mambaiakan, piutang nan ka manarimokan manuruik sapanjang adat dalam nagari”

“Indak lai kinitu, lah rancak bana angku paiyokan kaapado baaliu nan basamo, mananti malah hambo”

“Karano kandak alah balaku, kok pintak alah babari hambo sugiro mampaiyokan, basaba manunggu malah angku” (Rajo, 1993: 33-34).



The explanation is taken from the body of *pasambahan* in example one (1) explaining the historical background of Minangkabau custom systems. It is reexplained in the second expression (2) by giving a normative foundation in the form of adages about the importance of *batagak pangulu* mechanism. The third part (3) explains about the emergence of a consensus consensus (agreement) form the discussion of *niniak mamak* that Datuk Majo Kayo is nominated as a *penghulu* with further explanations of his functions according to Minangkabau customs. The fourth part (4) indicates that every discourse performed by the proponent's side gives an ample discussion space for the opposing group before stating their agreements. The second party, as described in the fifth part (5) also performs an internal discourse before making a decision.

Based on the explanation, it is revealed that the epistemological aspect in the dialogs during the *pasambahan* speeches indicates that the tradition of discussion and consensus will be attained by every participant. The communication process also shows that there are interchange of ideas between the two parties. This process, according to Habermas is a communicative act to attain a resolution or consensus where the two parties. This process is what Habermas called as communicative action to get consensus after the two present rational arguments, defend their ideas and disagreeing and finally come to a common platform agreed by the two parties.

The communicative actions performed in *batagak pangulu* results in consensus which is rationally accepted by all participants because there are deliberate endeavors to express ideas in a free atmosphere. There are also inter-subjective acceptances and acknowledgements to the validity claims that show that the meanings of the interests of each party are true, correct, and honest which in Habermas said to be *wahr*, *richtig*, and *wahrhaftig* as reflected in the expressions of the following *pasambahan*:

“Duduak surang basampik sampik, duduak basamo balapang lapang, dapek basamo dipaiyokan dapek surang di bulati, dek karano kami duduak baduo batigo, nak dibawo kato baiyo, mencari bulek nan sagolong, picak nan salayang, saba mananti malah datuak.”

(the expressions accept all conditions with willingness but all must be decided in the forums)

“Tantangan sambah jo titah angku tadi, diamba gadang dianjuang tinggi, tapi dek adat kato baiyo, pusako gayuang basambuik, bajalan nak baiyo, bakato bak bamolah jo baliu angku nan duduak basamo, supayo rantak nak sadaram, lenggang nak sarayun, picak nak satapik, bulek nak sagolong, direntang kato jo rundingan, mananti datuak sakatiko.” (respects to niniak mamak in line with the sacred legacy that has been accepted and the agreed custom provisions based on the request of the accepted guests)

“Sapanjang kato datuak tadi, nan tatumpu ka ambo sananglah hati mandanganyo, pandai bana datuak babilang dari awa sampai akianyo, satitiak indak nyo hilang, sabarih indaknyo lupu, licin badindiang camin, kok datanyo balantai papan, aluihnyo mangulik dasun. Nah bak sibisu barasian, taraso lai takatokaan tidak, jo kok talalai manjawabnyo, ampun jo maaf kami mintak, apolah sabab karanonyo, ambo rang ketek mudo mantah, angan angan banyak nan cewang, pikiran banyak nan ragu, biduak untuang pandayuang hati, niek nak sampai kalabuhan, ambo tak pandai mangamudi, alun sikola dihaluan, ba’a nan kapambarinyo, sasuai bak kato undang, kok tagamang mintak dijawab, kok licin lai batungkek, samantaro manjapuik jawaban nyo nak ambo baiyo, io kamamak nan salingka duduak, sananglah datuak manantinyo.” (the wordings have been very pleasant and mindful from the beginning to the end, calming the minds, non-offensive, non-intimidating so that the discussions reached an agreement) “Dipaiyo dipatidokan, dipaukua dipajangkokaan disauak aia nan janiah dimintak kato nan bana kapado baliu nan hadir, duduak sabalah Sutan manantikan.” (the agreement will bring mutual benefits)

The communicative actions in every communal forums in Minangkabau reflects the epistemological element of the communal discussions to always in one mind and one word *saiyo sakato* regarding the collective practices in Minangkabau customs, as shown in the following expressions:

“Bulek aia dek pambuluah  
bulek kato dek mufakat  
bulek lah dapek digolongkan  
picak lah dapek dilayangkan” (Hakimy, 1988: 79).

According to Rosa (2003: 230-235), the discussion and agreement traditions in the communal forum ceremonies among Minangkabau societies especially those

outside the area or *rantau* has become weak nowadays. It is so much different from the ones in *darek* areas which still implement the patterns of the communal forums in its custom practices. The differences might have been caused by the cultural differences between the two areas. *Darek* areas still embrace the dialogal cultures as can be seen in its institutions.

On the other hand, the culture in *rantau* areas is more monologous and hegemonic, so that the dialog discourses are subtle. This kind of culture affects the reductions of the dialog forums reflected in *pasambahan* speeches since most parts of *pasambahan* speeches are *bungo pasambahan* containing the romantic stories of *tambo* Minangkabau which aims to enrich the aesthetical values of the speech, so that the opposing interlocutors will only accept the speech as ‘the truth of Minangkabau *tambo*’ without providing any rooms to question the content of the text. It shows the hegemony and centralistic culture in the communicative conducted in *rantau* areas.

## Conclusion

This study concludes that Minangkabau custom philosophy finds itself on the provisions of religious and natural laws, reflected through the expression “*adat basandi syara’ syara’ basandi kitabullah, alam takambang jadi guru*”. The cosmo-centric understanding of the philosophy *alam takambang jadi guru*, is not meant to make the nature as an objective knowledge or as knowledge of nature. The nature, however, is made into an analog to generate the provisions of values and conducts within the social interactions in the Minangkabau society. Because of this, all of its teachings and philosophies are etched within its idiomatic expressions in the form of *pepatah petitih* which emulates the shapes, the characteristics and the life of the nature.

The philosophy in Minangkabau customs places the knowledge as the synthesis between empirical and national aspects. The knowledge, according to the philosophy of Minangkabau customs, is not grounded on merely observable and rational aspects (*pareso*), but also conscience (*raso*), so that it results in the findings of new understanding or knowledge. The such is called *raso pareso* epistemology. In western philosophy, such concepts are labeled as the logics of conscience by Blaise Pascal, and Vernunft by Immanuel Kant,

and intuition by Bergson. The Islamic philosophy addresses this concept as *Irfani*.

The relevance between the epistemological studies of the philosophy of Minangkabau customs with its communal forum practices lies in the dialogal processes performed by the Minangkabau society when making resolutions to problems through the communal discussions. The communal forums will only be fruitful if it generate consensuses or agreements and if it also provides spaces for public disagreements. The two discussion systems encountered within Minangkabau society give ample opportunities to the two adherents to open dialogs in the forums to come to resolutions.

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THE DYNAMIC OF CULTURAL  
EXPRESSION OF ETHNICITY ON  
PALEMBANG'S RIVERSIDE  
URBAN STRUCTURE

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Introduction

This study investigates the expression of ethnic cultural activities on Palembang's riverside urban structure from 1700s to 2000s. Its objectives are: (1) to understand the cultures of Chinese, Arabian and Native Malay-Palembang in perspective of their daily activities; (2) to investigate how their living environments accommodate the activities; and (3) to differentiate the physical spatial order of riverside settlement between the three ethnics. This study answers a research question of how those cultures are reflected in the Palembang urban structure. From literature review, the study explores the history and culture of the three ethnics.

The figure ground analysis and field observation are conducted to examine the urban structure of the ethnics' settlements. The interview strengthens the analysis to obtain the cultural expression of each ethnic in their living environments. It is found that each ethnic expressed their social culture on their living environment and reflected it in form of building and spatial order, the use of open space, and accessibility to the Musi River and towards the land. The dynamics that influenced the expressions are social culture values and change in transportation network.

Palembang was well known as an international hub from the 6<sup>th</sup> century. It was known as the international harbor, center of Buddhism study and center of Islamic study. The coming of many foreigners to this city made the acculturation cultures between native and non native's. The city's structure consists of some old settlements at Musi riverside area where each ethnic positioned their living environment. This paper aims to investigate the cultural expression of each ethnic on the physical and spatial setting of their living environment. By understanding their culture, this paper investigates how the living environments accommodate their cultural activities. The paper assumes that each ethnic express their culture in daily activities and reflects it on physical and spatial order in their living environment.

First of all, this paper elaborates the theoretical review on culture value and its relationship with the urban structure. The second part of this paper discusses the history of native Malay Palembang and the coming of Chinese and Arabian to Palembang to obtain the background of each ethnic. Further this part elaborates the culture of each ethnic on a basis of daily activities. It relates the activities to the physical and spatial order of each ethnic living environment in order to understand the culture being expressed in physical world. In the discussion session, paper elaborates the urban structure of each ethnic settlement to examine the dynamics of cultural expression on the physical spatial structure.

## Culture, Identity and Urban Morphology

Culture is a human achievement and become synonymous with civilization and the identity of the characteristic (Wostl et.al, 2008). Culture composes a city through



the interaction between its people and the environment. We can find many evidences of human civilization in every city elements. As a cultural fact, city is the living environment that is produced by the physical structure and values or cultural activity through formation and transformation process (Karakul, 2009). Culture also reflects the development of life system of a society, as a result of human adaptation to the new living environment. Working in an integrated system, the culture shows the practices of adaptation of social value and social activities. It is a kind of people's reaction towards the new context coming from changes in human life (Wostl, 2008; Ganis, 2009; Mendes and Carbita, 2009)

Considering cultural aspects in studying the city is important since the diversity of culture along with the new innovation and trend in human life have shaped the morphology of a city. The persistent of a cultural continuity carried by the persistent urban elements contributes to the specific identity of the city (Mendes and Carbita, 2009)

## Culture Transformation

An urban element and its configuration are categorized as tangible culture, while the values and cultural activities are categorized as intangible culture<sup>1</sup> (Karakul, 2009). These two kinds of culture are interrelated one another and created the historical environment. The urban elements interact with the changes in society such as development of technology, new trend and new economic demand and create the transformations in urban structure and value. Previous studies mentioned that the transformation will be ended in some conditions.

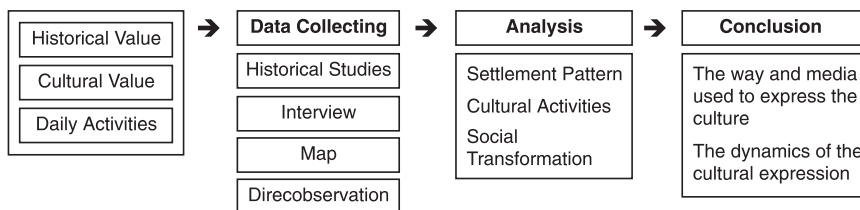
Karakul (2009) mentioned the ending of transformation will be (1) no changes, (2) changes and (3) disappear, while Boblic mentioned that it will be ended in (4) continuity or (5) discontinuity<sup>2</sup> of urban elements. The key for this process is the cultural activities that influence the transformation process and then affect the change of physical structure and/or social value (Boblic, 1990; Rapoport, 2004; Karakul, 2009). Human as the user of built environment reacts to the transformation process and the result. The reaction can appear in various

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<sup>1</sup> Karakul (2009) mentioned that the interrelation between tangible and intangible culture produce the environment.  
<sup>2</sup> Continuity is a condition of transformations when urban elements are maintained, added, developed, that adapted over the time as a continuous development. Discontinuity is a condition of transformation when a certain urban elements are destroyed and / or replaced by transformation (Boblic, 1990: 33)

ways; such resistance, acceptance, re-adaption, and creation new meanings caused by the changes of physical elements and spaces arrangement (Rapoport, 2004; Ganis, 2009).

This paper explores the old settlement at Musi riverside area in Palembang, South Sumatera. The settlements chosen in this study are the ones that have historical value, were known as old settlement in Palembang, and have uniqueness coming from the ethnicity of the village. From literature review, the study explores the history and culture of the three ethnics. The figure ground analysis and field observation are conducted to examine the urban structure of the ethnics' settlements. The interview of the residents strengthens the analysis to obtain the culture activity of each ethnic in daily life and the adaptation towards the changes in social life reflected in the living environments.



**Figure 1.** The methodology frame work of study

Further the historical studies and interview were conducted to obtain the historical and cultural background of each ethnic from the era of 1700s until 2000s. The analysis of figure ground strengthens the result of interview and historical studies to determine the settlement pattern of each ethnic as reflection of cultural activities. From direct observation, this study attained the persistency of cultural activities that accommodate by current physical and spatial structure. Through analysis of settlement pattern, cultural activities and ethnics' adaptation towards the social transformation, the study determined the way people of each ethnic express their culture in the media of their living environment. It also determined the dynamics that influence the cultural expression of each ethnic.

## The Richness of Cultural Diversity at Musi Riverside

Palembang developed as a maritime kingdom with role as international hub in South East Asia. It became an international city where many foreigners came

for trading and staying. Regarding the settlements zone policy, since the era of Pre Sultanate, Palembang ruler had placed a land use policy. The ruler divided the main zone of the city into two areas, Ilir and Ulu. He put the Ilir area as the higher value land based on past philosophy<sup>3</sup>. Further, he allocated the royal family and the natives to have a place in Ilir area while the non-natives were placed at Ulu area. He also ruled that only the natives and privileged family could have a place on land. As a defense strategy, he only allowed the foreigner to stay on the water so he could prepare the action to overcome any threats came from the outsiders (Taim, 2002; Utomo, 2006).

## The Native Malay Palembang Settlement

According to Hanafiah (1995) the history of Malay Palembang was started from the history of Demak refugee who came to Palembang in 1540s. This group of people was lead by Ki Gde Ing Suro Tuo and built a new community at Musi riverside area with Kuto Gawang as the first palace. By adapting with the nature of Musi riverside and native Malay people, this new community had acculturated and assimilated the Java and Malay culture, later it is known as Palembang culture. In the era of the third successor, Kimas Hindi, known as Sultan Abdurahman or Sunan Cinde Walang (1659-1706), Palembang proclaimed its independence from any ideology and cultural relationship with Mataram Kingdom in Java and declared itself as Palembang Darussalam Sultanate.

As the Palembang main role in South east Asia was an international hub for trading activities, the Malay Palembang also lived in trading life system where was also influenced by the water as the main natural resources. People utilized water for their daily activities, including trading and transportation. Waterline was important line as it connected all area in Palembang. As described by Yeng-yai sheng-lan-chiao-chu (1100s) a Chinese trader, the people of Palembang lived at their home in two different ways. *First*, they used rafting houses. This group of people lived on the water, and had no obligation to pay tax to the sultan. The other group is the leaders stayed on land using pillar

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<sup>3</sup> Since era of pre-Sriwijaya, the Ilir area had been perceived as the higher value because the level of Ilir was higher than Ulu. In Ilir area, there is located the highest level of land in Palembang, named Bukit Siguntang, the holy land.

house. The other historical notes also mention the linear form of the city following the river line.

“This place was surrounded by water and very small area of dry land. The leaders stayed on dry land at riverside area. The ordinary people houses were separated from the leaders’. They stayed on the floating houses which were bound using a rope to a pillar on the land” (journey notes of Yeng-yai sheng-lan-chiao-chu, 1100s in Hanafiah, 1995 ([www.palembang.go.id](http://www.palembang.go.id))).

“The people were the genuine Malay, who would not build their houses on the dry land as long as they were able to build a house on the water, and they would not go anywhere by walk, as long as the destination could be reached by boat” (noted by Alfred Wallace Russe; 1800s)

“no wonder, it could be believed that the size of this city is as same as when hearing the sound of a rooster in the very beginning of the day, continuously replied by other roosters with the distance more than 100 prasang. This is because of the villages are connected one another continuously “ (translation from the journey of Arabian voyager, Abu Zaid Hasan when visited Palembang in 851)

“the size of the city is described as where the cat can walk upon the roof of the houses without touching the land, from the Old Palembang to Batanghari Leko, since the cat can jump from one roof of the house to another houses” (notes by Ducth Officer, L.C. Westenenk, 1800)

The life of Malay was influenced by the Islamic philosophy. Most of big religious communal activities were held at mosque. Beside the religious function, it was a focal point for traveler outside Palembang to visit and stay overnight. The mosque is the focal point at Malay settlement. Most of the old mosques were located near by the riverbank. The smaller communal activities were held at traditional limas house, accommodated by the main room of the house which consists of several split level. The main room also had a flexible wall construction which enabled to switch the function from the semi private in normal day to public use in occasional day. The big size of the main room reflected the social activities that could be accommodated by the house.

As mentioned before, the Malay Palembang settlement was located at the Ilir Area, near by the Palace of Sultan. The surrounding area of The Kuto

Besak Palace was addressed to the royal family or other privileged family to stay. Now, the position of this area is located at Jalan Temon, which is known as Sekanak Village. Unfortunately, the big fire hazard in 1976 had demolished many old Limas Buildings. Only two Limas were left, owned by the Family of Hasyim Ning<sup>4</sup>.



**Figure 2.** The Malay settlement morphology  
(Left: Suro Village; Right Sekanak Village)

Another area for Malay settlement can be found at Suro Village, 30 Ilir, which is well known as the center of songket industry. Based on the interview, the Malay native people were traders in the past time. Usually they sold the hard commodities such as coffee and tin from Bangka. At this village, some of Limas can be found facing the street, some of them can be found facing the river Musi. In the Suro Village, there are some old warehouses located near by the old houses (limas). Now, the old warehouses' function is not the same as in the past. Some of them are used as residence for the family of the old houses or being rent to other people.

By analyzing the historical studies and interview, it can be inferred that the old Malay Palembang people life was dominated by the trading activities. As Palembang was the international hub for foreigner traders, the Malay Palembang people also included the international trading activities in their life. The linier form of the city following the river line showed that the trading activity on water was the main activity of people in Palembang, including Malay Palembang.

<sup>4</sup> Based on interview conducted in 2011 with Wak Sap, one of family of Hasyim Ning.

## The Chinese Palembang Settlement

The relationship between China and Palembang had happened from the era of Sriwijaya. It was predicted that they had come to Palembang since the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The form of relationship between two empires was economic and culture co-operation. They conducted international trading with locals or other foreign trader in Palembang, as well as learning Buddhism at Sakyakirti, the centre of Buddhism at Bukit Siguntang. Some of them decided to stay and married locals and built up Chinese community in Palembang. The Chinese existence in Palembang was retained even the Sriwijaya had conquered by Majapahit.

In pre Sultanate Era, Chinese stayed on the water using floating house since Sultan prohibited foreigners to stay on the land. Using floating house, Chinese could move from one place to other places easily in doing trading activities. Not only being famous as trader, Chinese were also well known as craftsmen. Their skills were utilized in some sultanate projects such as Masjid Agung development. Chinese who converted to Islam were pointed as leader in society by Sultan with Demang's title. Starting from the era Dutch colonization, the foreigner could stayed on the land, including Chinese

Currently, the ruins of physical border of Chinese settlement have not existed anymore. Only some of old houses are left at riverside area. The building style is a combination of with combination of Chinese, Dutch and local architecture. There are two Chinese settlements left, namely Kapiten Village at 7 Ulu ward and Klenteng Village at 9/10 Ulu ward. Kapiten village consists of some buildings that were owned by a Chinese Kapiten family.

In the past time, the complex was occupied by the Kapiten family as well as his servant, and surrounded by the wall fence. There are three main building in this village, consists of two Kapiten's residence and an ashes house. These main houses are facing the Musi River and have a court yard in the front of the houses. The architecture of the houses is a combination of Doric style at its pillar, traditional Chinese style at the roof form, and local traditional at its pillar construction. This complex has a pier at North West side of village.

The Klenteng village was a place at the east side of Kapiten. It consists of a Chinese temple with some old buildings with Chinese architecture style.



**Figure 3.** Kapiten Village

**Figure 4.** Klenteng Village

The series of shop houses at the west side of the temple was used as houses for the worker when the temple was developed. The temple is facing the Musi River and has open space in the front of it. There were two old Chinese trader houses at this village, which are owned by Willem family (Kim Tsik family). The houses were also facing the river, and had a pier for jetty in the front of the house.

Some of Chinese houses are also founded at other village at Musi riverside area. At 5 Ulu villages, there are two old Chinese houses, which are not now owned by Chinese anymore. The houses are facing the Musi River as same as the houses of Willem at 9/10 Ulu. Based on observation, the houses have no pier, but from the location of the buildings, it can be concluded that the houses were built near by the water to accommodate the accessibility to the water transportation.



**Figure 5.** Chinese house at 5 Ulu Village

Comparing with the Chinese architecture style, the form of Chinese houses in Palembang is slightly different from the genuine one. It is a result of re-adaptive effort of Chinese to respond the nature of Musi River. For the Chinese, inner court is a part of the houses as a place for doing activity, daily basis and occasionally basis (Moh. Tajuddin and Cheah, 2011)<sup>5</sup>. Because of the tidal of Musi River, Chinese adapted the local architecture and combined it with the

<sup>5</sup> Chinese traditional life style has some activities conducted at their houses. daily activity such family gathering, wedding ceremony, tang long fiesta, Chinese new year's celebration, moon cake festival, etc were conducted using the inner court yard.

genuine Chinese architecture using the wooden as the main building material. Based on the figure ground analysis and observation, the houses still applied the inner court but they applied it in pillar houses. The activities that were used to be conducted at landed court were held at the open space in the front of the houses, just near by the riverbank.

It is obviously seen that the activity as trader that utilized Musi River for main transportation network has influenced the way Chinese in Palembang chose the location for their houses. The business life system was more dominated their life style. Their daily activities as trader determine their choice in choosing the place to stay. They used Musi River as water ways for coming in and out Palembang. Therefore they utilized waterways not only as transportation network but also as a part of business network. Moreover, they used the river banks as place for supporting their trading activities such as loading dock area. River became the focal point, and the culture was adapted to the nature of river. The way Chinese adapted to the nature of riverside shows how river became the main influencing aspects in Chinese life in the past time.

## The Arabian Palembang Settlement

Arabian came to Palembang as sailors, traders and religious teachers in the same time. In the Sultanate Era, they had special position as sultanate religious advisor. Unlike the other foreigners who were prohibited to stay on land, Sultan gave a right for Arabian to stay on land. The first Arabian settlement is located at Kuto Batu, Ilir area, same area as Malay or the privileged family. The first Arabian settlements are known as Sungai Bayas and Muaro village. Based on archival studies, there are some other Arabian village located at Ulu area in Palembang, named by the name of family; Bahrak Village, Al Munawar Village, Al Hadad Village, Al Habsyi Village, Alkaff Village and Assegaf Village.

“...Except the local-native people, there were Chinese, Arabian and other foreigner lived in the city. The first one stayed on the water using the floating houses. Arabians had their own villages.... the number of Arabians were registered in 500 persons; most of them had their own houses. ...” (Report by Sevenhoven, 1821)



Arabian in Palembang came from Hadramaut, Yemen. Their ethnic was well known as a sailor and trader (Gilsenan, 2003). They have their own life philosophy; whenever you go far from the homeland, there are only two things to bring along, the *kitab* and *nisan*. *Kitab* is referred to the Islam value in Al Quran and Hadits, while *nisan* is referred to a signage of their tombs if they died in the foreign land (Novita, 2011).

Based on that philosophy, the Arabians adapted to the new place, and blended to the native community, without eliminating the Islamic value in their life system. This philosophy was reflected on their settlement. The adaptation is shown in the architecture style of the old houses at Arabian village. According to interview, there are three main important elements in Arabian village, namely the old houses, the open space and the mushola. Unfortunately because of the urban change, some of open space at Arabian village is destructed by the development of alley, so that the form of the open space cannot be detected by figure ground analysis. There are two villages that still have clear open space formation, namely Bahrak village and Al Munawar Village.

The Bahrak Village is a complex of old Arabian houses located next to Kapiten Village, near by the Aur River, a tributary of Musi River. It belonged to a family of Arabian trader; Bahrak family, consisting eight houses facing to the open space. From the architecture style, the houses have richness in style with a lot of ornaments. Unfortunately, some of the houses have already been sold to new person who are non-relatives. The houses ornaments are rich with woodcarving and also paintings. The reason for selling the houses is because of conflict of heritage among inheritors.

The Al Munawar Village is also a complex of Arabian houses, located nearby Temenggungan River, also one of the tributaries of Musi River. The complex was built by Habib Abdurahman Al Munawar, also one of Arabian big trader. The condition of the complex is still well maintained. The buildings are also rich in decoration, interior ornament, and architecture style. This complex also has an open space at the center and it is surrounded by the surrounding old houses. The character of this open space is very strong, even though the new buildings are built at the back side of the old ones. The houses and open spaces are still owned and used by the family of Al Munawar.

From the field observation and map analysis, it can be inferred that in every Arabian village, there is a main old buildings; usually it was owned by *Habib*, the leader of the family and also the founding father of the village. The Arabians usually positioned the religious' activities and economic activities un-separately. It is reflected on the physical and spatial structure of their village. The main building is located facing the Musi River with an open space in the front of the houses. The open house was dedicated as a place for accommodating religious class held by the *Habib*.

The village also has a place for the mosque, a place for conducting Islamic worship. Unlike the buildings and open space, the musholla was placed at the riverbank. Since the *habib* is also a trader, the village also has a place for storing the commodities. Like in Al Munawar village, the warehouses for commodity were placed at lower ground of the main houses and a building next to the main building.

From the previous study by Novita (2011), it mentioned that the basic consideration in choosing the location of settlement was the accessibility to the Musi River and its tributaries. Generally, at the Arabian village, the building and open space are located just approximately 50 - 175 meter from the Musi riverbank, or 2-5 meters from the tributaries. This condition shows that the Arabian built their settlement in responding to the nature of Musi River, and further adapting their cultural activities in Palembang.



**Figure 6.** Arabian Settlement Left: Bahrak Village; Right Al Munawar Village

## The Cultural Expression

Form the exploration on each ethnic culture; each ethnic brought their culture into their living environment. For Malay, as the native one, the settlement was founded as respond to the trading activity which was dominated in Palembang.

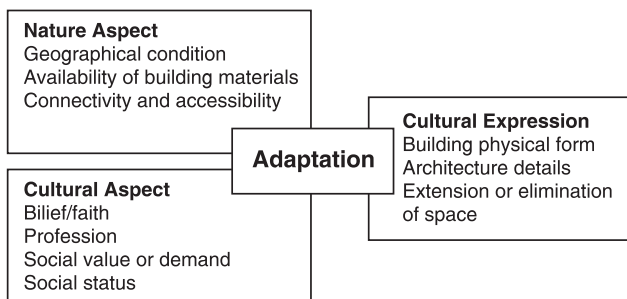
The religious philosophy also influenced the pattern of Malay settlement. For Chinese which had profession as trader, trading activities also determined their ways in building the settlement. They tend to build the house at riverbank, so that the pier was just in front of the house, like Chinese house at 5 Ulu.

The other way of their adaptation was they built the houses with distance from riverbank, in order to provide a place for loading the trading commodity as well as for pier, like Chinese house at 9/10 Ulu. For the Chinese who had political role, the complex of Chinese settlement reflected the high social status of the family. The building size is relatively bigger than the trader's.

Similar to other Chinese settlement, the pier was also provided for transportation purpose. The Arabian have their value in living in foreign, by adapting to the locals' without forgetting the Islamic philosophy of life. The activity as trader, religious teacher, and community leader also reflected in the formation of settlement. The building style utilized the local architecture can be seen at the main or oldest house, owned by the village's founding father which used limas architecture.

The other old houses, which are owned by the children, used the Indisch style. The open space and musholla are the other key element in Arabian village, as they accommodated religious activity and the social activities based on religious value. This kind of activity still exists now, and become the social character of Arabian society. Unfortunately, only al Munawar village has the open space with clear form and border, and still accommodate the cultural activity.

From the discussion, cultural expression of each ethnic in Palembang is a form of adaptation with two aspects in society life, namely nature aspect and



**Figure 6.** Cultural expression of ethnic in the past time

cultural aspects. Each ethnic learned the geographical condition of Musi River and its tributaries, utilized the timber as building material and considering the accessibility and connectivity to the Musi River in choosing the location of settlement.

Each ethnic also adapted their culture value, such as belief, social demand, in forming the physical and spatial system of their houses and village such as open space, the big size of main room in the house and mosque for communal activities. In addition, the trading activity also contributed to the way people decide the location of the house and warehouse. The way each ethnic expressed their culture in their living environment is shown at Figure 6.

## The Change of Cultural Expression

As the time goes by, the changes in urban life have impacted the physical and spatial structure at old village in Palembang. The influences were coming from (1) the change of transportation network, from water transportation to the land transportation, (2) new trend in architecture style and (3) new function demanded by daily and cultural activities. The built of KH Azhari street at Ulu area and Depaten Lama street at Ilir area along with the reclamation of Kapuran and Tengkuruk river to become Merdeka street and Sudirman street in Dutch Colonization Era had impacted the decreasing usage of river transportation.

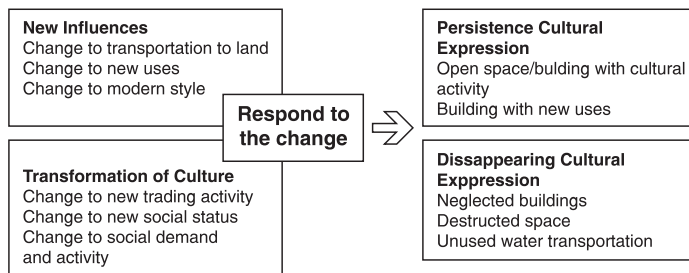
The economic activities which were used to be conducted on the water had shifted to the land by utilizing public land market built by the colonial. Each of ethnic's settlement respond the development by built access to the dry land area. For the Malay settlement which had linier pattern following the river line, the street become the new orientation for the new building. It is found in Suro village, that some of the old limas buildings are facing the street while some others are facing the river. For Arabian settlement and Chinese settlement which have concentric pattern, the land access was built to connect the open space of village to the street. Since the open space of the village is the center point, the strong character of the village is still strong even the new buildings were built facing the street.

Unlike the native Malay who utilized Limas traditional building as the house in their settlement, Chinese tried to combined their genuine Chinese

traditional spatial order without leaving the local traditional in their houses. The idea of mixing the pillar house constructions, Doric style and traditional Chinese spatial order in their house make the Chinese houses have specific character as reflection of their culture. In Arabian settlement, the adaptation of architecture in the building was applied in every single building. In the village, the oldest house used Limas traditional style and while the other old buildings used Indisch style as their adaptation to the local architecture and new trend in style. The lower ground of the Limas house was used to be the warehouse for trading commodities. Now as the type of commodities has changed, the function of warehouse has changed to evening Islamic class and primary school.

For those villages which maintain their cultural activities, the persistent cultural expression can be found in current situation, in the form of urban elements which are accommodated the cultural activities. The new uses accommodated at old urban elements also create persistence in cultural expression at urban elements. If the cultural activities as well as social values have been disappeared, then the cultural expression will disappeared too.

The physical development also can destruct the cultural expression. Like at Arabian village, most of open spaces are missing because it was built by new buildings or new alley. Both of the persistent and the disappeared cultural expression are the result of transformation in urban life. The disappeared cultural expression leads to the loss of cultural identity of the ethnic. The persistence of cultural expression leads to the rebuild and re-strengthen cultural identity of the ethnic, as shown in Figure 7.



**Figure 7.** The transformation of Cultural expression in current time

## Conclusion

Palembang urban culture is dynamic. This dynamic comes from the process of cultural acculturation between ethnics. By applying re-adaption on geographical condition, the three ethnics reflect their social culture in the living environment. Each ethnic express their social culture on living environment in various ways and these contribute to the richness of river life at riverside area. There are two factors influencing the cultural expression of three ethnics on the living environment: Social cultural value, and Transportation network change. These expressions are reflected in form of physical form, building spatial order, open space and accessibility.

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# THE COMMERCIALIZATION OF BODY ON THE NAME OF KONSUMTIVISMEE

*A Case Study of Women Who Work For Purel  
in Karaoke X, Jember, East Java*

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## Introduction

The word “development” itself is currently in the community has several meanings. According Migley (2005: 3) it means a process of economic change brought about by the industrialization process. Development also means a process of social change resulting from urbanization, adoption of modern lifestyles, and behaviors of today. Furthermore, this term also has connotations of prosperity that offer that development can increase income; increase the level of education, improving housing conditions and health.

Onslaught of mass media marketing strategy as well as modern shopping center development was able to change the orientation of people’s lifestyle, to creating the culture that puts people konsumtivismee lifestyle. Social change is influenced by the views of the value of an item that is no longer measured solely according to their usefulness (utility), but has been imaged as tend to measure materialistic well-being using the parameters indicated by the ownership of such items as air conditioners, refrigerators, mobile phones, computers, motorcycles, cars, models the latest clothes.

One of the most vulnerable populations to konsumtivismee is teenagers. There are several reasons that can be used as the first parameter, teens serve as targets for potential users based on the number, composition of the population of adolescents aged between 10-24 years to reach 64 million

of the total 220 million population of Indonesia (Ray Media, March 25, 2011). Secondly, psychologically, as described by Hurlock ([www.masbow.com](http://www.masbow.com)), adolescents are at a crisis of identity and are looking for identity. Adolescence is a period of change because there are five changes that are universal in the change of emotion, body, interests, behavioral patterns, and changes in value.

In fact, teenagers today are product of capitalist creation with a relatively high propensity consumetivism. One contributing factor, according to the Maharani (Kompasiana, December 16, 2010), teenagers easily ate a lot of ads popping up in the media, when in fact it is not so concerned with the goods offered. A study that conducted by Reynolds in Purkasih (<http://sispurkasih.blogspot.com>) states those adolescents ages 16 to 18 years of spending money to support the appearance itself. Another factor is the desire to follow the latest fashion in order to demonstrate the social environment recognizes the existence of self-existence. Existence itself is sometimes shown in the form of self-display to be admired by their peers or even to attract the opposite sex.

Adolescent girls are one of the most exploited by konsumtivisme as the impact of massive publicity, aggressive and periodically from the mass media. Based on the results of the identification of Wikipedia is known for teen magazines of 20 magazines and 22 women's magazines ([id.wikipedia.org](http://id.wikipedia.org), retrieved August 5, 2011). Konsumtivisme indoctrination swift currents through the promises of mass media encourages young women are obsessed to have the goods they want, and it was likely due financial constraints, commercialize body consciously, until then trapped in the world of prostitution.

A study conducted by Aysh (2011) mentions the existence of a positive correlation between prostitution with konsumtivisme because of the lure of well-paced lifestyle. As a young woman, not only be able to eat and meet daily needs, but also meet the needs of fashion and beauty, buying the latest mobile phone, up to clubbing. As a result they voluntarily "sell themselves", without realizing that they have become victims of the capitalist system has unwittingly become one with konsumtivisme pervasive. Efforts to explore the phenomenon of commercialization on behalf konsumtivisme body is done by conducting a

study on women who worked as a purel at one karaoke center named Karaoke X, Jember. Purel that serves as the informant is a student aged 19-21 years, has worked at least 1 year as purel, and has an income of at least Rp 800.000/night. This study successfully interviewed 3 purels.

## Purel: Between Lecture, Sex, Money, and Shopping

The phenomenon of commercialization of the body on behalf konsumtivismee on going Jember. This issue is very interesting to study because the perpetrators are mostly women and beautiful young student, and not a “chicken college”, but rather works as purel. This study was restricted to purel with status as a student with the considerations in more quantity and status as a student. Related to the theme of this paper the following description of it:

## Socio-Economic Background of Women Who Work as Purel

The women were on average aged between 19-21 years old, and come from the district of Besuki that covers an area of Jember, Bondowoso, Situbondo, Probolinggo, Lumajang, and Banyuwangi. After graduating from high school/ equivalent in the region of origin, they then continue their education to higher education, both public and private, in Jember. Choice of continuing education in Jember is based on consideration of the mileage on average only 1-2 hours for the return trip to his native area in the district of Besuki or horseshoe area and quite a rich assortment of universities in Jember. For information, currently there are 21 private universities, and a state university in Jember. In addition, the other reason is Jember, as the largest city in the district of Besuki, so it is more crowded than other areas in the region of the horseshoe.

Socially, the background of these women comes from families with parents working as civil servants, entrepreneurs, or employees of private companies. Some women are even classified as coming from a family prominent since offspring respected clerics in the region. Then, using qualitative parameters based on money transfers from parents per week on average Rp 250.000, have at least two famous brand mobile phones, having laptop before worked as purel, and lived in the boarding house to rent per month Rp 250.000, then based

on it can be seen that the economy of these women came from middle-class family economy.

Guests or customers come from various backgrounds different. Starting from business to the local level officials from the district of Besuki.

## Being Purel: Initially Accompany Up Play “Fire”

Before becoming purel, these students first started working as sales promotion girls (SPG) tobacco products. After some time working as SPG, they were turned into an invitation purel because fellow friend who has previously worked as purel. Purel is a profession with its main task to accompany the karaoke guests sing. The purel is not a karaoke center employees, but rather as a “partner” because of the purel existence is the main attraction. Usually guests and purel had known each other and have the purel desired to make an appointment at the karaoke center at a certain hour. Purel composed into two categories: first, purels are only willing to accompany the karaoke room, secondly, that commercializing purel body in order to earn a great income.

The influence of social environment has a tendency to affect the outlook, attitudes, and values held by individuals so as to form something new in accordance with current social environment. Individual adopts in order to adapt to the environment so it can be accepted as part of that environment. This process occurs in a student who worked as purel. At first only to accompany singing, but slowly, through her sensory experience, began to form perspectives, behaviors, and new values about how to earn money quickly in large amount by way of commercializing her body.

At the simplest level, the form of commercialization of such body is to allow customers feel part of the breast. The next higher form is touching and being touched again, making out, dancing striptease in a drunken, even deliberately thrusting her breasts to be enjoyed by customers. Highest level of commercialization purel body is sexual services at high prices ranging between 1-2 million for short time for a new purel, for senior purel be priced at least Rp 500.000. Accordingly, income derived purel different. Lowest in on night, purel can earn Rp 900.000,- and the highest could reach Rp 3.000.000,- In addition

to the money, these purels was still get may gifts by guests such as watches, mobile phones, clothes, shoes, etc.

The only reason for commercializing purel body is for the money. Values about virginity, sex, and marriage are contained in the community and religious teaching is seen as the traditional rules that are less relevant to modernization. Purel thinks that women are entitled to commercialize her body as the legitimate owner and does not harm others. Even in looking at the risk of pregnancy due to sexual relations outside of marriage was takenlightly because it will resort to abortion. The low indifference is also actualized by having gun-protected sex with multiple sex partners. The consequences of infection of sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS were not taken into account.

## Purel, Money and Shopping

Shopping is a purel routine agenda after obtaining substansial money work the night before. The allocation of funds intended for the majority of shopping activity. In one week, average up to three times to shop and spend a minimum of Rp 600.000 for all shopping. The money is used for body care to the salon, shopping for clothes, shoes, electronic items, cosmetics, and meals. Shopping centers in Jember frequently targeted purel to spend her money. Sometimes purel also visits the boutiques when there are the latest clothing models. Besides, these purels are frequently visiting the online shopping site or see the catalog are offered to them.

The urge to spend more dominated by a strong desire rather than necessity. Purchasing an item is not based on the needs and values useless. The strong desire to shop is always influenced by the emergence of new industrial products, so it would seem to have it the always-up dating, trendy, and not outdated. Although in the end is not necessarily the items that have been bought will be used daily. Thus, purel will feel her existence higher than her friends will. Money is not a problem for purel because it is easy to get it. Therefore, there is no burden at all to spend money to feel idle. Purel believes that guests or customers who are always ready to give money, whatever was asked, during purel willing to make the switch by giving her body.

Besides all, confidentiality status is something that must be maintained so self-image in front of family and friends remain good college. In Javanese culture, women are placed as a symbol of morality and purity, and are in accordance with the jargon of paradise under the heel of the mother. Heaven is a symbol of everything that is good and holy. Therefore, if people know their status as pure, then stigmatized as prostitutes, sinners, adulterers, and various other labels will be attached.

The efforts to keep the image is done by demonstrating polite behavior while on campus, as well as use the simple clothing that is not flashy attention. Even some of them are wearing Muslim clothing that was sealed. Choosing a boarding place was cultivated together with friends from the same profession. Talking with fellow friends was using everyday language that polite with a soft tone of voice. Everything is neatly arranged and adapted to the habits prevailing in the campus.

## Purel: The Social Problems of Time Bomb That Ready to Explode

“Blaming the victim” or to put any fault on the victim is the easiest way to show that women are commercializing their body is antagonistic actors in social situations. As if the behavior is performed based on the will of individuals without the intervention of another larger system or by Sutomo (1995: 70) known as individual blame approach. Huda (2009: 34) explains that based on the systems theory a system is essentially a part of a larger system. Thus, a system is a subsystem of other systems. Referring to this view, then industrialization along with the mass media is a huge system behind the creation of female adolescents konsumtivisme behavior- in this case purel, which is actualized through the commercialization of the body in order to obtain large amounts of money in a nutshell. This view is based on a system that contribute to the problem or by Sutomo (1995: 70) mentioned as a systems blame approach.

Based on system blame approach can be described about the connection between industrialization and the mass media to build imaging systemically thus creating konsumtivisme culture in society. Women imaged

as a figure of beautiful, white, straight hair, intelligent, sensual, and various other imaging according to the interests of the mass media and industry. Everything owned by women are exploited for the benefit of the industry. Individual images are then combined with the creation of popular culture that glamorous, be extravagant with money, practical, materialistic, and thus affecting the modern subconscious is slowly but constantly and continuously, to make a person in accordance with such imagery. Therefore, the choice of a woman commercializes her body, either as purel or in other forms, is closely related to the social system that creates konsumtivisme and hedonistic lifestyle.

In such a social context, women bear a double burden as victims and perpetrators. As a perpetrator, the women in the context of this study unilaterally connoted as prostitute, sex maniac, teaser, beast, and cheap. To avoid social stigma, then the purel disguising itself through the appearance of courteous and even some of them using the Muslim fashion. Situations that cause women commercializing her body were never corrected. Side of woman as victims tend to be ignored, to then be used as a means of satisfying the interests of male sexual desire.

The social reality of commercialization of women's bodies are increasingly confirming the position of women as a vulnerable group who are vulnerable to social stigma and the low degree of health quality of life due to the possibility of women infected with sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS. The women were not only purel, but good housewives but the infection from husbands who did promiscuity with purel without using a safety. In fact, since the babies are still in the womb had been forced to bear the same risks.

To avoid the possibility of the widespread problem of women that caught in prostitution circles for reasons konsumtivisme or hedonism, then at least there are two directions of motion that needs to be done. First, at the level of policy makers, both executive and legislative branches perform the supervisory role of mass media and industry to protect its citizens, in this women case. Second, at the community level, such as customers care organizations educate the public to be a smart consumer to protect society from capitalist exploitation. Both are implemented in the context of efforts to ensure the social welfare of

the public that in the future social problems can be managed well, the community's needs can be met, as well as social opportunities open to the maximum (Midgley, 1995).

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## PILGRIMAGE OF URBAN KAMPUNG

Sacred *Maqoms* Ritual and Space Structure of  
*Kampung Luar Batang North Jakarta and*  
*Kampung Ampel Surabaya*

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### Introduction

Historic kampungs were important part in the formation of northern-coastal cities of Java cities in the past. This urban settlement has different characteristic in term of physical setting, building styles, uniqueness of tradition. Similar researches on historic kampungs have been performed on various cases, and it has been found that many historic kampungs have been undergoing transformation process which caused changes and even radical demolitions, mostly because of political intervention for the sake of urban development. Historical kampungs were often considered as an investment potential within the context of the city's economic sector development. For instance, government carried out a kampungs improvement program to revitalize the deteriorating kampung's physical quality to make it a better place to live and to be utilized as tourism object.

According to previous studies, culturally kampungs in Indonesian context were easily influenced by political aspect, especially after the early modernization era followed by the post war period in early 20<sup>th</sup> century, which extremely cut across the ideological sight of the social stratification of ordinary (for the kampung's residents) and political elite classes (executive regulators) because

of colonialism process (Seng, 2009: 643). In the term of social stratification, the common terms of *kampung* (kampung/countrified ways) and *kekotaan* (urban ways) are cultural identification of the modern intellectual level of people's thinking (Setiawan, 2010).

In the midst of modernization process and expansion of contemporary life style, some indigenous kampung culture of the old kampungs has been commoditized as a heritage tourism place like Kampung Glam in Singapore and it should be calculated as the essential aspect for improving management and economic viability of the historic district (Hill, 2008; Ismail, 2006: 243-256). In the contrary, in -the case of Brunei's water villages, the government efforts for maintaining the legacy of traditional richness looked to be meaningless. Some inhabitants began to leave their floating village and moved to other hopeful land for the reasons of economic benefit and the physical safety of the landed houses (Jones, 1997: 457-475).

With these cases as reference, kampung's inhabitants in Jakarta migrated from one location to others within the city (intra-city migration), because their kampungs were demolished by the government in order to accommodate the extension of commercial development. Consequently they should adapt themselves into a new settlement and at lost their original culture (Somantri, 2007). Kampung Luar Batang and Kampung Ampel are the two historical kampungs located at the midst of the earliest port cities of Jakarta and Surabaya. These are two worthy cases to be studied for the benefit of the discourse on local knowledge, since they are relatively still able to retain its original tradition amidst cosmopolitan socio-cultural changes. The communities of both cases were saved from evictions because of the spiritual entity which could not be abolished since this entity is actually embedded in their public realm.

Compared to the previous cases mentioned at the beginning of this paper, the last two historic kampungs have more complex problems in term of public space intervention, space and public utilities/sanitation commercialism, property right of land and population density resulted from their attractive local tradition activities and their strategic location relative to the urban economic centers. These two aspects were intensive generators of the local commercial activities, which attracted migrant-merchants. Moreover, both kampungs became main destination for the migrants to increase their revenue, but in the

contrary the local inhabitants tend to move out from the kampungs because they rented their houses within the kampung for investments. This paper is intended to reveal phenomena which closely related to pilgrimage activities and its impact to social stratification, the space structure as well.

*Constitutive Phenomenology* of Edmund Husserl is adopted as the basic paradigm for this empirical study. In this research the rules of that paradigm is employed to uncover the intangible aspects behind the tangible objects. The term Phenomenology is originated from *phenomenon* (Late Latin), derived from *phanein* (to show, to appear), and *-logy/-logia* (science). Phenomenological method employs language as the main mean to uncover the intangible aspects by interviews, observation, and experience, directly conducted by the researcher. The accuracy of knowledge in this method depends on the meaning given to match what is seen, thought, and experienced. Therefore descriptive explanation and reflective action are essential in revealing the truth.

The data and information are collected purposively without involving the researcher's subjective views. Data validity is obtained through exhaustive cross-checking process of the information collected from the informants and resource persons. The degree of exhaustiveness is measured by the similarity of answers to the same questions. Technically, the collected similar information units, which spread over a number of notes, are classified into several categories of phenomena. The model of explained phenomena below, as presented in the final result, was conceptualized as a form of abstraction of the concepts that emerge from the constellation of each category (Embree, 1997 :9-11, 205; Partridge, 2009: 416; Kuswarno, 2009: 29-32, 47-48; Haryadi, 2010: 22-23; Norberg-Schulz, 1963).

Both historic kampungs resemble each other in the term of geographical features, the uniqueness of local tradition and its impact to the local commercial activities. Geographically, both of kampungs relatively close to the main rivers passing through the oldest core of the two coastal cities of Surabaya and Jakarta. Kampung Ampel is situated inland and in-between two important rivers Kali Mas and Pegirian River which flow through the city of Surabaya. At present, administratively Kampung Ampel is located within Kelurahan Ampel, Kecamatan Semampir, in the city of Surabaya. On the other hand, Kampung Luar Batang is situated at the estuary of Ciliwung River near Sunda Kelapa harbor, the main

access to city of Batavia (the former Jayakarta and later became Jakarta). This kampung is now under the administrative area of Kelurahan Penjaringan, North Jakarta.

Both kampungs have developed into high-density settlements with good accessibilities to the harbor and trading centers. The activities of two Islamic missionaries in the 15<sup>th</sup> century in Surabaya and in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Batavia had been contributing into the formation of local tradition through pilgrimage. They were Al Habib Husein bin Abubakar Alaydrus in Kampung Luar Batang, and Sunan Ampel (Raden Rakhmat) in Kampung Ampel.

Al Habib Husein bin Abubakar bin Alaydrus is a Yemeni, who was landed in Sunda Kelapa (the harbor of Batavia) in 1736, and spread Islamic teaching until he died in Batavia. He was given a piece of land, later recognized as *Kampung Loewar Batang*, by a Dutch general from Batavia after he correctly foretold the general's fortune. He built a prayer hall (*musholla*, developed into mosque later), which was used as a place for him to informally taught Islam to the local community and migrants who visited Sunda Kelapa harbor. The locals related the name of kampung with the myth of Alhabib Husein. According to myth he passed away (June 27, 1756) and when the body was to be buried at other location, it miraculously gets out from the coffin (*kurung batang*) and returned to the kampung. The locals call it 'Luar Batang' or out of the coffin (Interview the native, 2009).

After Al Habib Husein passed away, the mosque and its surrounding area became a graveyard complex surrounded by plantation and settlement.



**Figure 1:** Morphology of Kampung Luar Batang

Source: Dinas Kebudayaan dan Permuseuman Provinsi DKI Jakarta, 2007: 13, 17; ARA, VEL-1189 quoted by Peter in Nas, 2007: .67. Reconstructed map of 2008 from Google Earth

At present the tomb of Al Habib Hussein is referred as pilgrimage object, because according to genealogy, Al Habib Husein is considered as the Saint, the oldest trustee in Jabotabek (Jakarta-Bogor-Bekasi) (Sayyid Abdullah, 1998: 4-5, Heuken, 2003: 47-48 in van der, 1994). On the meantime, the mosque has been conserved and renovated by the government, and the surrounding area has developed into high-density multi-ethnics settlements of people from Padang, Java, Bugis, Makassar, Sunda, etc.

Sunan Ampel was born in Champa in 1401. He is one of the nine “walis” (Walisanga) or the Muslim missionaries in Java at the fifteenth century). There is still a disagreement among scholars regarding Champa, whether it is a place in Cambodia, or a place in Aceh called Jeumpa. He was given a piece of land in Ampel Denta by the King of Majapahit, Prabu Brawijaya V, because of his role as religious teacher for the King’s subjects. He lived in one of the three main early Islamic regions at the northern coast of Java (Surabaya-Gresik-Lamongan in eastern Java, Demak-Kudus-Muria in central Java, and Cirebon in western Java), and built a mosque and a religious school (*Pesantren*) as Islamic mission centre in 1421.

After he died (1481) the land became the graveyard complex for Sunan Ampel, his loyal followers, and his students. The graveyard complex is surrounded by multi-ethnic settlement, occupied by Arabs, Madurese, Javanese, Sundanese, etc. Sunan Ampel’s and his followers’ tombs became pilgrimage destination especially since 1972. Muslim pilgrims came from all over regions in Indonesia and even abroad. Sunan Ampel has been considered as Waliyullah (*Wali Allah*) and as a close relative of the Prophet Muhammad. Today, government conserved the earliest Ampel mosque and simultaneously built an extension building.



**Figure 2:** Morphology of Kampung Ampel; 1. Mas River, 2.K.H.Mas Mansyur street, 3. Pegirian River, 4. Kampung Ampel

Source: Algemeen Rijkarchief, Gravenhage, Netherland quoted by Rimadewi, 2004: attachments

## Pilgrimage Ritual at the Sacred 'Maqom' of Al Habib Husein bin Abubakar bin Alaydrus

Kampung Luar Batang is located in Jakarta old city area. It is accessible from landside from Jalan Pakin, Jalan Muara Baru, and from canal alongside Sunda Kelapa harbor. This northern coast area has been developing into maritime warehouses, trading, and waterfront housing area. Private warehouses complex is located right on the kampung's northern side. The old Batavia town and trading centres (Mangga Dua and Grogol) is right on its southern side. Bahari apartment, shop-houses, and Muara Baru fish market area is right on its western side.

Kampung Luar Batang is therefore surrounded by functions related to maritime and trading activities and middle-upper class housing. The *Maqom* mosque (*Maqom* refers to the level degree of somebody's knowledge about Islam faith or someone who is considered as a close relative of the Prophet Muhammad) which is located inside the kampong can be accessed on foot from the traditional market on the northern side of the fish market and maritime museum, or through neighborhood road from the Muara Baru main road.

Physically the position of the mosque in relation to the kampong is not at the centre, but functionally it is the centre of intensity of pilgrimage activities. In general the kampong can be divided into three zones: the mosque area, the dwelling area, and the illegal settlement area. This last zone is located on the kampong outermost side which is directly touching the canal water margin. The mosque zone is divided into two parts: the mosque building within the wall, and the open space which is infiltrated by pilgrimage activities (such as the streets around the mosque, and parking space, which were also used for market or bazaar activities). Within the inner wall, there are mosque main building, mosque's yard, administration room, pilgrims' lodging, kiosks, public kitchen, *Habib's* house, and ablution place. The mosque is accessible through the main gate/oldest gate and side entrance.

The *Habib's* house is connected to a group of people from Hadramaut who claimed the legitimacy as Al Habib Husein relatives, although according to legend, Al Habib Husein did not have any relative. After they won the right to manage the *Maqom* land, this *Habib* group (*Mutawali*) was given a place

within the mosque complex. On the other hand the management of the mosque is handed to the mosque caretakers who are from the local population. *Mutawali* claimed their responsibility as the caretaker of the sacred *Maqom*. Several donation boxes are placed within the mosque complex, and the allocation of the money taken from those boxes is decided by *Mutawali* (e.g. for maintenance of *Maqom*, for the poor and widows, for mosque maintenance, etc.). The way the donation is used is often perceived unfavorably by the local, because the *Maqom* is located inside their kampung. This source of income became a sensitive issue; therefore the economic activities in between religious activities are loosely controlled.

In fact a number of hawkers, peddlers, beggars, and scavengers can operate freely within the mosque wall. Occasionally the management issued verbal warning whenever those activities were considered as disturbing. There is no written warning to regulate the ethics of activities within and around the mosque.



**Figure 3.** Organization of space and circulation of ritual pilgrimage in *Maqom* Mosque of Luar Batang

Source: Grand Tour, 2009

In relation to pilgrimage activities, the rituals in Ampel and Luar Batang occurs almost every day, and this activity culminated in the Islamic celebration days such as: the birthday of the Prophet, the days before fasting month, and the *Haul* (day of death) Al Habib Husein bin Abubakar Al-Aydrus. But especially in Hajj period, the activity intensity in Luar Batang is not as intensive as in

Ampel. Although this is not a standard procedure, the first thing the pilgrims to do is to *sodaqoh* (donation) into a charity box which is kept by the Yemenis person, called Habib (known as a close relative of Al-Aydrus) in one corner of the mosque area. After that they will do several things: kissing the Habib's hands to ask for permission, taking water for ablution, entering the mosque, leading to sacred *maqom* or performing prayer first.

When the pilgrimage *maqom* is performed in the room of *maqom*, the pilgrims read prayer with or without a bottle of water, a bucket of *kembang payung*, a piece of burned incense and a small bottle of perfume. The water and incense can be bought in some kiosks or on the sidewalk toward the mosque at front verandah of the mosque, closed to the old well. According to the pilgrims, the blessed water is believed to have sacred power that may be taken as a medicine, to calm the mind, to increase prosperity, to smooth all matters, and so on.

Similar to the blessed water, the pilgrims bought *kembang payung* (a package of various types of flowers wrapped by banana's leafs and an umbrella toy) sold by hawkers at the parking area, around the gate, and within the mosque wall. According to the seller, this object is to complete and to conclude the Luar Batang pilgrimage activity. Meanwhile the incense seller explained that the fragrance from the incense and oil will be able help to fulfill the prayer based on the assumption that the usage of fragrance is according to Islam teaching. *Kebuli rice* was believed also as a kind of *karomah* (blessing) of Al Habib which was consumed by pilgrims in groups on Islamic day celebration and Haul (commemoration day of Al Habib passed away). *Kebuli rice* is Arabic rice seasoned with spices and mixed with goat meat which prayed by the pilgrims in the hope of God's blessing.

However, not every pilgrim subscribed to these practice, because the objects might carry non-Islamic believe. An informant said that the choice depends on individuals. Often some people used supernatural alternatives to gain profit or to solve problems. On the Islamic celebration days, the pilgrims often do *saweran* (throwing coins as thanksgiving for deeds they did) or to distribute money arranged by mosque officials at the open space, in front of the mosque. That is the reason for, a number of child coins scavengers, vendors and incense traders that can always be found every day in the neighborhood around the mosque, especially on celebration days. The intensity of pilgrimage





hand, the pilgrimage economically affected to the local revenue. It has changed the house function into shops, stalls, laundry, phone kiosk, beauty salon, public lavatories, tailors, rental house or other domestic services.

## Pilgrimage Ritual at the Ampel Graveyard Complex

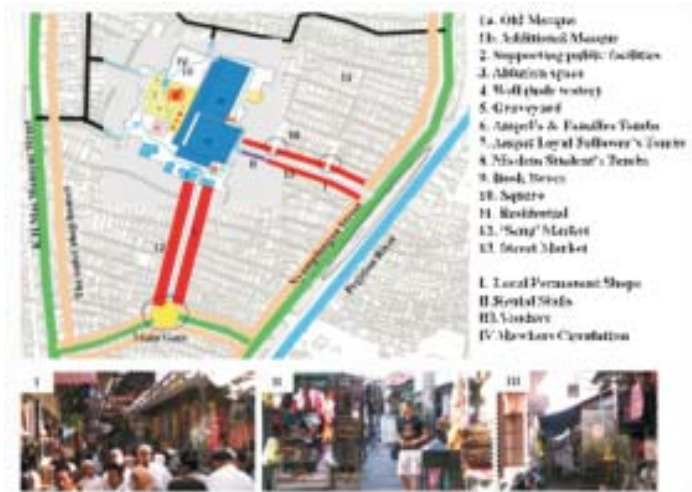
The mosque and Sunan Ampel graveyard complex is located within the old city of Surabaya. The complex is mainly accessible by public transport from Jalan Salak and Jalan Nyamplungan, which are parallel to Pegirian river. The outermost gate to the complex is located at Jalan Salak. The design of the outer main gate of the Sunan Ampel mosque and graveyard complex is an ornamented gate with Arabic motives. Many vendors occupied the pedestrian ways or on the two sides of road leading into the main gate, *Munggah* gate (*Gapura Munggah*), with *becaks* (tri-cycles or pedicabs) parked around it. The term *Gapura Munggah* is to remind every Muslim that going for Hajj pilgrimage (“*munggah*”) is an obligation for those who can afford.

Groups of people wearing Muslim attires walked through the gate and entered the covered narrow path, known as *jalan Nyamplungan Kuburan*, flanked by stalls in the left and right side. According to one of the vendors most of the pilgrims used this covered path to enter the Sunan Ampel mosque and graveyard complex, and some of them used the four entrances from other directions around mosque and graveyard (Rimadewi, 2004).

Parallel to the main covered path there is another path known as *Seng* market or *Pasar Gubah Ampel Suci*. One of Yemenis local traders said that the term *Seng* was associated to the traditional market around Masjidil Haram in Mecca. The stall owners in this market are the indigenous residents who have inhabited this place for more than 20 years. The stalls stand on the extension space in front of the house and along the right and left side of the lane.

Therefore, *jalan Nyamplungan Kuburan* is actually a public open space which then transformed into public-private space because space uses flexibility, which is determined by strict convention of the stalls owners alongside the covered path. All access coming to the covered path is secured by iron gates, and information on the opening and closing time schedule is hanged on the gates. One seller revealed that the gates help to protect the Arabic middle-

upper houses located at the rear of *Seng* market. The inhabitants of these houses are the owners of the big shops along the neighborhood roads, and the office employees.



**Figure 5:** Space organization of Ampel Mosque, graveyard and commercial spaces (Source : Grand Tour, July 2011)

Another market place is a street along *jalan Ampel Masjid*. This street type is slightly different from the previous one in term of the space use status. The shop house owners said that generally the owners of the shops along the street are local residents, but there are also some sellers who come from other regions who rented one or more space alongside the street. Some vendors said that they may occupy a space beside or at the rear of certain shop house because they got permission from the owner based on humanitarian and religious reasons. The street can be accessed by other paths which directly connected to the lower-middle income houses. Some vendors occupy the spaces around the crossings.

The oldest gate to the mosque and graveyard, *Gerbang Poso*, is situated at the end of *Seng* market. *Gerbang Poso* is a reminder that fasting (“*poso*”) is an obligation for a Muslim. Within the walls one can find a small security post, an administration office, an ablution space a *musholla* (small prayer hall) for women, the old mosque (renovated), the new addition to the mosque, groups of tombs with the name of the deceased and/or the family members, and a spring well that is believed by the pilgrims as the source of a holy water.

Based on the observation of the physical features of the gravestone style and the pilgrimage ritual procession, the graveyard seems to be classified into three zones. First zone is the Sunan Ampel and his family's tombs. This zone consists of the gravestones wrapped in gold-colored cloths. The entrance is marked by a monumental ornamented gate adored with two ceremonial umbrellas at both sides, and the complex is enclosed by stainless-steel fence ornamented with flickering lamps.

The second zone is the tombs of the loyal followers of Sunan Ampel and their families, as indicated by the gravestones wrapped in white cloths and enclosed by the stainless-steel or iron fence. The third zone is the tombs of the students (*Santri*) complex with modest gravestones similar to the commoner.

Since the arrival of Sunan Ampel, Kampung Ampel has been functioning as the centre of Islamic teaching and then as a pilgrimage centre after he and his loyal followers passed away.



**Figure 6:** Pilgrimage circulation and the roles for pilgrims

Source: Grand Tour, July 2011

The pilgrimage activities were carried out mainly in the graveyard, located in the backside of the mosque. The graveyard complex has approximately 100 tombs. Sunan Ampel and his family tombs cluster are considered as the main feature in the complex. The intensity of the pilgrimage activities increased on Thursday nights, the main Islamic holidays celebrations (the fasting month of Ramadhan, *Haul* of Sunan Ampel, Idhul Fitri, Idhul Adha) and the months of *Hajj* pilgrimage. Around 1000 pilgrims come daily, 2000 pilgrims on Thursday

nights, and the number was increased during the Hajj pilgrimage months, because in addition to pilgrimage they also purchased gifts in *Pasar Seng* for neighbors at their hometown to signify that they have become a *Haji*. On daily basis, the pilgrim number increased during the afternoon around 03.00 pm until the evening around 09.00 pm. This is because the air temperature is more comfort for contemplation in the mosque and the graveyard complex. Thursday night is considered as the sacred night with the highest weekly pilgrim numbers. They performed a night long solemn praying ritual called *Tawassul*. In this ritual, the pilgrims recite *dzikirs* and reading Al Qur'an together assisted by some famous *Habibs* all night long. They stayed in the mosque from the evening and went home in the morning carrying the bottles of blessed water. (Rimadewi, 2004: 110-111).

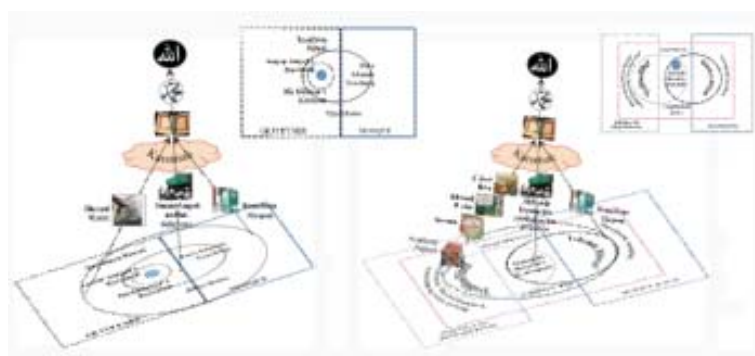
In daily visit, the pilgrims, whether they came individually or in groups, went first to the graveyard right after they performed the ablution. With the help of the mosque caretakers, they registered their visit first in a small post located in the front of the graveyard. It is up to them whether to fill the donation box or ask the caretaker to pray through a bucket of flowers. The *Habib* said that the flower is not a blessing flower but just for adoring the tombs with fragrance. Officially that believing in something other than Allah is prohibited, and the caretaker would inform the pilgrim about this.

After the pilgrims stepped into the graveyard complex they put off their footwear and chose a place among the students' (*Santri*) tombs, sitting facing towards the Sunan Ampel's tomb direction. They began to read Al Qur'an taken from one of the boxes scattered at several points around the graveyard. When they came as a guided group, the group leader would ask the members to follow his steps. Shortly after exiting from the tombs area, they went to next area where big containers placed. They drank a glass of holy water from the pipe channels that are connected to a historic well.

The next steps would be moving to the Sunan Ampel loyal followers' tombs (such as Mbah Soleh's 9 tombs, Sonhaji, Mas Mansyur etc.) to recite Al Qur'an. According to legend, Mbah Soleh passed away nine times, therefore he has 9 tombs. There are also the tombs of Mbah Bolong or Sonhaji, an expert in determining the directions, especially to determine the *Qiblat* direction, while Mas Mansyur considered as a patriot.

## Conclusion

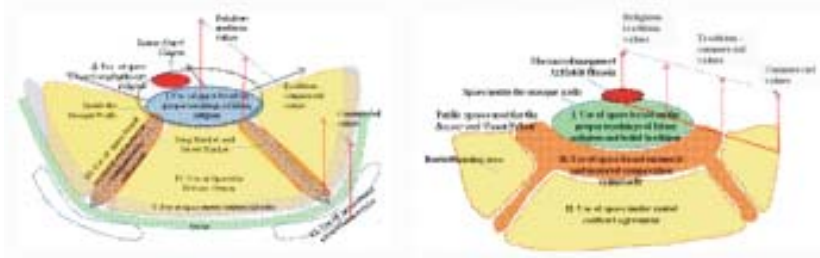
Both the above cases have the same function as a place of pilgrimage, but spatially have differences in terms of vertical and horizontal spatial structure due to that function. Vertical spatial structure related to the intangible social space structure associated with placement of individuals or groups to a certain level based on the assumption of the degree of spirituality. Horizontal spatial structure related to the tangible social space structure as result of traditions ritual and its impact to other activities in the background of commercial motives. The following model illustrates the differences.



**Figure 7.** Models of Intangible Vertical Social Structure related to the pilgrimage tradition in Sunan Ampel Mosque (left) and Luar Batang Mosque (Right)

Models of Intangible Vertical Social Structure in Ampel mosque can be regarded as a manifestation of pure Islamic teachings. A number of strict rules that are socialized in some places had a profound effect on the concentration of the use of space for religious activities in the mosque and the graveyard areas. While the pilgrimage activities tend to be syncretism in Luar Batang mosque. Materials that are perceived as a spiritual medium have provided an opportunity for the mixing of religious and commercial activities. Model of tangible horizontal social structure in the both cases basically describes a spectrum of private-public values that consists of three layers: religious- tradition values layer, tradition-commercial values layer, and commercial values layer.

Mosque and graveyard area of Ampel mosque are relatively more protected from the intervention of migrants. Restrictions on the use of worship space and the path of *Seng* market / street market have indirectly minimized



**Figure 8.** Models of Tangible Horizontal Social Structure in using spaces and its values in Ampel Mosque (left) and Luar Batang (right)

the chance of public space utilization by migrants. In contrast to Luar Batang mosque, conditional rules have given great opportunities to migrants in the intervention of public space for commercial activities. In these cases, utilization of the tradition as a commercialized material is thus closely linked to the regulations and does not depend on the level of accessibility. Access to the Ampel mosque area is easier than to the Luar Batang mosque but the chances of public space commercialization in the Luar Batang mosque are more dominant because of the less intensive of regulation.

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## “METRO ISLAND” A PROTOTYPE CONCEPT

*The Representation of Ethnic Maritime Societies Frame  
in Indonesia*

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### Abstract

This paper is a very preliminary study on maritime ethnic life in Indonesia is more represented in small city islands, so called concept of ‘Metro Island’. Areas of this study is Sapeken Island has an area of 65.14 hectares with a population of 8,312 inhabitants which means that the population density of this island is equivalent to 12,700 people/km<sup>2</sup> which is a very high density class, even more than other big cities in Indonesia such as Jakarta or Surabaya. Label of ‘Metro Island’ adopted the parameters of life in a city such as demographic issues, ethnically diverse, and the existence of culture among ethnic acculturation or cultural fusion accordance with the conditions of cities in mainland.

Rapid Integrated Survey is used as a method in this research to inventory indicators of both physical and non physical that there should be minimal in an area with a label of the city. Identification is done on a scale preliminary analysis by mapping the availability of freshwater, energy, telecommunications, infrastructure, environmental quality and ecological mapping using interpretation of high resolution remote sensing imagery data approached. Initial hypothesis

of this study is that a 'metro island' ecosystem is always occupied with excellent sea waters condition due to these factors as initial capital of the sustainability of a ' metro islands' that still rely on marine resources as the base primary economic sector in the community.

**Key-Words:** Metro Island, Small Island, rapid integrated survey, maritime ethnic, marine resources

## I n t r o d u c t i o n

Currently, general perception of ethnic maritime in Indonesia is as a coastal community with poverty and underdevelopment conditions. One of the icons of the mostfamous maritime ethnic is the tribe of Bajo and Sama which are always associated with the small islands off the coast of Sulawesi. The emerge fact is that the rate of poverty and underdevelopment condition of Bajo tribe is as well as other maritime ethnics, including education aspect that is not their life priority. The Bajo life in general is still focused on short-term survival on remaining of marine resources. Therefore, they prefer to life in small islands rather than having to socialize with other community in land area. Their livelihood is as traditional fishermen but when fishing they still use traditional tools without the touch of technology modification, so that their existence depends on marine condition with good ecosystems and is assumed to have sufficient fishery resources (Zacot, 2008).

Their subsistence on fishing has become a very strong tradition lasts for generations and caused them sticking in the chain of vulnerable life. These conditions made the ethnic of Bajo as an icon of the marginal maritime community and increasingly pressed by the expansion of other coastal communities who exploit fisheries resources with greater comprehension. It is a reason why the Bajo live nomadic so called as the Sea Nomads (Ibid). The magnitude dependence of this ethnic to the factor of sea become a big question if how long their resilience in facing current maritime competition.

A maritime life activity in Indonesia is very outsized, but it seems not well explored and recorded, while the Indonesia government still relies on the resource land areas. This causes the data associated with maritime life in

Indonesia is still very diminutive, including scientific research in this area. The Bajo is only a part of the cultural wealth of maritime homeland, while other tribes such as Bugis, Mandar, and Laut tribes are the Indonesia maritime ethnic group as well. Previous studies showed that the Bajo represent the diaspora of this maritime ethnic life. The Bajo can be found in many countries such as Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines, and Indonesia.

The distribution of Bajo in Indonesia is very infinite, ranging from Wakatobi in Southeast Sulawesi, NTB, NTT, East Kalimantan, even to the Aceh region of Sumatra. Bajo origins are still unknown and must be agreed upon. In its development, this community formed 'The Bajau International Communities Confederation (BICC)' and called themselves as a 'son of the world' which means the interest is not derived from a single country. This community is then signed up to the UNESCO (Abdul Manan, 2008, <http://telukbone.blogspot.com/2008/06/suku-bajosama-menyebar-di-lima-benua.html>).

In its development, the viability of this maritime ethnic life transformed into a 'sea people' within the meaning of life towards a more structured system of governance, with the remains at the site of small islands and the sea remains as the main medium of communication and transport between them to other communities. The interaction of this maritime inter-ethnic has made a new life model which occurs in several strategic places in the islands waters of Indonesia. Thus, the maritime ethnic diaspora makes a meeting point, on purpose or not, and then they have reliance for survival remain to be settled. This meeting point then arose into a new life, which incidentally has always been on a maintained ecosystem of coral island. The presence of sea life center is likely to occur simultaneously in several areas; however there is no strong evidence for the origin of the first center of this model.

The concept of growth centers on a site of small island like this is not excessive if called as 'metro island' in giving more meaning that this site represent the ethnic transformation of maritime life in Indonesia, or at least there is no appropriate term in Indonesian. This term is designed to strengthen the concept of 'metro island' on the international outlook, assuming that the existence of 'metro islands' in Indonesia will be one aspect of the wealth of cultural treasures to be explored further. 'Metro Island' at least has some inherent physical requirement at an island in

providing the minimum requirements of a life which can be prolonged. One of the requirements is the availability of fresh water that can meet the needs of society in a period of time. In addition, other environmental carrying capacity, especially marine area, at least has an adequate abundance of fish production, as well as the good ecosystem conditions for marine life as a major economic instrument in the region.

This study was designed as a stimulant to reinforce the concept of 'metro island' which in fact do exist as one of the ethnic representation of maritime transformation in Indonesia. The objectives of this research can be explained as follows: (1) to analyze the geographic objects of an island of 'metro island' using remote sensing instrument data and geographic information systems; (2) to describe the 'metro island' in the context of natural resources and the problems associated and its endurance.

## Research Sites

The study was conducted at Sapeken Island that is a part of Sapeken District, the Regency of Sumenep, East Java Province. Sapeken District Office is located at the island, with a total of 39 islands of Sapeken District. Geographically, the island is located at 115.708°EL and 7.005°SL. We can use a regular boat for about 15 hours to reach the Island through Madura Island (the Port of Kalianget, Sumenep) – Kangean Island (Baguluk Port) – Sapeken Island. Other faster alternative is by using Express Bahari from the Port of Kalianget to Batuguluk Port at Kangean for about 3 hours, then continue by land public transportation for 2 hours through the Arjasa City up to the eastern part of this island at Kayu Waru Port. We then continue the travel on boat (the local called: *water bus*) along Paliat Island to Sapeken for about 2 hours.



**Figure 1.** The location of Sapeken Island

In this study, Quick Bird satellite image pan sharpened mode on resolution 0.61 m of the acquisition July 10, 2010 is used as the main media in the context of primary data acquisition. Satellite images will then be extracted into the ecological and other thematic information, verified with field observations to provide a description of current fact condition of Sapeken Island as the concept of *Metro Island*.

Based on the delineation of the Quick Bird satellite imagery, the area of Sapeken is about 65.45 Ha. The maximum height of the land is only about 2 m dpal and, with a maximum slope in the range of  $0^{\circ}$  -  $2^{\circ}$ .

## Method of Research

This study explores as much information as possible related to the relationship between the function of abiotic, biotic, and culture, by looking at the concept of Sapeken Island as *metro island* in archipelago in the region. This study is also the integration of other studies with a concentration in social anthropology of the community of Sapeken Island. The stages of this research conducted can be described as follows:

*First*, The interpretation of remote sensing image and preparation of basic data and other spatial thematic: the stages was conducted to determine the existing feature in the research area related to the parameters of abiotic (infrastructure of mainland, water, housing, accessibility, condition of waters as bathymetry, the distance between islands, and the of information seabed cover), and biotic (vegetation, an indication of reef communities)

*Second*, interviews with respondents: interview was performed on all groups in society, this stage conducted since the beginning of the expedition of the survey from the island of Madura, by chance some of the respondents here are those derived from the target area of research, this information is initial data that can be used as a discussion (verification) with respondents residing in the target area of research. The interview process is then performed during the expedition between the Island of Madura and Sapeken which incidentally found more respondents at the Island of Sapeken. This is an indication that Sapeken is the high activity target to life as evidenced from the

communal movement in a short period. The interview process is then performed in situ from several community groups such as fishermen, businessmen, service sector, government, and education managers to obtain the data representation of culture in general and specifically for the field life.

*Third*, analysis and study of literature: a literature study on the concept of metro island was not discovered until the research is conducted. The term of metro island described above is intended to reinforce the phenomenon maritime ethnic life transformation in a relatively small island sites. More appropriate translation to the Indonesian can be interpreted as the 'Island City' because it is the facts of this island has in common a phenomenon as well as the cities in the mainland. Metro island does not in general represent the aspects of the mainland cities, but there are several key phenomena that can generally be equated with the life of the city on the mainland such as the phenomenon of population density, quite high activity of economic, population mobility, and other dynamics, although in extent the limitations of an island that automatically because the site would limit its quantification and frequency values of the parameters above, but once again the limitations of geography, metro island is likely to continue to grow in line with the development of maritime ethnic in Indonesia.

*Fourth*, the analysis conducted is to observe how far the relationship between abiotic-biotic parameter-culture in the dynamics process of Sapeken Island, to analyze the relationship between regions (islands) around, to give the impression of being at the components of the dynamics of life support such as availability of salt that is needed in the industry and commercial fisheries, cultural resources associated with the fishing waters, governance, indicators of economic sectors, education, issues arise related to general urban issues, such as issues of fresh water and waste as well as spatial analysis related to the question of why the development is concentrated on this small island? While the surrounding areas are not likely to grow even as other coastal areas in Indonesia which are likely deprivation.

## Result: Rapid Mapping of Sapeken Island

Physical development is a small island in general is not as fast as the physical development of land areas related to the accessibility of the physical

infrastructure that are always brought in from outside the island. So it is with Sapeken which physically has no natural resources as the capital of the infrastructure, but until the research finished, the island is interesting for residential use of quarters maritime. It is quite fantastic number that more than eight thousand for the island with a size less than 1 km<sup>2</sup>. Phase of the research survey include mapping activities related to identification of several thematic data using Quick Bird satellite imagery instrument on mode pan sharpened 0.61 m resolution acquisition July 10, 2010, the direct survey, as well as the integration with other secondary data as the input of spatial attributes. Rapid mapping output results in this study can be explained as follows:

*First, Mapping of Administration and Demographics.* The administration mapping conducted on administrative boundaries of villages and hamlets with the unit outer boundary is the detail coastline extracted from the visual delineation of Quick Bird image. The entire administrative boundary in the island using the road borders as administrative. Administrative boundary data are generated by GPS tracking of field surveys guided by a local guide who is quite experienced and highly controlled area of the island. The results of the line data of GPS tracking is then validated using a high resolution image with the help of some authorities (the heads of both village and the hamlets).



**Figure 1.** Administrative border of a hamlets



**Figure 2.** Administrative border of a village

Demographics population statistics of the Office of District and Subdistrict of Sapeken island used as the attributes of spatial data on the administration area

above. This demographic data will then be used to analyze the demographic aspects of Sapeken Island.

*Second, Infrastructure Mapping.* Infrastructure classification of the islet area is always associated with the potential of marine resources dominate of the island's life. Sapeken Island case, in this study, completed with the excellent infrastructure to support the entire scope of the dynamics of life in a very small area to reinforce the concept of 'metro island'. This suggests that the availability of infrastructure at Sapeken Island have been in such a way inherent in all life activities as well as other cities at the mainland. Mapping method for the infrastructure mapping is a direct check on the field with position verification using GPS. Determination of the infrastructure classification carried out through interviews with several key figures as a resource, this stage produces a list of inventory of the infrastructure of the island and subsequently carried out position checks and documentation in the field. The resulting of GPS data plotting for the infrastructure category is then overlaid with the Quick Bird satellite imagery data for the more precise positioning validation process. Infrastructure mapping in this study can be grouped into several classes include: fisheries infrastructure,



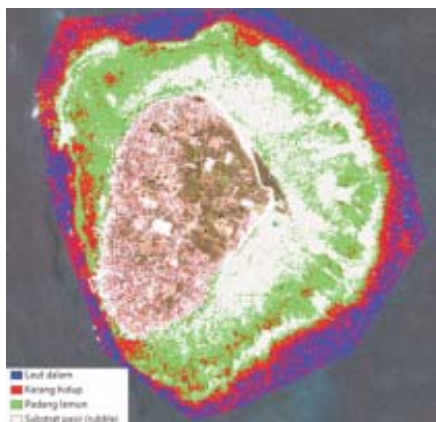
**Figure 3.** The resulting of infrastructure plotting

transportation, navigation, education, health, governance, public and social facilities, water supply, lighting, and telecommunications. From such classifications, it can be observed that the existence of the infrastructure at Sapeken Island is complete and represents a metropolitan life even in a very small scale.

*Third, The Mapping of Seabed Cover.* In relation to the mapping of seabed cover habitat, remote sensing has been used not only to map the habitat, but also to characterize the aspects of the health of coral reefs. Due to the limitations imposed by spatial and spectral resolution, the satellite imagery can not assess the health of individual reefs (Schuyler et al, 2005). The



methods on seabed cover mapping using the optical-based satellite image data have been much passed though it is still hampered by the issues on image quality, water quality, and by the spectral response of the underwater object itself. Digital interpretation to obtain the data acquisition of seabed cover in this study used the unsupervised classification method with *K-means* algorithm. The algorithm works by iterative procedure (repetition) which sets the initial clusters of pixel values, then classifies each pixel to the nearest pixel value, and the last one is calculating the average value of pixels in each cluster. The process performed several times according to the iteration input value by the operator until the results of the expected accuracy (Jensen, 1996, in [http://www.yale.edu/ceo/Projects/swap/landcover/Unsupervised\\_classification.htm](http://www.yale.edu/ceo/Projects/swap/landcover/Unsupervised_classification.htm)).



**Figure 4.** The mapping results of seabed cover of shallow-water of Sapeken Island

The selection method is intended for rapid observation effort to observe the health / life of coral reefs as indicators of water quality at Sapeken Island region. The result of digital interpretation method is then used to guide the delineation of the seabed cover visually.

The image above shows the distribution of coral reefs lie in the deep area, while the area of shallow waters dominated by seagrass vegetation with sandy substrate and some are found the fragments of dead coral substrate which appears with a brightwhite hue on the Quick Bird image of natural color.

*Fourth*, the Mapping on Freshwater Resources Condition. Aspects of fresh water availability is a necessary condition for the continuity of human life on earth. It also wants to be the first concern of this research when looking at the first time on the island with a population density area of  $<1 \text{ km}^2$ . Most of the small islands in Indonesia do not have abundant fresh water resources, and this becomes a major problem where not all small islands inhabited by humans. Several studies from the literature study show that the fresh water at



## Discussion: 'Metro Island' of Sapeken Island

This study was designed to analyze the concept of 'Metro Island' through a series of direct field observation, interpretation, and extraction of the factors of physical resources through high-resolution satellite imagery data, interviews with key person, the study of literature, and integrate the research parameters by using the instrument of Geographic information System . The pressure of this study is to provide a description of current situation of Sapeken Island as a prototype of 'metro island' includes a qualitative assessment of natural resources, the availability of fresh water as a necessary condition of life, socio-economic, infrastructure availability, demographics, culture, society, and the relational context of the islands through geostatistical analysis, which is the standard analysis in the assessment area that has the 'urban' label .

### Natural Resources

In the context of natural resources, the condition in Sapeken Island is almost the same with the other small islands in Indonesia where marine fisheries are good supported by marine ecosystems and coral reef habitat. Based on direct field observations, the conditions of marine ecosystems and coral reefs habitat as the abundance indicators of reef fish is still very good in this archipelago. This is evidenced by the number of floating cages used by the fish collectors for holding as well as for cultivation of grouper and other reef fish species.



**Figure 6.** Kangean Islands region (red boxes) included in the *Coral Triangle* region and the path of the *Great Ocean Conveyor Belt* (image source: UNEP, WMO, WWF)

On a more micro scale to see the Sapeken island as part of the area of Kangean Islands located in the coral triangle region of the world where this has been an agreement as to the largest reef conservation area in the world. In addition, the island is also located in the flow path across the world (*the great ocean conveyor belt*) passed by the dominant ocean currents from the Pacific Ocean. Cross current paths of this world is warm, with a very large nutrient transport. Both of these factors make the reef fish resources in this area very large.

Viewed from a larger scale (macro), beaches typology is generally sandy that make the main substrate of seabed sediments, on the other islands in the context of the relatively small size indicates the absence of river channels on the mainland as the sediment transport media to the sea, these make condition of the waters of the islands are well preserved. This condition is also very supportive of the life and health of coral reefs and seagrass which in good condition during this research field observations. Marine fishery resources in the sector can not be separated from other resource tools. Geographically, this island is far enough from any accessibility, thus supporting the needs of the fisheries sector will be a problem if it has to come from outside the island.

One of the main support needs of marine fisheries sector is the salt used for industrial purposes in the sectors of fisheries, fishing purposes, and ice industrial as refrigeration and fish preservative. The survey results in this study also suggests that salt need both for the fishing industry and domestic purposes can be supplied from the salt ponds of the surrounding islands. One of the salt-producing islands closest to Sapeken Island is Paliat Island in the western part of this island. The observations and field check indicate that the salt pond area is not too extensive, but the production of salt ponds in this area can produce  $\pm 200$  tons salt/ha/year. The production of salt in this place is greater than the national production target.

In addition to P. Paliat, there are several other islands which also produce salt such as the Island of Pagerungan Kecil and Sadulang Besar on the eastern part of Sapeken Island. The tentative conclusion can be drawn that the concept of 'metro island' of Sapeken Island with emphasis on the management of marine fisheries resources as the main domain of activity of supporting life at the island are able to meet the basic needs sourced from the

local potential. These factors make the process in managing marine fishery resources still running very well in this region.

## Availability of Fresh Water

The availability of fresh water becomes a special note in this study because fresh water is necessary condition for human survival everywhere. The results of the geological research related to reservation of fresh water in this Island shows that Sapeken Island is a bag zone of fresh water originates from the absorption section at the segment of Paliat Island in the past (ITS-French research team, 2002, and Ahmad Zainuri, 2007), in addition to the lithology material composition of this island, consists of limestone at the top part and marl on the bottom make water enter into the faults cracks, trapped and become the aquifer zone.

The abundant availability of fresh water makes one of the most decisive factors to Sapeken Island eventually evolved into 'metro island'. Qualitative field observations also showed that most of the ground water wells in the middle of the island is still in the category of fresh while the section with a distance of <100 m already showed the effects of seawater intrusion. The interviews with the owners of the wells used as the sample are also important to note that a change in salinity conditions tend to be higher during the rainy season, while the salinity of well water during the dry season is lower, though there are several ground water wells that are always continuously in a fresh condition.

These wells are used for drinking water intake for the entire population in this island of more than eight thousand inhabitants. While for the daily needs like bathing and washing the entire population use water sourced from their own wells. In the beginning, the use of drinking water of a few ground water well in this area based solely on the knowledge and confidence of local communities, but in line with the development and governance there, the accurate test of potable ground water in this area is conducted by the environmental officers of the Department of Health, conducted at regular intervals.

The topography is relatively flat and the distribution of the population that is almost spread throughout the island has the local government realized to address the problem of drinking water by building drinking water

treatment infrastructure, named HIPPAM (the Population Association of Drinking Water User). The drinking water infrastructure position is located in the middle area of north part and occupies most vegetated areas on this island. The infrastructure processes fresh ground water wells that have water quality standard test with debit of 2.3 liters / sec. Of this infrastructure, the installation of waterpipes is distributed to communities throughout the island. In addition to the infrastructure of drinking water, some people take drinking water accommodated in jerry-cans and then sold to other communities. This latter model still continues to this day to meet the need of drinking water for residents who are unable to install the installation of drinking water.

The presence of drinking water infrastructure and manual distribution model as shown below is still sufficient to meet drinking water needs of the entire population. The most important anticipation for future drinking water problem is how the effort to maintain the quality of ground water remains in a healthy condition for human consumption has remained stable with a given discharge of seawater intrusion problems also continue to run.



**Figure 6.** The condition of the drinking water needs in Sapeken Island that utilizes manual installation technology of drinking water and distribution.

## Demographic and Socio-Cultural

Demographic composition is obtained through the last population survey data (in 2010) of the Village Offices and the District Offices as well as shown below.

**Tabel 1. Population data of Sapeken Island (Population Census, 2010)**

Village	Men	Women	HH	Population
Village Sapeken I	1.257	1.322	840	2.579
Village Sapeken II	1.062	1.234	646	2.296
Village Sapeken III	1.651	1.786	1.039	3.2327
Amount	3.970	4.342	2.525	8.312

With a total area of 65,149 hectares of Sapeken Island, the island's population density reached 127 persons/ha or 12,700 people/km<sup>2</sup>. The density number is very high exceeding the density of the big cities in Indonesia as Jakarta, Surabaya, or Medan. This phenomenon is certainly a very interesting, not only strengthens the concept of 'metro island' with the indicators of high population density similar to the problem of urban areas on the ground. Population data is always associated with the topography of an area. It needs to be underlined that 'metro island' is possibility similar to Sapeken Island which are found in some archipelago points in Indonesia, although the amount or the level of population density is not always high. In addition, the population density in the concept of 'metro island' can not be used as the main demographic indicators as there are several other indicators that further strengthen the concept of 'metro island' which is generally also found in urban areas such as indicators of diversity of ethnicity or race, fusion of cultures occurred, as well as the diversity of its livelihood population.

The dynamics of life in Sapeken Island is so active; the dynamics starts from the harbor as the contact spearhead of the island's resident with other communities. From the point of these observations, it can be seen that the population livelihood are very diverse, ranging from fishermen, traders, government officials of harbor supervisor, security officer, transportation service providers of goods and people, to the transport workers and the activities of loading and unloading goods from ships dock on the port. The profession or livelihood is continuing in the inner region is also quite complex and is usually attached to a specific ethnic label with a particular profession as well, such as a group of fishermen and fisheries managers that are always associated with the Tribe of Mandar and Bugis, the Bajo who works as a traditional fishing, while the Javanese and Madurese are more general works on the trade sector.

While we're on the subject, in this study, there are some opportunities to participate in some events (rituals) of culture in society; from here it appears that the fusion of multi-ethnic culture in Sapeken Island has quite happened and walks in harmony. Other fact is the existence of a Chinese ethnic family that had long been at the island as the merchant. This suggests unconsciously that the fusion of culture happened at this island is the dynamics

of life and this becomes a pioneer to the 'metro island' which is more concrete in the future.

## Infrastructure and Socio-Economic

The parameters of infrastructure and socio-economic adhere in any description of a city. Both seem are always associated with high quantitative values. It also occurs in Sapeken Island, at least when compared to the condition of most of the small islands in Indonesia, it can even be said in quite extreme conditions. The physical infrastructure condition in Sapeken Island is very advanced compared to the surrounding islands. In addition to the capital of the district, Sapeken Island also serves as a major transit point of transportation at the easternmost part of Java.

Basic infrastructures such as the market transport in the form of ports and roads, much education facilities from the basic level to the high one, healthcare, telecommunications, and energy to the power grid are available as well. Some of the basic infrastructures are still constrained, such as electricity supply that still relies heavily on diesel fuel supply; water supply is still dependent on the availability of electricity to the installation of central water management. Nevertheless, it is still very reasonable, and generally the adequacy of basic infrastructure and access to basic life has been very satisfied and can reach out to all households on the island.

Based on observations and interviews in the field, a general condition of socio-economic is good enough. This is indicated from a few basic parameters such as the condition of the house with fairly complete basic facilities like clean water, electricity, and the equipment of rooms / bathrooms available in almost every home. Most of the population also has complete secondary needs such as motor vehicle and the medium of television through a satellite dish network. Such conditions can be described as a general picture of society, while the example illustrates a more capable group of society is the ownership of a vessel or boat used for transportation services and equipment for fishing and other marine products.

Sapeken people is 100% Muslim supported by the infrastructure of worship places such as mosques spreadout at that area. Like



most Muslims in Indonesia and coastal communities in particular, one of the most fought for the purpose of life is a pilgrimage. In addition to the demands of duty of a Muslim who is able, pilgrim status is often associated in parallel with social status. It drawn from the implementation of the pilgrimage on the island is that all prospective of Hajj pilgrims performed through a special scheme (ONH +) that in fact the cost could reach more than twice of the pilgrimage regular cost. This is quite logical considering if they perform the Hajj pilgrimage through the usual mechanism, they will do pilgrimage in a very long time due to many factors constraints, such as geographic or hajj quota based on the number of Muslim population in an area.

However, this phenomenon also shows that the economic status of the communities prove that they are financially very capable. More extreme example is the presence of the mediator profession of fish that have a place to hold few commodities such as grouper reef fish. In living conditions, this grouper has a very good potential market for the price reaches three times higher than the condition of the dead grouper.

From in-depth interviews on these profession people, it is identified the velocity of money (cash flow) when they can reach 2 billion / week of the life grouper delivery transactions with the purpose of Bali, which is then exported to foreign countries through the exporters in Bali. Life of fishing communities at this island is very great; with a process of mutual exploitation of marine resources in particular fisheries which are economically very great. However, it is not accompanied by the presence of an adequate economic infrastructure. From the results of this survey noted that there are economic infrastructures on the island consists of only a post office, several cooperatives offices, and a financial transaction services, namely Western Union.

In terms of utilization of marine resources, fishing communities in Sapeken do not only exploited the marine resources and fisheries, but also very aware with the good quality of waters in this region, so it is often regarded as an opportunity to some groups of people who think on a basis business, by fattening small seed grouper taken from Bali to fill in a special boat transporting of live fish.

In the context of the wider social groups of the fishing community, the tribes of coastal communities at Sapeken Island still carry a form of each

cultural associated with this marine resource management sector. Bugis society more work as the controlling on business sectors in the coastal region, while the Javanese and Madurese engaged in the basic needs business sectors such as food, household, or services, while the Bajo tribes and several Mandar work as fishermen, fishing off and the other types of commodities at sea.

In some references mentioned that the problem of access-to-medium primary education has not been a priority for the needs of coastal communities. They tend to choose the instant path to get money through the profession as a fisherman at a very young age, and this process lasts for generations. Of information through television or other telecommunications media in the region have changed the paradigm that education is an important requirement, so there are many young people at this island seek higher education through high school or university at Bali and Java. However, the instant mindset to obtain cash in quick time also still affects some groups, who choose the path of their profession as a TKI (the Indonesian Workers) in foreign countries, though in the end they still choose to return to the island after having enough capital.

## Conclusion

This research is an early stage in the context of the identification concept of *metro island* with the typical parameters analysis of a city adopted in the case of Sapeken Island. Sapeken Island is representations of the city (Metro Island) that there are also perhaps other some similar islands in Indonesia. The context of Sapeken Island as metro island concept can be used as a prototype hypothesis model to look for similar islands throughout the archipelago waters. Departing from this statement, the research can further be developed in the relational context of the dynamics of coastal communities, particularly at the sea tribes of the archipelago.

The concept of Metro Island in Sapeken Island shows a dependence on marine resources as an economic river and cultural consistency of coastal communities. Metro island label can be applied by performing analyzes of the typical basic of a city includes the conditions of demography, socio-economic, infrastructure, and some natural completeness requirements of life such as the

availability of fresh water at an island. This suggests that the existence of this island metro still controlled by its natural condition, while the form will automatically be created artificially in line with the dynamics of life on the island.

In the context of global and regional waters, the condition of metro island occupies state as a very risky category area of the long-term survival life (resilience). Apart from the metro island, current conditions of Sapeken Island can be described as a humanist city or town where the condition of the island is still in favor of the whole order of life that can be felt by all residents on the island.

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# THE ROLE OF LOCAL CULTURE IN THE DEVELOPMENT PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE AQUATIC SETTLEMENTS AT CENTRAL SULAWESI

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## Introduction

Indonesia is an archipelago composed of the various ethnic groups that occupy both spaces of land and water spaces. The spaces found in the water of almost all the islands so that the developed into communities that inhabits coastal areas or territorial waters. This society then forming settlements as their residence. In general, they form a settlement is not planned properly. They build the appropriate level of knowledge that knows no standards or norms of raw, but the built as needed at the time. According to Kay and Alder (1999) Coastal are its unique the area, because in the context of the landscape. The coastal areas are a meeting place for land and sea. Furthermore, the coastal areas are an important area in terms of the various perspectives of planning and management.

Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries in the draft of Law defines the Integrated Management of Coastal Areas of coastal areas as the transitional area that links terrestrial ecosystems and the marine ecosystem that lies between the boundary surface towards the finish line as far as the highest and the

seaward extent influence the activity of the mainland. Coastal areas have a high economic value, but its sustainability is threatened. With its unique potential and economic value coastal areas the area were then faced with the threat that high anyway, then it should be handled specially the coastal areas so that these areas can be managed in a sustainable manner.

The communities develop according local culture that they have as a specific characteristic in regulating their lives. The habits which later evolved into customary laws that govern the various aspects of life in both aspects of social relationships, rituals, beliefs, and others. Those things are reflected in the shape of their lives, both on the physical environment, social environment and society, which are the character, uniqueness, and distinctive cultural image in each region. Uniqueness, both in the social environment and physical environment that can contain local wisdom into the attraction and potential areas that could be developed as the local or indigenous values are very valuable.

Central Sulawesi province has the longest coastline in Sulawesi and composed of small islands is inhabited by many communities. In public life, cultural factors play an important role towards the establishment of settlement areas, especially in residential areas with unique characteristics and specifics. Aquatic community are a group or communities with distinctive cultural traditions, and most of the inhabits settlements in the area of coastal waters and islands of cultural uniqueness is reflected in their settlements with the reflection characteristics of function and form. Research carried out by a case study approach by means of data retrieval in naturalistic and qualitative analysis techniques.

## Structuring Settlements Patterns and Aquatic House

Waters are largest settlement area in Central Sulawesi, not only found in of coastal areas but also scattered in small islands with diverse communities. This community has the potential of the cultural life of its own in the face of changes in its environment. In establishing the settlements they always use local cultural and ecological wisdom held so that the persisted in living their lives, and can predict its environmental sustainability. Therefore, it is necessary for the maintenance and excavation of local cultural values on

the settlers so it can become a reference in the sustainability of settlements, especially in the area of waters (of coastal and island). Central Sulawesi is largest province in the island of Sulawesi. A land area of approximately 68.033 square kilometers and reaches 189.480 square kilometers of sea. This region includes the eastern peninsula and some parts of northern peninsula.

The settlement waters inhabited by the families or the group who have of kinship relations. They are known as the sailor with the main livelihood as a fisherman. Therefore, they build settlements are located on the water or adjacent to water (coastal). In the development of the settlers began to live in coastal and inland areas are located adjacent to the sea. They still maintain a trait or character as sailors so the settlements or their home there is still a space or a place to store the tools to catch fish.

The settlements composed of a collection of houses forming the curved lines of the mainland the settlement surround or completely above the water. They built the settlement overlooking the cliff settlement with the back overlooking the sea. The road serves as a liaison between home access, the settlement facilities and public spaces. The settlers socially interaction on the streets in front of the house, where a bath (part from the road), and other public spaces at neighborhoods. In addition the road functioning as an open space, public space from the dwelling house because of limited land owned. The road does not only being in the mainland but is also part from the dwelling house above the sea level. This connection using the ingredients embedded of wood into the water and was in the front of the residence.

Dwelling house is vernacular house the form of shaped stage, using of wood materials in which some or wholly in sea of water and the rested on rocks. Their home layout composed of the main rooms and a kitchen equipped terrace as the room service and private. The main orientation is the sea so that the homes have two-way toward the sea and the street as the public space and the social space. Patio homes completed as the binding site of the boat and store their catch as well as a place to rest after the weary being at sea. Front porch (if any) serves as a social space between the settlers, business space or a link to the road, so its range very limited.



**Figure 1: Existing Condition Aquatic Settlements at Central Sulawesi  
Desa Jayabakti Pulau Kabalutan Desa Labuan**



Desa Labuan

**Figure 2: Site Plan Aquatic Settlement**

The settlers generally using residential building materials are easily obtained in settlement environment that is wood, bamboo, palm leaves, sago leaves. The system used very simple structure that is then tied tongue and the pen. The foundation of a base with concrete, or rock but already equipped iron pen tied to of wood poles. They built a house by way of mutual aid, led by Chairman and the Chief Indigenous Village. In determining the location of the house they always consider the direction of the wind and waves, so that the curved linear-shaped settlement patterns and the the mainland surrounding the mountain rock.

## The Local Culture in Formation and The Environment of Physical Settlements

Man's work is formed due to social background or culture conditions. In its development, particularly changes in space and the form of from the environment. The architecture is made up of cultural backgrounds (folk tradition) which reflect the culture, values espoused, habits and the desires of the community (Rapoport, 1969). Sound development of local cultural values reinforces community identity or community groups. Retrofitting is a creation of meaningful spaces more humans



(Samadhi, 2001). Uniformity and the diversity as an expression of a verbal statement to the figural quality that forms the image or identity and the meaning of a place (Rapoport, 1979; Wibowo, 2002).

Cultural influences in a settlement environment is dominant, although it has change and renewal. This process of switching from the product of history becomes a normative (Berg, 1972). The settlements are the embodiment of human self both as individuals and one entity with one another and their environment. Altman in Thurgut (1995) showed that the culture presented in the man-made physical environment (the settlement and residential) which describes the cultural values. Order a different space because of differences in rules that reflect the desires, values from the each society and present the fit between social space and the physical space (Rapoport, 1977).

Structuring the settlement is generally not regular because the settlers built their home only consider natural conditions and environment. Density of buildings in some parts very dense and the dense (approaching the mainland), being on the sea of the buildings located far apart. The settlements are surrounded by of water has a 'typological view' Mosque or Mushollah building as the sacred space as the majority of community are Muslim. Mosque surrounded by open space that serves as an open space, public spaces are also access from the residential settlers.

On the neighborhoods, there is space in which to make the boat functioning as the main room in addition to residence. It can be seen in all the neighborhoods or areas of the waters there are special places that can be used for boat building activities. 'Sampan' boats are usually made between the houses of settlers, while for larger boats are made in specific areas of settlements on the environment or at other islands if the land area has a limited area. Interaction activities are also carried out by settlers at the shower and washing as the public space. Similarly, at other public spaces i.e. Village Hall, Boat Floating Market and the market in the connecting the streets.

Residential are a shelter, where the process of cultures where humans live and thrive. In addition, the house is part from the overall settlement environment so that the settlers to live comfortably and the adapted to their environments. In social cultural, residential the settlers have started to change with the level of needs which has also been changed. The house do not only as

a place to gather and the interact, but is also maintain the values of privacy and the territory. Therefore, residents of built their houses with making limits on the space inside and outside the space. The front porch is transitional space from the public space (street) and a place to interact with other the settlers.

On the room in the house, the bedroom as the private space using a bulkhead or door coverings, because the bedroom is mainly used by women. Other spaces associated with the bulkhead, without insulation, different heights, with no height difference, because these spaces function as semi-public the space or semi-private. Another private room is the kitchen, bathroom, laundry room and patio. With different cultural backgrounds, the settlers have different perceptions and needs of the physical appearance of their home. It can be seen on the spatial location of their home, especially in the extra space that serves as the boat moorage, store fish, drying fish and the save fishing tools.

Cultural values espoused the settlers dwindling because of the knowledge, technology, and the increasing socio-economic the settlers. They began to built settlements and the away from the waters near the mainland, although the orientation of the settlement are still fixed to the sea. The spaces for storing boats, fishing equipment, usually placed along the coast. The catch of fish at sun on the back, front, or street.

In building a house to live in a simple ritual ceremony performed according to the teachings of Islam that they profess. Similarly, if finished making a boat, birth, death and the marriage. Rituals which they still do are all things related to sea, because the sea is the main room in their lives. Sea and its contents should be maintained, so that the settlers do not need to take to excess. They go to sea if supplies at home are gone, and the natural conditions allow it to go down to the sea.

Community groups are forming a defense to the extent of territory connecting road. They naturally form a group of houses connected by road either on land or sea. This group will provide its own image of the limits created in an environment where they live. Another existence created by maintaining the neighborhood because they feel comfortable, easy accessibilities, compatibility with the environment. The similarity of the perception of the environment maintenance and the residential atmosphere and environment is very supportive of all activities of the settlers.



**Figure 3:** The form and Spatial Layout Aquatic the settlement



**Figure 4:** Activity the settlers and the space used for the activities

## Conclusion

Development led to the shifting cultural values in the life of a society. Core values remain their pet as the role model in life because they state that there will be a next life. These values are local cultural communities that were instrumental in the development the settlement, especially in the form of, order the settlement aquatic environment so it is a unique characteristic. In addition to the typical and specific the form of, the waters of this the settlement will be interesting attractions and the criteria in the mitigation of natural disasters.

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# THE DECLINE OF EASTERN SYMBOLISM

*In the Fast Growing of Urban Culture in Minahasa  
North Sulawesi*

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## Introduction

Symbol has the important meaning in human life. Without symbolism there can be no social and cultural interaction. For the purpose the need to built mutual relationship with others, man continuously creates symbols. Started from creating symbol, man constructs groups of society which give birth to culture. A group of society is bounded up by their cultural values which are uttered in symbolical form. Symbol than appears as a central core, as a means of communication produced by social convention. Communication, whether or not accommodates language occurs only when using symbols.

This statement asserts that symbol speaks powerfully to human culture, for culture contains concepts of meaning which are manifested in a form of symbols. Grounded on this notion the concept of Eastern and Western culture can be easily determined. Part of Western culture is identified with the way they built urban culture through creating urban symbolism as the result of industrial revolution. The notion of Eastern symbolism will be detected through *Minahasan* local wisdom that find hard to survive in the fast growing of urban culture.

When Dutch came to colonize *Indonesia*, at the same time they brought and introduced the urban culture to Indonesian people. The diffusion of Western culture mostly occurred through the spreading of Christian religion. Some places in *Indonesia* adopted Christianity, however they still faithfully practicing their

local religion. Javanese for example, some of them converted to Christianity, but blood and flesh they are still honor their local wisdom *Kejawen*.

In contrast with *Minahasan* people they took for granted the Christian religion and left behind the old local wisdom, for Christianity strongly forbids any practices which contradicted with what are told in the Bible. The analysis will be focused on the survival of ancient *Minahasan* people themselves, taking into account on how they preserve the old wisdom in the fast growing of urban culture in this case Christian religion. The examination will be conducted through cultural and historical approaches.

## The Practice of Eastern Symbolism in *Minahasa*

*Minahasa* is one of the largest ethnic groups inhabitant in North Sulawesi Province. The *Minahasan* ethnic covered four regencies which are located in, Central, North, South, and South East of that province. For all the early period, the facts of ancient *Minahasan* culture are mostly lacking. Most information of early period in *Minahasa* described in this essay taken from Bert Supit (1986), The ordinary *Minahasan* people lived in the small rural settlements separated aconsiderable distances from one another in the forest.

In the *Minahasan* folk society, the community was the village, and within the village the moral order was strong. All member of the community shared the same essential belief. And the practice of the religion was open to all. Ancient *Minahasa* viewed they are part of the cosmos. It was refer to a special supernatural or transcendental realm within the cosmos. It was not a substance from the ordinary world of human affair, but it is best examined as one aspect of the total cosmic order that the people believe to exist.

Nature to ancient *Minahasa* was believed had its sacred and personal attributes, almost any aspect in nature (mountains, forests, big stones, and trees, spring water) was thought to have indwelling force, the force belongs to sacred ancestors which was called *opo* (gods); thus they always waited for natural signs before doing any important activities. They waited signs from cat, snake, and bird; owl was considered as sacred that brought message from *Opo* (God). The relationship between *opo-opo* and men was conceived as the maintenance

of a harmony through offerings and prayers. The offering which evidenced the sacred contract as the *Opo* grant rain, health and harvest.

Sickness was in part regarded as a consequence of moral transgression, and cure was accordingly purification. The ancient *Minahasan* had their ceremony; a ritual whereby evil influence was cleansed from the sick man or household or settlement. Many of the categories of spirit-beings described reside on the Earth. Natural spirit who were associated with the soil, water, and forest were regarded as the guardians of their region. Periodically they offered food to please the ghost. The offering food was regarded as the feeding of the ghost. This activities were done with special ritual designed by experts or specialist called *Walian* who had the ability to communicate in ancient language. It is worth mentioning that the practice of ritual was dominantly a male role.

## The Practicing of Urban Culture

As the changes in technology with the industrial revolution of modern times, so also the changes in the human habits and capacities of mind and pushes human beings converted to urban life. The urban revolution is the most important part, for it is with the coming of city life the folk people find hard to survive. Redfield (1958) asserts that It is the city that makes world-wide and conspicuous the self-conscious struggle to maintain traditional ethos as it is in the city, in the first place, that traditional morality is attacked and broken down.

It is obvious that the urban society took place in the cities with the “urban revolution” when civilization came into being, and with the industrial revolution of modern time, the city appeared the elite class, the literate priest with his opportunities to built congregation to cultivate his theological knowledge, these are new kinds of man, not only because they have found new kinds of economic support, but because of their relations with others which produced these city man have a new world view and essential style of live.

The city men introduced their culture to folk people, and this is the beginning of other style of life came into being, they attached with civilization, and yet retaining the moral of folk life; folk people subordinated to the culture of the city in this way they adopted the moral order of their conqueror. Both

city men and the folk intensely come into contact. The consequence is the folk might get lost their ancient tradition.

The point here is not giving empirical detailed on how civilization comes about. It is also far from addressing the main outlines of the human adventure from the point of view of civilized men who looked back on their beginning. This essay would rather view the adventure originally from the position of *Minahasan* folk, originally folk-like manner of life which was changed into new and different manners of life. The expanding of Dutch civilization in the name of colonization have come into contact with *Minahasan* folk society. Through the conquest of folk people by alien civilization had carried the transformation of folk *Minahasan* society into the new phase.

## The Declined of *Minahasan* Local Wisdom

With the expansion and the rise of the Dutch civilization to the Eastern world, they transformed *Minahasan* folk people into other kinds of peoples. Civilization of Dutch society with their basic type came to disturb the *Minahasan* folk into other types. They were taken into the culture of the invading civilization. Parallel with the notion, Redfield defines civilization may be thought of the antithesis of the folk society. It may also be thought of as the society in which the relation between technical order and the moral order take forms radically different from the relationship between the two which prevail in precivilized society.

Redfield further describes, moral order always be based and equally present in those societies in which the rules for right conduct among men are supported by supernatural sanction and in those in which the morality of human conduct is largely independent of the religion. The technical order is that order which results from mutual usefulness, from deliberate coercion, or from the mere utilization of the same means (Redfield, 1958: 21, 22).

That proposition affirms that moral order had been long practiced by precivilized people. Technical order come after moral order, the order constructed when social condition of urban life grows more complex. With the expanding of civilization, the technical order reaches out the folk societies with cultures different in traditional content from those which give rise to that civilization.



Far before industrialization grow and change the face of *Minahasa* land, came the civilized Dutch men, the Westerner, labeled on two contradicted names-colonizer and missionary. Both have the same mission, the first conquered by using gun for economic purpose, the other planted hegemonic authority to the whole *Minahasan* land. Raised in modern urban culture came the priest introducing Christian faith to *Minahasan* folk people and claimed the *Minahasan* local religion was not the religion coming from God. This statement disturbed seriously the *Minahasan* local faith, their moral order.

The spirit to Christianize the world, strongly pushed the missionary to Christianize the *Minahasan* folk. They moved deeper to meet *Minahasan* people which were still tribal and folk like. They slowly transformed the mind and attitude of the folk. Supit says in his book *Minahasa*, “*Dengan masuknya agama Kristen, lambat laun poso-poso (Minahasan local ritual) tersebut menghilang* (Supit,1986: 63). Christianity strongly rejected the *Minahasan* local religion which was judged as superstition, and they even termed it as *Alifuru* religion which implied negative connotation. *Alifuru* in *Minahasan* language means wild, uncivilized.

The notion presents the empirical process of how *Minahasan* people lost its identity since they released their original folk religion and welcomed the urban civilized culture. They started to adopt urban dimension of leaving. Customs and beliefs that were intimately connected with the life of the *Minahasan* folk tradition through out all the period of *Minahasan* history were faded away. The name of the *opo, walian, tonaas* were forgotten.

Religion is now, according to Redfield (1959: 65), a way of making citizens, the moral order is under public management. Ancient traditional forms were repeated with their meaning lost. There are lack of written as well as oral information of *Minahasan* old tradition seen from *Minahasan* perspective. The conversion of the old *Minahasan* tradition to Protestantism is presented chiefly in self judgement written by the Dutch, and examined from colonizer point of view.

It is not *Minahasan* the only one who lamented the lost of their valuable culture. The native Indian experienced the great lost of the destruction of the images of their gods, the prohibition of ritual dances. Chilam Balm a Native

Indian laments the breakdown of his old moral order after the conquest:

Then everything was good. Then they adhered to the dictates their reason. There was no sin; in the holy faith their lives were passed. There was then no sickness; they had then no aching bones. At the time the course of humanity was orderly. The foreigners made it otherwise when they arrived here. They brought shameful things when they came (Roys, 1933: 79)

The *Minahasans* might have the same lamentation as Native Indians have. Both of them had the same experienced witnessing the great loss of their old moral values by the coming of western imperialism. Urbanization continued, The *Minahasans* seem have to continue their life without realizing they have been trapped by complexity of urban culture.

## Conclusion

The expansion of civilization in some cases pushed up the *Minahasan* folk people to flow around the urban culture-the Christianity. In most of the cases the old moral order of the *Minahasan* folk was thrown into confusion. The folk ways were transformed into a manner of life of that of the invader. In the process of invasion and conquest, they were assimilated to the culture of the white man. The surviving of folk society were mostly influenced by civilization of western urban culture. The notion proves that many folk-like peoples came to be dominated by either the colonizer or the missionary of an invading Dutch civilization. As the result they lost their precious local religion which mirrors their identity.

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# THE NON-EXISTING LEGAL AND SOCIAL WELFARE FOR CHILDREN AFTER PARENTS' DIVORCE

*A Case Study in Yogyakarta Indonesia*

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## Introduction

One of the motivations for divorce which shows an increasing trend in modern society is the shift from extended family into nuclear family system. A stronger demand from the women side for autonomy, fairness, rights, and reward as the result of industrialization and urbanization accounts for the divorce patterns (Karim, 2004: 140). The Marriage Act No: I/1974 is the principal regulation for all matters pertinent to divorce. Article 41 stipulates that both father and mother are responsible for raising and educating their children, solely for the sake of their children. It further regulates that father is responsible for covering all costs of rising and educating the children; however, he may be relieved from his responsibility if he lacks competency that prevents him from carrying out his responsibility.

In this case, the court will pass the responsibility on the mother. Unfortunately, father often intentionally ignores this regulation, forcing his former wife to raise and educate their children alone. As the result, women receive heavier burden, or, in some cases children of divorced parents are faced with uncertain future due to neglect of protection by the father. Children suffer from legal vulnerability. This study aims to identify children's social and legal vulnerability in Yogyakarta from the perspective of Legal Anthropology.

The statistics shows that the rate of divorce in Yogyakarta is increasing. It reaches 47 cases in 2008, 50 in 2009, and 63 in 2010 (*Kota Yogyakarta*

*dalam Angka*, 2011: 51). The research chose Danurejan subdistrict, one of poor subdistricts in Yogyakarta, as the research location based on the following consideration. It has 4,652 households of different levels of prosperity status: 408 pre-prosperity families, 1,078 prosperity level I families, 960 prosperity level II families, 1,870 prosperity level III families, and 336 prosperity plus families. In addition, it has some neighborhoods in slum areas along Code river and around Lempuyangan railway station ([www.Widodo.staff.uui.ac.id/urban-kampong-improvement-a-case-of-code-river-area-yogyakarta](http://www.Widodo.staff.uui.ac.id/urban-kampong-improvement-a-case-of-code-river-area-yogyakarta)), and is the second most densely populated subdistrict in Yogyakarta (*Kota Yogyakarta dalam Angka*, 2011: 92).

The data were collected from observation and interview with 10 divorced parents. It interviewed the divorced husbands or wives during the 2008-2009 periods. The data on divorced families were obtained from the Religious Court of Yogyakarta City as well as The Office of Religious Affairs of Danurejan district. Illegitimate divorced families (*pisah kebo* for economic reasons) were included as respondents because there were problems of meeting the respondents due to changes of address or status (remarry) and their irregular working hours. The information on illegitimate divorced couples came from their neighbors, community members, or head of the neighborhood. It also obtained other data for support from RT (neighborhood group), RW (surrounding group) or staff of the Office of Religious Affairs of Danurejan district.

## Causes and Types of Divorce

Lower class urban society such as in Danurejan district is facing some obstacles in their divorce process. For them divorce has always been a winding process, time and energy consuming, as well as emotionally costly. Having been absorbed in various activities to earn money to sustain their life, they see *pisah kebo*, or illegitimate divorce, as a more practical option. However, it does not give them a divorce certificate. They realize that without a divorce certificate they could not ask their former husband to support in raising their children. S (40 years old, laundry worker, elementary school graduate) describes:

“I got separated from my husband when I was pregnant. I couldn’t stand receiving abusive treatments from him, so I decided to go home

to Yogyakarta. I knew that if I didn't have a divorce certificate I could never ask him to give money for rising our son. He has never provided me with any help since my son was born until he is now 13 years old. No problem; I will do my best to raise him alone.”

S is now living with her parents and younger siblings, who already get married, in a small, crowded home. She finds it very difficult to raise her son alone. But it is impossible to ask her parents nor her siblings to relieve her financial burden. They are also in poverty. She keeps her hope that her husband will see her some day and give some money for her son's tuition. It remains a hope; she even has no idea where her husband is now. She remembers that she saw her husband twice, that is when he visited to see their baby. She is very sad when thinking about her marriage life, so she wants to leave her dark history behind her. She committed an illegitimate marriage (underhanded marriage, *sirri*) because she and her husband embrace different religions. *Sirri* marriage is usually performed because it seems to be easier and legal according to the religion (Voice of Aisyiyah, 2010: 8). The marriage turned her life into a miserable one. She hates her husband who used to be abusive to her and abandoned her and their son.

Information from the head of neighborhood and staff of the Office of Religious Affairs of Danurejan subdistrict confirms that only the rich moslems are keen to have a legitimate divorce (through the office of religious affairs) as the process can be very expensive. For the lower class, *pisah kebo* is a better option. Those choosing legitimate divorce see the importance of the state's acknowledgement for their marriage status. In addition, all the consequences from marriage termination when decided by the judge are binding. Despite the cost, a legitimate divorce remains the best option for the economically able people. The more sessions in the trial, the more expensive the cost for a legitimate divorce.

The religious court shall decide a divorce case involving lower class couple after the third trial, regardless of the defendant's absence. This policy – a minimum of 3 sessions- has reduced the cost to a maximum range of Rp 400,000 to Rp 600,000. The trial for lower class couple seeking divorce usually runs smoothly as both sides are already determined to get divorced, and there usually is no dispute on the custody and division of shared property. The court

usually grants the wife with the custody, thus, transferring all the economic burdens from raising children to her and her big family.

On the contrary, the trial for a divorce case involving upper class family usually goes through more sessions. Apart from mediation, the court will give both sides times to contemplate on their intention for seeking divorce. There usually are conflicts on the custody and division of shared property. It takes a more complicated measure to reach an agreement on wealth division. Some couples, however, do not bother with shared property division, and will give more emphasis on the custody.

In the following case, A (30 years old, university graduate) got separated from her husband due to unreconciled differences which put them in a never ending quarrel. Their marriage lasted only in 6 years. According to their most intimate relatives, A's parents, they have not divorced yet; they are only living separately. Together with her 8 year-old daughter, A is now living with her parents, while the husband is living with his parents in different home.

The fact that the husband is working in different city but frequently visiting his daughter, going shopping all together, dining out, or going on a picnic, makes people think that they are leading a harmonious life; likewise, A' parents do not believe if A has divorced from her husband. The divorce is registered to the local Court/Office of Religious Affairs, but it remains undisclosed to them. Apparently, for the sake of her daughter's mental stability, A and her former husband agree on a commitment to always show their harmonious relation before her daughter. Her former husband continues his financial support to raise their daughter.

The case of M (47 year old, unfinished elementary education) and his spouse R (36 year old, Elementary School graduate) decided to get an illegitimate divorce when they found unreconcilable differences despite their 15 year old marriage. They came from West Sumatra, migrating to Yogyakarta in 1989 for a better life. R, his wife, decided that their two daughters should be raised by M because she is unable to take care of them. They got separated without ill-feelings toward each other. He is fully responsible for the living cost. To maintain mother and daughters love bond, the daughters stay a night at R's home every week.

R feels deeply sorry for the divorce, so she apologized to her former husband. In spite of his non-formal job in Malioboro street, M still has time to

cook and prepare meals for the children. The impact from the divorce is that their daughters now prefer to spend times at home than playing outside. They used to play with friends around the house until evening. The divorce has caused embarrassment for the children, and eventually their withdrawal from peer circles.

Divorce is permitted (Parkin and Stone, 2004: 1995), but in Yogyakarta society regards divorce a big shame. Children feel that their life is imperfect after their parents are no longer united. Some children tend to withdraw themselves from their peers, become dependent, or less matured than their peers. In some cases, children of divorced families receive little attention and care from parents because many of them are transferred to grandparents' care. Sympathy for their condition comes, among other, from Women Movement/ Association (under Aisyiyah organization) of Danurejan district which initiated a program to give a one-year scholarship to elementary and junior school, aged children from poor families. Children from divorced families are included. The amount of scholarship and the number of recipients is relatively small but it has shown people's concern to unattended children.

Love affair is often the cause of divorce. This happens to D (43 year old, high school educated, self employed). Her harmonious family lasted only in three years. When she was pregnant for her second child in 2000, her husband, H (41 year old, university graduate), left her to work in different city. H felt inferior to his wife's status, and his inferiority grew worse when he could not bid enough projects to carry out. He had expected financial support from his parents in law, but they did not want him to be dependent.

Then, while working away from family, he met his former girlfriend and got married. To the best of her knowledge on Islamic teachings, D understood that her marriage had ended when her husband neglected her material and biological needs for more than 6 months after leaving home. At first, she did not want to get divorced as it would bring shame to her parents and family. However, being in uncertainty for so long, she finally consulted a moslem cleric in 2006. After she could make up her mind and be strong to face the fact, she insisted on her divorce.

On the other side, H was feeling worried that he should give allowance to his children after he formally divorced his wife. He tried to buy the time, and

when the court finally granted a decree for the divorce, he refused to sign it. He even misused the letter of divorce appeal (*talak*) for the purpose of marrying her former girlfriend. Finally, after waiting for 10 years in uncertainty, D got the divorce decree from the court.

After the divorce, H called her several times to ask about their children's condition. H sometimes gave money to pay their children's tuition, but the time was not reliable. H is now economically settled but his new wife bosses him around and does not like if his husband continues keeping in touch with his former wife and children from previous marriage. D is aware of this situation, and she must accept it. D wants to do her best in raising her children alone. She often gets phone calls from H's new wife who says bad words to her. Her children are reluctant to see their father even though only through the telephone. Together with her children, D continues to live with her parents.

## Legal Vulnerability

The 10 cases from the data reveal that children of divorced parents do not have adequate legal protection from their custodian although both the Islamic Law and regulation of the Marriage Act 1974 clearly state that they are under the mother's or father's custody. This happens because most fathers avoid their responsibility for providing life sustenance. The data reveal father's tendency for inconsistency in fulfilling the responsibility: he gives life sustenance to the children only during the first year after the divorce, and then, he gradually stop doing it. It usually happens when the father is poor, or financially established but has married a second wife and subsequently stops giving financial support. His new wife will usually disapprove when he continues to keep in touch with his former wife and children.

A strong tendency among the lower class divorced family is that they ignore both the Islamic Law and the Marriage Act 1974. They would prefer *pisah kebo* in order that they can avoid responsibility for their children's living cost. According to the Islamic Law, father is responsible for raising and educating his children until they reach their adulthood; it is a big sin when he abandons his children. Likewise, the state rules through the Marriage Act 1974 that father shall be responsible for providing the means for caring and protecting his children;



however, he may be relieved from this responsibility if his condition prevents him from carrying it out, and in view of this, he may ask his wife to share the burden.

According to the *adat* law, however, children do not have the rights to get protection from their divorced parents; it is up to their parents' conscience (Dellyana, 2004). Many divorced fathers have misunderstood it as reason to avoid responsibility for providing living cost after the divorce. They will innocently avoid the responsibility, either with, or without economic reasons or others. Neglecting or abandoning children by divorced parents will not bring severe punishments from the law, and this loophole seems to motivate father to escape from his responsibility. Although the Marriage Act 1974 rules that father is responsible for providing life sustenance for his children, it does not stipulate punishment for violation against this rule.

## Social Welfare Vulnerability

The divorce causes communication breakdown. It happens not only to the husband-wife relation, but also to parents-children relation. Subsequently, communication breakdown results in children abandonment. Apart from this, many husbands intentionally abandon their children because it is too heavy to pay for their children's living allowance. They have shifted the burden to their former wives who are now the sole caregivers. Children from the lower class family suffer worse neglect after their parents' divorce. They face uncertainty of financial support for their school tuition, health care, clothing, etc.

The future of their education is dark. The case of S indicates that children of lower class divorced parents grow up in a non-conductive environment, for they are living with the mother's big families in a neighborhood where most people work in non-formal sector and violent acts are frequent. In her (S) limitation, she keeps her hopes that her son is able to finish his vocational school and then able to find a job to help her.

The women always have many burdens after separated (Zulminarni, 2006). Children from divorced families have no guaranty for social welfare because their father refuses to give financial support, while at the same time their mother, having learnt from past experiences, never wants to depend on

others. Their mother is aware of the fact that her divorce has brought shame to the family, so they do not want to add up the misery. She and her children generally continue living with her extended family because she has no better option until she could build her own home. She and her children must be extremely alert in any circumstance in order to prevent hard feelings and rejection from the family.

In the cases where a divorced mother has to work in another city, or marries to a new husband, her children live with their grand mother. Javanese families believe that grand mother's affection to their grand children is superior than that of parents to their children (Geertz, 1986). Children of divorced family often receive bigger affection and financial support from their grand parents, uncles, and aunts from their mother's side.

## Conflict and the Role of Close Relatives

The causes of conflict prior to divorce in Danurejan district include unresolved quarrel, fornication, and drinking/gambling habits. Other cases of divorce also have similar causes (Soimin, 2002). At its early stage a divorce generally starts with a conflict between husband and wife, and indeed, many divorce cases result from poorly managed conflicts (Karim, 2004). Divorce is frequent among the lower class families who marry at very young age due to the couple's immatured personality (Nakamura, 1981). This case happens to S whose marriage lasted in only few months. Lower class families also tend to prefer *pisah kebo* than going through the religious court for a legitimate divorce.

Researches by Singarimbun and Manning (1974) and Nakamura (1981) also demonstrate that *pisah kebo* frequently happens among Javanese families in rural Yogyakarta. The divorced families are usually still young, and will marry again later. S and M chose *pisah kebo* while D and A go through the religious court for their divorce. They have decided not to marry again despite encouragement from family and approval from their children. The main reasons to reject second marriage are traumatic experiences from the first marriage and an effort to prevent their children from experiencing mental unpreparedness if having a new father. It is too hard for women to be a single parent but they

do their best to raise and educate their children. They pray for the success of their children in their education, job, and marriage life.

Each husband and wife wants to solve conflicts (individual conflicts) arising in marriage life on his/her own way. The Office of Religious Affairs offers counseling or mediation to reconcile the two (Kriekhoff, 1993: 226), but fails as each side is stubborn and has strong will to get divorced. Children's welfare should be the top priority in order to secure their future. Both legal and social vulnerability can be minimized when children have financial security. However, since mothers usually become single parent with double roles, their economic condition is in jeopardy. They need help from relatives, neighbors, society, organizations, NGOs and government who should work together to secure their welfare.

## Conclusion

Divorce, either legitimate or *pisah kebo*, brings adverse impact to children in the form of legal and social welfare vulnerability. Despite the stipulation in article 14 of the Marriage act 1974 that children of divorced parents shall get legal protection, they continue to suffer from legal vulnerability. They also suffer from social vulnerability since they have no body but their mother to guaranty their future. The absence of father's financial support leaves them with uncertain social welfare. Problems related to affection and communication due to their parents' divorce have laso marginalized them in their social environment.

The divorce cases among the upper class families show that both parents make some efforts to share responsibilities for raising their children while maintaining good communication, affection, and togetherness. However, it does not totally prevent the children from legal and social vulnerability. When the father marries again, he will likely stop the supports because of his new wife's intervention. The mother's extended family is able to maintain its role in giving affection and economic support to children of divorced parents only when it has economic stability. It needs cooperation as well as synergy among many parties, such as family, society, and the governmet to ensure that the children get legal and social protection.

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# GENETICS, IDENTITY AND THE FUTURE OF URBAN CULTURE

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## Introduction

Since Darwin's theory of evolution changed human and science perceptions about creation, the development of human, biologically, has given such an important influence in social construction toward identity and behavior. Technology with all its materials, inventions and knowledges has developed a new form of life, a new human. This evolution of transforming self as the complex body is a long journey to find out what is inside of human body which decides them to own such an identity and behave or take an action in social world. Such as X-Rays and microscope inventions, lead to the next step of future. This writing, then, intended to explore the new human as sophisticate creature living a world.

The first part of this writing traces the human genes along before genetics deterministic changes the perspective about life, until the day when genetics engineering technology comes and plays the vital role in human. Second part begins to explore the discourse of sociobiology and radical behavior approach analyzing human's identity and behavior. The third part is a turn how technology takes place in every structure of human body through genetic engineering and put it out as new form of social identity and behavior. And the last part will try to established new understanding of social relation between urban culture and how the triumph of genetics will rebuild our insight in perceiving human conditions in the future.

## The Journey of Human Genes

In ancient time, when the term of genetics had not been found yet, the story of living creatures mentioned in many ways in beliefs of pre-historic man. Such stories kept in myths for years. Until then, scientists or particularly, philosophers discovered which they believed that the origins of all in this universe known as elements. This is a conclusion made from explanation of Edmond Perrier (2009: 2).

Perrier noted, most of the philosophers of the ancient world still had a confused concept of organized life. For Thales and Anaximander, all things have been derived from water; Anaximenes and Diogenes preferred to have everything come from air. For Heraclitus, everything is a simply a transient form of fire. Xenophon wanted everything to come from air and water, while Empedocles believed that, in conjunction with two universal driving force, love and hate, all things have been produced from the four elements, earth, water, air, and fire, which, until modern times, have been the basis of all scientific concepts.

But it was still too far to coined the word genetics, remained there were Aristoteles with the animal kingdom, another old evolution concept by Lucretius (it is mentioned to be an old evolution concept because long time before Darwin, Lucretius notes on creatures productivity and quality of survival), and creatures living classification from Carl Linneus. For Perrier, Lucretius believed that when living creatures were produced in nature the simplest forms were the first to immerge and any that were imperfect were destined to disappear and be replaced by new ones that continued to appear (Ibid, 16; Beer, 2008: 63-64).

Further, Linneus found a way how creatures were classified based on he called *system* (Ibid, 29-30). According to Perrier, Linneus argued that everything in nature appeared to be rigorously ordered, that all creatures are related in a logical fashion, much as our thoughts are linked to one another in an uninterrupted chain. He was also in accord with the aphorism that Leibnitz had stated: *Natura non facit saltum* –Nature never moves by leaps.

That line above, in the way creatures are defined and classified, had most influential effect on the next understanding about the structure of human

body. It is become a new paradigmatic view and extends branches of biology, such as cell biology, medicine biology, molecular biology, evolutionary biology, developmental biology and so on as a study of living creatures. This revolutionize paradigm in biology science brought some of consequences related to the rest of human sciences perspectives, include the rise of genetic as a discipline (science).

The route begun, first, before genetics inventor Gregor Johann Mendel being acknowledged for his research on pea plants. It was Jean Baptise de Lamarck (1744-1829), the first who identified about Heredity in his coined term *Acquired Characteristic*. Lamarck is the pioneer in inventing the heredity of organisms. Lamarck believed, the necessity of an organism will determine on how that organism will grow and develop, that its necessity will be determined also by its environment. He used the neck of girrafes as the example to describe his idea. His theory, then, reincarnate into new idea of “directed mutation” which simple organisms can directed its own evolution (Brookes, 2005: 40-41).

According to Ho (2008: 77) as first comprehensive in evolution and an earlier in using epigenetic approach, Lamarck gave tension in tranformation which arose from organisms own activities and experiencing the environment as long as their epigenesis. Later, Ho argued that Lamarck’s theory needs a conception about organisms as an active and autonomous which open to environment. Epigenetic approach assumed any experience of organisms about their epigenesis as the center of their evolution, is potentially subversive for status quo. That is why, it is rejected by orthodoxs today (Ho, 2008: 73-74).

Next, Rudolf Virchow (1821-1902) who is a german physician, proposed the theory that every cell arises from an existing cell. In 1858, he carried out research related to fundamental question about cells and tooked Schleiden and Schwann’s observations as step further with his statement of the doctrine *Omnis cellula e cellula*, “Every cell originates from a similiar, previously existing cell” (Hodge, 2010: 43). This was a fundamental discovery that continued by Robert Koch’s finding of *Mycobacterium Tuberculosis* also Louis Pasteur and Edward Jenner for the cures. And soon, Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace went on with natural selection. Especially for Darwin, it was tremendously highlight theory which had its triumph until today.

Darwin is a naturalist who still controversy in spite of his origin of the species that blasts off the world with creation theory versus moral and religious's point of view. He offered evolution theory which stated that variations of organism occurs in both organic and inorganic conditions of life which have strong principle of inheritance with improvement. This what he called natural selection, that it is also lead to divergence of character and how during the modification and struggle of all species to increase in numbers, the more diversified these descendants become, the better will be their chance of succeeding in the battle for life (Darwin, 2008: 98-99; Hodge, 2010: 11).

Hodge concluded that evolution was based on a few logical principles that could be observed nearly everywhere: *variation, heredity, natural selection*. The theory become fundamental but still remains question on how those divergences or features transmitted to the next offsprings. Eventhough Darwin mentioned the pangensis or gemmula there was not enough proof to explained heredity.

Until Gregor Mendel, Francais Galton and William Bateson made significant breakthrough in genetic. Mendel is acknowledged as genetic founder through his work in putting the basic heredity of pea plants. According to Mendel, in most species, each males and females have hereditary units might contribute to the offsprings named *alleles* that might be a *dominant* or *recessiv* ((Ho, 2008: 98). 40 years after his finding, Hugo de Vries, Carl Correns, and Erich von Tschermak gave the same results on plans heredity experiments, then being a new start of genetic.

The next experiment by Thomas Morgan on fruit fly until the discovery of chromossomes and DNA (*Deoxyribose Nucleic Acid*) structures by James Watson and Francis Crick also its sequences by Fred Sanger went into branches of genetic, such as cytogenetic, molecular genetic, and so on. And genetic engineer plays an important role on human life because of the widely range used that has great impacts, especially, this new application on such issues like sustainable foods and biomedicine. And another chance that lead by eugenics comes as a fascinating moments, the born of new human. It is have a great possibility in order of The Human Genome Project.



## Human in Sociobiology and Radical Behavior Sciences

The prior in concerning the identity and behavior in human culture is the defining of man, behavior, and culture itself. This section comes from discussion between sociobiology and behaviorism perspectives in conjunction to human behavior and social world. Although, it is such challenges that sociobiology try to anticipate by including some of social sciences's perspectives to corporate what is deal inside a human and his environment. Hence, it is a complicate and controversy science along with social darwinism. But, although a remarkable insight provided by sociobiology, it still a battle of discourse and debate on cultural and social behavior of human. Moreover, there was radical behaviorism perspective which is assumed to elaborate in such aim.

Edward Osborne Wilson, the founder of sociobiology, had concerned that it needs more broader aspects and perspectives. In his book titled *On Human Nature* (1982), Wilson stated:

“Because the guides of human nature must be examined with a complicated arrangement of mirrors, they are deceptive subject, always the philosopher’s dead-fall. The only way foward is to study human nature as part of the natural sciences, in an attempt to integrated the natural sciences with the social sciences and humanities. I can conceive of no ideological or formalistic shortcut. Neurobiology cannot be learned at the feet of guru. The consequences of genetic history cannot be chosen by legislatures. Above all, for our own physical well-being if nothing else, ethical philosophy must not be left in he hands of the merely wise. Although uman progress can be achieved by institution and force of will, only hard-won empirical knowledge of our biological nature will allow us to make optimum choises among the competing criteria of progress. The important initial development in this analysis will be the conjunction of biology and the various social sciences –psychology, anthropology, sociology, and ecomonics” (Wilson, 1982: 7).

Later, he argued that sociobiology as a subject based largely on comparisons of social species. Each living form can be viewed as an evolutionary experiment, a product of millions of years interaction between genes and environment. By examining many such experiments closely, we have begun to construct and test the first general principles of genetic social evolution (Ibid, 17). In this view, Wilson position was

to draw upon culture through genes heredity selection by environment. He also pointed out that

“...general sociobiological view of human nature, namely that the most diagnostic features of human behavior evolved by natural selection and are today constrained throughout the species by particular sets of genes” (Ibid, 44).

In the same way, King (1981) noted that sociobiology is a broader formulation that adds several other theoretical concepts, the most important of which are kin selection and inclusive fitness... All action of consequence in social or interpersonal behavior, since it is adaptive, has an important genetic basic (King, 1981: 89-90).

Another work by Paul Naour (2009) explained human sociobiology as the essential work of E. O. Wilson (Naour, 2009). Wilson begin with term *sociobiology* and *gene-culture coevolution*. In term of sociobiology and the new synthesis, Naour stated what Wilson argued as modern synthesis as the answer of conjunction between biology and social sciences. Furthermore, the words modern synthesis, according to Wilson (Naour, 2009) refered as “the elucidation, through excellent empirical research, of the nature of genetic variation within species and of the means by which species multiply.”

Thus, in his *Sociobiology: The New Synthesis*, Wilson extended the synthesis outside the boundaries of biology and include social sciences to, according Naour, “reformulate the foundation of the social sciences in a way that draws them into the Modern Synthesis”. And as Wilson passed through Konrad Lorenz’s work, Konrad Lorenz and others are ethologists who develop “species specific” behavior (King, Ibid, 89; Wilson, Ibid: 16), he concluded that sociobiology as “the systematic study of the biological basis of all forms of social behavior” (Wilson in Hawkins, 1997: 294).

Especially for Hawkins (1997), most sociobiologist acknowledge the importance of culture as a determinant of human behavior and even concede a dialectical interplay between genes and culture, with the latter having a selective impact on the former (Ibid, 307). Here, Hawkins also underline what had been rejected by sociobiologists. Meanwhile, Wilson was also seeking for an appropriate explanation of cultural transmission along the offsprings, he refered to

Theodosius Dobzhansky's work related to culture. Dobzhansky stated:

“Culture, in contrast to biological heredity, is not transmitted through chromosomes and sex cell. We learn to speak the language or languages which are spoken by those around us, regardless of whether they are our parents or biologically unrelated persons. Then we begin to learn from books, often written by persons whom we never saw or who died long before we were born. The Transmission of cultural heredity is so efficient that people are able freely to acquire any one of the variety of culture which exist in the world (Dunn and Dobzhansky, 1952: 36-37).

From this turning point, for Wilson, there was another idea in his sociobiology to be expanded. With Charles Lumsden, in 1981, he published *Genes, Mind and Culture* as a more conceptual basis for sociobiology. Together, they constructed the genetic basis of social behavior and culture which called *gene-culture coevolution* that must be finalized by giving sets of theoretical background which they had attempted to fill. Lumsden and Wilson argued that there are sophisticated understanding related to social behavior and culture that are not prescribed in genes but implied by gene-culture evolution through what they called, *epigenetic rules*.

Here, Lumsden and Wilson (1981) explained epigenetic rules as direct the assembly of the mind. It works according to the predispositions coded by gene ensembles inherited by an organism. Ultimately genetically based, they are set of biological processes that are both gene dependent and context dependent – context provided by information “derived from culture and physical environment.” The human species is not immune to those epigenetic rules. We are as much a product of the coevolutionary processes as all primate species, “each adapted in idiosyncratic ways to particular environments” (Naour, 2009).

For Naour (2009), noticed to Lumsden and Wilson, epigenetic rules described a mind as a system that tends to organize into certain forms in preference over others, while the combined action of many minds seems to lead to the emergence of patterns in culture that become statistically predictable. And this lead to biology of cultural transmission that achieves its ultimate result in the emergence of the human mind is driven by the behavioral attributes of learning and teaching (Naour, 2009: 34). This is a way which Lumsden and Wilson developed in order to bridging the genes inside and culture outside human

by fulfilling three possible worlds of behavioral etiology toward culturegens (Ibid, 36).

In a conclusion, Wilson established a theoretical foundation toward sociobiology to attempt in understanding how culture and genetics connected through coevolution where the mind and brain plays the vital role. As Wilson (1998) stated:

“Culture is created by communal mind, and each mind in turn is the product of the genetically structured human brain. Genes and culture are therefore inseverably linked. But the linkage is flexible, to a degree still mostly unmeasured. The linkage is also tortous: Genes prescribed epigenetic rules, which are the neural pathways and regularities in cognitive development by which the individual mind assembles itself. The mind grows from birth to death by absorbing parts of existing culture available to it, with selections guided through epigenetic rules inherited by the individual brain.”

But the remaining of those, still needs Skinner’s works to make further explanation toward how could it be, the real thing being observed in human mind and genes? So, in another chance, Wilson met and discussed with B. F. Skinner. And it was a possibility to elaborate their works concerned with genes, behavior, and culture (Naour, 2009). In spite of Skinner rarely included genes and biological factor as his main works, it was an optimist view in seeing Skinner’s work as a bridge and supporting theoretical perspective. It is behavior that transmittes what is inside and outside human, between human and his environment.

According to Skinner (1953: 257), behaviour is a function of the environment, the term “environment” presumably means any event in the universe capable of affecting the organism. But part of the universe is enclosed within the organism’s own skin. In this sense, what Skinner pointed out is the action of organism through what are provided and becomes private for that individual and environment. It makes such an explanation how the individual adapts and make decision upon the bahavior.

But this is also an awkward, a contrary of social behavior, which Skinner defined as “the behaviour of two or more people with respect to a common environment”. It is often argued that this is different from individual behaviour

and that there are “social situations” and “social forces” which cannot be described in the language of natural science. A special discipline called “social science” is said to be required because of this apparent break in the continuity of nature (Ibid, 297).

Later, Skinner’s work emphasized the discussion about what man is. He came to criticize scientific psychology which regarded the autonomous man as objectively determined by necessary laws, hence, cannot have an intentional behaviour and a purpose. He argued that even necessary laws derived from intention and purpose that can be formulated in selective consequences. Strengthen the idea for purpose, Skinner back to Jacques Barzun who argued that Darwin and Marx both neglected not only human purpose but the creative purpose responsible for the variations upon which natural selection plays (Skinner, 1971: 200).

Moreover, Skinner noted that As some geneticists have argued, that mutations are not entirely random, but non-randomness is not necessarily the proof of creative mind. Mutations will not be random when geneticists explicitly design them in order that an organism will meet specific conditions of selection more successfully, and geneticist will then seem to be playing the role of the creative Mind in pre-evolutionary theory, but the purpose they display will have to be sought in their culture, in the social environment which has induced them to make genetic changes appropriate to contingencies of survival (Ibid).

Those, Skinner offered his analysis of behavior in two dimensions, the operant conditioning and selection by consequences (Naour, 2009: 97). The overall then become technology of behavior. In his *Beyond Freedom and Dignity*, Skinner argued that behaviour is shaped and maintained by its consequences. There are two important result between organism and environment interactions.

*First*, concerns the basic analysis. Behaviour which operates upon the environment to produce consequences (‘operant’ behavior) can be studied by arranging environments in which specific consequences are contingent upon it. The contingencies under investigation have become steadily more complex, and one by one they are taking over the explanatory function previously assigned to personalities, states of mind, feeling, traits of character, purposes, and intentions.

*Second*, the result is practical: the environment can be manipulated. It is true that man's genetic endowment can be changed only very slowly, but changes in the environment of the individual have quick and dramatic effects (Skinner, 1953: 23).

In another explanation of human behavior, Skinner stated that man may be controlled by his environment but this environment both physical and social, are man making by his own. The evolution of a culture is in fact a kind of gigantic exercise in self-control. As the individual controls himself by manipulating the world in which he lives, so the human species has constructed an environment in which its members behave in a highly effective way (Ibid, 201).

For Skinner, man has 'controlled his own destiny', if that expression means anything at all. The man that man has made is the product of the culture man has devised. He has emerged from two quite different processes of evolution: the biological evolution responsible for the human species and the cultural evolution carried out by that species (Ibid, 203). From this stand point, it is an obvious endeavor that Skinner drew human being as autonomous and had a free will (it is described in another chapter of his book) to design his own environmental living.

By arguing such analysis of behavior, Skinner attempted to place human as well as, for several scientist, being connected with Wilson because of his work in describing the relation between genetic heredity environment and culture. Later, he emphasized it as men have already changed their genetic endowment by breeding selectively and by changing contingencies of survival, and they may now begin to introduce mutations directly related to survival (Ibid). This could be a highlight with the work of Darwin and Wilson related to the heredity of survival mechanism toward environment as man own creation.

Moreover, Skinner noted, the origin and transmission of a cultural practice are thus plausibly explained as the joint product of natural selection and operant conditioning. A culture, however, is the set of practices characteristic of a group of people, and it is selected by a different kind of consequence, its contribution to the survival of the group (Naour, 2009: 97). And by doing so, this point of view also gave insights to a new field of behavioral science researches, behavioral genetics.

## Human Genetics and Urban Culture Now and Then: Identity and Behavior in the Age of Genetics Engineering Technology

As been explained above, the history of human genes gives a basic fundamental and key phase in developing discourses of human identity and behavior. This becomes such an important challenge due to history of genetics which had impacted biologically and socially in constructing human. For instances, the rise of eugenics by Francis Galton (1883) which divides in two different purposes, lead to a long debate and leaves a dark history to human rights. The positive eugenics to improve human qualities and capacity (such as through the up-grading of foods and medicines, preventing from any kinds of diseases, physical disability, mental illness) where in practical, some becomes negative eugenics or eugenics disorder in the name and interest of the state. There was also an interesting debate whether eugenics might be regulated by state, which finally propagandis and political, or it was absolutely a privat business of people regarding personal choice.

As being recorded by history, how British, USA, Germany, Russia, China and Japan ever had a straight struggle and nightmares to overcome negative eugenics. British had survived from such a shocking propagandis in disappearing experiments of many “lower class” race that fortunately never came true (Kelves, 1985; Brookes, 2005). This was quite different with had hapened to USA, Germany, Russia, Japan, and China where eugenics are used for political and ideological interest of the state. In 1924, in the USA, eugenics passed the immigration laws to obscure imigrants entering the country whereas part of those are who escaped from Nazi in Germany. This was based on government political will of Calvin Coolidge, the president of USA who stated that “America must be kept American. Biological laws show that Nordics deteriorate when mixed with other races” (Ibid). At least, in 1930s there were about 20.000 people sterelized.

The same event also happened in China, in 1994, where the government prohibited their citizen with certain disease for procreating. Japan was another example for bad eugenics when, during world war II, the Imperial Japanese Army’s unit 731 acted experiments on more less than 10.000 civilians and soldier from China, Korea, Mongolia, and Russia. Unit 731 used human subject

to conduct experiments such as vivisection without anesthesia, infection of victims with diseases or removal of organs while subjects were still alive, impregnating women against their will and then removing the fetus for examination, and amputating limbs and even reattaching them to other parts of the body (Peacock, 2010).

In Germany, negative eugenics attained its triumph when Hitler held a program of race purify, in which he believed that the real Germany race is the Aryan. By such an argument, he started to jailed everyone suspected the lower class (disable, mental illness, jews and gypsies, and so on) which also meant to be killed.

Another black story related to genetic was happened in Russia when Stalin ordered. Against Mendelism, he believed in Lamarck for it fitness with Marxist philosophy for his political agenda. Trofim Lysenko is a biologist who tried to develop oat vernelization, and one of Stalin's adherent. Together, they made Russia's biologists, who stayed with mendelism, sent away to Siberia to be forced labour. It was a vague time for Russia's genetics but finally got back to normal in 1950s.

For now on, how can we face (soft) eugenics in this new genetic engineering technology era? What does genetic engineering technology give and how it will change the entire world? These questions bacomes such a rich discourse related to biotechnology and genetic engineering which have given more sophisticate method called cloning. More questions arise in conjunction to human identity and "dicipline bodies" of the state have attacked an understanding of a new human (others called *posthuman*) form because of radical changing in human body. There are issues toward technology, globalization and genetics which lead to genetic screening, bioweapon, bioterrorism, cloning, robotic and cyborg that will also effect culture in our civilization Fukuyama in Hodge, 2010: 125; Pepperell, 2009).

Therefore, there is a consequence toward genetic screening and others genetic technology equipments. The identity that human has and the behavior related to it construct the essential humanity position in both nation and private space. As Ridley noted that there is a world of difference between genetic screening and what the eugenists wanted in their heyday – and it lies in this: genetic screening is about giving private individuals private choices on private



criteria. Eugenics was about nationalising that decision to make people breed not for themselves but for the state. It is a distinction frequently overlooked in the rush to define what “we” must allow in the new genetic world. Who is “we”? We as individuals, or we as the collective interest of the state or the race? (Ridley, 1999: 298).

Everything which started from genetic technology and make up what human today is learned from the tradition of heredity which through a very long debate about *nature* and *nurture*. It allows the combination of genetics and technology in creating who is human now. Not only in a sense of philosophical, but economically, human becomes commodity for markets in their own request. It is quite possible when refer to human organs and tissues trading that flow to the *machinization of human body*.

Richard Dawkins (Pepperell, 2009) claimed DNA as former life machine, that all of the living creatures are machine who survive that are programmed to multiply digital database which doing the program. Compared to Skinner’s argument that man is a machine in the sense that he is a complex system behaving in lawful ways, but the complexity is extraordinary. His capacity to adjust to contingencies of reinforcement will perhaps be eventually simulated by machines, but this has not yet been done, and the living system thus simulated will remain unique in other ways.

Politically, who defends and protects human citizenship is only the state. Who will, in this sense, realize what is right or wrong, except laws and regulations? But in a new situation of this genetic engineering technology environment, it might be confusing to decide what the role of the state is and what the duty for citizen is. In spite of new identities derive from the choices of people in their physical appearances and their preferences in culture, it also difficult to maintain national identity because it is blurring by unboundaries life.

For instance, a *baby-design* and embryo digital issues, cause parents to select the baby whatever they want, for sex and colors, eventhough parents might be from different skin color. Otherwise, when the child become an adult, he or she has right to change his or her own body. And when it over all the boundaries of race, ethnicity or even nation, it will be a really new world.

Thus, the important of identity has a conjunction with behavior of a new human. It related then to the structure of urban culture construction in

spite of how the city is built. The city which provides all the necessary needs of its citizen is changed for another level and sometimes left behind, depend on citizen's behavior. Whether it grows or not, whether it is good or bad, when genetic engineering technology could change everything, it might also change the urban.

In other days, it will full of hospitals and beauty clinics or even the new space underground inside of the city which could be dark or shine. As was described by William Gibson in his novel *Neuromancer*, Japan has already forgot development of neuron surgeons, while China is in struggle to conquer it. Dark clinics in Chiba is the most sophisticated. The overall surgeons technics come and go every month<sup>1</sup>.

## Conclusion

A long journey to find human genes created a new form of human which had important influence to environment. It also gives clues to trace culture and behavior of human. In many events and such histories, it helps to constuct a new understanding to sciences on how genes in human body in had connected with the environment outside. And the last, it change perspectives about what human is.

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<sup>1</sup> (Gibson, 2010).

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# THE CONCEPT OF GOOD AND BAD IN JAVANESE SOCIETY AS REFLECTED IN THE “DOLANAN SONG”

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## Introduction

As people are going through their social life, they are naturally supposed to deal with any physical and mental experiences. Some of those natural experiences may well make them pleased, happy, and comfortable; or, otherwise, those could bring sad, disappointed, suffering, and even tortured feelings to them. For the former, those are usually called good experiences, while for the latter the bad ones. Then, learning from such experiences those people are certainly supposed to either keep doing something good, as for the former or, else, taking action for overcoming those regarded bad, for the latter. All of these are, particularly, reflected in *dolanan* song, which is a part of the *dolanan driji*.

According to the dictionary of *Bausastra Jawa-Indonesia* (Prawiroatmojo, 1980: 95-96), *dolanan* means “to play or to have fun”, while *driji* means “fingers” (therefore, *dolanan driji* can be defined as a fingers-play. In Javanese culture, fingers (*driji*) are identified to consist of thumb (*jempol*), index finger (*panuduh*), middle finger (*panunggul*), ring finger (*jenthik manis*), and little finger (*jenthik*). From their figures, the little finger (*jenthik*) is the smallest one, while the thumb (*jempol*) is, in size, shorter than the little finger, but it is bigger; besides, both of the index finger (*panuduh*) and the ring finger (*jenthik manis*) are approximately equal in height, whereas the middle finger (*panunggul*) is the tallest of all the five fingers.

Seeing these fingers in upside-down position, the little finger (*jenthik*) is at the very right side of the right hand; next to its left side is the ring finger (*jenthik manis*); the middle finger (*panunggul*) is at the very middle position of all the five fingers and next to its left side is the index finger (*panuduh*), and at the very left side of all is the thumb (*jempol*). In Javanese culture, fingers are helpful not only for their physical services, such as *muluk* (to eat food by using fingers), scratching, pinching, etc., but also they are supposedly to be useful in relation to a number of noteworthy ways of life of the entire social life of Javanese people; among other can be seen through the Javanese children-play well-known as *dolanan driji* (fingers-play).

As far as the writer knows, studies on the *dolanan driji* are restricted simply to a kind of song inventory, those of which are attributed to Overback (1938) in the book *Javaansche Mesjesspelen En Kinderliedje* and Katno (1940) in the collection of songs “*Taman Suka*”. This song inventory is obviously very useful as a whole in the preservation of tradition, especially the oral tradition, in consideration that the effort might be unhelpful if any related studies are by no means to carry on. In this case, the writer is supposed to participate in a more scientific observation, for the sake of persistent study, from a different approach, i.e., from a standpoint of structural anthropology.

## Theoretical Framework

The analysis of this writing applies structural hermeneutic approach. However, since its emphasis of analysis is restricted to the interpretive aspect only, structural anthropology is also used. From this cultural approaches, culture or its elements in questions is considered as a “text”. These elements of culture are to be “read”, interpreted or signified, and the culture itself would be perceived as a set of symbols acquired through the process of learning in social life, and is functional for its adaptability (Ahimsa-Putra a, 2006: 6)

The approaches are preferred here, because the *dolanan driji* will specifically be analyzed through into its smallest units. This cultural strategy of analysis, of course, leads an access more to find out the concepts *good* and *bad* in the *dolanan driji*, rather than to use any others approaches, hence finding out more units. Each of the units can reveal particular appreciations. In

this case, the units to be analyzed may well constitute both mytheme, that is any sentence that represents particular relations (L»vi-Strauss, 1963 in Ahimsa-Putra a, 2006:7), and *ceriteme*, namely a sequence of sentences or paragraphs that indicate particular concepts (Ahimsa-Putra a, 2006).

The acquired mythemes or ceritemes are, subsequently, interpreted so that all the direct and indirect concepts of *good* and *bad* could be identified. In Javanese, the word *good* is especially equivalent to both Javanese words “apik” and “becik”, while *bad* is specifically equivalent to “elek” and “ala”. “Apik” could particularly mean as *a good and refined related to a product*, whereas “becik” could especially refer to *good personality, attitude, and any others characters that look comfortable* (Poerwadarminto, 1939).

On the contrary, “elek” is supposed to mean *rotten, ugly, and evil* (Prawiroatmodjo, 1980). In other words, “apik” is used to mean *a good look* for the *outer* appearance of things, while “becik” is used to indicate the *inner* goodness. “Elek” is used to mean something bad from the surface look, while “ala” is used to mean something bad from the *inner* look (Ahimsa, b 2006: VII).

## Dolanan Driji

*Dolanan driji* is one of the types of Javanese children play. This play is usually used by parents for comforting and entertaining children; but, it is sometimes played by any other people as well, that is the older child in a family who is taking care of the younger sister or brother for the same purpose as the parents’ role, namely for comforting and entertaining the younger sister/brother (the baby). *Dolanan driji* is a play descended orally from one generation to another generation after. Therefore, as an orally descended play, *dolanan driji* varies both in the way of playing it and in the way of how the relevant song is to be sung.

This play is basically performed by means of moving over the fingers while at the same time the player is singing out the song *enthik* (the little finger). How to move over the fingers is of several ways; one of which is, among others, by opening wide the two palms of the hands in face-to-face position and the same fingers of the two hands are shut tight to cling one another (little finger against little finger, ring finger against ring finger, middle

finger with middle finger, index finger against index finger, and thumb against thumb). Further, each of the clinging fingers is moved over as to follow the lyric of the song at the same time.

However, the way of playing it must be accompanied with the singing of the *dolanan driji* or often called *enthik* (little finger). Just in the way of playing it, the song *enthik* (little finger) consists of several variations as well. In the analysis below, one of the complete variations will be accommodated. The following presents the lyric *enthik* (the little finger) together with an explanation of how the fingers are to be moved over.

### ***Entsik* (Little Finger)**

<b>Fingers</b>	<b>Songs</b>
<i>Jenthik manis</i> (ring finger)	<i>Entsik-entsik, patenana si panunggul</i> Little, little finger, kill the middle finger'
<i>Panuduh</i> (index finger)	<i>Aja dhi aja dhi tak kandhani</i> "Oh, no sista', no sista' listen to my words' <i>Sedulur tuwa malati</i> ' Older, older sister makes suffer
<i>Jempol</i> (thumb)	<i>Bener bener aja mbeler ndak keblinger</i> Strongly...don't confront, or you be ruined'
<i>Jenthik</i> (little finger)	<i>Sayuk-sayuk soyang-soyang</i> Alright, alright... the mind becomes uneasy
<i>Panuduh</i> (index finger)	<i>Rukunena dimen rosa</i> 'Be in harmony, so you tough' <i>Ra dha congkrah dadi bubrah</i> 'Don't dispute, or you be wretched to pieces'

The lyric of the song constitutes a personification about a familial conflict between an older sister and her younger sister. This familial sisterhood conflict is triggered by the *jenthik manis*' (ring finger) jealousy against her older sister, *temunggul* (middle finger). Then, the *jenthik manis* (ring finger) gives a command for her younger sister, *jenthik* (little finger) to kill their own older sister. However, one of the other older sisters, the *panuduh* (index finger) prevents this and she gets a support from the *jempol* (thumb). Through the analysis of mytheme and ceriteme the concepts of good and bad of a conflict in Javanese culture could finally be revealed.



## The Mytheme or Ceriteme of the Lyric *Enthik* (Little Finger)

In this writing, the first step to take is to explore and determine the mytheme of the lyric *enthik* (little finger). However, in case there is not any meaningful mytheme to be found in the lyric, the search will be turned into the ceriteme, then.

### The mytheme or ceriteme of the lyric *enthik* (little finger)

#### 1. *Enthik-enthik patenana si temunggul* ‘Little, little finger, kill the middle finger’

This mytheme may well be interpreted as the way the *jenthik manis*’ (ring finger) is giving command to the *jenthik* (little finger). The indicator of the command is obviously reflected by the affix *-ana* in the word *patenana* (kill), since this affix functions as one of the command indicators in Javanese language. This command constitutes a performative act in that the command has to be performed by the *jenthik* (little finger), i.e., to kill the *temunggul* (middle finger).

From the point of view of the type of salutation *enthik* and the command *patenana*, it can be seen that the *jenthik manis* (ring finger) is an older sister to the *enthik* (little finger). The fact is indicated by the form *njangkar*, which means “to avoid using a form of familial salutation” when addressing *enthik*. In general, a salutation in Javanese society is based on a familial relationship, such *pakdhe*, *budhe*, *paklik*, *bulik*, *kangmas*, *mbak*, *dhik*, etc. These are equivalent to uncle, aunt, older brother, older sister, and younger [either brother or sister), respectively.

In Javanese social life, the familial salutation is significantly so important that the people call *njangkar* for the ones who avoid using familial salutation and this tends to mean negative. Yet, *njangkar* is still allowed to use in case that the addressed one is younger (Suseno 2003: 49). This fact confirms that the salutation *enthik*, which is a short form of *jenthik*, is a salutation used by an older people when addressing a younger one.

Concerning that the *jenthik* (little finger) is younger than the *enthik*, it can obviously be seen from the *jenthik manis*’ (ring finger) way of making salutation when she is addressing the *jenthik* (little finger), i.e. by using a short

form of salutation *enthik* (little finger). In Javanese society, changing a type of salutation is typically normal for parents to do when they are addressing their own children, through which salutation they imitate the child's incomplete way of talking (*nyedhal*) (Koentjaraningrat, 1994: 110).

The type of command that the *jenthik manis* (ring finger) is using in Javanese society, can lead to the way of how the older and younger relationship is to consider between the *jenthik manis* (ring finger) and the *enthik* (little finger), because, in general, the ones who have authority to give command is the parents or the older person to the younger one. This is basically in accordance with Koentjaraningrat (1994: 111) had put forward that, in Javanese culture, the older people is the man of authority for giving command to the younger ones.

This type of giving command may well be interpreted as a kind of request to cooperate in doing certain things. Thus, such a request for cooperation could mean either an appeal to a support or to find out the addressee's responses toward any action that is going to do. In Javanese culture, it is considered important that any action should be based on agreement or on a mutual compromise among the people in order to avoid breaking the prevailed norms.

## **2. *Aja dhi aja dhi sedulur tuwa malati* (No sister, no sister, the older makes suffer)**

This mytheme may be interpreted both as a type of prohibition and of an older person's advice to the younger one. The way of how the type of prohibition is directed by the older person to the younger one, can be seen from the salutation *dhi* (young sister) which at the same time the *panuduh* (index finger) is directing to both of her sisters, the *jenthik manis* (ring finger) and the *jenthik* (little finger). This prohibition also implies an advice of a "threatening" kind or warning for all the consequences. In this case, the mytheme *sedulur tuwa malati* (the older makes suffer) means that the younger might be *kualat* (damned or cursed).

Such punishment as a threatening warning in the mytheme can also mean that the parent in Javanese culture does not actually get accustomed to give a threat of to give a physical punishment. Mulder (1996:88), Geertz (1982: 108), and Koentjaraningrat (1994: 122, 254) explain that the physical punishment as a corrective action is rarely given. If a child is big and mature enough to use

his/her logic, he/she would be given a threat or punished by using any mystical threats or any other supernatural powers, such as ghost, nymph, and mischievous spirit, and together with any *kualat* threatening in that the supernatural power would punish those who are ill-behaved to the older persons.

This kind of *ceriteme* may well be interpreted as the older person's effort to deaden the syndrome of violence the younger person has brought about so that it would not invoke an exposed and extended conflict and, thus, the familial harmony is hopefully to continue. Suseno (1984: 41) explained that Javanese society develops behavioral norms that are supposed to prevent any harmful conducts to inducing particular kinds of conflict potentials or, at least, to prevent from a more exposed and extended conflict.

The type of command *patenana* (kill) in the first mytheme can be interpreted as an expression which is consciously chosen by the singer in order to provide an instance of a potentially exposed conflict that has to be prevented. This is true because the singer does not use the command *satru* or *jothakan*, which is usually conducted to avoid any kinds of physical confrontation in Javanese society, i.e. not talking to one another for a temporary or, even, for so long as the life time.

Geertz (1982:122) and Suseno (1994: 56) explained that *satru* or *jothakan* is a typical means to resolute conflict or to overcome any possibly open conflict in the social life of Javanese society. For the sake of such kind of means, however, the violence can be prevented and this is an honest and true expression of feeling because, by expressing *satru* or *jothakan*, any physical confrontation could be avoided. Meanwhile, the expression of resentment is not at all blocked. And, typically, the *satru* or *jothakan* can be open to a negotiation by means of particular compromises or it would dissolve itself in case one party initiates to apologize, or it is due to particular situation.

### **3. *Bener bener aja mbeler ndak keblinger* 'Strongly don't confront, or you be ruined'**

This mytheme indicates that *jempol* (thumb), in this case is as an older sister, agrees or approves the advice the *panuduh* (index finger) has given her when giving an advice to both the *jenthik manis* (ring finger) and *jenthik* (little

finger). The interpretation that the older people's blessing is very important, is principally in accordance with Koentjaraningrat (1994: 441-442) has put forward, that is the ordinary people of the Java villages are engaged in a vertically-oriented cultural values. Those ordinary people depend much on the supports, opinions, and blessings given by the man of important authority, of highly-ranked, governmental bureaucrats, and the elders in their village.

“Restu” (blessing) which in Javanese is *pangestu*, is also to be expected to be given by the ancestors for them by paying a pilgrimage visit to the ancestors' resting place in order to appeal for a benediction, for a help to make a difficult decision, for a promotion in rank, for money to pay debts. Even more, most of the villages also possess *punden*, to be a site for worshipping the ancestors (the founding fathers) of the village (Suseno, 1994: 87). The elders' blessing is typically given altogether with any speech of wisdom and any warnings about the consequences they must be given in case they do not obey the advice, the consequence which is to be ruined, in this case.

#### **4. *Sayuk-sayuk soyang-soyang* (Alright, alright...but the mind becomes uneasy)**

This mytheme can be interpreted to mean that the *jenthik* (little finger) as a younger sister would listen to and obey her older sister because the obedience toward the older is a good behavior and make the feeling lighten up. Koentjaraningrat (1994: 254) explains that the ordinary villagers usually consider that *manut* (obedient) is one of the good deeds of man. The obedient folks are praiseworthy. Also, in *priyayi* family (the upper-class in the Javanese social strata), a praiseworthy child is destined to be successful and, someday when grown up, he/she would become a civil servant on condition that the child is obedient due to its usefulness. Yet, likewise the obedience toward his/her superior in the work place as a civil servant, to be good and obedient to any strange people whom he/she does not know yet, is likely to constructive and helpful in later years on.

This mytheme may also mean that given the frequent threatening of any supernatural power or ghostly power, which influences the mental such in the lyric *sedulur tuwa malati* (the older makes suffer), affect the Javanese people to do

two things if they are faced with supernatural power, i.e. to avoid the situation by edging away, and do nothing and let the thing pass by. In contrary, the Javanese people can be progressive in that for a moment they pretend to agree to any strangers' will, but after that, they decide whether they have negative or positive feeling to that strangers or not (Koentjaraningrat, 1994: 254).

##### **5. *Rukunena dimen rosa* (Be harmonious, so you be strong)**

###### *Padha Congkrah dadi Bubrah* (Don't Dispute or You be Wretched to Pieces)

This mytheme can be interpreted as an advice to live in harmony and avoid disputing. Just like the explanation above, the elders' speech of wisdom is typically accompanied with a warning of any consequences to be taken, namely that living in harmony makes people strong; otherwise, the dispute must bring about disorder for all. For Javanese people, "*rukun*" (harmonious) is very essential, in which through being harmonious the social relationship can definitely be taken away from any conflict in order to achieve a peaceful life, i.e. peace in the mind (Ahimsa, 2006: 24). In contrast, any dispute should be completely prevented in a social life since this attitude may well bring the social relationship into disharmony and could make peaceful situation unaffordable.

### Good and Bad in the Dolanan Driji Song

Some people may argue that *dolanan driji* is merely a play intended to comforting the small child, or just to wasting the time, or even to spending time with children. However, apart from these opinions, much noteworthy to ponder is things beyond the lyric, especially to see what is good and what is bad in Javanese culture, in which they are still so valuable, now, that we aim to actualize them.

### "Seniority"

The concept of seniority is very of great consequence in Javanese culture. This means that any Javanese people who could position him-/herself in the society whether as senior or junior is regarded as a good people. This kind of

disposition is taking the form of using the proper familial salutation, such as *dhi* (young sister/brother), the salutation of *njangkar*, such as *enthik* (little finger), and the using of command and advisory sentences.

This signification correlates inherently with the rights and duties of every people. The older people have rights to giving order, making prohibition, to be being respected, not to be despised, not to be ridiculously, and even not to be disgraced. The elder's position is *nuwasi-malati*. In other words, the young people have to appreciate and pay respect to the older ones; otherwise, those disrespectful might be *kualat* (ruined) and their life would ruin.

Despite, the elders should not treat the other young people thoughtlessly and egoistically, such as way the *penunggul's* (middle finger) *jarwo dosok* attitude, namely *ngungkul-ungkuli* or *ngunggul-unguli* (arrogant). *Ngungkul-ungkuli* (arrogant) can be regarded as very self-interested, self-initiative, unsociable, opportunistic without ever caring for other people with whom he/she is living. Every individual should go hand in hand with the neighbor, to share, law-abiding, and cooperative (Suseno, 1984: 40; Mulder, 1996: 72). Furthermore, the elders are certainly obliged to advice, to warn, and to encourage the young to do good things, and to lead the young people into a right way. All of this is intended for the young to live well, in self-control and equability. Meanwhile, the younger people are obliged to follow any advice, to appreciate, to pay respect to the elders.

The using of familial salutation to designate the relationship between the young and the older people seems still relevant today in that, through this way, they could remind each other about their position in concern with their rights and duties. However, they also have to be very critical in all situations in that the younger people not only have to do what they are obliged to, but they also deserve to question and confront all the things which is unable to get along with their consciences.

## Togetherhness

Togetherhness is a noteworthy fundamental foundation in social life. A failure to build togetherhness certainly could bring social life into *congkrah* (disharmony). In other words, a *congkrah* could make social order ruined.

On this case, such *congkrah* attitude is reflected in the way the *temunggul* (middle finger) acts *ngungkul-ungkuli* (arrogantly). This arrogance, consequently, cause the *jenthik manis* (ring finger) to dislike the *temunggul* (middle finger). So, the *jenthik manis* (ring finger) command the *jenthik* (little finger), to kill the *temunggul* (middle finger). That the lack of togetherness could lead to disharmony is revealed by the *jempol* (thumb) as well, as seen in the lyric *padha congkrah dadi bubrah* (if you dispute, you be wretched to pieces).

Just like the concept of seniority, the significance of togetherness is still relevant today. It encourages, among others, to keep being cooperative with someone else and not behave individualistically, because human being principally cannot live all alone and always needs other people to live with. To build a high-quality of togetherness, everyone must pay respect to other people. By paying other people respect the harmony can be sustained and there would be no conflict.

## Harmony

For Javanese people, the concept of harmony means any effort to prevent conflict. To prevent conflict or to protect harmony Javanese people effort several things, among others: to avoid any open dispute or physical quarrel, such as *mateni* (to kill), but they still may express the annoyance through *persatruan* or *jothakan*, by which the annoyance would settle down in case a peaceful communication is to be build again; to develop any kinds of familial salutation. By intensifying to use the familial salutation, so each of relatives would certainly remind and be concerned with their rights and duties.

Anyone should be cooperative and build togetherness within their own group, to share, and obedient. Anyone should avoid any *ngungkul-ungkuli* (arrogant) attitude, very self-interested, egoistic, unsociable, opportunistic without ever caring for other people with whom he/she is living, because those kinds of things can cause disputes, which means that the social order would not ever be achieved; the younger people should respect any advice given by the elders, or elder-regarded, who remind any consequences to come, which does not take the form of threat in a physical punishment.

The significance of harmony in Javanese culture could become a reference for any other society, today. In principle, the kind of harmony in Javanese culture has more emphasis to attempt to prevent conflict. This should hopefully be actualized for the reasons explained above.

## The Significance of “*Restu*” (Blessing)

The parents’ or the ancestors’ blessing is very important in Javanese culture. The significance of blessing is that if anyone wants to get hold of successfulness, prosperousness, feeling of safety, self-control, and happiness, he/she has to have the blessing from the parents, the elders, or even the ancestors. The blessing is not only affordable by way of asking for the elders’ prayers, or by way of cleaning up the grave and studding flowers onto it, or by means of praying for the ancestors in certain times as well as appeal for them so that it is easier to achieve our expectation, but also by means of following the elders’ advice and prohibition. Through these ways, it is believed that all the duties have been done and, so they could pray for a help to be given and all the hope would certainly be easier to achieve.

The significance of blessing that is still relevant until now is that, in addition to keeping reminding the young generation about all that has been done and told to in the past years, so that they keep respecting and obeying their parent, the parents or the elders also must, in case the young generation ask for a blessing, give advice and remind the young generation anything that allows them able to protect themselves.

## Conclusion

Analysis on the lyric *enthik* (little finger) in the *dolanan driji* (fingers-play) above indicates that one of the Javanese cultures is expressed in the *enthik* (little finger) of the *dolanan driji* (fingers-play). This song expresses a number of culturally local-wisdom values which are expected to be helpful for overcoming any recent social problems, such as violence, disorder, and conflict.



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# URBAN SPACE



# LAND AVAILABILITY AND CAPACITY ANALYSIS FOR BUILDING IN TERRITORY OF URBAN

*Case Study of Palu City*

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## Introduction

Urban land is divided into lands for buildings and lands not for buildings. Lands for buildings consist of resident, industry, office, trade and services. Lands not for buildings are divided into land used for the urban activities (cemetery, recreation, transportation, open space), and land used for non urban activities (agriculture, plantation, water area, production and mining of natural resource). Land use is defined as a form of human intervention on land in order to meet their needs. Hakim and Nasoetion (1994) add that land use is a dynamic process, as a result of changes in the pattern and enormity of human activities all the time. So that problems related to land is a complex problem. Therefore, effort to optimal utilization of land resources requires an efficient allocation of land use.

Building is one of urban land-cover which has very important in land use classification. The land use for building distribution and development is very important information for planning and environmental study in urban territory. Nevertheless, data and information collection to land use for building is not a simple matter (Zhang, 1999). The land use for building that continues to increase especially in urban areas will cause problems later on. This is because of its limited land area, while the land requirement for building is constantly growing as the population growth and urban activities which at certain times, the land in urban areas will be full of buildings.

The inaccuracy of land use is generally caused by the pressure of increase population which needs land for the development of settlement sector, industry, trades and services as a consequence of the growth process of economy to non-agriculture (Mansur, 2004). Factor of population growth is one of the greatest contributions to the formation of urban activity. To accommodate the activity, the population needs overflowing land, until eventually there is competition of urban land which has limited extent.

Therefore, land use planning needs to be done to accommodate and anticipate the various needs of urban land. Comprehensive consideration to planning of a city is needed to know data and information related to land capacity and potency which capable to development resource on sustainable, especially related with land availability and capacity for building and its requirement of infrastructure (Hudson, 1997).

The purpose of this study is to determine: a) the extent of effective land use for building that is available based on the physical characteristics of land in Palu city, b) the capacity number or maximum capacity of land in Palu city on population and land use for building based on the extent of available effective land, and c) the time limit of the availability of effective land that is capable of supporting the growth of land use for building in Palu city based on the land capacity. The study is conducted in all sub-districts in Palu city on population, households (families), population density, building, the extent of building and yard as well as the total area.

Types of data collected consisted of space data (spatial) and non-space data (aspatial) which described the physical characteristics of land in Palu as city of bay. Spatial data were data of the topographic map, the

geological map, the hydrology map, and the map of land user for protected areas and cultivated areas (residential areas, offices, RTH, tourism, trade and services) obtained from the Revision Map of Spatial Plan of Palu in year 2010 , while aspatial data covered the data of physical condition of land, data of the number and the population growth, as well as data of the number and the building growth such as the time series data obtained through document recording technique and GIS mapping.

Data analysis techniques used were projection analysis, land capacity analysis, and overlay spatial which was a process of combining two maps to form a new map as the basis for determining the broad availability of land for building. To residential areas and the existing cultivated areas, they were not changed regarded as a region that retained. Indonesia as a developing country still faces major problems in the development of cities. The development of economic activities and population growth will be followed by increasing demand for space/land primarily for the building as a place that holds a variety of urban activities such as housing and office affairs.

Palu as one of the cities in Indonesia is also experiencing problems related to the population growth together with the increase of urban land use, especially land use for building. Palu City has an area of 38,018.15 hectares (ha) or 380.18 km<sup>2</sup> (GIS Analysis and Territory Boundary Synchronization, 2010) with the population growth rate from year to year has increased significantly. From 2000 to 2010, the population growth rate has an average of 1.68% per annum, which the amount at the end of 2000 was 269,083 people and at the end of 2010 was 335,297 people (Results of SP2010, Palu).

Along with the increase of population in Palu, the demand/need for land has increased, particularly the land use for building. Based on data obtained, it shows that the number of buildings and the level of land use for building in Palu city from year to year also increase significantly. In 2000-2010, the number of buildings has increased in an average of 3.45% per annum or 34.47%, in interval of 10 years i.e. from 65,668 units of buildings with an extensive land use for building and yard about 2,502.99 hectares (6.74 %) in 2000 to around 75,536 units of building at the end of 2010 with an extensive land use for building and yard about 3,345.47 hectares (8.80%).

Such condition would need to get an attention and it is anticipated early in order to get the balance between the need and the availability of land for building, particularly in the territory of Palu as a coastal city, for now and future. Then, it can be an input to the Spatial Plan of Palu city for giving more direct patterns of land use for building based on availability and capacity of their own land.

## Availability Analysis of Land for Building

Associated with aspects of consumption and demand of land for the establishment of buildings, the continuity of urban activities with the urban population as the main doers/actors, requires the availability of appropriate land both technical aspects and legal aspects in the extent that is adequate and sustainable. Besides being a key factor in accommodating urban activity, land also has unique properties because of its function that cannot be replaced by any other factors. Therefore the availability of land for adequate and sustainable building is very fundamental in order to create urban spaces that are safe, comfortable, sustainable, and productive.

Provision of land for building in accommodating urban activity in several big cities in Indonesia, nowadays, faces problems and challenges that are quite heavy due to “explosion” of uncontrolled population. The implication, a competition will occur in land use that the number is very limited and will increase the degradation rate of environmental quality of urban land as a result of human pressure on land resources that exceed the capacity. It is time to pay attention for Palu city as one of the developing cities in Indonesia to see the problem of land availability, particularly in relation to the provision and growth in land use for building to accommodate urban activities in the future, as the impact of urban population growth which is relatively high, so it might be expected to arrange the land use of town which is harmonious, balanced and sustainable, and can anticipate the degradation of environmental quality for very limited urban land that might be occurred.

Analysis for the availability of land is one step that needs to be done, especially related to the availability of the extent of effective land that can be



utilized for the establishment of buildings, both the technical aspects of land and the legal aspects. As has been described previously in operational definitions of variables that in order to obtain the availability of extent of effective land, there are several supporting variables to consider, namely: the area extent, the extent of protected areas, the extent of constructed cultivation area, the extent of urban infrastructure and the extent of strategic area of city. Mathematically, the variables of effective land availability can be modeled as follows :

$$L_{EF} = L_W - (K_L + K_{BT} + K_{PK} + K_{SK}) \dots\dots\dots I)$$

- In which :  $L_{EF}$  = The Extent of Effective Land Availability for Buildings (ha)
- $L_W$  = The Extent of Study Area (ha)
- $K_L$  = The Extent of Protected Area (Ha)
- $K_{BT}$  = The Extent of Existing Constructed Cultivation Area (ha)
- $K_{PK}$  = The Extent of Urban Infrastructure Area (ha)
- $K_{SK}$  = The Extent of Urban Strategic Area (ha)

### The Extent of Study Area

Extent of an area can generally be divided into two parts, namely land area and ocean area, especially areas that have sea as their boundaries. The extent of study area is more focused on the mainland extension of Palu city. Land area of Palu city used as a study area in this research is ± 38,018.15 ha (380.18 km<sup>2</sup>). This is technically total land area according to the result of digitization through the help of Ikonos satellite images in 2005 and 2009 toward the administrative boundaries which adjusted and synchronized with the administrative boundaries of its surroundings.

### The Extent of Protected Area

The extent of protected area is the extent of area defined by the primary function of protecting the environmental sustainability covering natural resources and man-made resources. These types of land use for the protected area according to the direction of Palu RTRW include: protected forest, local protected areas, green open space areas (RTH) including buffer zone in it, nature reserves and cultural reserves, prone to natural disasters areas, and protected areas of geology.

The extent of protected area is one factor which reducing the availability of effective land for building. Calculation of the extent of protected area of Palu city is the accumulation of various types of the extent of land use for protected area as dictated by the space pattern of RTRW Palu 2010 - 2030 and the result of spatial analysis from researcher to the plan of land use of protected area that has not been contained or measured quantitatively in the product RTRW Palu city. The extent of protected area of Palu city is  $\pm 16,591.837$  ha.

## The Extent of Existing Constructed Cultivation Area

The extent of constructed cultivation area is the extent of cultivated area that has been built physically artificially, either in the form of buildings, regions, or networks, as well as the cultivated area is formed physically naturally in the form of surface water bodies as Blue Open Space (RTB) which is in Palu based on the existing conditions in 2010 as the base year of research implementation. The constructed cultivation area of Palu include: residential area; trade and service area; office area; industrial area; tourism area; mining area, public services area (education, health, and worship), public infrastructure area (transport, electricity, and waste), defense and security area, warehousing area, as well as non-green open space area including blue open space area in it.

Calculation of the extent of constructed cultivation area is needed to know how large the extent of cultivated area is used for building the current building as one factor reducing the availability of effective land. The total extent of land use of constructed cultivated area in Palu city according to the existing conditions in 2010 is  $\pm 4,199.162$  ha.

## The Extent of Urban Infrastructure Area

The extent of urban infrastructure area is the extent of area that the space arrangement is allocated for the plan of urban infrastructure needs as part of the space structure of Palu include: land transport infrastructure area covering the plan of road network, rail network, and land transportation terminal; sea transport infrastructure area covering development plan of sea port area; air transport infrastructure area covering development plan of airport area; electrical infrastructure area covering development plan of power generation area, waste

management infrastructure in the form of regional allocation plan of the final processing site of waste, and disaster evacuation area such as paths of evacuation routes and gathering place when disaster strikes.

Similar to protected areas and constructed cultivation areas above, the extent of urban infrastructure area is also one reducing factor to the availability of effective land for building. Calculation for the extent of infrastructure area of Palu city is the accumulation of various types of the extent of land use for urban infrastructure area as dictated by the space structure of RTRW Palu in 2010 - 2030 and the results of spatial analysis from researcher on the extension plan of land use of the urban infrastructure area that has not been contained or measured quantitatively in the product of RTRW Palu. The total extent of the needs plan for land use of the infrastructure area of Palu is  $\pm 3,445.430$  ha.

## The Extent of Urban Strategic Area

The extent of strategic area is the extent of area that the arrangement of space is prioritized because it has a very important influence in the scope of the city towards economic, social, cultural and/or environmental aspect, as well as the utilization of natural resources and technology. The strategic area of Palu includes: a strategic area of economic growth, a strategic area of social culture, and a strategic area of environment. In the allocation of land use, urban strategic area is part of the protected area and the cultivation which are more prioritized to the development and empowerment. Therefore, the existence and direction from the extent of land use for this strategic area become one reducing factor to be considered to the availability of effective land for building as well as the previous areas.

The calculation of the extent of strategic area of Palu city is more focused on new areas that have been ready to be developed and not yet charged on the land use for protected areas and constructed cultivation areas above. In addition, most of strategic areas directives in the product RTRW Palu the land use has become the part of the protected area and cultivated area. The extent of land use needs of strategic area in Palu city is  $\pm 1,500.00$  ha.

The counting results showed that there is  $\pm 12,281.721$  ha of land categorized as effective land for cultivation activities, including the establishment

of buildings, namely the land that is biophysically, especially from the aspect of topography and slope, appropriate or suitable to be utilized and developed as a development land from various cultivation activities. The meaning of appropriateness or suitability for land to accommodate the urban activities is the land that is legally and technically capable of supporting the growth of land use for building optimally and if the land is used properly, it will not disturb the sustainability of resource and environment.

Picture of land use patterns as described above indicates that Palu city still has ample land reserves to be used and developed the utilization to meet the need of land for development projects, mainly related to the land use for building as a place for people’s activity. Therefore, it would be very important to plan, organize, and predict the use of land reserves that are still available and have been utilized, especially the land use for building, to the development of number and density of population, so that later there is a balance and harmony between the availability and capacity or power capacity of the land with the physical development of Palu city in the future.

## Land Capacity Analysis for Building

Land capacity analysis is one step that needs to be done, mainly related to the maximum limit of carrying capacity of urban land to the population number and land use for building based on the available effective land area, so it can anticipate urban environment degradation and sustainable development. As has been described in previous variable operational definitions that in order to obtain the land capacity, there are several supporting variables to consider, namely: the extent of effective land availability for building, the extent of protected area, the extent of land requirements for building and yard per person and/or per households, the number of population and/or existing households as well as the extent number of land use for existing building. Mathematically, variables of land capacity or maximum capacity of this land can be modeled as follows:

$$DT_{Max} = \frac{L_{EF}}{L_{KB}} \dots\dots\dots 2)$$

In which :  $DT_{Max}$  = Maximum capacity of land for building (person or household)  
 $L_{EF}$  = The extent of effective land availability for building (ha)  
 $L_{KB}$  = The extent of land requirements for building and yard per person or per household (Ha/person or Ha/household)

while :

$$L_{KB} = \frac{\sum LB_{Eks}}{\sum P_{Eks}} \dots\dots\dots 3)$$

In which :  $L_{KB}$  = The existing extent of land requirements for building and yard per person or per household (Ha/person or Ha/household)  
 $\sum LB_{Eks}$  = Total area of land use for existing building (Ha)  
 $\sum P_{Eks}$  = Total population /existing household (person or household)

Referring to the result of the existing extensive calculation of land requirements for building and yard in per 1 person = 92.35 m<sup>2</sup>/person (0.0092 ha/person) and in population per 1 family = 364.40 m<sup>2</sup>/family (0.0369 ha/family), it can be counted that the capacity or the remaining land capacity for building and yard in Palu city based on the availability of effective land for building has been previously analyzed. To calculate the capacity of land for building, it is assumed and concluded that the extensive use of building and yard per 1 person and per 1 family from year to year is considered permanent.

In more detail, the description of the remaining land capacity for building in Palu city can be stated as follows: (1) for land use of building and yard in an average per 1 person inhabitant in an area of 92.35 m<sup>2</sup>, it is acquired that the remaining land capacity for building is 1,329,924 inhabitants. When added to the total population of Palu city in 2010 in amount of 335,297 people, then the effective cultivation land in Palu can accommodate 1,665,221 people; (2) for land use of building and yard in an average per 1 family in an area of 369.40 m<sup>2</sup>, it is acquired that the remaining land capacity for building is 332,481 families. When added to the number of families in Palu in 2010 in amount of 83,824 families, then the effective cultivation land in Palu can accommodate 416,305 families.

## Time Limit of Land Analysis in Palu to be Able to Support the Growth of Land use for Building

Time limit calculation of the availability of land on the ability to support the growth of land use for building in Palu city is done as projective and anticipatory step for urban management as early as possible to be able to organize and plan the development of construction more wisely and sustainably. As has been described previously that the time limit for land is capable of supporting the growth of land for building is when the extent of land use for building achieves the same extent as the effective land availability. There are several supporting variables to consider for calculating the time limit, namely: the extent of effective land availability for building, the extent number of land use for existing building and the average number of growth in land use for building in Palu city for the last 10 years (2000 - 2010).

The calculation of time limit is made by the assumption that the growth average number of land use for buildings in Palu city is fixed. Mathematically, time limit variables of land which are capable of supporting the growth of land for building in Palu city above can be modeled:

$$BWL = \frac{L_{EF}}{(\sum LB_{Eks} \times R_{PL})} \dots\dots\dots 4)$$

- In which :  $BWL$  = Time limit of land to be able to support the growth of land use for building (year)
- $L_{EF}$  = The extent of effective land availability for building (Ha)
- $\sum LB_{Eks}$  = Total area of land use for existing building (Ha)
- $R_{PL}$  = Average number for the growth of land use for building per year (%/year)

The extent of effective land availability for building that is cultivation area in Palu obtained from the results of GIS analysis in 2010 is  $\pm 12,281.72$  Ha. The time limit of cultivation area in Palu city as a coastal city which is capable of supporting the growth of land use for the building is the year 2169 or 159 years from the year of research base, namely when the extent of land use for the building is reaching the same extent as the effective land availability as cultivation area in Palu city. Calculation of time limit is done by assuming that the growth of land use for building in Palu city is fixed with growth average number 2.50% per year.

## Conclusion

Effective potential land which is still remaining for building is  $\pm 12,281.72$  ha (32.30%) out of the land use for the existing cultivation areas and protected areas today. Capacity of the remaining land for the building is 1,329,924 people or 332,481 families. When added to the population of Palu city in 2010 amounted to 335,297 people or 83,824 families, then the effective cultivation area in Palu can accommodate 1,665,221 people or 416,305 families. In the future, the extent of land use for building in Palu city will have enhancement by an average growth 2.50% per year. The extent of effective potential land is capable of supporting the growth of land use for building over 159 years or until the year of 2169.

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# PSYCHOLOGICAL DYNAMICS OF “PEMULUNG” (TRASH PICKER)

*Marginalized Informal Community in Urban Life  
in Yogyakarta*

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## Introduction

**S**cavenger or trash picker in Bahasa called as Pemulung. Pemulung refer to people that have a profession as a collector of trash or used things (Azhari, 2009). Commonly pemulung are able to find on urban or city area because more garbage produce here than sub-urban or village area. Some of them live in street (homeless) and called as gelandangan. Gelandangan coming from “gelandang” which mean “rove, wander”. Their life style is actually equal with Gypsy community life style, who also doing an odyssey (Ghofur, 2009). But parts of them choose to live in a fix area and work around there. Basically, the members of the second group already tired to keep moving and play “hide and seek” with government officers.

Urban societies looking a street life as “a life which is an opposite with terminology of social acceptance”. In that terminology, “normal people” refer to whom who have permanent house, formal activity and job, family, and registered on government administration (Twikromo, 1999).



Whereas, pemulung or gelandang presence is a logic consequence which appear from various economic problems and unsecure feeling of village or sub-urban society, then forcing them to find the place that predicted able to give a better life (Suparlan in Ghofur, 2009). That is why most of pemulung or gelandangan are sub-urban or village society who gambling their fate with come to urban or city area.

The pemulung work from dawn until late night. But they hard work is not equal with what they get in trash management industries. On other side, society who underestimate the pemulung existence were stigmatized them as a thief or a scum of the earth. The stigmatization converted into marginalization as write on a board that place in front of entrance path. Ironically, in some education institution like university, also put that signboard to prohibit pemulung enters their environment. The reason is pemulung usually mess up the rubbish bin and make it look dirty.

The marginalization practice also happened in Yogyakarta with slogan “Berhati Nyaman” (Feel Comfort). “Berhati Nyaman” is acronym for BERSih (clean), seHAT (health), Indah (beauty), and Nyaman (comfort). This slogan being an anti-climax on pemulung existence and in implication making them as hunted community to put in order. Although with stigma and discrimination gived to their self, pemulung still survived and created their own social-culture. This study objective understood the psychological dynamics of pemulung who lived in that community.

This study was used qualitative method to describe pemulung’s psychological dynamics as marginalized informal community. The samples of this study are pemulung who work at Yogyakarta’s final garbage Gump. This place located on Piyungan, Bantul, and called TPA Piyungan. In 2004 it was estimated 46% of Yogyakarta Province’s garbage are dumped to TPA Piyungan. About more than 500 pemulung are working and living here with cows and goats (Yuliati & Suhartini; Bernas Jogja).

To collected data, researcher used semi-structured interviews and non-participation observation. Interview were conducted with randomized and until reach the saturation of data. Then, it was analyzed by open coding technique. First step is making transcript of interview and three person were coded the data into small category. After that, the raters make big theme from te small categories.

The saturation of data was reached when interviewed conducted with the seventh respondent. Respondents were consisted from four males and three females. The youngest was 25 years old and the oldest was 56 years old, while the age mean of the respondents' was 33 years old. Most of them were low educated with the last education were junior high school. But there was one respondent who hold bachelor degree in education.

Their origin places were various but most of them coming from village around Bantul or from Central Java Province. In average, they already work and live at TPA Piyungan for two until three years. But some of them already more than five years become a pemulung, not only at Piyungan but at many places. Four respondents already married, one divorced, and two still single. From those four couples, two of them were met their spouse at TPA Piyungan and married there. While the rest were coming from their village with their spouse and entrust their children to their family on the village. The summary is shown on the table below:

Initial	Sex	Age	Education	Marital status	Experience (in years)	Origin place
A	M	25	ES	No	3	Bantul
J	M	40	JHS	Yes	13	Sragen
Sp	M	56	Ug	Yes	20	Wonosari
Sn	F	30	JHS	Yes	3	Bantul
Sm	F	34	JHS	No	3	Bantul
T	F	21	JHS	Yes	2	Muntilan
L	M	27	ES	No	2	Jejara

ES = Elementary School, JHS = Junior High School, Ug = Undergraduate  
 From small categories, the rater pulled four big themes :

### Pemulung Ignored Stigma or Label from Society Because they Believe that What They do is *Halal* Permitted by Islam;

Indonesia is religious country that the majority is Islam religion. It was reflected from respondents' answer who stressed that their job is a *halal* activity because it did not harm other people. But they know there are some pemulung who stole people things in front of their house. It was done when pemulung did not get enough things to collect but the time already late. Although like that, the respondents explain that this problem is return to individually and his/her business

with Allah as said J:

“Yang penting kan saya gak mencuri, hanya mengambil barang yang ada di tempat sampah. Berarti kan sudah tidak dipakai dan dibuang. Saya cuma ngumpulin dan memilih-milihnya, terus saya jual. Apa saya salah? Halal toh itu? Kalau teman-teman [pemulung] yang lain ada yang mencuri karena gak nemu banyak ya urusan mereka. Yang berhak menghukum kan Allah. Saya hanya berusaha tidak melakukan hal itu.”

(The most important is I did not steal, just take things in rubbish bin. It means did not used and dumped. I just collected and sorted, then sell. Am I wrong? It is halal, isn't it? If my friends stole because did not find lot of things, it was their business. Someone who deserved punish is Allah. I am just trying to not doing that).

In general respondents ignored the stigma given to them. Beside because feel their job is *halal*, pemulung also think that the people who stigmatized them were not feeding them, as Sm said :

“Terserah masyarakat mau bilang kami ini apa. Terserah mereka mau nganggap kami ini dekil, kotor, atau sampah masyarakat. Saya gak peduli. Mereka gak ngasih saya makan kok. Kalo saya gak kerja hari ini berarti saya gak bakal makan hari ini, gak bisa nyimpen buat sarapan besok.”

(Whatever societies want to say about us. Up to them to consider that we were dirty or as the scum of the earth. I do not care. They do not feeding us. If I did not work today, it mean I will not eat and not able to save for breakfast tomorrow morning).

### **Their Motive is to Get Income for Their Children' Education Cost in Order to Get a Better Life;**

It is interesting enough that pemulung who married and have children think about their children education. But this thought only been met on pemulung who entrust their children in origin place, as J said :

“Sebagian saya kirim ke kampung untuk biaya sekolah anak. Supaya mereka bisa sekolah yang tinggi, sampai kuliah kalau bisa. Kalau cuma lulusan SMP kayak saya kan susah cari kerja. Biar ibu-bapaknya saja

yang kerja seperti ini, yang penting anak-anak sekolah [yang] bener, jadi orang (sukses).”

(Part of it I sent to my origin place for my children education cost. So that they able to educated well, until university if possible. If just graduate from junior high school like me, it was difficult to find a job. Let just their parents who work like this, but the most important that kids are schooling and become success).

This situation is able to understand because thinking pattern of Indonesia societies still considers that success people are officer with high salary. To work at office and get high salary it must high educated. In their opinion, if pemulung's income more than officer's salary, it is still not be able to said as success. Pemulung's criteria for success did not consider time work flexibility like they have. On the other side, the couples who meet and married at TPA Piyungan tend to worried about their children education. It is happened because from their life experience, high education is not guaranteeing someone to get good job with high salary. In their opinion, the important things are skill, experience, and social network, as said from F:

“Sekolah sekarang itu mahal, uang darimana? Cukup bisa baca, tulis, sama hitung. Gak perlu sekolah sampai universitas segala. Saya jadi pemulung ini sebenarnya lulusan SD aja cukup. Belum tentu sekolah tinggi-tinggi bisa langsung dapat kerja yang gajinya besar. Lebih baik pengalaman diperbanyak, tidak perlu teori macam-macam. Pergaulan juga perlu diperhatikan. Kadang rejeki tuh datang lewat teman atau saudara. Kayak saya ini contohnya. Dulu pertama kali saya ke sini karena dapat informasi dari teman. Kalau enggak, saya masih keliling di jalanan kali. Berbuat baik sama orang lain itu penting. Kita kan gak tahu besok kalau susah siapa yang nolong. Tapi kalau banyak berbuat baik sama orang lain, Allah bisa aja nolong lewat orang lain.”

Now, school is expensive, where is the money come from? It is enough to reading, writing, and calculating. It does not need to educate until university. To become pemulung like me, it is actually enough just graduated from elementary school. It is not guaranteed that high education makes you get job with big salary. It is better to rich experience, does not need too much theories. Social network is needed to be cared. Sometime money comes from friends or family. Just like

me in example. The first time I came here because gotten information from my friend. If not, maybe I am still on the road. Doing the goodness to the others is important. We do not know tomorrow when we in difficult time, who will help us. But if we many doing goodness, Allah maybe help us trough them (1).

## Pemulung Did not Care About Their Safety When Work Because so far They Never Injured

“Berat jalannya kalau pake sepatu boot. Mending sandal jepit aja yang ringan. Kalau pakai sarung tangan juga repot, gak leluasa, panas juga. Apalagi pas make masker. Saya cuma pernah sekali pake masker waktu dulu ada yang ngasih. Pengap rasanya, gak bebas.”  
[A]

(Difficult to walk if clump along. It is better to use a heavy sandal. If use glove also makes me difficult to work, and hot too. Worse if use mask. I just used it once when someone gave it to me. It was felt stuffy).

That is reflection of pemulung’s unawareness about their healthy. They not realized that risked to inhaling dangerous particles from things on TPA Piyungan or their collection. Many kinds of sharp things also potential to hurt or make infection to them. But pemulung did not care about that because it just some of they friend got injured, not their self. Besides that, the respondents tend to ignore a sickness that they suffer.

“Paling flu atau batuk. Tapi kalau cuma begitu sih tetep kerja. Kalau rasanya badan demam atau meriang juga saya tetep mulung. Soalnya kalau saya sehari gak kerja, ya saya gak dapet uang untuk makan hari itu. Malah bisa tambah sakit kan saya. Kalau orang kantoran mah bisa cuti sakit. Saya kalau ikutan cuti ya keluarga bisa gak makan sehari.”  
(Sn)

(Commonly flu or cough. But if only that is still working. If the body feel dizzy or fever, I still work too. Because if I am not work for a day, the consequence is I will not get the money for eat in that day. I can be sicker if like that. People who work in the office are able to take furlough. If I do a same like them, my family can fast for a day).

If sick, pemulung usually keep and let the symptom that they feel. If it getting worse or in few days did not disappear than they will buy medicine at mini store. The information about the medicine usually based on their experiences or asking with friends. When the condition very serious and pemulung just lay on the bad, it is alarm for them to go to Center of Public Health (Puskesmas). In basically they unwilling to make relation with a doctor because must pay the service and buy the medicine that written on recipe. For pemulung, become sick is something that very expensive.

### They Hope That Government and Society More Appreciated Them and Admit “*Pemulung*” as a Legal Profession.

“Kalau bisa pemerintah itu tidak mengejar-ngejar kami. Dulu waktu saya masih mulung di jalanan, tiap minggu itu pasti ada garukan sama satpol. Kalau ketangkep kami dimasukkan ke panti sosial. Di sana cuma dikasih makan, malah seperti tahanan. Padahal kami mulung untuk cari makan (diri) sendiri.” [A]

(If possible, the government does not pursue us. When I was still *mulung* on the street, every week must be a raid by *satpol*. If chased, we sent into social institution. In social institution we just feeded, instead being regarded as prisoner. Whereas we *mulung* for our self).

All of respondents do not have KTP (ID Card). Beside full of troublesome, make a KTP also need cost and time. In other side, their job is not confessed by the government. This situation then impact to citizen census. Hundreds of pemulung on TPA Piyungan consider as if nothing, they are like citizens without homeland. While in another side, the pemulung also hope that society more able to accept their existence. Actually pemulung are not care about this but sometimes it make uncomfortable situation as said by L:

“Sebelum di sini [Piyungan] saya mulung keliling. Kadang kalau masuk perumahan atau kampung, ada aja orang yang ngeliatin terus. Mungkin mereka mikir saya ini mau nyuri. Apalagi kalo di sana ternyata baru saja ada yang kehilangan barang.”

(Before here, I *mulung* walk around. Sometime if entered a house complex or village, there were people staring at me. Maybe they thought that I want to steal. Especially if there someone who lost his/her things before).

Based on big themes that already were described above, it was able to say that the personality characteristic of pemulung is hard worker. They did not easy to become hopeless and able to solve their daily live problems. Because of that, if any opinion tell that pemulung is useless people, it was not true. And also if any statement that sounds Indonesia is lazy people, that idea was debatable. The pemulung also have good adaptation skill. They able to communicate with their partner and adjust with new environment when move to TPA Piyungan. Neighborliness and hospitality which becomes icons of Indonesia still emitted from pemulung's life style.

Rationalization as psychological defense mechanism makes the respondents able to doing their job as pemulung. Their beliefs that this job are categorized as halal and not harm others were the example of pemulung's rationalization. Besides that, pemulung also make repression toward the stigma and labeling that they get. Although pemulung try to repress the stigma, they still hope that government and society more able to appreciate their existence. It reflects a presence of ambiguity in pemulung self. As a result, pemulung who considered as the scum of the earth and useless people created their own community and live with their social-culture. This condition is identified as reaction formation defense mechanism.

From others point of view, formation of pemulung community that marginalized was a symbol of needs. The pemulung who were united have need of affiliation or social interaction. Uniquely in that community, the pemulung's need of autonomy is also able to accommodate. This condition happened because pemulung flexibel work schedule and not bound with official administration like tax. The pemulung who live on TPA Piyungan also able to fulfill their basic needs like food, house, and sex. But life reality and experience make them have various paradigma in viewing education. Some of them consider it as a need but others not too care about it. For expectation, they hope that pemulung considered as a legal profession. It was linked closely with human needs of existential and well being.



## Conclusion

It can be concluded that pemulung as marginalized community also have psychological dynamic like's dominant community. They have good personality characteristic, appropriate psychological defense mechanisms, and also several needs as well as other human in this world. It is important to noted that pemulung is also Indonesia citizen. But in fact the government still considers as a second class citizen that only polute this country. This condition could be observed when state officer comes to some place then pemulung and gelandang will be hunted and sent to social institution. They were rested and treated as if criminal that only right to government. It is our homework to change a paradigm toward pemulung. We can start from our self with not to stigmatized them and give a respect to their profession.

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# CONTESTED CULTURAL LANDSCAPE: CITY AND VILLAGE

*A Case Study of a Village Tourism Movement  
in Southern Bali*

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## Introduction

It is well-known that, in Bali, there are two different village institutions in one village at tandem: administrative village (*desa dinas*) and custom village (*desa adat*) since the Dutch colonial period. Although the reinforcement of administrative functions had started under the 1974 law, the 1979 Village Government law No. 5 had a stronger impact on the change of the meaning and functions of 'village'. It established the administrative village, an alternative to *perbekel* which was established under the Dutch colonial period, aiming to allow state administration to control closely its population (Nordholt, 1991).

In un-urbanized villages, this is called *desa dinas*. In relatively urbanized areas, it is called *kelurahan*. After the introduction of the 1979 Village Government law No.5, it is said that like other regions in Indonesia, the Balinese custom village has functionally weakened while administrative villages were strengthened through the process of centralization of the state under the New Order regime.

In Bali, *desa adat* is everywhere. Every head of family has to be a member of *desa adat*. So, in Bali, 'village' does not necessary imply a small scale community in remote rural area or periphery. It is a community which is tied together by the custom law called *awig-awig*. To control custom villages under the administration, functions of *desa adat* were defined under the 1986 provincial order No.6. This meant that a *desa adat* is no longer an independent

institution from the Indonesian state but it has come to be more and more incorporated within it (Warren, 1995).

Since then, various state policies were implemented to promote *desa adat* under state control (Kagami, 2000). Furthermore, this likely caused a slippage in people's understandings of the correlation between religion (*agama*), custom (*adat*) and culture (*budaya*). During the New Order regime, custom came to be understood from the point of view of religion, and consequently the main role of the custom village leader has become the smooth implementation of religious ritual events.

On the other hand, after the fall of Soeharto's New Order regime, political conditions surrounding both administrative village and custom village have dramatically changed due to the decentralization, namely *otonomi daerah*, under the laws in 1999 (effective since 2001). Due to the *otonomi daerah*, there emerged a number of *desa dinas* holding a kind of autonomy such as free election of administrative village head and control over the preparation of budget. However, relatively economically developed villages, *kelurahan*, remained as the lowest level of administration of regency: in a sense a 'village without autonomy'.

Furthermore, under the provincial order No. 3 in 2001 *desa adat* was redefined as *desa pakraman* which literally means 'area' and is considered to reflecting Balinese uniqueness. However, not every village followed this change. A number of villages still maintain the name of *desa adat*. Thus, in Bali there are mainly two types of village: a village which is constituted by *desa dinas* and *desa adat*, and a village which is consisted by *kelurahan* and *desa adat*.

Today, contrary to Soeharto's New Order, the function of *desa adat* (*pakraman*) has come to be re-evaluated. Custom village has come to be regarded as a fundamental and indispensable institutional body to protect social relationships and preserve culture: a ground for Balinese identity. For example, this year's theme of PKB (Pesta Kesenian Bali) was 'Desa (village), Kala (time), Patra (circumstances)'. It refers to the variation of custom village in Bali according to time, place and circumstances due to the principal of village autonomy and difference practices. This term is nowadays often used in order to express Balinese self-consciousness of relativity: every custom village has, as a matter of fact, uniqueness. So, it is plausible to argue that 'Balinese identity' is in fact a kind of sense of belonging to a place.

While Balinese identity is seen as a consolidated entity for outsiders, it is becoming a very obscure and uncertain sense among some Balinese. This view urges one to rethink the meaning and role of the village as a basic source of 'Balineseness'. Due to the rapid economic development both physical and nonphysical landscapes in villages are changing. Today, this rapid change is extending over the sub-urban area. In this area, people experience and feel it more visibly and intensely.

In the era of reformasi, *desa adat* is considered as an effective community to confront and solve social and cultural issues. This is why Badung regency set forth a village tourism plan to remedy the regional gap. In this paper, I will illustrate how a contemporary village is socially and culturally shaped based on village tourism movement. First, I will describe Badung regency's new village tourism plan from the perspective of macro level. Then, I will describe the socio-cultural conditions of Kapal village (Desa Kapal) and show the micro level village tourism movement.

## Emergence of Village Tourism Plan in Badung Regency

Bali is well known as an international tourist destination and in 2010 more than two million tourists visited the island. Located in the southern part of Bali, Badung regency is the regency which receives the highest benefit from tourism revenue. Regional development planning has been conducted through dividing the area into three parts: South area for tourism, Middle area for industry and North area for agriculture. Contrary to this development plan, due to the rapid tourism development in the Southern area the regional difference between the three areas has come to be seen a serious issue for Badung regency in regional planning.

Today, as it is already noted above, custom village is regarded as the most effective and bounded institution to carry out various programs which aim at social and economic improvement both by NGOs and regional administration. Badung regency's village tourism<sup>1</sup> plan is one of these programs. In 2010 Department of tourism of Badung regency announced that Badung

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<sup>1</sup> There are several terms for alternative tourism such as ecotourism, village tourism and community-based tourism. They are consistent in terms of appealing to ethics and sustainability. However, they are understood differently. It depends on the stakeholders' awareness of his surrounding conditions.

regency selected eleven villages to promote village tourism (SK bupati Kabupaten Badung 2010). While nine villages are located in the North and their economy is based on agriculture, the other two are located in the Middle.

Although the term 'village tourism' is not new, in fact, in the 1990s Bali province actually conducted a program to promote village tourism in Jatiluwih village of Tabanan regency, Sebatu village of Gianyar regency and Penglipuran village of Bangli regency; at that time, however, villagers and village landscape had become only an object to be watched and enjoyed by tourists and thus, in a way, excluded from tourism. However, village tours are now shifting toward an experience of life in a village with communicating with villagers rather than just watching the village as landscape. Today's village tourism programs require villagers to engage in tourist activities.

According to Badung regency's announcement, the ultimate goal is empowering the community through encouraging villagers to participate in tourist activities while tourists are staying in their village by hosting, guiding and offering their house as accommodation. They consider that this will provide both economic and social benefits for the village community. The community mentioned is identified according to the membership of *desa adat*. Therefore, while *desa adat* has become a real channel and organizer in the tourism program, *desa dinas* has become only a coordinator.

According to the Tourism Department official, in the selection of village, it has become a condition that *desa adat* already has a coordinating team labeled as 'a community based group which is conscious with tourism' (named Klompok Sadar Wisata). This group plays a key role in organizing members of *desa adat* when tourists visit their village. Sometimes they are well-known people in the village and sometimes not. Normally members have experience in working in the tourism sector. Consequently, they are considered to have more knowledge about 'what tourism is and what tourists want' and play a role bridging villagers and tourists.

Thus, Badung regency's plan can be seen as a challenge to compensate for the economic gap between the Southern area and the others (it is not certain whether it will succeed or not) involving *desa adat*. In the plan of Badung regency, it is seen that they consider *desa adat* something like an omnipotent entity. However, as I will describe and discuss, the internal of *desa adat* is also

dynamic. Their conditions are becoming more and more complicated and diverse. Especially, this tendency already appears clearer in examining urbanized settings. I will demonstrate this by illustrating the case of village tourism movement in Desa Kapal.

## Desa Kapal

Desa Kapal is a village of Mengwi district, located in the middle part of Badung regency. According to the statistics of village office, in 2010 its population was about 11.000 people. Desa Kapal is a type of village which consists of *desa adat* and *kelurahan*. With the implementation of the 1979 village government law No.5, Perbekel Kapal became *kelurahan*. While *desa adat* Kapal consists of eighteen *banjar*<sup>2</sup> *adat*, *kelurahan* Kapal consists of sixteen *banjar lingkungan*. *Desa adat* Kapal has a village *adat* head called *kelihan desa* and nine supporter of *kelihan desa* consisting of a board called *bendesa*. On the contrary, head of *kelurahan* is called *lurah* who is a dispatched officer from the regency.

The village developed along the trunk road which is linked to East Jawa. Desa Kapal is well-known for home industry among the Balinese. Along the trunk road there are numerous shops selling materials for Balinese style architecture. According to villagers, home industry in Desa Kapal has been developing since the 1980s. Since mid-1990s, more and more shops were opened along the truck road as more shops were being successful. Before that time, the economy of Desa Kapal very much depended on agriculture.

A fifty year old woman told me when she was an elementary school student there was a month-long holiday during harvest so that children could help their parents in the rice field. Today, it is difficult to meet villagers who have farming land and actually engage in farming. Most villagers work for the home industry, government office, private sector or as truck drivers. Because of the transition of the economy from agricultural to industrial, villagers believe that poverty in the village has been much reduced.

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<sup>2</sup> Banjar is translated as ward or hamlet. Desa is constituted by one or several banjars. The lower organization of *desa adat* is *banjar adat*, and *desa dinas* is *dusun* or *banjar lingkungan*. Because Desa Kapal is a *kelurahan*, the lower organization becomes *banjar lingkungan*.

Of course, it cannot be compared with economic conditions of more urban areas like the Southern part of Badung regency and Denpasar, however, Desa Kapal is seen as a relatively wealthier and more urbanized village among the others in the Badung's village tourism program. As a result, Desa Kapal has come to be seen as no longer a traditional type of village due to changes in its physical landscape by outsiders. On the other hand, interestingly, there are dual discourses about Desa Kapal among the villagers. Many villagers state that the village has come to be relatively economically wealthy and developed due to the rapid development of home industry.

Today, there are few families that objected to the social security system. In 1980s, before the development of home industry, not many villagers could study at a higher education institution. However, now many young people study at the universities. On the contrary, they talk about their village as '*desa tua*', which literally means 'old village' proudly. This is because villagers believe that their *adat* is still strong in spite of economic development.

Today, among the villagers, the village is conceptualized and understood only in terms of custom unless the person holds a post in the village such as *kelihan banjar* and *kelihan banjar lingkungan*. If an ordinary villager needs to use normal administrative service, he or she goes to see *kelihan banjar lingkungan* to deal with it. Like other villages in Bali, *adat* is increasing its importance in ordinary people's life in Desa Kapal. However, in the case of Kapal, this tendency is likely more remarkable since villagers do not have right of control in the administrative arena of village and they cannot but be passive recipients of state policies.

Different from an urban area like Denpasar, almost all heads of a family living in Kapal become official members of the custom village. This automatically indicates that the head of a family has rights but also responsibilities at tandem to his living community. In this sense, village has become something like a micro level 'imagined community (Anderson, 1983) towards village community because the villagers' life is regulated and tied by custom law which is called *awig-awig*. However, the custom law actually regulating villagers is not village custom law. It is custom law of their *banjar* which was established based on village custom law. Therefore, most villagers experience the village very indirectly but they see *banjar* as the central living community.



## Self-Cultivation of Village- *Kapal* Village Ecotourism

As I have mentioned above, like other villages selected for village tourism, Desa Kapal has a group which is called Kapal Village Eco tourism (hereafter KVE) to organize and coordinate village tourism. In Balinese, the organization corresponds to *sekaa*. KVE was established in December 2008 under the approval of both *kelihan desa adat Kapal* and *lurah Kapal*. The structure of the organization is as follows: four villagers are in charge of management of tourism related activities under the management body there are six sections<sup>3</sup>. In these sections, fourteen villagers are in charge of each specialty. On the other hand, KVE was initiated mainly by four key members in charge of the management body<sup>4</sup>. Therefore, except for these four key members, it cannot be denied that the others' participation in activities is very voluntarily and occasional.

In conducting village tourism, KVE set up package tours depending on tourists' needs and wants. There are five types of package tours: a tour of village, a tour of Hindu temple, a tour of traditional agriculture, a tour of water temple, and a trekking tour in the river side. Tourists can combine these packages and request extra activities such as cooking classes and dance classes. If tourists want to stay in the village overnight, villagers offer their house for their accommodation.

In setting KVE, the four members conducted a survey in the village area for mapping objects which can be used for village tours. Although KVE was established in 2008, the preparation had already started informally since 2006 when Mr Alit who is a proposer of KVE started working with one of the local environmental NGOs in Bali<sup>5</sup>. He adapted the techniques of mapping objects which can be used for tours from the way the NGO applied them. Interestingly, according to the key members, they did not know about the history and the meaning of traditions which they had been practicing in depth before they started activities for KVE.

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<sup>3</sup> They are: 1. Culture and Art, 2. Environmental preservation, 3. Carvings and home industry, 4. Preservation of Cultural Heritage, 5. Data and Information, 6. Farming and Agriculture.

<sup>4</sup> At the time of establishment there are four key members. However, today one of them has left organization and they have a new key member.

<sup>5</sup> The story of the relationship between Mr Alit and the NGO will be described and discussed in another paper.

Through the activity of mapping, they discussed with other villagers who seemingly knew better about their respective specialty. Consequently, various locations and objects were listed and divided into categories such as nature, everyday life of villagers and culture for tours. An effect of this process can be said to be a kind of internal development of knowledge. They say that this mapping process gave them new knowledge and ideas on life in Kapal. On the other hand, as it will be discussed below, this internal development of knowledge does not necessary mean a re-recognition of their everyday practices, but rather an exploration of knowledge.

## Motivation of Local Elites

Due to the establishment of KVE, the proposer, Mr Alit has come to be regarded as a person who deals with all matters related to tourism in Kapal today. Mr Alit, 40 years old, was born as the youngest child of a well-known wealthy family in Kapal. This placed him in a responsible position to succeed his family<sup>6</sup> since his brothers are all living outside Kapal. This fact possibly influenced his strong sense of responsibility to protect community order. He had worked as a manager at hotel in Ubud for a long time and a staff working for the house of parliament in Jakarta for about a year. During this period of his career, he widened his political and social connections outside the village. He is one of the people who believe that traditional Balinese life course and professions in the tourist industry are naturally incompatible.

‘If one works in the tourism sector, it is very hard to fulfill his obligation as a Balinese or the head of a family. When I worked as a hotel manager, I came back home at four o’clock in the morning almost every single day. One day I came back home from work and saw my small children were sleeping without any person to take care of them. Soon after that I quit my job.’

After he left his job in Ubud, he become more interested and active in eco-tourism through participating in NGO activities and meeting people at various kinds of seminars related to social, environmental and tourism issues. In other

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<sup>6</sup> In general, in Bali first male children or last male children succeed the family.

words, this process of participation made him aware of a sense of crisis. Then he came to think ‘why can’t we make ecotourism in my village?’ It was not seriously difficult for him to seek village *adat* members who would be willing to take up this challenge. This is not only because he belongs to the local elite but he is also one of the members of *desa adat*’s legislative organization. Moreover, he is very close to both *kelihan desa adat* and *lurah* Kapal. However, it was difficult to establish a consistent understanding of the concept of ecotourism because it is far from the concept of tourism which Balinese have seen since the 1970s until today.

According to his words, KVE is not actually for economic benefit of tourism but it is for social and cultural benefit: to preserve the environment and bequeath the social and cultural life of Kapal to the future generation. Due to this reason, he invited several young villagers to join the management body and collaborated with a young villager’s organization (*Karan Taruna*) to carry out a tree planting event. Mr Alit’s collaborator, Mr Agung also has a sense of crisis regarding the current condition of the village. Mr Agung was born as a youngest male child of Badung’s royal family. His father is a well known, disciplined high official and he went to Surabaya for his undergraduate studies. He says that Kapal is a village in the process of transition since the community is surrounded by plenty new things such as technology, information and life style, which separate people in a community.

## KVE as an Initiative for Internal Development

Mr Alit and Mr Agung share the idea that community is always dynamic: it cannot be unchanging. Apparently, as I have mentioned above, they are motivated since both have a sense of crisis toward their living community. In Kapal, there is a custom law which prohibits outsiders to buy land unless they become members of the custom village<sup>7</sup>. Because of this law, villagers believe that *adat* of the village is still strong and the condition of the village is immune to risks which may be brought about by outsiders. This implies that religious tensions are very scarce. On the other hand, members of KVE see that community can be broken from the inside, not from the outside.

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<sup>7</sup> There are two category of land in Kapal village: village land and privately owned land.

Here I would like to illustrate two cases of KVE's activities. As in other parts of Bali, waste management is the most serious issue in Kapal. It is said that environmental degradation in the river has deteriorated since the mid-1990s. Many villagers started throwing rubbish, including plastic, in the river. When people did not rely on plastics, this practice did not become a serious issue since rubbish was organic. As a result, although people conduct ritual prayer at the air temple next to river, one could see that there were heaps of rubbish by the holy temple.

Of course, I am not criticizing villagers' behavior here. This was partly because there was no other way to dispose of rubbish<sup>8</sup>. However, a possible reason may be that the value villagers place on the river has diminished along with changes in their lifestyle. For example, there are a few villagers that go to the air temple to bathe because they now bathe at home. Moreover, after the new road was constructed, the concept of back and front yard has also changed. Today, the riverside is viewed as a back yard. After the air temple was included in the village tour list, KVE appealed to the *banjar adat* around the temple and then the *banjar* has initiated a clean-up activity once a month. Until now, the area around the temple is maintained relatively clean. Of course, there are still many other places in Kapal where become places of rubbish disposal.

Another case is the revitalization and re-socialization of Tipat-Bantal war<sup>9</sup>. It is believed that the Tipat-Bantal war has more than 700 years of history. In fact, the Tipat-Bantal war is a part of an agricultural ritual and has been conducted as a harvest festival among the villagers who own rice fields. At the festival, the village is divided into the North part and the South part and then the two groups throw *tipat* and *bantal* at each other<sup>10</sup>.

Until 2009 Tipat- Bantal war had been carried out in a very small scale since with the reduction of farmers in Kapal. Although some villagers joined this ritual, a number of villagers had lost interest. A villager told me that she has been participating in this ritual occasionally but she had not known about the objective of this ritual for a long time. In the process of mapping by KVE,

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<sup>8</sup> Today, there is a small truck which is managed by custom village to collect rubbish. However, collection day is uncertain.

<sup>9</sup> Tipat is a kind of rice cake wrapped in palm leaf. Bantal is also a kind of rice cake made from sticky rice which is also wrapped in palm leaf.

<sup>10</sup> Although this is an agricultural ritual, according to elder villagers, it is for releasing tensions between the South and North part of the village.

members decided that the Tipat-Bantal war had to be preserved and revitalized to make people re-evaluate this ritual.

After KVE's appeal, the ritual has come to be better organized by *desa adat*, and both participants from the village and from outside the village have increased. In 2011, with the full support of both *desa adat*, the Tipat-Bantal war was conducted in front of village temple and was attended by the vice prefectural governor and the chairman of regional representatives. For the ritual, the truck road was closed for twenty minutes and on the next day many Balinese newspapers reported on the event.

## Rethinking the Cultural Landscape of the Village

While the village has become wealthier, the physical landscape of Desa Kapal changed rapidly. At the same time, the villagers' new lifestyle and the existing social and cultural life have started to drift apart. As we see in the case of the Tipat-Bantal war, there appeared some concepts and meanings of customs and practices which were no longer well understood by many villagers. Since it belongs to the domain of custom, many villagers still enthusiastically participate in events and rituals which were passed down from their ancestors.

However, they carry them out without connecting their meaning with their social and cultural life. Rather, it is better to suggest that it is because their social and cultural life is more scattered toward outside the village. That is, their activity space is expanded but their living place is still strongly fixed within village. It is seen that this divergence led some villagers to express a sense of uncertain crisis in their belonging community. As a result, they started the village tourism movement.

The concept of landscape is not only a term referring to the physical shape of a space but also a concept bridging time and space, which connects with people's identity in a space (Steward & Strathern, 2003: 6). Then, understanding of landscape depends on both collective and individual experiences of the space. That is, if villagers' life has become diverse, it is inevitable that its understanding also has become diverse both conceptually and visually. If there is no exercise of this kind, possibly villagers like Mr Alit and Mr Agung would not have opted to start the village tourism movement.

However, they are facing a serious issue: how to reconcile existing custom and culture in the village with emerging new social and cultural lifestyles. While the village is a fixed place for Balinese to establish a sense of belonging, surely people's ways of commitment to the place are changing rapidly. It is now defined by individuals' conditions and choices. Considering today's conditions in the village, Badung's new village tourism plan seems well suited to the age of re-evaluation of *desa adat*.

However, as we see in the case of *desa Kapal*, the villagers' social and cultural condition is becoming more and more diverse and individually differentiated. In reality, the village cannot be seen no longer a solid institution. In further research, I would like to examine how Badung's plan will be carried out and how it will influence on the activities of KVE and the village community.

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URBAN INDUSTRY AND  
TECHNOLOGY





# INDONESIA'S URBAN FOOD VENDORS

*Importance, Issues, and ICT Potentials*

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## Introduction

It is estimated that Indonesia in 2007 had 47,702,310 microenterprises that provided jobs for 77,061,669 people, which represents 81.7% of all employed workers at that time in the country (BPS, 2008). Despite this scale, microenterprise based livelihoods have distinct forms of vulnerability, such as: inadequate or deeply uneven income streams, low productivity, and difficult working conditions (ILO, 2010). In this project we specifically focus on mobile food vendors, one of many types of microentrepreneur in Indonesia.

This focus is motivated by four basic considerations (1) mobile food vendors are very common in Indonesia and can be seen along major streets, residential areas, schools, and office complexes offering various types of food and snacks; (2) most of these vendors resort to this line of work because of necessity where they do not have any other means to generate income for

themselves and their family (Duncombe, 2002: 74; Roy, 2006: 452-464); (3) operating a mobile food vending business is a physically demanding activity and their ability to conduct business is heavily dependent on the vendor's health, the day's weather condition, geographic constraints related to legal and social norms (on where they can and cannot sell), and the mobile nature of the work. Last and (4) despite the hard work the vendor's do, their generated incomes are relatively small, vulnerable, and highly variable from day to day (BPS, 2008; Fonchingong, 2005: 243-253); Little, 2002: 61-95; Tinker, 1997).

Those four considerations create uneven and fragile income streams limiting the sustainability of the enterprise in the sector for the vendor; here we believe that ICT (Information and Communication Technology) in general can play an important role in meeting these needs and alleviating these problems. The general objective of this project is to investigate into new ways for ICT and new roles that ICT can play in addressing the above identified problems. In the initial part of the project we conducted a user-and-functionality-discovery phase where interviews and observations were conducted to uncover issues and patterns in mobile food vending, especially in Indonesia.

Findings from this phase points to mobile food vending to be providing three main economic and social functions for Indonesia's urban community: supplying affordable and quality foods for middle and lower income communities, acting as a fallback occupation in time of economic downfalls, and providing additional income to further support the household. Moreover, findings from this phase also identified several obstacles that mobile food vendors generally face in running and growing their business: a small customer base, limited ability to reach a larger audience, and the inability to effectively promote their trade.

This paper is based on interviews and observations of mobile food vendors in Surabaya during the summer of 2011. These interviews and observations were part of a user-and-functionality-discovery phase for an ongoing project that attempts to design and develop new ways for ICT (Information and Communication Technologies) to support mobile microentrepreneurs in developing countries. Results from this phase are intended to inform the design and development of a system to achieve our overall study's objective, which is to support the business efforts of mobile microentrepreneurs.

All three authors participated in this study where we interviewed both mobile food vendors and their customers. We selected vendors who were selling in several populated residential areas, schools districts, and office complexes. Vendors were selected on their willingness and consent to be recorded during our interviews, be observed while they were working, and be photographed while they were selling. While customers were selected using the same criteria but from vendors that we previously have interviewed. All interviews were later transcribed into written form and coded it using RQDA. All codes were later merged together and differences were resolved by discussing and compromising on them to come up with a unified and agreeable code. Analysis and themes were later identified from these codes that became the basis for our findings and the writing of this paper.

## Step Into My Shoes: The Life of a Mobile Food Vendor

This section describes a typical mobile food vendor observed in our study together with the vendor's typical daily work schedule. In place of choosing one representative subject from our study and portraying it here we will instead use one persona that we developed to describe a typical mobile food vendor we observed in our study and one scenario that illustrates a typical vendor's daily work schedule. Personas (Adlin, 2008: 991-1016; Cooper, 2007) are fictitious characters that are a collage of attributes and characters from a system intended users that were uncovered during the system's users-and-functionalities-discovery phase; whereas scenarios (Carroll in Gelerand et al., 1997: 383-406; Rosson and Carroll in Sears and Jacko, 2008: 1041-1060) are fictitious series of events that the developed personas conduct in his/her fictitious life.

Both personas and scenarios are widely used in the field of Human Computer Interaction (HCI) to aid designers and developers to ground their efforts in contriving and building a relevant system for the system's targeted user-base; where having posters illustrating personas of the intended users and scenarios describing tasks these personas are trying to do is much simpler to realize than getting a real user to be physically be with the team during the entire design and development phase (Adlin, 2008; Carroll in Sears and Jacko, 2008; Cooper, 2007; Rosson, 2006) which might take months to complete.

We chose to use personas and scenarios instead of the typical approach of selecting a representative subject from our study is because our findings were so rich and diverse there were no one subject, in our study, that can encompass all aspects that we wanted to convey in this paper.

### Persona: Azam a *Mi Ayam* Seller

Azam is a 32 years old man born in Lamongan who have been selling *Mi Ayam* in Surabaya for the last nine years. Azam has been married for 8 years now and has a 6 years old son who will be starting elementary school this year. Currently Azam is renting a two room cottage in a small and narrow alley near Puncang's traditional market. This is Azam's third rental since he decided to move and work in Surabaya, in early 2000. Azam moved from his first rental because it was too far away from his daily selling route and moved from his second rental because of rent increase.

Azam has always been working as a migrant ever since he completed his Junior High School education in his home village. Because of his family economic condition, upon completing his Junior High school, Azam decided to find work and earn a living for himself instead of continuing his schooling and relying on his parents. Because Azam could not find any work in his village and his parents were farm laborers thus do not own any land that he can farm on, Azam decided to join his older brother in Lombok who was already a *Bakso* seller there. Initially Azam helped out in his brother business while at the same time learned the ins-and-outs of selling *Bakso*: ingredients, preparations, and how to sell the food. After six months of this work, Azam decided to start selling *Bakso* by himself but in conjunction with his brother where Azam's brother bought a cart to sell from and prepare the food to be sold while Azam would take a 30% commission from the day's gross income for his efforts.

After more than four years selling *Bakso* in Lombok, Azam had saved a considerable amount, decided he is ready to be on his own, and wanted to leave Lombok to try his luck in Jakarta. During his time in Jakarta, Azam leveraged the skill and experience he learned while in Lombok and also started selling *Bakso*. But even though Jakarta was more populated there were also more competition in selling *Bakso* compared to in Lombok. After two years

alone in Jakarta, Azam decided this city did not suit him and started to find a place that is much closer to his home village, which was later decided to be Surabaya. Once Azam finally decided to move to Surabaya, he contacted a village friend he knew there who was selling *Mi Ayam* to help Azam in finding a place and setting up his new business. Once this was arranged, Azam sold all of his equipments in Jakarta and moved to Surabaya.

In Surabaya Azam again started selling *Bakso* but, as with Jakarta, the competition in selling *Bakso* was also relatively high. After three months and several discussions with his friend (that helped him moved to Surabaya) as well as observing the selling conditions in his vending area, Azam decided to stop selling *Bakso* and switch to selling *Mi Ayam*. Since Azam already knew how to prepare noodles for *Bakso* it was not that difficult for him to make noodles needed for *Mi Ayam*, which his village friend also taught him how to do.

Moreover, Azam already own a cart to sell from and has identified a route to start selling at, his old *Bakso* route. But once he started selling *Mi Ayam*, Azam noticed that *Mi Ayam* had a different set of customers than *Bakso*'s customers making his old route and customer-base to be insufficient. Working from his old *Bakso* route, Azam then started exploring alternate adjacent routes that might have potential customers, noting crowded areas, paying special attention on where to be at specific times of day and avoiding routes that already had a *Mi Ayam* seller. After six months of exploration, Azam finally identified a profitable route for his new *Mi Ayam* business but this route was a considerable distance from his current residence thus decided to move his residence to somewhere close to his selling route.

### Scenario: Azam's Monday

Azam immediately rose from his sleep upon hearing the call for prayers from his nearby mosque. After conducting his morning prayer, Azam made a quick note of supplies he needs for the day business, check his wallet to see if it has around 150 thousand Rupiah the typical amount needed for his shopping, and then walk to the nearby traditional Puncang market to do his daily morning shopping. Upon returning back from the market, Azam goes to the kitchen and started separating items that his wife has asked him to buy last night with items

that he needed for his business. Azam's then started to make noodles needed for his *Mi Ayam* trade while his wife prepares the *Mi Ayam* amenities, such as vegetables and chickens, while at the same time preparing the family's breakfast. Everything is ready and set by around 9am when Azam would go to his cart to prepare it for the day's trade. After preparing his cart, Azam would rest for an hour before starting on his selling route.

Azam started pushing his cart a little after 10am and immediately headed toward the nearby high school where he had to be there by 11am because students in that school would buy from him during the school's recess time. Along the way to the school, there were two customers who hailed Azam to purchase his *Mi Ayam*: one was a new male buyer, which most likely was just an incidental customer, and another he recognize as an infrequent buyer who work as a personal driver waiting for his employer to finish his/her business inside the bank, which Azam would pass during his journey to the high school.

After staying at the high school for around an hour and having around 15 students buying from him, Azam started to again push his cart back to the bank that he passed earlier to catch the lunch crowd, which would start around 12.30pm, and who mere mostly employees of the bank. Azam went against staying in the high school till their lunch hour, where there would be more students buying, because he knew that there were another *Mi Ayam* seller who sells there during that time and has been selling there long before he found the high school.

On his way back to the bank, Azam was again hailed by three university students who were looking for something to eat while waiting for a book they were copying from a local photocopier. While waiting on these buyers to finish their meal, Azam received a call from one of his frequent customers who worked as a security officer at the bank and was waiting for Azam's to get her lunch. The customers asked for Azam's location and estimation of how much longer before he arrives at the bank. Azam's replied around another 15 minutes. The customer then requested, that when Azam arrives, to deliver a plate of her regular order to her post because she couldn't wait outside that long. Azam's acknowledge her request and both of them ended their phone conversation.

Upon his arrival at the bank, Azam noticed that he had just missed the peak of the lunch crowd but there were still several buyers considering what to

have for lunch. While taking orders from customers, Azam prepared the previous order he received from the bank's security guard and delivered it inside the bank to the guard. Around 2.30pm, after getting around 20 orders and noticing there were not that many more customers after the bank stopped its deposit hour, Azam decided to move on to the next leg of his selling route, which is circling a housing complex that is located around 2 blocks from the bank.

On his way to the housing complex, Azam stopped by a mosque to pray and to take a short rest before continuing on his selling route. While resting in the mosque, Azam took time to change the water he uses to wash and clean his plates as well as serving around another five customers around the mosque. Azam finally arrived at the housing complex around 3.30pm and immediately started on his regular selling route inside the complex. Typically Azam would have sold all of his food by around 5pm but today seems to be a slow day and he still has several more portions to sell. So Azam keeps on selling past his normal selling hours until either all of his food were sold out, he was too tired to continue, or it was too late to sell anymore, which is when he would directly head home.

Upon arriving home, around 7pm, Azam would park his cart in front of his small cottage and go in to shower and rest. He takes a look at his money box, counts his income for the day, and noted that he made a little over 220 thousands Rupiah, which was the lower end of his average daily income that ranges from 200 – 300 thousands Rupiah per day. He takes 20 thousands rupiah and set it aside into his savings, which he will typically bring back when he visits his village, and puts the remaining money in his wallet for tomorrow's shopping. Azam then watch a little TV and would go to sleep at around 10 or 11pm.

## Economic and Social Functions of Mobile Food Vending

The above persona and scenario hinted on several important economic and social functions that mobile food vending provides not only to the seller but also to its consumer and family members. In this paper we elaborate on three functions that repeatedly emerge in our interviews and observations. The first economic and social function we observed is that, beside as a main source of

income, mobile food vending can act as fallback for the vendor when there are no other options for them to find a decent living back in their village or hometown.

A female *Nasi Campur*<sup>1</sup> seller in Surabaya stated that her reason for selling this food was “... *because of economic factors, [back] at home there was no work and [my] husband also did not work.*”. But this seller knew how to cook and her younger brother suggested that she should try selling her cooking in his workplace (a large mall for computer and electronic products in Surabaya) because at that time there were no food sellers selling there and this service will be a large convenience for workers working in the mall where they could have their lunch without having to leave their work place, “... *rather than being unemployed at home I was directed*<sup>2</sup> *[by my younger brother] to sell in his work place.*”

A male *Gado-gado*<sup>3</sup> seller who vends around Surabaya’s mayor office stated that back home he did not have a permanent occupation and was working at odd-jobs then decided to help his father-in-law business that was eventually handed over to him to run “*Before moving to Surabaya I was at home [in my village] working at anything that I could find ... my father-in-law was already selling gado-gado and then I took over the business.*”

Notice here the important role of the vendor’s social network in suggesting an occupation, pointing out locations to sell from, and even training the vendor in selling. Almost all mobile vendors tend to be migrants thus do not have any knowledge about the city as well as what occupation they can do in the city. The vendor’s social network provides this information that helps the vendor decide whether to choose this line of work and even at times help the vendor to startup their business.

The female *Nasi Campur* seller, quoted above, was not only directed by her younger brother on where to sell but her brother also provided the initial capital needed to start her business “... *[to start the business] my younger brother gave me a loan around 250 [thousand rupiahs] ...*”. This important role of social network is in line with findings from other places that also showed reliance of migrant workers on their social network to decide whether to migrate

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<sup>1</sup> *Nasi campur* is rice mixed with vegetables and some type main course (e.g. chicken, egg, fish, or meat) that is wrapped in a paper bag.

<sup>2</sup> The terminology used here is: *dikasih jalan*.

<sup>3</sup> *Gado-gado* is a type of salad that uses crushed nuts as dressing.



and to help in finding a means for leaving once they have migrated (Banerjee, 1983; Banerjee, 1984; Cinar, 1994; Iversen, 2009).

The second economic and social function we observed is that mobile food vendors caters to middle-and-lower-income communities and supply them with high quality food within a reasonable price range. Looking at routes that the vendor take we noticed that these routes are mostly passing through schools and middle-and-lower-income residential areas, where buyers have limited purchasing power or would buy food from the vendor out of convenience. School children purchasing ability are constraint by the allowance their parents provided for them while residences of middle-and-lower-income community buy because they do not have time to prepare a meal for themselves or their family. A female buyer who frequents a local *Mi Ayam* seller stated that “... *it's more as a necessity, for me and my children, where what we need is something to eat for lunch ... we don't want to go out and in fact if we go out we might not even get the same quality food for this cheap of a price.*”

Interestingly we noticed that, vendors rarely pass through high income neighborhoods and if they do they will most likely stick to paths that are near big roads and rarely would venture deep into this high income neighborhood. We suspect this tendency to avoid high income neighborhood is for two reasons.

*First*, these neighborhoods will have fairly large houses and since vendors are physically moving they have a limited range thus by passing through this neighborhood with large houses it will reduce the number of houses they can pass and reduce the number of potential customers they can meet or find.

*Second*, since vendors announce their arrival by shouting or by hitting some object (e.g. bells, wok, or bamboo pole) this sound mostly will not be heard by residences of large houses because it cannot penetrate deep inside the house especially if the residence is resting or has their entertainment systems turned on. While for office complexes, vendors tend to sell permanently from their carts. We believe this is because an office complex host a large number of employees and potential customers not requiring the vendor to search out for more customers.

*Third*, economic and social function function we observed is that mobile vending provides an important additional source-of-income for the family, this is especially true when the vendor is female.

A female seller of traditional delicacies stated that she started selling when her family's harvest failed in three consequent seasons and vending food is a way she helps to supplement her household's income: "... I [my family] farmed three times and none of them succeeded ... [I started selling] to support various household needs." The husband of the above female *Nasi Campur* seller is also working as a part-time driver and her business provides additional income for times when her husband cannot find work: "... [My husband] work as a part-time driver ... but often falls sick and has to stop working ...".

In this respect, prior studies (Banerjee, 2007; Cinar, 1994; Collins, 2009; Gulyani, 2010) have also shown that informal businesses, such as mobile food vending, provides important additional income for the household but here we expand on this and point that it is not only the vendor's household that take advantage of this income but also member of the larger immediate family. Vendors often go back to their hometown and when they go back they will bring with them their savings that are typically distribute in some way to their larger family members in the village, as stated by the above male *Mi Ayam* seller "... after one and a month I would go home, because my parents are still living [back in the village] and I visit them ... it doesn't feel right if I go home without bringing something."

## Obstacles in Growing and Sustaining a Mobile Food Business

Running a mobile food vending business is unquestionably a physically demanding activity with long hours but providing only marginal and unpredictable income streams for the vendor. Most mobile food vending businesses, as with other microentrepreneur ventures (Grosh and Somolekae, 1996) start small and stay small. Specifically for mobile food vendor, we identify three major reasons why the business cannot expand beyond its current size.

The first reason is that mobile food vendors cater to a limited number of customers. This limited customers base is not caused by people reluctance in buying food from the vendor but more as a consequence on the nature of the business itself where vendors are physically moving from one place to another

peddling their food. This physical activity put a limit on the geographical range a vendor can go in a day that also limits the number of customers that the vendor's encounter and the number of customers purchasing from the vendor on that day. We discovered that the typical distance traveled by vendors range from 3km – 10km a day. Rarely was there a vendor that would travel farther than 10km. The exception here is when the vendor is just starting out and still looking for a route or when there are not enough customers and there were still food not sold yet.

Moreover, customers want variation in their meals where a buyer today might not want to be eating the same meal tomorrow and will buy something else. This later customer's behavior will result in the number of daily customer to be unpredictable and varies from day to day, which ultimately produces small and varied daily incomes. A male *gado-gado* seller noted that “... buyers can get bored eating the same food every day and will buy something else tomorrow.”

The second reason is that mobile food vendors have a limited ability to reach a larger customer-base. This limitation is also a direct consequence of the physical nature of their business where the geographical reach of the vendor is limited to his/her physical prowess and time of day. One possible way to increase a vendor's reach is through using a more mobile mode of transportation, i.e. upgrading from walking to riding a bicycle or upgrading from riding a bicycle to using a motorcycle. We noticed this willingness to upgrade their mode of transportation when vendors replied to our question on “what would you do if I gave you a lump-sum of money” and the second most frequented answer was to upgrade their mode of transportation (the most frequented answer was to rent a place so they can sell from a permanent location).

Another way to increase a vendor's reach is to hire additional sellers to peddle their food and pay these sellers some fix rate or commission based on their daily sales. We found this approach in two instances: one male *Bakwan*<sup>4</sup> seller who already have four other sellers working for him and paying them a 30% commission on their gross sells and a male seller of *Pentol*<sup>5</sup> who was working for another vendor and selling that vendor's food also for a 30%

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<sup>4</sup> *Bakwan* is a type of soup with a mixture of meatballs, tofu, and other items.

<sup>5</sup> *Pentol* is a type of traditional meatball.

commission on his gross sell. An important to point out here is that for these two methods to be viable will require new investments that the vendor might not have funds for and must resort to either using their savings, which will take time to gather, or rely on some sort of external financing, which can be from families or microfinance institutions.

The last and the third reason is that the mobile food vendor's inability to effectively promote their trade. The main mechanism that mobile food vendors currently use to promote their food is by generating a distinctive noise or sound to signal their arrivals. For example in Surabaya a sate seller will shout in a heavy Madura accent "*Sate Sate Sate*", a *Tahu Tek*<sup>6</sup> seller will knock on his/her wok "*Tek Tek Tek*", or a fried rice seller will hit a large bamboo poll "*Dug Dug Dug*".

Another mechanism is for their customers to recommend a vendor's to the their friends or neighbors but the limitation of this method is that the vendor must pass through the area where the person that has been recommended is residing at. A frequent female buyer of a *Mi Ayam* started buying from her current seller because her neighbor recommended this seller "*... I started buying because I saw my next door neighbor frequently buying from this vendor and she stated that the food was delicious.*" A new promotion mechanism that we started to observe is that, at times when there are not that many buyers, vendors will actively promote their trade by texting or calling a customer they are close with but the large caveat here is that the vendor will have to be very close to the customer for him to even consider this approach. All of these three methods have limitations on the number of customers it can produce and its effectiveness thus constraining any potential large growth of the business or at least only allows it to grow over long periods of time.

## Future Research Direction and the Potential Role of ICT

Based on the above uncovered attributes, characteristics, and constrains of the mobile food vending business we are designing and developing a mobile-phone-based system that can address or at least tries to alleviate some of the above identified problems [11]. The latest World Bank data (World Bank, 2011)

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<sup>6</sup> *Tahu tek* is a dish of mostly fried tofu and potatoes using a special sauce.

shows that Indonesia in 2009 already had 69.2 mobile subscribers per 100 people and a mobile network coverage reaching 90% of the population. In addition, almost all vendors that participated in our study had access to a mobile phone either directly or indirectly (i.e. through their wife/husband or children).

Those two facts point to mobile phones as a viable device to develop and deliver the system that we are planning and constructing. Our envisioned system is plan to have functionalities that can provide customer relation management (CRM) functionalities to retain current customers, location awareness features to easily locate and identify vendors, and recommendation capabilities enabling loyal customers to easily recommend their favorite vendors.

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# ANALYSIS OF ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITMENT AND JOB SATISFACTION AFFECTING ON ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE AND TURNOVER INTENTION

*Empirical Studies in Public Accountant Firm  
in Central Java*

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## Introduction

In Indonesia today there is a shortage of the number of public accountants. Based on data from IAPI (Institute of Public Accountants Indonesia) as at 25 March 2008, a public accountant (Holders of practice in Indonesia is 877 people aged 26-40 years with a composition of as many as 106 people (12%), aged 41-50 years as many as 229 people (26 %), aged 51-60 years as many as 257 people (29%), aged 61-70 years as many as 243 people (28%), aged 71-80 years as many as 37 people (4%) and aged 81-90 years by 5 people (1%).

That means 62% of all accountants are located in the 51 years of age or older. While the chances of audit services are still very wide. According to finance ministry data, the entity must be audited by public accountants amounted to about 150,000 entities. Total clients were reported to MOF by 2008 was 13,848 with a number of public accountants is 877 people so the client ratio is 16:1 compared to a public accountant. When compared with ASEAN country,

the number of public accountants in Indonesia is still very lacking. The data mentioned above indicate that in Indonesia there has been a scarcity in the public accounting profession (Fitryany et al, 2010).

Turnover intention in organizations is usually caused by the individual's own desires are caused by various factors. These factors may include factors such as organizational (working conditions) as well as personal factors (psychological condition of individuals). Psychological conditions such as personality factors, motivation, job satisfaction, work pressure, and others, which will affect the person's behavior (Heni Triastuti and Anggun Hilendri, 2007).

Research on the influence of commitment on job satisfaction and employee willingness to move previously been done by Abdul Rohman (2009), Kadir and Educate Riyanto (2003) by using two different sources of commitment that is affective commitment and continuance commitment (Meyyer and Allen, 1984). Multiple dimensions of organizational commitment have different relationships with turnover intentions.

Terms of job satisfaction refers to an individual's general attitude towards work (Robbins, 2001) in Kadir (2003). An individual with high levels of job satisfaction showed a positive attitude towards the job. Conversely someone who is not satisfied with his work shows a negative attitude towards the job. Research of Ardiyanto Kadir (2003), Abdul Rohman (2009) and Nasution (2006) concluded that affective commitment and continuance commitment have a significant effect on job satisfaction.

The research results of Ardiyanto Kadir (2003), Abdul Rohman (2009); and Sri Trisnarningsih (2003) indicates that affective commitment and continuance commitment have a significant effect on the desire to move, these results contradict the findings Khikmah Siti Noor (2006), continuance commitment is not significant effect on the desire to move. The results Peter and Waterman (1982) in Muindro Renyowijoyo (2003) shows that the organizational culture significantly affects kondusivitas organization, employee behavior, employee motivation in performing tasks, and ultimately affect job performance within an organization. Robins (1998) in Novliadi Ferry (2007) states that a strong corporate culture has a considerable influence on employee behavior and directly reduce can reduce turnover.



This paper will answer the following question on (1) does affective commitment, continuance commitment, bureaucratic organizational culture, organizational culture of innovation, and organizational cultural supportive have significant effect on job satisfaction and a desire to switch auditors; (2) does job satisfaction significantly influence turnover intention. The purpose of this paper was to test empirically and analyze the influence of affective commitment, continuance commitment, bureaucratic organizational culture, organizational culture of innovation, and organizational culture supportive of job satisfaction and turnover intention, as well as to test empirically and analyze the influence of job satisfaction employee wishes to move.

## Motivation Theory

Robins (1998) in Kadir (2003) defines motivation as the willingness to issue a high level of effort for organizational goals, conditioned by the ability of an effort to meet individual needs. The definition suggests that there are three key elements contained in that effort, the organization's goals and needs. If someone is motivated, he will try his best. However, high effort tetu not get a favorable outcome unless effort is channeled in a direction in accordance with organizational objectives. In conjunction with the fulfillment of needs, motivations clearly can encourage someone to work properly. Motivation is an important variable that affects a person's behavior in the work environment.

Hygiene theory put forward by Freedrick Herzberg (1950) in Abdul Rohman (2009) believes that the individual's relationship with his work is a fundamental relationship and that his attitude toward work will determine success or failure of that individual. Fedrick Herzberg also concluded that there are two factors that affect a person's motivation to work in the organization, which is job satisfiers related to job content and causes of job dissatisfiers associated with the atmosphere of the work (in Abdul Rohman, 2009).

## Organizational Commitment

Organizational commitment is defined as “the relative strength of an individual’s identification with a particular organization and involvement in an organization” (Porter et al, in Kadir and Ardiyanto 2003). Steers (1985) in Sitty Yuwalliatin (2006) defines organizational commitment as a sense of identification (the belief in the values of the organization), involvement (willingness to try my best in the interest of the organization), and loyalty (the desire to remain a member of the organization concerned) that expressed by an employee against his organization.

Porter in Sitty Yuwalliatin (2006) also defines organizational commitment as a force that is relative of employee involvement in identifying himself in an organization characterized by three things, namely acceptance of the values and goals of the organization, readiness and willingness to buck the name organization, the desire to maintain membership in the organization (to be part of the organization). Allen and Meyer (1991, 1997) in Abdul Rohman (2009) distinguish the organization’s commitment to the two components, namely affective commitment and continuance commitment.

## Organization Culture

According to Luthans (1998) in Aida Nahar (2004) is cultural norms and values that guide the behavior of members of the organization. Each member shall act or behave in accordance with the prevailing culture and behavior in the environment with the goal of acceptable in the neighborhood. Culture is basically a totality of social behavior patterns, arts, beliefs, institutions and work products, as well as other human thought from a community or population, or is the value contributed by people in sutau groups that tend to persist in a relatively long time, although group member changes (Aida Nahar, 2004).

Gibson (1994) in Aida Nahar (2004) revealed that corporate culture can be said as a corporate personality, which means that culture affects all activities of employees within the company, how they work, how to look at a job, working with colleagues, and look to the future. This type of culture according to Wallach (1983) cited by Hood and Koberg (1992) in Dyah Widyarini

(2009:18-19) is divided into three, namely bureaucratic culture, innovative culture and supportive culture. Hood and Koberg (1992) reveals, Wallach has a cultural typology of cultural constructs that can be measured, which can vary from department to department within the organization and are considered to be common in a variety of levels for all organizations.

## Affective Commitment

According to Meyer and Allen (1991) in Abdul Rohman (2009) affective commitment (affective commitment) occurs when an employee wants to be part of the organization because of the emotional bond *adaanya* (emotional attachment) or psychologically to the organization. View affective commitment of organizational commitment as an emotional attitude /behavior shown by the individual to the organization where she worked. Individuals who committed their organizations based on affective commitment to continue working with companies on their own; desire is based on the level of individual identification with the company / organization and their willingness to assist organizations in achieving *tujuaannya* (Hackett et al, 1994 in Kadir and Didik Ardiyanto (2003).

Setiawan and Ghozali (2007) in Abdul Rohman (2009) writes that affective commitment is the most desired by the company. Employees who have loyalty, ie employees who have affective commitment. This can be seen where the employees with strong affective commitment will likely remain within the organization (working within the company) because he wanted to. View affective commitment of organizational commitment as an emotional attitude /behavior shown by the individual to the organization where she worked.

## Continuance Commitment

Meyer and Allen (1991) in Abdul Rohman (2009) suggested that the continuance commitment arises when employees stayed with an organization because it takes a salary and other benefits, or because the employee did not find another job. In other words, employees will still join the organization because it requires organisas Individuals who form the organization is committed to the continuance

commitment remain in the organization decided it was because he needed it and accumulate (accumulate) benefits / benefit more (or give a greater cost burden if it comes out ) which may prevent them from seeking other employment (Becker, 1960 in Kadir and Ardiyanto, 2003).

## Bureaucratic Culture

Is a culture that requires the order, orders and rules. Work systematically arranged. Generally bureaucratic units tend to be oriented on maturity, stable hierarchy, procedural, steady, solid, alert and strength. There are clear boundaries between the responsibilities and powers. Strong culture of bureaucracy is not likely to attract and retain creative and ambitious people who are marked with the character of a challenging work environment, a structured, tiered, orderly, regular and well-regulated (Wallach, 1983 in Widyarini, 2009). The rules are applied either by profession or government bonds aimed at protecting the public from misleading financial statements and increase public trust in the accounting profession kreadibilitas (Widyarini, 2009).

## Innovative Culture

Innovative culture is an interesting and dynamic culture. People who are ambitious and entrepreneurial spirit best in this environment. This supports the work of cultural creativity, and contain the challenges and risks. Suitable for people who like to work at companies that have conditions that require innovation and challenges, entrepreneurship, risk taking, high pressure, encouragement, incentive, creativity and results-oriented (Widyarini, 2009).

## Supportive Culture

Supportive culture is a culture that warm and pleasant to work, the culture that promotes family value, such as harmony, openness, friendship, cooperation and trust. Character is a friendly working environment, workers tend to be fair and mutually helping one another. This culture has a condition-oriented justice, social, and relationship (Widyarini, 2009).

## Job Satisfaction

Robins (2001) defines job satisfaction as an individual's general attitude towards his job. According to Mathis and Jackson (2001) job satisfaction is a positive emotional state of evaluating a person's work experience. While Vroom (1964) describes job satisfaction as having a positive attitude toward work in a person, (in Abdul Rohman, 2009). Locke (1976) in Kadir (2003) explains that job satisfaction reflects the attitude of joy or positive emotions that come from a person's work experience. The joy that is felt employees will have a positive impact for the employee.

If employees are satisfied with the job, the employee will feel happier, and free of stress so that it will cause a sense of security and comfort to keep working on the environment, so it will not create a need to seek other employment alternatives. According to Robins (1996) in Sri Trisnaningsih (2004) job satisfaction is a person's attitude toward work as the difference between the amount of reward received and the number of workers who believed they should receive.

## Turnover Intention

Turnover Intention refers to the desire of employees to seek other employment alternatives that have not been realized in the form of concrete actions (Pasewark and Strawser, 1996 in Khikmah Siti Noor (2005). Turnover intention reflects the desire of individuals to leave the organization and look for alternative employment (Kelvin and Indriantoro, 1999 in Agus Arianto Toly, 2001). Abelson (1987) in Agus Arianto Toly, (2001) describes it as a mind to go out, find a job elsewhere, as well as the desire to leave the organization.

Turnover leads to the realities facing the end organization or a company in the form of number of employees who leave the organization at a certain period, while the desire of employees to switch refers to the individual evaluation results regarding the continuation of the relationship with the organization and has not been realized in the action would leave the organization (Abdul Rohman, 2009). Turnover is defined as a withdrawal voluntar or involuntary of an organization (Robins, 2001 in Intiyas utami et. al., 2006).

Voluntary turnover is a decision to leave the organization because of two factors namely how interesting jobs that exist at present and the availability of alternative other work. While involuntary turnover describe the decision of employer to stop the uncontrollable nature of employment and for employees who experience it.

## Logical Relations Between Variables and Hypothesis formulation.

### The Relationship Between Affective Commitment and Continuance Commitment with Job Satisfaction

Gregson (1992) in Kadir (2003) have reported results from studies in which job satisfaction as an early sign of organizational commitment in a model that works pergan Lotian accountant. In contrast to research conducted by Cahyono and Ghozali (2001) that examines the reciprocal relationship between job satisfaction and organizational commitment indicates that commitment precedes organizations in more than Firm on job satisfaction. Research of Kadir and Didik Ardiyanto (2003) showed that affective commitment significantly associated with job satisfaction and continuance commitment related significantly to job satisfaction. Research Jenkins, et.al (1992) in Kadir and Didik Ardiyanto (2003) found that affective commitment associated with increased job satisfaction and continuance commitment associated with decreased job satisfaction.

H1a: Affective commitment significant effect on job satisfaction

H1b: Continuance commitment significant effect on job satisfaction

### The Relationship Between Bureaucracy Cultural, Innovative Culture and Supportive Culture with Job Satisfaction

Research Hood and Koberg (1992) in Dyah Widyarini (2009) suggest a link between organizational culture with job satisfaction. Research Nasution (2006) produced a significant effect on job satisfaction. Locke in Innata Arishanti Klara (2009) stated that job satisfaction is strongly associated with the values dipresenntasikan through the company's organizational culture. Innata Arishanti

Klara (2009) states that there is a significant relationship between organizational culture with job satisfaction.

H2A: Bureaucratic culture has a significant effect on job satisfaction

H2B: Innovative culture has a significant effect on job satisfaction

H2C: Supportive culture has a significant effect on job satisfaction

### The Relationship Between Affective Commitment and Continuance Commitment with Turnover Intention

Dunham et.al (1994) and Hacket et.al (1994) in Kadir and Didik Ardiyanto (2003) found a stronger relationship between affective commitment and turnover intention. Also, results of research Meyyer et.al (1993) Kadir and Didik Ardiyanto (2003) showed a significant relationship between affective commitment and turnover intentions and likewise between continuance commitment and turnover intention. Aranya and Ferris (1984) Kadir and Didik Ardiyanto (2003) suggested that organizational commitment had a significant relationship with the desire to move.

H3a: Affective commitment has a significant affect on the desire to move

H3b: Continuance commitment has a significant effect on the desire to move

### The Relationship Between Bureaucracy Cultural Relations, Cultural Innovative and Supportive Culture with Turnover Intention

Robins (1998) in Ferry Novliadi (2007) states, a strong company culture which greatly affect employee behavior that will reduce turnover. The more employees who accept those values and the greater the stronger the commitment to it's corporate culture. Individuals who can accept the corporate culture will survive at the company because it has similar values and goals with the organization or company. Individuals who can accept the corporate culture will survive at the company because it has similar values and goals with the organization or company (Ferry Novliadi, 2007).

- H4a: The culture of bureaucracy has a significant effect on the desire to move
- H4b: Innovative culture has a significant effect the desire to move
- H4c: Cultural supportive has a significant effect on the desire to move

## The Relationship Between Job Satisfaction with Turnover Intention

Studies Kalbers and Fogarty (1995) in Kadir and Didik Ardiyanto (2003) provide findings that job satisfaction and a desire to move has a significant relationship. Passewark and Strawser (1996) in Kadir and Didik Ardiyanto (2003) found that job satisfaction directly affects employee willingness to move and connect the negative. Mobley et al (1978) in Novliadi Ferry (2007) stated that job satisfaction has a close relationship to the thoughts and intentions to quit work to look for another job.

- H5: Job satisfaction significantly influence the desire to move

## Theoretical Framework



**Figure 1.** Theoretical Framework



## Operational Definitions

### **Affective Commitment**

Affective commitment related to the identification of individuals with organizational objectives. Individuals continue their work on their own, this desire is based on the level of individual identification with the company / organization and their willingness to assist the organization in achieving its objectives, Hackett, at.al., (1994) in Kadir (2003). Measurement of variables using a scale of six items developed by Meyer and Allen (1984) and modified by Meyer et al, (1993) with a 5-point Likert scale with points 1 (strongly disagree) to points 5 (strongly agree). The questions put forward regarding employee emotional connection to the organization where he worked.

### **Continuance Commitment**

Individuals who are committed continuance organizational commitment, indicating that he stays / survive in the organization because he needs it. Continuance commitment was measured using a scale of six items that were developed Meyer and Allen (1984) and modified Meyer et al, (1993) The questions put forward regarding the desire of employees to seek other employment alternatives and consequences faced if it is out of the organization where she worked.

### **Organizational Culture**

Data on organizational culture obtained from the instrument Organizational Culture Index (OCI) developed by Wallach (1983) in Dyah Widyarini (2009), measuring the dimensions of organizational culture into three-dimensional culture that is bureaucratic, inonatif, and supportive. Measurement of these variables using a 5-point Likert scale with points 1 (strongly disagree) to points 5 (strongly agree).

### **Job Satisfaction**

The variable job satisfaction was measured using instruments developed by Brayfield and Rothe (1951) as used by Kadir (2003), using a 5-point Likert scale in which points of the show (so no stuju) and point 5 (very

stuju). The questions used in the questionnaire regarding the perceived emotional attitude of employees toward their organizations, shows that job satisfaction.

### **Turnover Intention**

Turnover intention is the desire of individuals to leave companies looking for other employment alternatives. The desire to move was measured using four items developed by Kalbers questions and Fogarty (1995) and using a 5 point Likert scale where point 1 (strongly disagree) and point 5 (strongly agree). Measurement of these variables using a 5-point Likert scale with points 1 (strongly disagree) to points 5 (strongly agree).

### **Population and Sample Determination**

The population of this study is the auditor who worked in the Office of Public Accounting in Central Java. This study uses statistical tools Structural Equation Model (SEM) with a Maximum Likelihood (ML) The minimum required sample of 100 (Ghozali, 2005). Determination of this study using a convenience sample. Sample selection auditors based on the frameworks listed KAP Directory 2009.

### **Reliability Test**

Reliability test conducted using the AMOS and is obtained by calculating Constructed Reliability and Variance Extracted. Cut of Value to declare reliable is the value of Cronbach's alpha coefficient  $\alpha > 0.60$ ; Constructed Reliability  $\alpha > 0.70$  and  $\alpha > 0.50$  Variance Extracted (Ghozali, 2005). Reliability test conducted to measure the consistency of indicators to measure the constructs.

### **Tests of Hypotheses**

Testing the hypothesis in this study using structural equation models (structural equation model) with the consideration that the SEM has the ability to combine the measurement model with the structural model simultaneously and efficiently when compared with other techniques (Hair

et al, 1998 in Abdul Kadir 2003) use model equations with applications Analysis of moment Structure (AMOS). From the path diagram generated empirically, can be made the following equation:

$$KK = 0,238 AC - 0,173 CC - 0,257 BB + 0,205 BI + 0,198 BS + z1..... (1)$$

$$KB = -0,205 AC - 0,188 CC + 0,192 BB - 0,197 BI - 0,216 BS - 0310 KK + z2.....(2)$$

## Object Description of Research

The number of questionnaires are used as a reference for data processing is 167 pieces that have been sent on 18 KAP in Central Java, which is 14 KAP in Semarang, 3 KAP in Surakarta, and a KAP in Navan. But Only 16 KAP is willing to be sampled. The research data were collected by sending questionnaires to 170 pieces come directly KAP is located in Semarang and Surakarta, while for KAP in Navan sent by post. Number of questionnaires returned totaled 132 pieces or 77.64 percent.

The number of male respondents are more dominant of 72.72% compared with 27.28% female respondents. Respondents junior auditors in the amount of 63.64 while senior auditor is 30.30% percent, and respondents with a position as manager of KAP as many as 8 people or 6.06 percent. Based on auditors' tenure at KAP, respondents with a working period of less than 3-5 years was 43.19%, respondentengan kurng working period of three years is 36.36%, and respondents with a service life of more than 5 years is 20.45% . S1 education background of respondents was 65.90%, followed by education level D3 19.70% and S2 educated auditors as much as 19 people or 14.40 percent with no educated S3.

## Descriptive Analysis of Research Variables

Based on the answers to the questionnaire that has been conducted on 132 respondents, then some descriptive answers of respondents can be seen in the distribution of observations. The results of descriptive statistical analysis of the

eight study variables are presented in the following table:

**Table 1. Variable Description**

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Statistic</b>	<b>Theoritic Score</b>	<b>Empiric Score</b>
Affective Commitment	Minimal Score	5	6
	Maximal Score	25	25
	Mean	15	17,66
Continuance Commitment	Minimal Score	5	6
	Maximal Score	25	25
	Mean	15	17,02
Bureaucratic Culture	Minimal Score	5	6
	Maximal Score	35	35
	Mean	15	17,42
Innovative Culture	Minimal Score	5	6
	Maximal Score	25	25
	Mean	15	17,62
Supportive Culture	Minimal Score	6	8
	Maximal Score	30	30
	Mean	18	20,33
Job Satisfaction	Minimal Score	6	8
	Maximal Score	30	30
	Mean	18	20,59
Turnover Intention	Minimal Score	4	4
	Maximal Score	20	20
	Mean	12	10,57

Sources: Primary data are processed, 2010

Based on the above data, affective commitment variable show empirical average of 17.66. The average value is above the theoretical median of 15. This shows that in general there is a high affective commitment to the organization of auditors (KAP). In other words it can be said that the auditor general has a willingness to assist the organization in achieving its goal of greater than average expected ata. Continuance commitment variables show an average of 17.02. The average value is above the median is 15. This shows that in general there is a high continuance commitment of auditors. This indicates that the auditor has the desire to always want to keep working in an organization because there is a desire auditors to look for another job.

Bureaucratic culture variables showed an average of 17.42. The average value is above the median is 15. This shows that in general there is a bureaucratic culture in the office of KAP. This indicates that the auditor felt a bureaucratic culture in KAP. Innovative cultural variables showed an average of 17.62. The average value is above the median is 15. This shows that in general there is an innovative culture within the organization (KAP). This shows that the KAP can develop innovative work of the auditors. Supportive cultural variables showed an average of 20.33. The average value is above the median is 18. This shows that in general there is supportive culture within the organization (KAP). This shows that the KAP can develop great working support to auditors.

Variables of job satisfaction showed an average of 20.59. The average value is above the theoretical median of 18. This shows that in general there is a fairly high job satisfaction of the auditor where the auditor job satisfaction was slightly higher than expected. It is showing a desire to move an average of 10.57. The average value is slightly below the theoretical median of 12. This suggests a desire berpindaah substantial work of the auditor but the auditor wishes to move the work slightly smaller than the general average.

## Full Model Analysis of Structural Equation Modeling (SEM)

Prior to forming a full SEM model, the testing will be done in advance of the factors that shape their masing variables. Tests will be conducted using confirmatory factor analysis model. Compatibility of the model (goodness of fit), for confirmatory factor analysis will also be tested. With the program AMOS 6, measures the goodness of fit will appear in the output. Further conclusions on the suitability of the constructed model will be seen from the results of measures of goodness of fit is obtained. Goodness of fit test performed prior to the confirmatory factor analysis model.

## Data Normality

Evaluation is done by using the criteria of normality critical ratio value skewness and kurtosis values, showing all the variables are normally distributed univariate, multivariate normality of the data also showed that normal. Thus it has been

distributed as multivariate normality normality, so the assumption of normality of the data in the SEM model can be accepted.

## Evaluation of Multicollinearity and the Singularity

Indication of multicollinearity and singularity can be known through the determinant of the covariance matrix which is really small, or close to zero. From the known value of the data processing determinant of sample covariance matrix was not far from zero. Thus, the study used data showed symptoms of high multicollinearity or singularity. No measurements away from the singularity problem caused by the use of scale 5 that gave rise to a variation of less bulky.

## Reliability and Variance Extract

Test reliability indicates the extent to which a measuring instrument that can provide relatively similar results when measurements were taken back to the same object. Reliability value of the minimum dimensions of forming a latent variable that can be received is equal to is 0.70. Measurement variance extract shows the number of indicator variance extracted by kosntruk / latent variables are developed. Extract the value of variance is the minimum acceptable 0.50. The test results showed all reliability values are above 0.7 and variance extracted also above 0.5. This means that the measurement model of SEM is already qualified reliability gauges. Test results showed extract variance, each latent variable is extracted from a fairly large dimensions. This extract is shown the value of the variance of each variable is more than 0.5.

## Hypothesis Testing

**Tabel 4. Regression Weight Structural Equational**

	Estimate	S.E.	Std. Est	C.R.	P
KK ← AC	0.277	0.127	0.238	2.182	0.029
KK ← CC	-0.222	0.114	-0.173	-1.950	0.051
KK ← BB	-0.259	0.093	-0.257	-2.781	0.005
KK ← BI	0.263	0.128	0.205	2.065	0.039
KK ← BS	0.249	0.126	0.198	1.980	0.048
KB ← KK	-0.299	0.100	-0.310	-2.993	0.003
KB ← AC	-0.231	0.116	-0.205	-1.988	0.047
KB ← CC	-0.233	0.104	-0.188	-2.226	0.026
KB ← BB	0.188	0.086	0.192	2.176	0.030
KB ← BI	-0.245	0.116	-0.197	-2.105	0.035
KB ← BS	-0.263	0.115	-0.216	-2.277	0.023

Sources: Primary data are processed, 2010

### Testing Hypothesis 1a

Parameter estimation affective commitment influences on job satisfaction has a standardized coefficient value of 0.238. CR test values obtained for 2182 with a p value = 0.029 ( $p < 0.05$ ). Probability value smaller than 0.05 indicates that affective commitment have a significant effect on job satisfaction. This means that hypothesis 1a is accepted

### Testing Hypothesis 1b

Parameter estimation of the influence of continuance commitment on job satisfaction has a standardized coefficient value of -0.173. CR test values obtained for -1950 with p value = 0.051 ( $p > 0.05$ ). Probability values greater than 0.05 indicates that the continuance commitment had no significant effect on job satisfaction significantly. This means that hypothesis 1b is rejected.

### Testing Hypothesis 2a

Parameter estimation of the influence of bureaucratic culture on job satisfaction has a standardized coefficient value of -0.257. CR test values obtained for -2781 with p value = 0.005 ( $< 0.05$ ). Probability value smaller than 0.05 indicates

that the bureaucratic culture has a significant influence on job satisfaction. This means that hypothesis 2a is accepted.

### Testing Hypothesis 2b

Parameter estimation of the influence of innovative culture on job satisfaction has a standardized coefficient value of 0.205. CR test values obtained for 2069 with a p value = 0.039 ( $<0.05$ ). Probability value smaller than 0.05 indicates that the innovative culture has a significant influence on job satisfaction. This means that hypothesis 2b is accepted.

### Testing Hypothesis 2c

Parameter estimation supportive cultural influences on job satisfaction has a standardized coefficient value of 0.198. CR test values obtained for 1980 with a p value = 0.048 ( $<0.05$ ). Probability value smaller than 0.05 indicates that supportive culture have a significant effect on job satisfaction. This means that hypothesis 2c is accepted.

### Testing Hypothesis 3a

Parameter estimation of the influence of affective commitment move towards the desire to have the value of standardized coefficient of -0.205. CR test values obtained for -1988 with p value = 0.047 ( $p <0.05$ ). Probability value smaller than 0.05 indicates that affective commitment has a significant effect on turnover intention. This means that hypothesis 3a is accepted.

### Testing Hypothesis 3b

Parameter estimation of the influence of continuance commitment of a desire to move has a standardized coefficient value of -0.188. CR test values obtained for -2226 with p value = 0.026 ( $p <0.05$ ). Probability value smaller than 0.05 indicates that continuance commitment has a significant effect on turnover intention. Direction is negative coefficient indicates that the continuance commitment significant effect on turnover intention. This means that hypothesis 3b accepted.



## Testing Hypothesis 4a

Parameter estimation of the influence of bureaucratic culture to move towards the desire to have the value of standardized coefficient of 0.192. CR test values obtained for 2176 with a p value = 0.030 ( $p < 0.05$ ). Probability value smaller than 0.05 indicates that the bureaucratic culture has a significant effect on turnover intention. This means that hypothesis 4a is accepted.

## Testing Hypothesis 4b

Parameter estimation of the influence of innovative culture on turnover intention has a standardized coefficient value of -0.197. CR test values obtained for -2105 with p value = 0.035 ( $p < 0.05$ ). Probability value smaller than 0.05 indicates that the innovative culture has a significant effect on turnover intention. This means that hypothesis 4b is accepted.

## Testing Hypothesis 4c

Parameter estimation of the influence of culture supportive of the desire to move has a standardized coefficient value of -0.216. Value of 0.05 obtained CR testing showed that supportive culture has a significant effect on turnover intention. This means that the hypothesis is accepted.

## Testing Hypothesis 5

Parameter estimation of the influence of job satisfaction of a desire to move has a standardized coefficient value of -0.310. CR test values obtained for -2993 with p value = 0.003 ( $p < 0.05$ ). Probability value smaller than 0.05 indicates that job satisfaction has a significant influence on job satisfaction. This means that hypothesis 5 is accepted.

## Conclusion

Variable affective commitment, bureaucratic culture, innovative culture and supportive culture have a significant effect on job satisfaction with the p value (probability value was  $< 0.005$ ). Continuance commitment variable has a value

of -1.950 CR that exceed the critical limit above 1.96 and p value 0.051 is greater than 0.005 and shows that the continuance commitment had no significant effect on job satisfaction significantly. Variable affective commitment, continuance commitment, bureaucratic culture, innovative culture, supportive culture and job satisfaction significantly influence turnover intention with the p value (probability value was  $<0.005$ ).

Based on the results of the above discussion and conclusions obtained in this study among other suggestions put forward for Public Accounting Firm (KAP) to evaluate the personal characteristics of auditors so as to support the personal success and KAP auditors in carrying out its functions and achieve the level of job satisfaction which ultimately have a positive impact for the individual Firm or organization. Bureaucratic culture that exist within the organization must be able and willing KAP to transform themselves from rigid bureaucratic structure into a bureaucratic organization structure is more decentralized, innovative, flexible and responsive so that it can provide job satisfaction for employees and can avoid the turnover that will be brought the intensity of the negative impact KAP organization.

This study ignores other variables not examined the possible influence of job satisfaction and a desire to move such work locus of control. The research was conducted at the end of the year at which time the respondents (auditor KAP) is busy with his job so that in filling the questionnaire carried out with did not really read the questions asked return the questionnaire but it also requires quite a long time. For further research are expected to add other variables that can affect job satisfaction and a desire to move the work and expand the study sample.

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**Website**

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## A DECADE AFTER LIBERALIZATION

*An institutional perspective on development  
of Indonesia's retail industry*

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### Introduction

The existence of modern retailing in Indonesia can be traced back to the 1970s when retailers served mostly upper class consumers and expatriates in urban areas.<sup>1</sup> Among those are *Hero*, *KemChick*, *Gelael*, *Ramayana* and *Matahari* which were owned by locals. While *Matahari* and *Ramayana* focused on fashion retailing, the rest involved in food business. Some foreign indirect investment, such as *Circle-K* and *7Eleven*, had been also in place during the 1980s through franchising arrangement. Foreign direct investment commenced entering market of this fourth most populous country in the world in the next decade.

Dutch retailer SHV Holdings N.V, for instance, opened its first grocery store *Makro* in 1991, the US-based giant retailer *Wal-Mart* in 1996 (but then shortly exited the market following series of social unrest in the country), or Belgium retailer *Delhaize* started its operation in 1997 with brand name *Superindo*. Although there was an increasing trend during 1980s—which *Natawidjaja et al.* (2007) called it as ‘pre-take off period’—a significant expansion of modern outlets have just emerged since the end of 1990s.

Following the 1997/98 Asian financial crisis Government of Indonesia took off restrictions of foreign direct investment, including in retail trade, as

part of the IMF structural adjustment programs (Indonesia 1998). Shortly after this deregulation policy, France-based Carrefour and Hong Kong-based Dairy Farm are among the first overseas investors entered the Indonesian retail market. Liberalization of retail trade not only has drawn foreign direct investment but also re-energized domestic capital in retail sector.

Borrowing framework developed by Reardon et al. (2003) on 'supermarket revolution', Indonesia includes in the second wave of the rapid diffusion of supermarkets in developing countries occurred from mid to late 1990s along with some countries in Central America and Southern-Central Europe; (2) the expansion of modern retailing comes side by side with (1) 'Modern retailing' refers to a self-service trading with fixed prices in the forms of minimarkets, supermarkets, department stores or grocery stores while 'traditional retailing' considers trading through bargaining run by small or medium traders or co-operatives with small capital.

The first wave (from early to mid-1990s) countries include those in South America and East Asia outside China and Japan. The third wave (from late 1990s to early 2000s) occurred in parts of Africa, Central and side with multinationalization of retailers and diversification of retailing formats. Although demand—such as the huge size of population, high urbanization and rising per capita income—and supply factors—that there are still few players in modern trade—may explain this expansion, as some observers (for example, Natawidjaja, Reardon, and Shetty 2007) argue, transformation of Indonesia's retail industry was largely driven by liberalization policy in this sector, particularly in the beginning stage.

This paper discusses development of Indonesia's retail industry after ten years of trade liberalization. Without ignoring roles of other types of retailing, this paper focuses on food and general merchandising as this type has been showing the most rapid expansion in internationalization (Dicken 2003; Coe 2004; Dawson 2007). Wrigley (2000) even locates food retailers as elite group among retail TNCs, in terms of scale of their real growth as well as their significant roles in the contemporary global supply chains system. In Indonesia context modern food retailers are considered to be important player in transforming the country's retail industry (Walker 1996; Natawidjaja, Reardon, and Shetty 2007; Kanjaya and Susilo 2010).

An institutional perspective is used to examine recent development. First part of the paper shows some main outcomes as results of market opening in the industry. Second part explains briefly theoretical framework applied in the examination while the methods used is describe in the third part. The next part discusses four institutional issues emerging in the development of contemporary Indonesian retail business. The last part concludes.

## Outcomes of Liberalization in the Retail Sector

Liberalization in the retail sector has altered structure of the Indonesian retail industry. Modern retailing has been growing rapidly at the expense of traditional trades which are predominantly operated and owned by families or independent small enterprises. As shown in the figure 1 below, although traditional stores still constitute the largest in Indonesia's retail market, their markets share decreased steadily while modern trade grew from some 22 per cent in 2000 to 37 per cent of total markets in 2008. The large formats of modern retailing, such as supermarket and hypermarket, took the largest share of modern trade but proportion of minimarkets grew faster by 11 percent from 2000 to 2008 compared to 4 percent achieved by supermarket and hypermarket combined.

In the initial phase the growth of modern retail industry was triggered by liberalization of the sector but then it is being sustained by high rate of consumption that has become the main engine of Indonesia economic growth since post-economic crisis. Private consumption where retail sector serves constitutes more than half of the country's GDP. In addition, this continuing growth is also contributed by an increasing per capita income and rising rate of the Indonesian middle-class as a result of the country's better economic performance during the last five years.

South America, Southeast Asia, China, India and Russia. The emerging fourth wave is still in the beginning phase covering South Asia outside India, Sub-Saharan Africa and the poorer countries in Southeast Asia and South America.

The changing structure of the retail industry is also characterized by alteration of its main players. Before liberalization main retailers in the industry were mostly local firms, such as Goro, Gelael, Hero, Alfa Gudang Rabat and Matahari. There were only few retail multi-national firms (Delhaize and SHV

Holdings N.V) operating in the market. After liberalization major retailers tend to be multi-nationals in ownership through process of providing technical assistance, joint venture, merger or acquisition.

Dairy Farm International, for example, initially entered Indonesian market by providing technical assistance to Hero, but then secured gradually share of the local retailer until becoming the majority holder. Delhaize Group bought majority stake of *Superindo* from local retailer PT. Lion Super Indo. Lotte Group acquired totally *Makro* owned by Dutch SHV Holdings N.V. Carrefour moves in opposite way. This second largest retailer on the planet started its operation with 'green-field' setting. To strengthen its economies of scale and scope, it acquired one of major local retailers, PT. Alfa Retailindo. But then it sold nearly half of its stake to local player, PT. Trans Corp.

That consolidation among retailers, both local and foreigners, has put the power of retail market in the hand of few players. Carrefour, Giant, Superindo and Hypermart control majority of market share in large formats of retailing while Indomaret and Alfamart dominate in small formats. Whether this situation potentially led to oligopoly, as Fels (2009) predicts, need further examination.

Another outcome of retail liberalization is diversification of retail formats. Almost all retailers apply more than single format of retailing. As demonstrated in Table 2, Dairy Farm/Hero, for instance, run their chains through formats of hypermarket, supermarket, minimarket, and specialty. A similar pattern is applied by Matahari except in minimarket format. Lotte diversifies its chains primarily within large format of retailing due to legal constraint. Leading retailer in hypermarket format, Carrefour, lately attempts to operate a kind of convenience store format named *Carrefour Express*.

Diversification occurs not only among large, medium and mini formats of retailing but also within single one. For example, Sumber Alfaria Trijaya that focuses on small retailing trade diversifies its chains based on different economic levels of targeted consumers. *Alfamart* serves middle and lower income while *Alfamart Express* is aimed to serve middle and upper class. In addition, it introduces a format between minimarket and supermarket size called *Alfamidi*.<sup>3</sup> Consistent with Mukoyama's (2004) assessment in some emerging economies, this wide diversification of retail formats takes only 10 years to introduce in Indonesia, compared to about 90 years in the US.



Distribution of modern retailing is still considerably uneven throughout Indonesia. It concentrates in main cities in Java and Bali Islands. Some 85 percent of total outlets spread out across these islands alone. The rest can be found in Sumatera (10 percent), Kalimantan (1.4 percent), Sulawesi (1.3 percent) while modern market in Papua still very few. With regard to targeted consumers, there is a change being underway. Prior to liberalization, modern retailers served primarily middle to upper income Indonesians (A and B segments) and expatriates. Nowadays modern outlets, led by food and general merchandising, have become point of interest of the lower-middle and working poor families (C and D segments) as these outlets offer competitive prices and shopping convenience in response to change in consumer preferences. The gap in territorial distribution of modern trade and the expansion of targeted consumers imply huge opportunity for modern retailing to diffuse in the future.

Rapid development of modern retail business has implication in providing job opportunity for Indonesians. According to data from Central Bureau of Statistics, in 2010 retail (along with wholesale, hotel and restaurant) is the second largest source of employment after agriculture. About 20.8 per cent (22,5 million workforce) involved in retail, hotel and restaurant compared to 38.3 per cent in agriculture and 12.8 per cent in manufacturing. It is estimated 1.2 million (5.3 per cent) of 22,5 million workers involved in this modern retailing industry alone.<sup>4</sup> This number is nearly the same as total workers in mining and quarrying sector combined. In other words, retail is important sector for Indonesia's economy.

In response to recent development of retail industry, the Government of Indonesia has made some attempts in regulating the sector. Presidential Regulation No. 11 Year 2007 restricts foreign capital to penetrate smaller formats of retailing. As shown in Table 3, minimarkets having size of sale floor less than 400 meter square are totally devoted to domestic capital. Although Presidential Regulation No. 112 Year 2007 concerning organizations and directions of traditional markets, shopping centres, and modern stores does not define convenience store, in fact foreign capital is not allowed to invest in this chain although some confusing implementations exist in the cases of Starmart (Dairy Farm) and Carrefour Express (Carrefour).

In addition, foreign capital is restricted to operate in smaller size of supermarket and department store. Conversely, foreign capital has wide room

to invest in the large format of modern retailing. This partly explains fragmentation of Indonesia's contemporary retail industry characterized by division of large and small formats in which foreign capital predominantly controls the former and domestic capital the latter.

Along with directing movement of foreign capital, the existing policies put special emphasis on regulating location of store (zoning), revitalization of traditional markets, and partnerships between modern and traditional stores.<sup>5</sup> Regulations on zoning set that the establishment of particular modern format should be situated in a certain type of road system while considering distance to traditional markets already existed in the area. Hypermarkets and shopping centres, for instance, are allowed only to be located along arterial or collector road networks.

In implementation this arrangement often does not work. Revitalization of traditional, wet markets becomes one of policy agenda in the Indonesian contemporary retail industry as there is an increasing awareness uncovering that the decline of these markets is not primarily due to the rise of modern stores but considerably because of their bad management. Partnerships between modern and traditional retailers as well as modern retailers and suppliers are set to protect small and medium local enterprises that constitute the vast majority in the country's retail market. Five years ago the authority to set these arrangements has been shifted from central to local government as a consequence of decentralization policy. This shift of power, to some extent, has engendered some institutional concerns. Along with partnerships, this point will be examined further in the discussion section of institutional issues below.

## Institution as Framework

Institutional theory puts attention to social aspects of economic action. Emanating from seminal work of Polanyi's *The Great Transformation* (1944) and of Granovetter (1985), this theory views organizations as embedded in social networks and relationships. Hess (2004) defines three major categories of embeddedness of an organization.

*First, societal embeddedness* that refers to historical and cultural backgrounds of actors which influence and shape their perception, strategies,

and actions at home and outside. It can be understood as a 'genetic code' or social and cultural heritage of actors that in some degrees determinates ideas of their business system and their economic behaviour.

*Second, network embeddedness* that reflects connectivity and relationships among actors which are built on trust. This includes relational aspect (actor's relationships with other agents in the business-relational context) and structural aspect (actor's relationships in broader institutional networks including non-business agents, such as government and NGOs) regardless of their locations.

*Third, territorial embeddedness* signifies spatial networks, the extent to which an actor is anchored in particular territories or locations and as a consequence, can take advantage or be constraint by the economic activities, social dynamics, and local policies that already exist in those places. Retailing is one of economic activity that demand high level of this multi-dimensional embeddedness (Wrigley, Coe, and Currah 2005; Coe and Wrigley 2007) and the success or failure of a retailer in certain market depends largely on their capacity to adapt this embedded (see for instance, Burt, Dawson, and Sparks 2003; Bianchi and Arnold 2004).

Institutional framework considers that an organization's environment contains institutions exerting normative pressures for the structures as well as practices of social actors (Zukin and DiMaggio, 1990). The actors include not only competing corporations, employees, suppliers or consumers but also government, unions, trade associations, politicians, non-governmental and community-based organizations. The involvement and coordination of relevant social actors is crucial not only in shaping institutional norms in the organization's environment but also in responding to them by conforming to these norms in order to gaining legitimacy. Existing institutions may change when actors attempt to improve their positions as developments shift the material situation, power and self-understanding of the actors (Hall and Thelen, 2009).

Institutions can range from mores, customs or social norms in certain society that are taken voluntarily by social actors to rules with formalized norms and sanctions enforced to the actors. In addition, institutions can be in the forms of norm, policy, or specific category of actor (Streeck and Thelen 2005). This paper, however, following Hall and Thelen's conceptualization (2009),

focuses on ‘institutions as sets of regularized practices with rule-like quality in the sense that the actors expect the practices to be observed; and which, in some but not all, cases are supported by formal sanctions’.

There are at least three approaches to institutions: (1) institutions as logic of appropriateness consider that institutions may influence action of relevant actors as they define appropriate behavior in a particular socio-cultural context; (2) institutions as equilibrium observe that the stability of a particular pattern of strategic interaction often lies on the absence of Pareto-improving alternatives apparent to the actors; (3) institutions as resources consider that institutions involve omnipresent processes of search and negotiation whereby relevant actors seek for alternative ways to advance their interests (Hall and Thelen, 2009).

## Methodology

As part of work-in-progress, this paper is based primarily on secondary data in the forms of policy documents, relevant firm publications and media data. All data is reviewed using institutional framework. While primary data collecting is still underway, this working paper takes benefits from some of interview data that have been collected. Informants of the interview include management of retail firms, association of retailers, workers, trade unions, and relevant government officials. These interviews are used to recheck secondary data and analysis.

## Preliminary Findings and Discussion

This part will discuss four institutional issues among some other preliminary findings. They are about multi-embeddedness of retailing, partnerships between modern retailers and small-medium producers/traders, coordination among actors, and power shift from central to local government.

## Embeddedness

The significance of multi-embeddedness of retailing can be traced in the modes of entry and expansion a retailer applies. Excluding Carrefour, all retail MNCs

take advantage from the already existing establishments and their networks through joint venture or acquisition when they enter Indonesia's market. This strategy would facilitate foreign retailers to more effectively manage their territorial and network embeddedness while simultaneously transferring their societal embeddedness.

By now, except for newcomer, Lotte, all retail TNCs operating in Indonesia develop strategic partnerships with local players as their expansion strategy. Dairy Farm which now holds the vast majority of share in Giant does not freeze partnership with its long time local partner, Hero. Even Carrefour which used to be confident to stand alone, later established a strategic partnership with Trans Corp, a local company owned by native businessman who possesses not only economic power but also political influence.<sup>7</sup> This strategy is not only used to strengthen economies of scale and scope of retailers but also—as Durand and Wrigley (2009) argue, to enable them to connect to social, political, and economic networks in the host country.

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**Table 4. Modes of entry and expansion of major retailers.**

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## Partnerships

Partnerships between large, modern retailers and small-medium enterprises are core theme in all retailing policies since the outset of liberalization in the sector to present. For example, Presidential Decree No. 99 Year 1998 allowed foreign retailers to operate in medium and larger formats of modern retailing with conditions of partnerships with smaller enterprises. Such partnerships can be in the forms of capital sharing, subcontracting, franchising, or trading agency. In terms of capital ownerships the decree regulated that small partners should secure at least 20 percent of total capital and be enhanced gradually; but there is no explicit requirements for the rest forms of the stated partnerships. Ministerial Trade Regulation No. 53 Year 2008 then details the partnerships

<sup>7</sup> Trans Retail is part of Para Group owned by Chairul Tanjung. In addition to retail, the group runs several other businesses, such as property, finance, insurance and media. In 2010 Tanjung was appointed by President Yudhoyono to lead National Economic Committee. with small producers in the

forms of marketing cooperation and goods supplying while with small traders in the forms of space sharing.

From institutional perspective retailers take this condition as norm to do modern retailing in Indonesia and to get legitimacy as consequences of their territorial and network embeddedness. Carrefour, for instance, provides *Bazaar Rakyat* (people bazaar) and *Pojok Rakyat* (people corner) to observe this institutional obligation. These programs are aimed to provide paths for small producers to test their products before being displayed and traded at Carrefour's shelves (Darmawan, 2011).

Although being perceived as norm, partnerships between modern retailers and small-medium firms are being undertaken without enforcement from third party and shaped by large retailer strategy with patron-client model. As Reardon and Hopkins (2006) suggest, they should address a comprehensive commercial regulations which include public or private codes, contract compliance by both retailers and suppliers, payment periods by retailers, and competition-based pricing. With these suggested institutional arrangements, partnerships may move from a patron-client relationship toward an equal partnership.

## Coordination Among Actors

Coordination among actors can be traced in the latest policies regulating modern and traditional retailing, such as Presidential Regulation No. 112 Year 2007 and its technical guidance as detailed in Ministerial Trade Regulation No. 53 Year 2008. These regulations are fruit of interest battle and coordination of different actors. For example, suppliers through its association, AP3MI/*Asosiasi Pengusaha Pemasok Pasar Modern Indonesia* succeeded to negotiate reduction in trading terms which used to consist of 30 items unilaterally set by large retailers to 7 items agreed by actors.<sup>8</sup> In the meantime association of wet market traders (APPSI/*Asosiasi Pedagang Pasar Seluruh Indonesia*) succeeded to limit the movement of modern retailers through imposing zoning provision based on types of road system. For instance, hypermarkets and shopping centres are allowed only to be located along arterial or collector road networks while minimarkets and traditional markets can be erected in any type of roads. These regularized practices are mostly related to product market.

Another provision stipulated in the present policy is on business hours that represent institutional equilibrium between modern and traditional retailers. This provision, however, relates not only with product market but also with working hours (Carré et al., 2010).<sup>9</sup> The existing provisions have enhanced business hours—and such, working hours but without engaging significant debates among stakeholders, including trade unions. Although retail industry has changed, there is no new institutional arrangement regarding the implications of the legally extended opening hours to labour relations arrangements in the retail sector.

## Power Shift

By 2007 the authority to govern retail industry was in the hand of central government (ministry of trade). Following decentralization policy introduced in 2004, power to manage retail sector in the region has shifted to district/city level or province in the case of Jakarta Special Capital Region. Local authorities varies in response to the expansion of modern retailing from attempts to providing relevant local regulation to blocking movement of modern traders for the sake of protecting traditional traders (for instance, District of Sragen). But the vast majority of the regions have not had any regulation on retailing yet.

Unlike other regions, Jakarta posses more policies in retailing as modern trades concentrate in this capital city. In 2006 Governor of Jakarta issued an instruction to postpone the issuance of new license for minimarkets due to uncontrolled diffusion of this type of retailing. This shift of power location, to some extent, has engendered more complex problems in regard to development of modern retail.

Mutebi (2007) reckons that local authorities face two conflicting concerns: on the one hand, they are interested in enjoying possible tax revenues from retail stores but on the other hand, they are unsure of potential costs to local economies, employment, and surrounding communities. In addition, decision makers trap themselves in the dichotomy of traditional versus modern where modern retailing is identical to foreign and large player. This in turn may hamper modernization of traditional retailing.

Nevertheless the shift of power from central to local is not totally negative to players of modern retailing. As indicated by some observers (for

instance, Appelbaum 2010; Carré et al. 2010), retailers are among other economic actors who creatively exploit loopholes in regulatory arrangements. Expansion of minimarkets outside Greater Jakarta, for example, is facilitated by gap of regulations between regions. Another example, because foreign capital is restricted to penetrate convenience store, global chains 7Eleven sought legal presence through regulation in restaurant business. In summary while retailers may find constraints in local institutions, they also actively utilize loopholes existing in the shift of power from central to local authority.

## Conclusion

Although Indonesia has not implemented full liberalization in the retail sector, the policy has transformed structure of the country's retailing industry, particularly in the areas of main players, formats of retailing, firm strategies, spatial distribution and targeted consumers and attempts on regulations. As occurs in other developing countries, retail MNCs operating in Indonesia develop strategic partnerships with local partner to strengthen not only their economies of scale and scope but also their societal, territorial and network embeddedness. While modern retailers are constrained by the existing institutions, they also exploit loopholes in the institutional arrangements. Institutional change is needed toward equal partnerships with small-medium firms and coordination with other primary actors such as retail workers, in shaping better institutions.

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# CRITICIZING THE CONVENTIONAL PARADIGM OF URBAN DRAINAGE

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## Introduction

Water is a vital needs for human beings. The human daily needs for water is very much, such as for drinking, bathing, washing and other activities. Not surprisingly, then appears a term that equated water with gold. The term is blue gold. However, water is often regarded as resource that will not be exhausted due to a recurring cycle, so the human desire to maintain water quantity, quality and distribution in both space and time are still very low.

## The Issue of World Water Crisis

Water crisis is one of the most popular issue in this century. This is related to the fact that in the 1990's there were 300 million people around the world have difficulty in accessing clean water. In addition, some studies indicate that the water crisis is predicted will be occurred in 2050 which led 2 / 3 of world population will have

difficulty in accessing clean water (Pawitan, 2002). FAO in *Food Production: The Critical Role of Water*, which is published in 1996 categorizes Indonesia into countries which are not vulnerable to the water crisis. However, in 2002, research from Hidayat Pawitan from Bogor Agricultural University (IPB) mentioned that 15 counties and cities in Indonesia have water crisis problem, while more than 50 counties and cities in Indonesia are categorized as regions that guard against water crisis. One of those counties and cities is Yogyakarta.

Some factors that caused water crisis are increase of demand for water, increase of polluted water, and decrease of sources of water because of disruption of the hydrological cycle. The increase of water demand caused by population growth and increase in the number of industry that use water and increase in the number of human activities that use water. Water pollution especially in urban area was caused by industrial waste and household waste. While the disruption of the hydrological cycle can caused by less water percolate into the soil so the water flows directly into the river.

## Development of Urban Population and its Impact to Urban Environment

Population growth is strongly associated with the needs of resources such as water and land. Population growth will cause land settlement become larger it can replace another landuse. This causes the city become more dense and more space to absorb water is lost.

**Table 1.** Population Density in Some *Kelurahan* in Yogyakarta and Surrounding in 1990 and 2000

Category of Population Density (people/km <sup>2</sup> )	Yogyakarta (45 <i>kelurahan</i> )		Urban Fringe Area (14 <i>kelurahan</i> )		Rural (379 <i>kelurahan</i> )	
	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000
<500	0	0	0	0	87	80
501-1,000	0	0	0	0	140	140
1,001-1,500	0	0	0	0	87	80
1,501-2,000	0	0	4	0	42	45
>2,000	45	45	10	14	23	34
Total	45	45	14	14	379	100

Source: Kirono, 2005

**Table 2.** Population Growth Some *Kelurahan* in Yogyakarta and Surrounding

Category of Population Growth	Yogyakarta (45 <i>kelurahan</i> )	Urban Fringe Area	Rural (379 <i>kelurahan</i> ) (14 <i>kelurahan</i> )
<i>Low</i>	1	0	42
<i>Medium</i>	42	14	334
<i>High</i>	2	0	4
Total	45	100	100

Source: Kirono, 2005

Soerjani, et al (2008) mentioned that the needs of the population to the water related with four issues, those are the increase of population which means that water needs become increased, increased need for food, increased industrialization and protection of ecosystems to technology. Water crisis problems occurred because of human water needs are increasing rapidly, while the amount of water is almost always same due to the cycle. the temporal distribution of water has been changed due to disruption of the hydrological cycle, this will cause water in the rainy season is available in large amount, but in the dry season there is a shortage of water.

## Development of the Cities and Hydrological Cycle

The development of the city is identical with the change in land cover/land use in the earth's surface which are dynamic and constantly. Developments that occurred in urban areas of Yogyakarta caused changes in land use from agricultural land (non-built land) into built land, such as settlement and industrial land. Rapid population growth and high levels of urbanisation consequences also on changes in cover / land use in the suburbs. This larger land use change will have an impact on the degradation of environmental quality, including water quality degradation.

Yogyakarta region experiencing the most rapid expansion of urban properties to the north and the west, (see Figure 1.3). Suryantoro (2002) states that the most common land use conversion in Yogyakarta from 1959 are decrease of agricultural land (10.24 ha / yr) and increase in settlement area (7.75 ha / yr) (see Table 1.1). *Urban sprawl* in Yogyakarta city rose 135.05 ha / yr (1970-1987) and 225.09 ha / yr (1987-1996). Significant land use conversion causes

changes in the land cover and the ability of the earth's surface to absorb water as groundwater affix.

This condition is also exacerbated by the increasing population in Yogyakarta. The function of the city extends to the suburbs and causing suburban densities become higher. Populations in Yogyakarta has been solid and the only available bit of space. This leads to the increasing of population density in suburbs, where in 1990 there were only 10 *kelurahan* in urban fringe areas have population density more than 2000 jiwa/km<sup>2</sup> but in 2000, that number had increased to 14 *kelurahan* or whole of the urban fringe areas. (See Tables 1.2 and 1.3).

**Tabel 3. Land Use Changes in Some Area in Yogyakarta (Ha)**

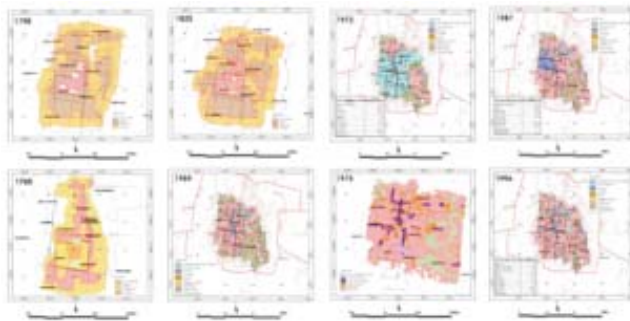
Land Use	1959	1972	1987	1996
Settlement	1836,87	1922,43	2064,02	2123,61
Commerical	107,62	139,74	176,22	200,63
Services	110,39	137,87	165,59	191,42
Transportation	255,74	267,79	289,88	302,64
Culture	43,47	42,44	43,76	44,66
Sport	20,16	19,47	21,89	24,22
Religious Center	15,99	18,1	23,52	25,82
Agriculture	641,27	538,57	366,97	262,53
Other	216,51	161,61	96,18	72,54

Source : (Suryantoro, 2002).

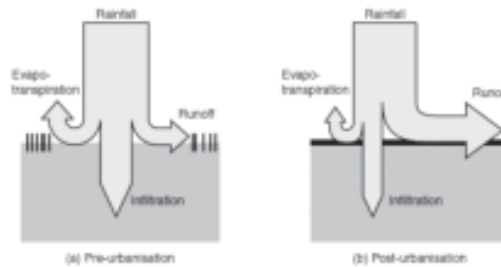
**Tabel 4. The Large of Each Type of Land Use in Yogyakarta Based on The Interpretation of Satellite Imagery Quickbird (Recording Year 2007)**

No	Type of Land Use	Large (m <sup>2</sup> )
1	Settlement	28221245,14
2	Office	48013,80
3	Shops and service	540971,27
4	Transportation terminal (bus, train, plane)	279054,70
5	Education	21752,68
6	Health service (hospital, puskesmas)	142244,25
7	Universities	167637,62
8	Tourism (museum, zoo, <i>Alun-Alun</i> )	610269,59
9	Traditional market	121558,34
10	Mall	27212,01
11	Industry	272518,42
12	Field	38217,16
13	Green area	1365290,85
14	Rice field	1116107,93

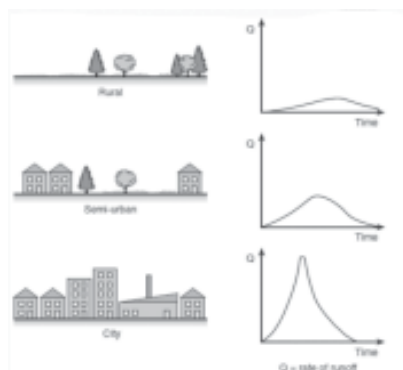
The increase of settlements and decrease in agricultural land or seepage locations will cause the water to percolate become less. This will trigger a decline in the face of groundwater which can lead to subsidence. In addition, the water will flow immediately to the river so the amount of water that can be stored and can be used in the dry season will be less.



**Figure 1.** Land Use Changes in Yogyakarta  
(Suryantoro, 2002)



**Figure 2.** The Impact of Urbanisation to Hidrological Cycle  
(Butler and Davies, 2011)



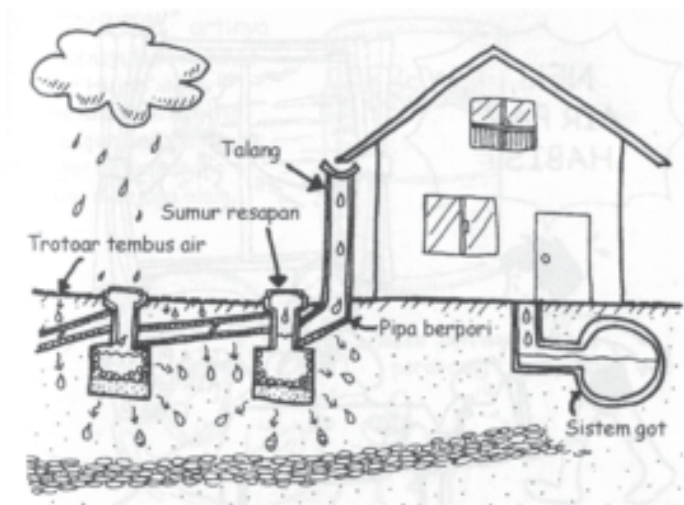
**Figure 3.** Effect of Urbanisation on Peak Rate of Runoff  
(Butler and Davies, 2011)

That condition is aggravated by the presence of conventional drainage. Conventional drainage paradigm defines drainage as a channel which is able to drain the water in someplace immediately. This means that less possibility of water can seep into the soil, and the water flow toward the river become faster, so the peak rate of runoff will be higher. In a large watershed with urban areas in the middle or upstream (eg watershed Solo), it may causes flood in downstream area.

## Environmental Friendly Drainage: A Wisdom in the Land of Permanent Rain

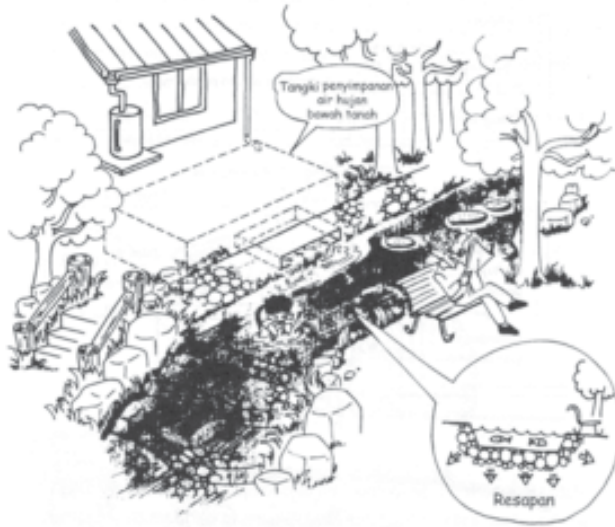
At least there are two things that distinguish environmental friendly drainage with conventional drainage. The first is the urban drainage should be separated between the drainage to drain the rain water and drainage to drain wastewater. Secondly, that the drainage of rain water should be able to provide the greatest opportunity for water to percolate into the soil, while the drainage for the wastewater should be connected to the wastewater treatment plant.

Infiltration of water in the rain water drainage can be made by designing drainage to be able to absorb water such as giving the holes are connected to the soil, infiltration wells or city lakes before flowing into the river. The making of city lakes is often regarded require a large space so designing the drainage which can absorb rain water during its flowing in it is one thing that is more possible to be done.



**Figure 4.** One Design of Separation of Rain Water and Wastewater





**Figure 5.** Environmental Friendly Drainase which Able to Absrob the Water

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# INDONESIAN URBAN ELECTRIFICATION

*A Case of 500 KV EHV Jamaly System*

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## Introduction

Indonesia is the world's fourth most populous nation, with 240 million people spread over a large archipelago of more than 922 permanently islands, which is a unique feature that has a significant impact on their electricity systems. The population within Indonesia is concentrated, with about 80% living on Java-Madura-Bali (known as Jamali) (IEA, 2008). At least, three out of the five biggest city in Indonesia reside in Jamali, namely Jakarta which is a Capital City of Indonesia, Surabaya and Bandung.

This situation brings Jamali into beeing a model of urban electrification in Indonesia which is organized as an integrated system and consisted of 4-regions, namely Region I: Banten and DKI Jakarta, Region II: West Java, Region III: Central Java and Yogyakarta and Region IV: East Java and Bali (RUPTL, 2010). For this purpose, PT. Perusahaan Listrik Negara (Persero) or PLN, the electricity sector coordinator and a 100 percent state-owned have

built around 22,599 MW generating capacity. To transmit the energy, PT. PLN developed 2-interconnection systems, namely 500 KV Extra High Voltage (EHV) system as a back bone that reached 5,092 kmc and 150 KV system as a supporter that reached 15,501 kmc.

The high electricity demand reached an average 7% per year is not balanced compared to the growth in electricity supply. The GOI has limited capacity to mobilize the investment required to finance the required expansion of its electricity industry. The lack of investment in electricity generation capacity and network infrastructure is increasingly being felt through power restrictions, blackouts and power quality issues [ADB, 2010]. These have hindered the development of urban life.

In 2009, the GOI enacted Law Number 20 on Electricity which has increased the dynamic of electricity deregulation dan changed PT. PLN into no longer the authorized agency of electricity business. As GOI in generation sector encourages the private participation, the private generation stations are located at suitable locations by different companies (Independent Power Producers, IPP) and power is supplied to their bulk-costumers on bilateral contracts (Power Puschase Agreement, PPA) utilizing the existing transmission network of the PT. PLN's utility.

Restructuring the system is also taking place in all of the Jamali utility. The regions are already bundled in the form of generation but not in transmission and distribution companies. In this context it is important to asses the utilization of resources by PT. PLN's involved. In this paper a case study on generator contribution towards load and transmission flow which is an image of Indonesian urban electrification are ilustrated with an equivalent 9-bus system, a part of 500 KV Jamali grid, based on the concepts and algorithm mainly presented by Kirschen *et. Al* (1997) and Kirschen and Strbac (1999).

## Review on Consepts and Algorithm

Based on the active or reactive branch flows from a solved power flow, the proposed method organizes the busses and branches of the network into homogeneous groups according to afew concepts which are listed below.

## Contribution Generator Into Loads and Energy-Flows

Tracing the relationship between generator and load using a load flow analysis could be difficult to realize because the changing on a demand or generation for every node will produce the changing induced on generation which produced by a swing-bus. It is only possible to determine the relationship between generator (load) and the flow in the lines by determining whether the changing on generating/demand from nodes will influence on the flow on a certain lines (Rudnik *et al*, 1995). The ideas of electricity tracing have been studied by using an assumption that the sharing inflow of the nodes is divided proportionally among the outflow of the nodes. One of them is the *common* method.

Based on the active and reactive branch flows from a solved power flow, the *common* method will categorize buses and branches within the networks into several groups. Those are (1) *Domain of Generators* is defined as the set of buses which are reached by power produced by this generation; (2) power from a generator reaches a particular bus if it is possible to find a path through the network from the generator to the bus for which the direction of travel is always consistent with the direction of the flow as computed by a power flow program; (3) *commons* is defined as a set of contiguous buses supplied by the same generators. Unconnected sets of buses supplied by the same generators are treated as separate commons. A bus therefore belongs to one and only one common. The rank of a common is defined as the number of generators supplying power to the buses comprising this common; (4) *links* is one or more external branches connecting the same *common* form; (5) *state graph* is the state of the system can be represented by a directed, acyclic graph; *common* are represented as nodes and *links* as branches.

To obtain the contribution to the load of a common, it is required a definition of the inflow and the outflow of commons. The inflow of a common is defined as the sum of the power injected by sources connected to buses located in this common and of the power imported in this common from other commons by links. The outflow of a common is equal to the sum of the power exported through links from this common to commons of higher rank. The inflow of a common is equal to the sum of its outflow and of all the loads connected to the buses comprising the common.

The requirement assumptions are:

- For a given common, if the proportion of the inflow which can be traced to generator  $i$  is  $x_i$ , then the proportion of the outflow which can be traced to generator  $i$  is also  $x_i$ .
- For a given common, if the proportion of the inflow which can be traced to generator  $i$  is  $x$  then the proportion of the load which can be traced to generator  $i$  is also  $x$ .

The equation of contribution generator into load of a common are:

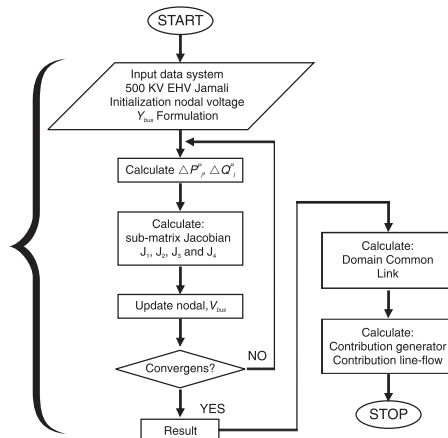
$$F_{ijk} = C_{ij} * F_{jk} \quad (1)$$

$$I_k = \sum_j F_{jk} \quad (2)$$

$$C_{ik} = \frac{\sum_j F_{ijk}}{I_k} \quad (3)$$

where  $C_{ij}$  and  $C_{ik}$  are contribution generator  $i$  into loads and outflow of the common  $j$  and  $k$ , respectively.  $F_{jk}$  and  $F_{ijk}$  are the flows at the link between common-  $j$  and  $k$  and the flows at link between common  $j$  and  $k$ , respectively.

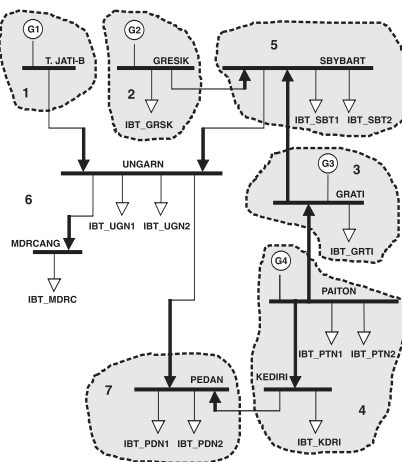
This assumption provides the basis of a recursive method for determining the contribution of each generator to the load in each common and the proportion of the outflow traceable to each of these generators can therefore be readily computed and propagated to common of higher rank. The flowchart for determining the contribution generator into load and line flow is described at Figure 1.



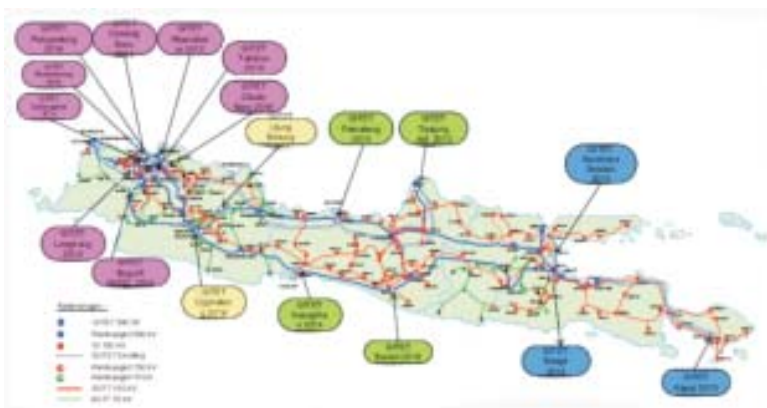
**Figure 1** Flowchat representing the contribution generator method

## System Study and Results

In this paper an equivalent 9-bus (Fig. 3), a part of 500 KV Jamali System (Fig. 2), is considered for studies. The system has 4 generating stations at Tanjung Jati-B, Gresik, Grati and Patton. These generators have total capacity of 4,506 MW of real power. The total load present in the system is 3,626 MW. The power flow in the lines are obtained for the base configuration from using the power flow algorithm (EDSA 2000 based on Fast-Decoupled algorithm) and are given in Table (1). The Data at Tabel (1) only shows current capacity on the single phase. In order to determine the energy flow at 3-phase lines, it is necessary to use a  $3 \times V \times I$  formula.



**Figure 2.** Single line diagram of 9-bus equivalent, a part of 500 KV Jamali system



**Figure 3**

Single line diagram of 500 KV Jamali Interconnection Lines (RUPTL, 2010)

Combining the datas at Table (1) and (2) can give the flowing energy capacity at every line which is described at Figure (4). Table (3) gives the information about *domain*. Table (4) describes about *common* number, *rank* and its group *buses*.

**Table 1 The phase currents and sequence currents**

No	From Bus	To Bus	I (a) A	I (b) A	I (c) A	I (0) A	I (1) A	I (2) A
1	G1_TJT-B	TJATI-B	1213	1209	1209	1	1210	2
2	G2_GRESK	GRESK	1026	1022	1021	2	1023	1
3	G3_GRATI	GRATI	481	480	479	1	480	1
4	G4_PAITN	PAITON	1400	1400	1400	1	1401	2
5	GRATI	IBT_GRTI	275	275	274	0	275	0
6	GRESK	PAITON	464	464	464	0	464	0
7	GRESK	IBT_GRSK	275	274	274	0	275	0
8	GRESKI	SBYBART	759	755	754	1	756	2
9	KEDIRI	IBT_KDRI	361	359	359	0	359	1
10	MDRCANG	IBT_MDRC	326	324	324	1	325	2
11	PAITON	IBT_PTN1	243	243	243	0	243	0
12	PAITON	IBT_PTN2	251	250	250	0	250	0
13	PAITON	KEDIRI	546	543	543	1	544	1
14	PEDAN	IBT_PDN1	333	331	331	0	332	1
15	PEDAN	IBT_PDN2	333	331	331	0	332	1
16	PEDAN	KEDIRI	186	184	184	0	185	0
17	SBYBART	GRATI	492	491	491	0	492	0
18	SBYBART	IBT_SBT1	451	450	450	0	450	1
19	SBYBART	IBT_SBT2	412	411	411	0	411	0
20	SBYBART	UNGARN	355	353	353	1	353	1
21	TJATI_B	UNGARN	1213	1209	1209	1	1210	2
22	UNGARN	IBT_UNG1	317	316	316	0	316	1
23	UNGARN	IBT_UNG2	345	343	343	0	344	1
24	UNGARN	MDRCANG	326	324	324	1	325	1
25	UNGARN	PEDAN	481	478	478	1	479	1



Tabel 2 The average voltages

No.	Bus	Type	Volt (V)	Voltage drop (%)	UNBAL (%)	UNBALΔ (%)
1	G1_TJT-B	GPV	288675	0.00	0.00	0.00
2	G2_GRESK	GPV	288675	0.00	0.00	0.00
3	G3_GRATI	GPV	288675	0.00	0.00	0.00
4	G4_PAITN	S	288671	0.00	0.00	0.00
5	GRATI	GPV	288667	0.00	0.00	0.00
6	GRESK	GPV	288659	0.01	0.00	0.00
7	IBT_GRESK	L	288659	0.01	0.00	0.00
8	IBT_GRATI	L	288667	0.00	0.00	0.00
9	IBT_KDRI	L	258878	10.32	0.20	0.08
10	IBT_MDRC	L	242523	15.99	0.37	0.15
11	IBT_PDN1	L	249309	13.64	0.28	0.11
12	IBT_PDN2	L	249309	13.64	0.28	0.11
13	IBT_PTN1	L	288659	0.01	0.00	0.00
14	IBT_PTN2	L	288659	0.01	0.00	0.00
15	IBT_SBT1	L	282913	2.00	0.03	0.01
16	IBT_SBT2	L	281913	2.00	0.03	0.01
17	IBT_UNG1	L	258263	10.54	0.21	0.08
18	IBT_UNG2	L	258263	10.54	0.21	0.08
19	KEDIRI	N	258878	10.31	0.20	0.08
20	MDRCANG	N	242523	15.99	0.37	0.15
21	PAITON	N	288659	0.01	0.00	0.00
22	PEDAN	N	249310	13.64	0.28	0.11
23	SBYBART	N	282913	2.00	0.03	0.01
24	TJATI_B	N	288663	0.00	0.00	0.00
25	UNGARN	N	258263	10.54	0.21	0.08

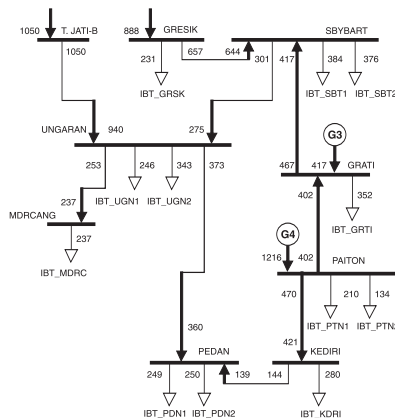


Figure 4. The energy flow at Region III and IV of the 500 KV Jamali System

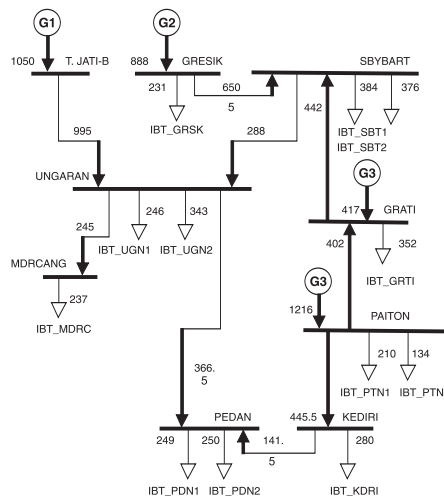
**Tabel 3 Domain information of Regional II and IV of the 500KV Jamali system**

Generator name	Domain dari Generator
G1_T.JATI-B	T.JATI-B, UNGARN, MDRCANG, PEDAN
G2_GRESK	GRESK, SBYBART, UNGARN, MDRCANG, PEDAN
G3_GRATI	GRATI, SBYBART, UNGARN, MDRCANG, PEDAN
G4_PAITON	PAITON, KEDIRI, GRATI, SBYBART, UNGARN, MDRCANG, PEDAN

**Tabel 4 Information of common number, rank and its bus buses**

No. Common	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Rank	1	1	2	1	3	4	4
Bus	T. Jati-B	Gresik	Grati	Paiton	SBY	Ungarn	Pedan
				Kediri	Bart	Mdrcang	

Figure (7) is the *lossless* lines of the Region II and IV of the 500 KV Jamali system. At Figure (8) , it is showed how the Region II and IV of the 500 KV Jamali system grouped into several *commons*. Table (5) shows the generating capacity and its load; and Tabel (6) displays the information about *link*. The *state-graph* diagram of the regions II and IV of the 500 KV Jamali is given at Figure (7).



**Figure 5**

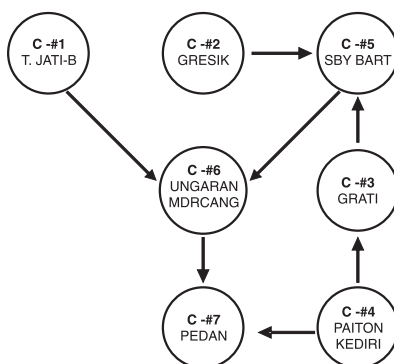
The energy flow *lossless* at Region III and IV of the 500 KV Jamali System

**Table 5 Generating capacity and its load (P3B, 2009)**

Bus Name	Real Power (MW)	
	Generating	Load
GRATI	417	352
GRESIK	417	352
KEDIRI	-	280
MDRCANG	-	237
PAITON	2784	344
PEDAN	-	499
SBYBART	-	760
T.JATI-B	888	231
UNGARN	-	589

**Tabel 6 Information about link**

No. Link	From Common	To Common	Linkflow (MW)
			Forward flow - Backward Flow
1	1	6	1050 - 940
2	2	5	657 - 644
3	3	5	467 - 417
4	4	3	402 - 402
5	4	7	144 - 139
6	5	6	301 - 275
7	6	7	373 - 360



**Figure 7 Diagram State Graph Sistem SUTET 500KV Jawa Reg. III & IV**

The generator contribution factor towards loads and flow in *common* is solved by using the equation (3). The contribution of G2\_GRESK towards loads and flow in *common* # 5 is  $C_{G2\_GRESK .5} = \frac{\text{total}}{644 + 417} = 0,595$

The total contribution of generators is shown at Table (12).

**Tabel 12 Generator contribution to “the load in each *common*” and “flow from the *common*”**

Nama Generator	Nomor <i>Common</i>						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
G1_T.JATI-B	1	0	0	0	0	0,776	0,560
G2_GRESK	0	1	0	0	0,596	0,134	0,097
G3_GRATI	0	0	0,509	0	0,206	0,046	0,034
G4_PAITON	0	0	0,491	1	0,198	0,044	0,309

From the Table (6), it is shown that the highest voltage drop rised at MDRCANG bus which is a Northern-lines transmission system connecting the BDGSLTN bus. Meanwhile, the second highest voltage drop is in the Southern-lines at the bus of PEDAN. This condirions show that the division of energy transfer within those lines have already reached the goal (the loads is divided into the similar portion, even tough the bigger portion flows through the Northern-lines). It is also said that the effectivity of the energy flows are on the right tract. Because the portion of the Northern-lines is bigger than the Southern-lines, the unbalance voltage drop occured at the Southern-lines ( at MDRCANG bus).

Tabel (12) shows the *common* no. 6 (UNGARN and MDRCANG buses) and no. 7 (PEDAN bus) have the highest portion of generator contribution. Both *commons* are “the gate” of the Northern-lines and the Southern-lines. The highest portion of its energy are supplied by the T.Jati-B power station and shows that its generator capacity is very significant to contribute the energy sent into the Region-I. By increasing the capacity of T.Jati-B’s generator, the transmission loss during the process of energy distribution into the Region I could be decreased compared to way while the capacity product of the Paiton is increased. This situation is occured because the distance from T.Jati-B power station to the Region-I less than the distance from Paiton power station to the Region I.

## Conclusion

In this paper a case study on transmission line utilization by individual generators is illustrated with the equivalent 9-bus system, a part of the 500 KV Jamaly System. The presented concepts are better suited to find the utilization of resources generation/load and network by PT. PLN as a state-owned electricity operator involved in the day-to-day operation of the system under normal condition. For example, to supply the demand at PEDAN *IBT* it should be to operate G1\_T.JATI-B power station more than any other station. And then, to supply all loads of SBYBART *IBT* as the electricity load of Surabaya City it should also be clear that the generator loaded is G2\_GRESIK. To fulfill the demand capacity of the Region-I as the centre of urban industry in Jamali areas it would benefit to consider the portion base of generator contribution towards loads and energy flows.

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# ZONING REGULATION AS LAND USE CONTROL INSTRUMENT

*Lesson Learned from United State of America,  
Singapore, and Canada*

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## Introduction

According to Spatial Planning Act No.26/2007, one of the authorities given to local government is the implementation of land use planning. In the implementation of spatial planning, local governments have the authorities that include: (1) making of land use planning, (2) implementation of land use planning, and (3) controlling of land use implementation. Based on legislation, land use control in Indonesia is carried out through the establishment of zoning regulation, licensing, provision of incentives and disincentives as well as the imposition of sanctions (Spatial Planning Act No.26/2007 Section 35). Essentially zoning regulation is an instrument of land use control and zoning regulation is prepared on a detailed plan for each zone and as guideline for land use control.

In Indonesia, zoning regulation is new and not many regencies/cities that have developed and implemented this regulation as an instrument of land uses control, so that the success of its application also can't be viewed. Style land use control such as what is good for Indonesia is still growing. In applying its own zoning regulation still need time for this zoning regulation become more known to the public and the local government.

Some countries have successfully made the zoning regulation as an instrument of land use control, such as the United States of America which has developed zoning regulation since the early of 20th century (Leung, 1989). First modern zoning regulation applied in the New York City in 1916. Singapore and Canada also have successfully succeeded in land use control. Therefore it is necessary to study about the success of land use control in the United States of America, Singapore and Canada that use zoning regulation as land use control instrument. This study aims to know the land use control systems of the United States of America, Singapore and Canada. This study also aims to know the success of the United States of America with regulatory system, Singapore with discretionary system and Canada with moderate system.

## Land use Control

Various forms of land use control have existed since the beginning of settlement formation. The basic purpose of controlling land use is usually to establish restrictions on the use and development of land that are considered important and the general public desires. There are several instruments of land use control in accordance with the objectives of urban planning (Branch, 1985), among others: (1) building regulations, (2) the distribution of parcels, (3) zoning regulation, (4) the imposition of sanction, (5) provision of incentives and disincentives, and (6) environmental impact analysis.

According to Booth (Cullingworth, 2009), spatial planning in the world, can be divided into two systems are regulatory system and discretionary system. In the regulatory system, the implementation of land use planning based on legal certainty in the form of zoning regulation. One of countries that apply this system is the United States of America. Regulatory system is the first time in



Germany and then spread to the United States of America (Booth in Cullingworth, 2009).

While the discretionary system, decision-making towards a request for land use based on the consideration of a planning authority. Countries that adopt this system are such as England and Singapore. In practice of discretionary system, the development plan and zoning regulation is used not as a fundamental instrument in the land use control (Ratcliffe, 1974). The plan set out in the land use map is not the sole basis for decision-making development. A planning authority is entitled to consider other aspects that are considered important for making decisions.

According to the European Commission (1997) in Hudalah (2006), regulatory system and discretionary system as land use control systems have advantages and disadvantages. There are efforts from several countries in the world to combine the regulatory system and the discretionary system by taking advantages of both systems to become the other system that is called moderate system.

## Zoning Regulation

Essentially zoning regulation is an instrument of land use control so that this discussion will look at the position of zoning regulation in urban planning. Implementation of land use planning involves three stages, namely: (1) making of land use planning, (2) implementation of land use planning, and c) controlling of land use implementation. Implementation of land use to conform with land use planning that has been made, require the rules that control land use. One of land use control instruments is zoning regulation. Zoning regulation has been prepared based on detailed plans for each zone and conceived as land use control guidelines. Zoning regulations has been recognized as one instrument to regulate land use, not only in the United States but also many other countries (Gallion and Eisner, 1994 and Lang, 1994). In some countries, zoning regulation also is known as land development code, zoning code, zoning Ordinance, zoning resolution, zoning by-law, urban code, panning act, and etc.

According to Babcock (1979: 416), zoning is defined as: "Zoning is the division of a municipality into districts for the purpose of regulating the use of

private land.” The division of regions into several areas with the rule of law enacted through zoning regulation, in principle, aimed at separating development in the industrial and commercial areas from residential areas. The concept of zoning was developed in Germany in the late 19th century (Leung, 1989: 158) and spread to other countries like the United States and Canada in the early 20th century as a response to industrialization and the increasing public complaints of privacy disturbed. It is the adverse effect of urbanization and population growth so that the government should immediately act to find ways as solution.

Zoning regulation is a tool for the government as holder of authority (police power) to protect the health, safety, and welfare of the public (Gallion and Eisner, 1994). Expressed similar views of Lai and Schultz (in Lang, 1994), zoning regulation is an instrument that regulate urban growth and development associated with the public interest. Zoning regulation focuses on environmental sanitation, land use distribution arrangement and to create an efficient circulation pattern (Lang, 1994).

Among its many purposes, general zoning regulation may be used to: (1) protect public health, safety and general welfare; (2) promote desirable development patterns; (3) separate incompatible uses; (4) maintain community character and aesthetics; (5) protect community resources such as farmland, woodlands, groundwater, surface waters, historic or cultural resources; (6) protect public and private investments; (6) implement a comprehensive plan. The study of zoning regulation as an instrument of land use control used a descriptive approach to the literature study. Sources of literature review are from various sources such as book, paper and journal.

## Land use Control in United States of America

Zoning as a development control tool is used extensively in the United State of America. The idea was first used in Germany at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, transferred and adapted for use in the United State of America in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, and later extended to Canada (Leung, 1989). Modern land use regulation began with the first comprehensive zoning ordinance, adopted by New York City in 1916. Earlier municipal laws prohibited noxious uses in residential

neighborhoods, but New York was the first to adopt a comprehensive zoning ordinance assigning land uses to zoning districts throughout the country.

The U.S. Department of Commerce established The Standard State Zoning Enabling Act in the 1922. Every state adopted, either as published or with minor variations. State planning and zoning legislation is based on the Standard Zoning Act. Some of state such as California, New Jersey and Pennsylvania modified The Standard Act appropriate with their requirements. Although the Standard Zoning and Planning Act provide an important common denominator for land use law, the details of land use doctrine vary considerably among the states (Mandelker, 1993 : 1-15).

All cities in the United States of America except Houston City, Texas, apply regulatory system in the planning system. Regulatory system is in decision-making based on spatial planning regulations in force. Therefore, in the United States of America, zoning regulation became the main instrument in securing the right of every citizen to use their own properties.

Houston is the only one of cities in the United States which does not use zoning regulation as an instrument of land use control. Houston is constantly in the forefront of the zoning debate as being the city which proves that zoning, and all the problems that accompany it, is unnecessary. A superior system is one in which owners enter into private covenants which provide all the protection that is needed. Houston has no citywide traditional zoning laws.

In place of zoning, Houston uses a system of deed restrictions, or restrictive covenants, as the primary method of land use control. The terms of the covenants vary greatly and are often the subject of agreement between the developer and her mortgage lender and they are recorded prior to the sale of any lots. Since 1965, Houston has had legislative authority to assist and spend municipal funds on the enforcement of private deed restrictions. This has given the city an important land planning technique (Cullingworth, 1993).

With the enactment of zoning regulation as the state authority, the zoning regulation described the police power. Furthermore, the states if deemed necessary to submit to local government and county (Branch, 1985). Police power is authority to make and enforce laws to protect health, safety, morals and welfare of residents, both enacted on local and national level. This authority

is retained by the state during the formation of the federal government. Only when related to national welfare and when local governments are not capable of handling the situation, then the state deems it necessary to request federal assistance (Gallion and Eisner, 1996).

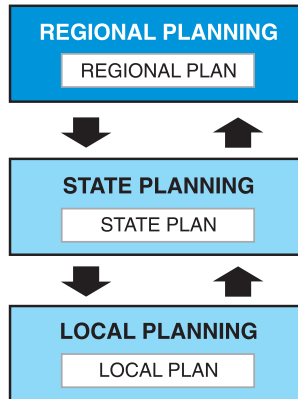
There are two part of zoning regulation in the United States of America (Levy, 1997). *First*, Zoning text, which specifies in considerable detail what may be constructed in each zone and to what uses structures may be put: (1) site layout requirements. These may include, among other things, minimum lot area, frontage and depth, minimum setbacks (minimum distance from structure to front, side, or rear lot line), maximum percentage of site that may be covered by structure, placement of driveways or curb cuts, parking requirements, and limits on the size or placement of signs); (2) requirements for structure characteristics. These may include maximum height of structure, maximum number of stories, and maximum floor area of structure. The last is often cast in term of floor area ratio (FAR), which indicates a maximum permissible ratio of floor area to site area; (3) uses to which structures may be put. In a residential zone the ordinance might specify that dwellings may be occupied only by single families and then proceed to define what constitutes a family. The ordinance might also enumerate certain nonresidential uses permitted in the zone such as churches, funeral homes, and professional offices. In commercial zones the ordinance will generally specify which uses are permitted and which are not. For example, in a manufacturing zone the ordinance might specify that sheet metal fabrication operations are permitted but that rendering operations are forbidden; (4) procedural matters. The ordinance will specify how it is to be determined whether building plans are in conformity to the zoning ordinance (A common arrangement is that the building inspector shall make such determination and must deny a building permit application if they are not). The ordinance will generally also specify an appeals procedure by which an applicant can apply for relief. In many communities the initial appeal authority is vested in a special body generally referred to as the Zoning Board of Appeals. When this is not the case, the review process is often assigned to the planning board or to the municipal legislative body.

*Second*, zoning map that divides the community into a number of zones. The map is sufficiently detailed so that it is possible to tell in which zones any given parcel of land lies. Most commonly, all of the community is zoned. However, there some cases, particularly nonurban counties, in which part of a community is zoned and part is not.



**Figure 1.** Zoning regulation of New York City contains maps and text that regulate the uses of land and dimensions and placement of structures within various zoning districts. The zoning map shown at left uses district boundaries to separate uses.

Source: <http://www.nyc.gov>



**Figure 2.** Planning System in United States of America

Source: Levy (1988), Mandelker and Cunningham (1990)

Prominent elements which are in zoning regulation are land use districts, performance standard, density and Bulk controls, parking and off-street loading, signs, accessory uses and home occupations, non conformities, aesthetic and open space preservation. Zoning regulations divide a region into several zones and general classification of the main categories of the zone include agriculture zone, residential zone and commercial zone (Branch, 1985).

## Land use Control in Singapore

The first town plan in Singapore was prepared by Lt. Jackson in 1827, under the supervision of Sir Stamford Raffles and is known as Plan of Jackson. The plan showed the various zones intended for the different ethnic communities. Thus, the European, Indian, Chinese, Malay and Arab communities were physically segregated, and this system of separation of the races continued until the post independence era when a deliberate policy was introduced to provide public housing on a massive and impressive scale whereby all races could co-exist in harmony in the various public housing estates.

England legislated the Housing, Town Planning etc (sic) Act of 1909 had influenced and with the emergence of awareness of environmental health, the colonial government of Singapore to enact regulation of Planning (Planning by Law) in 1913 to regulate housing development. The colossal destruction caused by the Second World War gave the impetus for the application of new ideas in planning and the land use control in England. The present system of planning control was introduced by the town and Country Planning Act 1947. Many countries have benefitted from the English experience including Singapore. The meaning of develop in the Planning Act of Singapore is based on the English town and Country Planning Act 1947. England is also the pioneer in the development of new towns, which serve as a lesson Singapore in the planning of its own new towns, though not necessarily with the same objectives in mind.

The planning system in Singapore, as in England, is concerned not only with the making of plans but also with the control of development. The control of development, or to be more specific, the control of change in land use and buildings, is exercised through development control. While the Master Plan and the Concept Plan set out the land use policy. Development control is concerned with the implementation of that policy and is through this scheme that most people come into contact with the planning system. It is the application for permission to build which links the development process to the planning process. Development control is primarily concerned with public control of land use and is carried out through the legal machinery operating under the Planning Act. In view of this statutory foundation, development control in Singapore is usually referred to as statutory planning (Khublall and Yuen, 1991: 2).

The purpose of government intervention in the use and development of lands is to guide developers collectively to make the best use of national resources in the interests of the community as a whole. Furthermore Khublall and Yuen (1991: 6) said that the main objective of the statutory planning is to prevent undesirable development of land and to ensure that in the development of land public interest is fully considered.

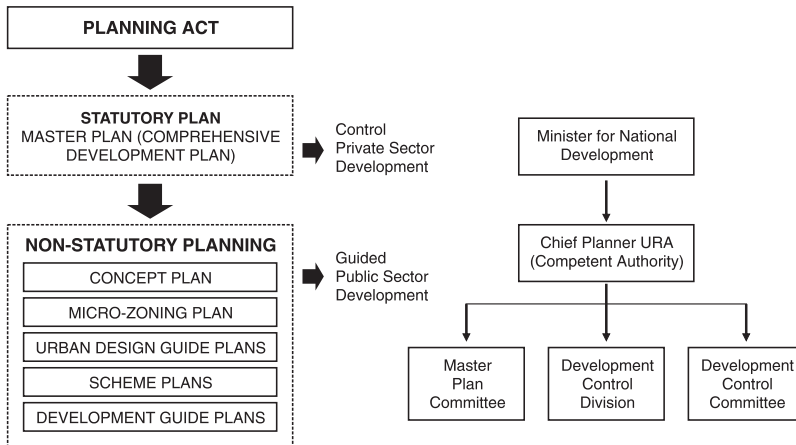
In 1957, Singapore made a Statutory Plan and the Non Statutory Plan to manage the physical development (Khublall and Yuen, 1991: 13). The England Act gives effect in the preparation and implementation of master plan for Singapore. The Master Plan is a comprehensive physical plan with emphasis on the arrangement of land use in order to regulate the physical development, whether conducted by private parties or by the government itself. The Master Plan 1958, subject to 5-yearly reviews, had many characteristics that were similar to the 1944 Greater London Plan. The Master Plan gave emphasis to comprehensive development through physical planning, specifically the control of land use through zoning and density controls. Property owners wanting to change the use of their land must conform to the requirements of the Master Plan (Yuen, 1998: 2).

To provide legal support, a Planning Ordinance 1959 was the first statute of major importance directed at planning matters in Singapore and was supplemented by the Housing and Development Ordinance passed around the same time (Khublall and Yuen, 1991). This legislation was formulated to develop a planning system in conformity with the Master Plan. Development control is primarily effect through the zoning and density prescriptions set out in the Master Plan and the rules and regulations embodied in the Planning Ordinance, now the Planning Act (Yuen, 1998: 2).

In the rapidly changing economic and social conditions of post-independence years, the Master Plan soon inadequate. Its uses as a planning document has since been overshadowed by the Concept Plan, a strategic land use and urban transportation plan. Present day Singapore is to large extent an expression of the planning principles embodied in the Concept Plan.

The Singapore Concept Plan was first drafted in 1970 with the assistance of a United Nations expert team to guide the country's long-term development. It is a land use planning blueprint designated by a specialized role

for meeting the national goal of modernization and to raise Singapore’s economic standing underlain in respect of industrialization, public housing, infrastructure and building a modern central financial district (Wong and Goldblum, 2008: 7).



**Figure 3. Planning System & Institutional Framework of Planning Authority in Singapore**

Source: Khublall and Yuen, 1991

The Singapore Concept Plan has a longstanding reputation for being continuous, and its consistency has been rendered possible by the same government being in charge over the last four decades. Established in 1971 on the basis of an export and multinational-led land use strategy, a full urbanization and infrastructural provision, supported by a “garden city” notion had been conceived to lift Singapore from a small to a large regional centre (Ministry of Trade and Industry 2003 in Wong and Goldblum, 2008). Since 1990 Singapore uses Two Tier System (two-level system) in the Non Statutory Plan. The first level is the Concept Plan which laid the general framework of development policy and strategy, while level two is The Development Guide Plan.

In 1998, a new approach to planning was adopted that the Concept Plan maps out the long term land use and development strategy for the year 2000 and beyond whilst the Development Plans (DGPs) translate the intentions of the Concept Plan to guide development at the local level. The whole of Singapore is divided into 55 planning areas. The contents and provisions of the Development Guide Plans for the various planning areas when incorporated into the Master Plan are applied to guide physical development through



development control. These contents and provisions, and in particular any upgrading or change of zoning or plot ratio, do not confer development rights nor should they be taken as the basis for determining the liability for payment of development charge (URA, 1998).

The planning Act requires all development and subdivision of land to obtain written permission in the form of a formal approval from the planning authority before they can be carried out. To optimize land distribution among competitive uses, all development activities related to land use planning and land allocation are administrated and coordinated by a central planning authority, presently the URA (Urban Redevelopment Authority) since 1 September 1989 (Yuen, 1998: 2).

The day-to-day administration of the Planning Act is the responsibility of the URA and the Chief Planner is as Chief Executive Officer of URA. URA is the central planning authority responsible for the physical planning and improvement of Singapore. Its main function are to prepare and revise the Master Plan, periodically review the Concept Plan, control land use and development, implement conservation and coordinate public sector development proposals. In addition to being concerned with planning matters the URA has been appointed the national conservation authority (Khublall and Yuen, 1991: 32-33).

## Land use Control in Canada

The planning system in Canada varies in its nature and extent among the ten provinces. Most provinces require approval of municipal plans and zoning bylaws, though again there are differences in the character of the approval process, and in some provinces, such as New Brunswick, Quebec, and British Columbia, the role of the provincial government is minimal (Rogers in Cullingworth, 1993). Canada displays a wealth, if not a confusion, of instruments for the implementation of planning policies or controls. These range from traditional zoning bylaws to flexible development agreements and from standard subdivision controls to the transfer of air rights.

Population growth and urban development were slower in Canada and there was less pressure for development controls than in the United States. Nevertheless, all the provinces eventually passed legislation empowering

municipalities to operate zoning controls. The support for these came from the enfranchised property owners who dominated municipal politics. Van Nus in Cullingworth (1993) argues that the principal basis of political support for zoning was the desire to prohibit the intrusion of uses which could reduce neighboring property values. When they set out to sell zoning to the public, planners appeal above all the determination to maintain property values. They pitched this appeal in particular to real estate interests.

At the end of World War II, zoning in Canada existed not as a means of implementing plans but as a legacy of the law of nuisance. Yet statutory planning went much further in words: to the control of land use in the interests of health, safety, convenience, morals and general well-being. In a 1949 report commissioned by the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Spence-Sales argued that theory of zoning as an instrument for achieving wide planning purposes had taken the place of the theory of zoning as a device for the prevention of nuisance. A concept of zoning which concentrated mainly upon the fixity of land values by preventing change in the established usages within an area, and regards all such changes as in the nature of nuisances, vitiates the scope and tenor of the purposes of zoning control as a means for attaining a planned use of land as a hole.

Given the slow rate of urban development in Canada and the limited use of zoning up to this time, the variance device seems to have worked more smoothly than was the case in the United States. The particularity issue was very different which in the case of the technicalities underlying zoning, one of the most critical factors in nullifying the elastic legal basis upon which Canadian planning law is established has, to a very large extent, been frustrated by the particularity of zoning techniques which have been borrowed from American precedents. The adoption of American zoning techniques in the provinces of Canada raises the important question of their suitability in a country which may have certain similarities in its urban developments, but in which the legal basis for planning is of a different order (Spence-Sales in Cullingworth, 1993).

There was inevitably a period of improvisation as provinces battled with inadequacies both in staffing and in legislative tools. Most provinces amended their planning laws, though Ontario, Prince Edward Island, and

Saskatchewan introduced new legislation. The staff shortage was met by the import of planners from Britain and Europe, thus increasing the British influence on Canadian planning thought (Carver in Cullingworth, 1993).

The history of the evolution of the instruments and the policies of planning since that time reflects a continuous tug of war between what might be termed the firm zoning and the discretionary control philosophies of development control. The general trend has been from the former to the latter, though there is still considerable adherence, in theory less so than in practice, to the view that the certainty of zoning is superior to the uncertainty of any discretionary system. Some provinces have achieved an extraordinary marriage of the two and this is called Moderate Control System.

Theoretically, a firm zoning provision provides an owner with an uncontested right to develop as he wishes, subject only to the provisions of the zoning bylaw. On the contrary is a totally discretionary scheme which provides no guidance as to what might be allowed but simply gives the planning authority complete power to decide. In between, there are many possibilities, including discretionary elements in a zoning system and a detailed land use plan complete with guidelines or standards in a discretionary system.

Furthermore, development permit system, a part of the term discretionary planning controls, is used in some provinces in Canada. Manitoba uses development permits for permission given under a planning scheme or zoning bylaw. The City of Winnipeg Act provides for development permission. Vancouver has development permits for the implementation of its discretionary control system but British Columbia has development permits for the implementation of its zoning bylaws. British Columbia has two separate planning systems, one in the city of Vancouver, operating under the Vancouver Charter, and the other in the remainder of the province, operating under the Municipal Act. The latter system has a relatively small degree of discretion and is essentially based on zoning (Thomas in Cullingworth, 1993).

The matter is somewhat confused in that the term development permits is used for waivers to a zoning bylaw. The degree of flexibility this provides is real but tightly constrained to matters which are specified in the zoning bylaw and which are restricted by the provisions of the Municipal Act. This shows that some provinces in Canada have achieved an extraordinary marriage of

zoning (regulatory system) and discretionary system. This is meant that Canada uses moderate system as land use control system.

## Conclusion

United States of America, Singapore and Canada have similar success in controlling of land use but have differences in land use control system that is used in decisions relating to land use. Almost all cities in the United States of America except Houston City, apply regulatory system in the planning system, namely in decision-making based on spatial planning regulations including zoning regulation. Therefore, in the United States of America, zoning regulation became the main instrument in securing the right of every citizen to take advantage of their own property.

Meanwhile, Singapore applies discretionary system for land use control. This system provides opportunities for local government to consider a development proposal based on the development plan, including zoning regulation and other aspects that are considered important as a consideration in making decisions. In Canada, this country applies the other system, moderate system for land use control. The moderate system combines the regulatory system and the discretionary system by taking advantages of both systems.

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# URBAN LIFESTYLE AND OTHERS





# FROM TENNIS COURT TO KARAOKE BAR

*Life Style and Modality Local Business People in  
a Provincial Town of Pekalongan*

(CASE OF CONSTRUCTION SECTOR)

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## Introduction

**P**ekalongan, the focus area of this study, is a provincial town in North Coast of Central Java. It locates in the western part of Semarang, the capital city of Central Java. It takes around 1.5 hours to travel Pekalongan-Semarang. From Jakarta, traveling with train will take times of five hours. Pekalongan is a small city. The total size is 45 km<sup>2</sup> or 9 Kilo Meters times 5 Kilo Meters.

Travelling with motor cycle, it takes me around 20 minutes to travel from southern to northern part of the city; and it is around 15 minutes from eastern to western part. Traffic lights only locate in the “centre” of the city, which cover the area of government office and business centers. Demographically speaking, the population is less than 300,000 and it spreads in four sub-districts or Kecamatan, since 1987.

Before 1987, Pekalongan administered only two sub-districts. Within this size of the city and the number of population, it seems to me that everyone knows everyone else.

For centuries, Pekalongan has been known as a trading city. The largest sector is indeed the textile industry, which includes batik production. Official data from Office of Industry, Trade and Cooperatives, there were 611 registered batik enterprises in Pekalongan in 2007. Unofficial and rough counts estimate

that there are more than 1,000 batik enterprises in Pekalongan. Majority of them are small scale enterprises.

Apart from private sectors, there is also public sector economy in Pekalongan, i.e. construction sector. Compare to batik, this sector is relatively new. Construction sector developed along with the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945 and reached its peak during Soeharto era. During Dutch colonialisation, the construction sector (i.e., building of infrastructure, such as roads, harbours, etc.) was in the hands of Dutch enterprises.

### Liberalization in Construction Sector in Pekalongan in 1999

The construction sector is a protected economy sector since Indonesia declared independence in 1945 (Klinken and Aspinal, 2011). This continued until the era of Soeharto. In his early years in power, Soeharto needed a political legitimacy, which he fulfilled, one of them, by providing jobs in the construction sector. Soeharto protected this sector to secure the jobs and state's fund was the only source of capital of constructors at the national and local level.

In the late 1990s, the construction market was liberalized after Indonesian economy experienced an economic crisis, which led into political turbulence and eventually the fall of Indonesian president, General Soeharto, after more than thirty years in power. This research takes place after Soeharto's stepped down from power, and I label it as "post-Soeharto" era. State's protection for the construction industry was abolished, although not entirely. The construction industry is one of the main targets for deregulation because government funds for this sector have allegedly been used for kickbacks to administrators and politicians. Furthermore, the abolishment of protection has brought impact to economy in macro level, namely an increasing of competition.

There are total 95 construction enterprises in Pekalongan in 2009. Before political change in 1998, the numbers of construction enterprises were around half of it (42 units). Thus, there is an increase of 48.5%). In terms of grade, from 95 enterprises, 80% of them belong to grade 2; 17.9% are grade 3; and 1.1% belongs to grade 4 and 5 respectively. Majority of them are very small

companies. Their capital is few millions, they have no permanent office let alone permanent staff unless they are projects; they hire equipments whenever they need so they do not have their own.

The increased numbers of construction enterprises is not followed by an increasing amount of budget from Pekalongan local budget (APBD). Budget has been fluctuated as can be read in table below.

**Table 1. Allocation of fund in for construction sector source from Local Budget (APBD) and DAK**

<b>Fiscal Year</b>	<b>APBD (in IDR)</b>
2005	24,369,545,725.00
2006	57,223,430,894.00
2007	78,157,378,430.00
2008	105,242,257,612.00
2009	NA
2010	42.394.855.165,00.

Source: Pekalongan Local Budget (APBD) 2005-2010

The increased number of construction enterprises and a fluctuated amount of budget for the sector has created a tougher competition among constructor businesspeople in Pekalongan. Because of this, the construction, which is known to be close to politics, is getting closer. In Pekalongan, political reform became a momentum of grouping among constructors. Crudely, Pekalongan constructors consist of two groups: the ones who established their enterprises before the political reform in 1998, and the second ones are those who established the companies after the reform.

I call the first group as ‘senior’ one, while the second one is ‘junior’. If the first group is close the networks of Golkar party, including Pekalongan administrators in Soeharto era; the ‘junior’ group are majority established their enterprises through the connection with non-Golkar parties, e.g. PKB, PDI P, PPP. These two groups are always in fierce competition in accessing projects. The plurality of political actors at the local level brings about a differentiation of groups in the construction sector.

## From Tennis Field and Karaoke Bar: The Shift of Hobbies Among Constructors.

Tennis is known as an elite sport in provincial during the New Order, perhaps similar with golf in metropolitan cities (Schiller, 1996). This is because high-ranking bureaucrats and or businesspeople play tennis Jepara. Achwan (2000) in his research of sarong industrialists in Pekajangan, Pekalongan, identified his informants playing tennis both as community activities among business actors, and as a strategy to be closed to politicians. One of his technique in his fieldwork is he joined playing tennis to understand more his research subjects in their social activities.

In the context of Pekalongan, tennis is also considered an elite game. A tennis club located in the complex of Pekalongan main square (alun alun), a central area of Pekalongan, charges a very high rental fees to rent. The chairwoman of PELTI (Persatuan Tennis Lapangan Seluruh Indonesia) or the Indonesian Tennis Association told me that she has never been confident enough to come to the tennis match in the alun-alun, which is usually attended by many rich Pekalongan business people. "They are out of my league," she said. This is to show how elite tennis match is in Pekalongan that even the head of PELTI always feels uncomfortable coming there, due to her different class background.

I had an appointment with two construction businesspeople in a tennis field located behind the office of Public Works Office in Pekalongan during my fieldwork in 2008. The two construction businesspeople I met were Surya (in his late fifties) and Jati (mid thirties). After we greeted each other and introduced ourselves, I sat down on a bench with Surya who just had a break from one match he just played. Jati went to fetch drinks for us. Surya's shirt is wet on the back and he had a small towel on his shoulder.

While waiting for Jati to return, I chatted with him while we watched a double match in the field. Surya told me who were playing in the field. The three players in the field were middle-rank echelons bureaucrats working at Pekalongan Public Works office and the other was low-level bureaucrat staff. Surya told me that he had played tennis for years to keep his body fit, and the group plays twice a week, mostly in the field behind the public works office.

Surya established his construction enterprise in 1987 after graduating from Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, majoring in civil engineering. Jati, started his business in 1994, also an engineering graduate from Semarang-based university. They both have professional and relevant technical background in the construction field. They are also members of Gapensi, the largest construction business association that has existed since Soeharto period, since 1980s for Surya and mid 1990s for Jati. I asked whether playing tennis is a good strategy to be close to Pekalongan's bureaucrats. Jati replied me, "Once you maintain a good relationship with someone, and that if you happen to compete with other businesspeople with no history of relations, you will be their first priority". He answered my question me indirectly.

Knowing that I am a researcher working on the construction sector in Pekalongan, both Surya and Jati took the opportunity to share the problems they face on how bleak their business situation over the past years. They said that it was due to tighter competition from 'newer' construction business, which emerged after the political shift in 1998. "In the past, if you are close to bureaucracy staffers, your chances to obtain projects are much better".

While telling me the stories of their business competitors, ever now and then, they commented on the match in the field, interrupted their stories to me. They joined shorts conversations with the bureaucrats on the match, who were having a break on the other side from where we sat. I sense that my informants and people who were there have known each other quite well, looking for the types of chat they made. Being in the tennis field myself allowed me to observe their interaction with the bureaucrats.

Things are different now, added Jati. It is not enough to just have good relationship with high-level bureaucrats in Pekalongan. They need to be close to local politicians too because now (since the fall of Soeharto), they involved in project allocations. "Many more people involve now, such as *dewan*, (member of regional parliament or DPRD, locally called as '*dewan*', a shortened version of DPRD). I asked them whether they tried to get closers to the members of parliament. Both Jati and Surya right away responded with a laugh, asking "Which politicians we should approach?"

There are thirty of them and it is difficult to keep up with all of them. Formerly, if you have one bureaucrat at the top level, you did not have to deal

with the others. One is enough, as long as your contacts are at the top. Now we have to deal with so many people and they (the political constellation) change a lot too every now and then. Today, one with one particular faction, tomorrow or next week, you never know,” Jati said. With an upset tone, Jati continued, “Also, who do they think they are (member of parliament)? They are new kids on the block who try to make money from us, the business actors.” Surya, who has been quiet, confirmed Jati’s sentiment. “I’d rather stay home and sleep than doing some other business with no clarity whether we will get benefit or not. We are businesspeople and of course we work for profit. I will do my job professionally, if you need me let’s make a fair deal and if not, then don’t”.

Schiller (1996) in his study on Jepara, Central Java identified tennis match as an activity in which top-level officials spent their leisure time, along with dining out and go to beauty salon. Schiller also showed that tennis field was not only an arena both for sports and lobby, because it is where business actors could mingle with high-echelon bureaucrats in a relaxed way and discuss various things including projects (1996). He also suggests that tennis field is not just a sport field but also political field, which mean political activities (i.e. lobbying politicians to influence policy makers) take place along with sport activities.

In another study, Achwan (2000) selected tennis field as one of his field studies to delve into the life of businesspeople in Pekalongan. Achwan reasoned that tennis field was an important site where businesspeople and policymakers (i.e. bureaucrats) gather. Both Schiller and Achwan argued tennis field is typical provincial towns (districts/cities) arena. In post-Soeharto era, things seem to shift, as I elaborate below in a study case of constructor who loves to sing at karaoke bar, not only for fun but also as activities to access business.

During my fieldwork in 2008, there were only three karaoke bars, including a café with a karaoke facility in Pekalongan. They are Merdeka Karaoke, DUPAN Karaoke, and a café with karaoke bar in the western part of Pekalongan. In 2010 when I visited Pekalongan, it has become five bars, with two new ones. When I suggested an appointment with my interviewees, another group of construction businessman, he is the one who suggested to

meet in either the karaoke bar or cafe. I did not aware why didn't he suggested to meet in tennis field as my other interviewees.

After my meetings with the weeks later after my visit to tennis field, I set up an appointment with another construction businessman, Rahman. He suggested me to meet up in a café with a karaoke bar. Among Pekalongan people, café culture at night means two things: alcohol and women rather than drinking coffee like cafes in Jakarta. If in tennis field I heard gloomy stories on business prospect, in a karaoke bar, between people belting out songs, I heard the opposite.

When we entered the café, a lady in black tight outfit greeted him and asked him where he had been because she had not seen him for sometime. Rahman visited the place quite frequently that explains how they seem to be familiar to each other. Inside the café, we accidentally met a group of member of Pekalongan regional parliament, who were there with his friends. I thought they are having an appointment but apparently not. We joined them for a while before we left to talk in private. The cafe had a mini karaoke facility and I noticed the politician kept holding the microphone and he was singing all the time. He sang with all of his heart, very loud, until I think I could see his veins showing in his neck. I hardly had any chance to ask him question even a simple one. I decided not to push my luck given the situation.

Rahman used to be a PDI-P, Indonesian Democratic Party for Struggle, politician, a nationalist party and even when the party was still called PDI in the New Order era. This is different from Jati and Surya who had no politician background. Rahman was active in then PDI since 1982, and he was a deputy chief of PDI-P Pekalongan city (DPC) in 2003. In 2008, he ran for the DPC chief, but he lost. He did not tell me the cause of his lost, but I was told that his rival, an owner of local transportation company, had stronger financial back up. Ever since his lost, he withdrew from politics formally and concentrated more on his business. Rahman told me he cannot play tennis and he prefers café and karaoke bar.

Rahman established his enterprise in year 2000. For his standard, Rahman told me that he did well, or “lumayan” (not so bad). I asked him what he thinks was the key to his success. He said that he is good with people, and he can easily adjust to people he just meet. He can follow any kind of

conversations with people from various backgrounds. Compared to other construction businesspeople, Rahman is open to me. “You know I have to spent three hours listening to one of Pekalongan high-level official (pejabat) talking about his new fish. Rahman developed his social skill during his former experience as an activist at PDI-P, and I can see myself how strong his social skill is if I compare to other construction business people who tend to avoid me, a new person they just meet.

The second chance I met Rahman, he also suggested us to meet in a karaoke bar. He thinks that I like to be in Karaoke Bar. It was at DUPAN Karaoke, the first and the largest karaoke bar in Pekalongan. It is also a notorious place where alcohol was sold, an accusation Pekalongan people launched, which is quite true as I saw varieties of alcohol appetizer in the drink list. He was with his friend that day, so there were the three of us in a small cube that can fit four to six persons.

The moment of selecting songs, a pause from singing, was the only chance I could ask him questions about his business in construction industry. I have never been to any karaoke bars myself in my life, so I needed a kind of adjustment with things there, including singing songs, with my terrible voice. Not only that, like majority of Indonesians, I used to think that karaoke bars relate to two things: alcohol and women. They are usually located in the night entertainment area, something some of us associate with forbidden things to do according to Islamic teaching.

Therefore, it is kind of improper thing to do. Not anymore though, since there are many karaoke bars for family, which lessened the negative side of the bar. Rahman and his friends were so relaxed and they seem to be used to doing it. Rahman sang well. He told me that this is because he used to read Koran with a loud voice, which trained your vocal chord. Also he joined a terbangan club, a traditional Pekalongan performance, involving singing and playing rebana, an instrument coming from the Middle East. This made him sing beautifully, especially the dangdut songs, a typical Indonesian song with a melody of mixture between India and Middle Eastern melody, which is usually accompanied by erotic dancing.

Like the ones in café, I noticed how familiar Rahman with the karaoke surroundings. He chatted with a guy who helped us setting the karaoke



instrument and asked him who had been there for the last three days. I asked Rahman how often he came to karaoke bar and he told me it depended on the needs, sometimes four days in a week or sometimes just once a month. “I usually go here with my friends in dewan (Pekalongan regional council), I come here just to treat them. I know what they like to do, so I adjust my approach to them based on what they like,” he said. I asked him how can he talked about business in amidst the high volume of music and the voice of people singing. “The real business talk took place after the Karaoke, when I took them to their cars. That’s the real essence of the meeting”.

In general, spending leisure time in cafés or karaoke bars does not connote well among Pekalongan people, which are known to be religious. It connotes to two things: alcohol and women. This is because one of the bigger locations of karaoke bar in Dupan square is also known as a place where alcohol is sold, something Pekalongan society is very allergic about. Dupan square belong to a Chinese Pekalongan, and it has been accused as a place of “maksiat”. Radical Islam group every now and then did ‘sweeping’ to Dupan Square, an activities to ban alcohol or other activities that are considered against Islamic law, usually with violence, to make sure that there is no alcohol there. As a matter of fact, alcohol is sold there.

It is maybe the only place that I know selling alcohol in Pekalongan. Politicians coming from nationalist party such as PDI P, or Golkar, who are known in general to be a nominal Muslim, do visits karaoke bar. But Rahman told me that distinction between politicians coming from nationalist parties or non-nationalist parties is hard to maintain. “I treat politicians from Muslim traditionalist parties quite often”.

Politics in New Order Indonesia including in Pekalongan was dominated by Golkar party (the ruling party), and the military and the bureaucracy. This is why business actors in a provincial should be close to the bureaucracy to access projects. These dominant political actors dominated policymaking process, and they, especially bureaucracy, played tennis match. Businesspeople who wanted to get close to policymakers would approach them in tennis field.

When political power shifted to the legislative branch of the government in 1998, politicians in the regional parliament assumed power and at the same time marginalized bureaucracy power. Politicians now play dominant political

roles in policy-making process, including in projects allocations. Along with that, the role of bureaucracy has been contested ever. Power at the local level is now shared among executive wing of government and legislative one (members of parliament). I suggest that the power shift in the landscape of local politics has further consequence namely a shift of social activities.

Politicians have a different social background with local administrators (bureaucracy). Indonesia bureaucracy has an image or associated to be a noble group in a society, due to its historical fact during the Dutch Colonial (Sutherland, 1987). Playing tennis seems to be regarded as a domain of the elites. Later on, the constructors, the 'senior' one, associated themselves with the local administrators, especially after the 'junior' constructor emerged as a new group of businesspeople after the reform. On the other hand, new local political actors namely politicians are another group, who have more power politically, but they are coming from different social class. 'Junior' constructors then associate themselves with the politicians, along with their own 'low' culture'.

## Beyond Hobbies: Leisure Time Activities in a Changing of Political Context in Provincial Town

My exploration above shows on the works of at least three factors in the way people at provincial town doing their leisure time, which I suggest, relates with the changing of political landscape. First, there is a factor of 'generation' that play along here. It refers to age, not of the entrepreneurs, but of the enterprises, whether it was established before or after political shift in 1998.

Construction businesspeople that play tennis belong to 'senior' generation, whose enterprises were established and existed during Soeharto era. Tennis is a sport of top-level bureaucrats, who used to hold control on politics in regions during Soeharto era. They play tennis to approach the bureaucrats. The second one is 'junior' enterprises, which are established after 1998. These enterprises are established part of the political euphoria, in which any citizens can participate in anything they want due to the political shift, such as becoming a construction businessman. They are, since the beginning, gaining projects from their patron politicians in Pekalongan regional parliament. Therefore, these two 'generations' perceive politics differently.

In contrast, 'Junior' constructors realize without politics they will never gain any business opportunities. They are always being close to politicians. In contrast, the 'senior' construction businesspeople have been in their comfort zone, with their contacts with bureaucrats in the past, and have always been dealing with them for years. They seem unable to adapt to the political shift that requires them to approach politicians. As Surya and Jati described, they feel they would lower themselves if they have to approach politicians, whom they think as "people with obscure background". As their old patrons have no substantive political power now, and they are unable to adapt to the shift, all they can do is complaining.

Having said so, it does not mean that junior construction businessmen never approach the bureaucracy, neither that senior ones are only close to bureaucrats. I understand that both are trying to get close to both the bureaucrats and the politicians. However, the social origins of these two groups are different: 'senior' construction business developed during Soeharto era with all of order and being close to bureaucrats; and 'junior' enterprises in came to exist post 1998, and that they have been close to politics ever since they exist; each of them has their own way on dealing with politics.

*Second*, the factor of expertise in the field of construction, which differentiates between 'senior' and 'junior' group of constructor. Surya and Jati, the constructor I met in tennis field considered themselves as a 'professional'. It means they have formal education background related to the physical construction. In contrast, Rahman, my informant I met in karaoke bar, is an autodidact: he has no formal education background and learns things by doing them. Types of stories that they told me were also different.

In the whole conversation I had with Surya and Jati, most of the time, they complain about how gloomy the industry is now. This is due to competitions by new comers in the industry, which majority of the new players or politicians who are "tidak jelas dari mana", or "it is obscure where they come from". It means, according to them, these new group of constructors had no track record as business players in construction industry. Despite this accusation, new politicians at the local level play substantial roles in politics. 'Junior' constructors follow the later and they are doing well too compare to the 'senior' one.

## Beyond Consumption and Cultural Framework: Hobbies within a Framework of Politics

The study on karaoke seems to be dominated with studies with key words of “cultural studies”, “consumption” or “leisure studies”. This paper argues that pattern of consumption, activities in leisure time and having fun are not just about those activities per se, including in the case of tennis match and karaoke I have shown in this paper. Fung (2010) is among the few who studied karaoke as function of karaoke in China: political, personal, community and class. “Political function” in his argument refers to how karaoke bar has opened up “neutral” space; in the karaoke room, every individual has its own right to say their opinion; in the karaoke room all kind of dissatisfaction towards politics and government can be expressed through songs without having a fear to be caught by the authorities.

In short, he suggests, “it is a space that is partly sealed off from the social pressures and political forces of control in China” (Fung, 2010: 45). Lun (1998) studied Karaoke among Chinese who were born in American). Literatures of Japanese studies suggest this (source). Still, there have been limited literatures, which regard these activities has something to with the shift of political setting.

In the context of Indonesia, studies on hobbies such as spending time in tennis court and karaoke is regarded as part of lobby activities (Achwan, 1997). Schiller (1996) suggests that top-level bureaucrats in Jepara, Indonesia spend their leisure time in tennis field. Since his research takes place in the Soeharto Indonesia, he did not observe how this has shifted after the reform.

## Conclusion

From the exploration above I have at least three main conclusions. First, social activities or leisure activities are not just about an expression of social and cultural activities. Their emergences have something to do with the economic and political context. Or in other word, as shown in the case of Pekalongan, types of activities in leisure time are part of social and political change in this provincial town. Second, in choosing the types of social activities, businesspeople follow the resources or policy makers.

In the case of construction sector, constructors seem to follow the types of social activities that policy makers do. Indonesia's political shift more than a decade ago gives more power to politicians, stripping it off from the erstwhile dominant bureaucrats. During Soeharto era, business actors flocked the tennis clubs where bureaucrats were members, now politicians play greater roles, they tend to follow them: they flocked in karaoke bar, not to just having fun, but to play politics.

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# THE EXISTENCE OF LIBERAL DEMOCRACY TOWARD

*The Shift of Indonesian Urban Cultural Values  
and Societies*

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## Introduction

Democracy interests a lot of people with its challenges and hopes. Some people even consider democracy as a new religion. Most people admire it and wish very much that it will improve their lives. It is like a fresh cake taken from the oven. People have smelled the aroma as they know from media that democracy gives peace and prosperity. But smelling is not enough. They want to get a piece of the cake and taste it.

Among models of democracy, seemingly liberal Democracy *ala* America is often used as a reference in running a government. Absolutely, it is highly an interesting issue to be discussed in details. How can liberal democracy be the only model for the developing countries? This paper only highlights on the cultural values like individualism as the cornerstone of liberal democracy in the United States and its impacts toward the changing of social and cultural values in urban society.

Social change could be meant as simply the process of being difference in any sense. But the changes of society could involve many aspects of life such as social values, pattern of organization behavior, structure of social organization, strata, power and authority social interaction. For Indonesia, these changes affect Indonesian people in their livelihood, lifestyle, and system in government, education and demand for freedom.

The impacts of the existence of American liberal democracy have also resulted in a large-scale urbanization. People in rural areas will keep coming to urban areas or big cities. Economic growth and Indonesian economic crisis, structural change and globalization are increasingly linked to urban expansion and people migration from villages to cities, and more people will live in urban settlements than in rural areas. Metropolitan cities like Jakarta can offer the lure of better employment, education, health care.

However, rapid urban expansion is often associated with poverty, clean water supply and housing problems, environmental degradation, crime, urban slum, etc. (Tambunan, 2011). In short, the implications of rapid urban growth include increasing unemployment, environmental degradation, lack of urban services, overburdening of existing infrastructure and lack of access to land, finance and adequate shelter.

Cities play a major role not only as providers of employment, shelter and services but also as centers of culture, learning and technological development, portals to the rest of the world, industrial centers for the processing of agricultural produce and manufacturing, and places to generate income. Hence it is like an 'American' dream for many European immigrants who came to the New World at the time.

This paper only highlights on the cultural value of American individualism in shaping Indonesian cultural traits. And how can Indonesian comprehend the deep meaning of American individualism? By contrasting and comparing with Indonesian traditions, it can bring someone to travel across the world on how to give the deep meaning of individualism.

Among American cultural traits, one of them is individualism can be traced from the historical background of the America journey as super power country. According to Gary Althen (2003: xxvii) that Americans see themselves as individuals who are different from all other individuals, American or foreign. The arrival of immigrants from Europe to the New World (before America) is greatly influenced by liberty. American dreams are as a reflection of individualism in pursuing life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. In Indonesian context, dream is always related to the accumulation of earnings. Minimally, they can give much money toward their families.



Individualism lies at the very core of American culture. Hence the most important thing to understand about Americans is probably their devotion to individualism. The stereotypic images associated with American individuality are not only abundant but abundantly well known the world over. The American cowboy counts among the most powerful and proliferated of these images. He is most frequently depicted as the only human in a vast landscape. He is a loner, a free soul, a man who finds his strength in the solitude of vast stretches of uninhabited countryside.

In some cowboy films, his rugged individualism and go-it-alone approach allows them to overcome the odds and not only survive but triumph. His victory is portrayed not only as a personal one but also as a practical and moral victory for all of society and ideals such justice and humanity.

In relation to the above issue, so what does the American theme of individualism mean in the Indonesian context? How is it perceived? How is it received? Some people, mainly, Indonesian still assumes that individualism is very dangerous toward the existence of Indonesian cultural traits. They believe that it is not suitable with their cultural backgrounds. It denotes negative impacts toward their lives. It is a Western product, or even an American product. As long as we are trapped from this false consciousness, we will lack of motivation to pursue our dreams because of extreme dislike.

## American and Indonesian Cultural Traits of Individualism in Urban Society

Culture is a way of life for any society in where they create ideas, institutions, languages, tools, and services (Ashley, 1962). Culture consists of three manifestations as follows: cultural knowledge, cultural behavior, and cultural artifact. A product of culture begins with the existence of idea in the mind of humans then it is followed by any work to produce it. The final product is acquired after completing the process of the cultural work.

Every society produces different cultural artifacts based on its historical and cultural background. The other factors are such as the spirit of era and the experiences from their countries. Those factors give great influences the type of culture in any nation. Therefore, America is very

different with others. As simply, culture is away of life for any society totally (Rosman and Rubel, 1989).

Culture is also explained as the material, social, and intellectual setting in which we live. The culture itself has two forms: material and non-materials form. Both material and non-material have its own characteristic. The material is referred to the physical environment, and the non-material is referred to unphysical environment, such as family life, democratic government, capitalism, and so forth (Barness and Ruedi, 1971: 4).

Culture is found everywhere in the human world and can be contrasted with nature, in the sense of the world untouched by humans. People transform the natural world into a cultural world where they can dominate and feel at home. Culture ranges from language to clothes, from ritual to technology. It encompasses all the ways that people shape nature, relate to each other, and from their social lives. It does not refer to individual and private life so much as to shared life. It is essential to understand that all human beings live within cultures and also have the capacity to create culture (Khol, 1992: 127).

America has also introduced the term of free trade and globalization since the president of Ronald Reagan administration. It means that the existence of globalization itself is a product of American culture. Nowadays, globalization is continuing process which could not be avoided by every nation in this world where the globalization trends contribute big impact toward society life and toward the cultural life.

The impact of globalization toward society can be seen on the changing in several aspects such as economic, politic and legal, social and culture, and technology as well. Meanwhile the globalization impact toward the cultural life can be seen the changing of cultural thought as reflected in their activities. Globalization has changed the political and legal role in its society, in which the government reduced its control over the economics. The integration of economic and the Free Trade Organization are the main reasons behind the situation (Penar, 1999).

The changes in the economic dimension lead the society enter the world or global economy. Perhaps the most fundamental change is the emergence of global markets, global competitor, and the integration of the economic. Those fundamental changes bring the reality of the world economy; they are the

increasing of volume of capital movements, the concerns of the relationship between productivity and unemployment, and the emergence of the world economy as the dominant economic unit (Keegan, 2002).

Moreover, globalization also transforms the social and culture in the society into the cultural universals, which means that a universal mode of behavior existing in all cultures. The cultures of the people in the society begin to disperse and begin to absorb the cultural universal. Mooij (1998) described the global culture as the expression of culture, the symbols, converging eating habits, and global heroes, particularly those who appeal to young. The core values of culture are stable and often what is presented as a new trends or global trends is a newly packaged core value.

Anthony Giddens (1999), an distinguished author on globalization issues, depicted that the main points of the typology of society in correlation with Indonesian as follows; the first point is society put communication and information as the important things at the level of the world society and at the level of personal life as well (Wiering, 1999). Information plays an important role in Indonesian society especially in the urban areas; people use the internet, read the newspaper or magazine, and watch news and talk show at television in order to gain the information that they are needed in their daily activities, work and life.

The second point is the tradition and custom are no longer have the role that they used to have and they are replaced by the reason and argument. Indonesian society and many others society in the eastern countries tend to retain the tradition and custom as the fundamental values and norms in their life and behavior. However the young and well educated generation in Indonesian society is become more open to that change than the old and traditional generation.

The third point is people in the global society more concern about their environment and nature. This concern is established since the children have started their first formal education in the school but on the contrary many Indonesian people especially in the rural and sub urban area only put that concern just as knowledge and didn't implement it on their daily life. Throwing garbage on the river or gutter and burning the trash is the simple example on that condition.

Meanwhile the American cultural traits dealing with individualism, recently, the term of individualism is associated with some issues considered as representative of individualism itself in America. Those are: *first*, individual freedom. In America, each individual has freedom to take a part in his life. He is free to decide what to do now and in the future. American government or constitution guarantees its people without interference. They are free to speak, to get material wealth, and to profess a religion.

*Second*, self-reliance. It is a nineteenth-century term, popularized by Ralph Waldo Emerson's famous essay of that title '*Self-Reliance*' Americans believe that individuals must learn to rely on them or risk losing freedom.

*Third*, equality of opportunity. Everyone has the same chance to get a certain status. It is important to understand what Americans mean when they say they believe in equality of opportunity. They do mean that each individual should have an equal chance for success.

*Fourth*, competition. It may take the form of rivalry between individuals within a group, of competitive effort of social groups to gain their objectives, of racial rivalries, or of a contest of culture and institutions for pre-eminence. Competitive effort may be expended to achieve sheer existence and survival, or it may be devoted to a struggle for prestige. And competition is seen by most Americans as encouraging hard work.

*Fifth*, material Wealth. Material wealth becomes a value to American people. The phrase "going from rags to riches" becomes a slogan for the great American dream. The main reason is that material wealth is the most widely accepted measure of social status in the United States. Because Americans reject the European system of hereditary aristocracy and titles of nobility, they have to find a substitute for judging social status

*Sixth*, hard work. It is a price of material wealth. American people claim that material wealth can be obtained through hard work only. To get it, they try to expand from one place to another place. In early twentieth, American people expanded to the Northland. The North American continent was rich natural resources when the first settlers arrived, but all these resources were underdeveloped. Only hard work could these resources be converted into material possessions and comfortable standard of living.

Hard work has been both necessary and rewarding for the most Americans throughout their history. Because of this, they have come to see material possessions as the natural reward for their hard work. Most Americans believe that if a person works hard, it is possible to have a good standard of living. It is possible to say that hard work is also an ethic in American life.

Struggles for gender, ethnic, and racial equality are battles over cultural and social hegemony, and for that reason, critical analyses of the nature of hegemonic relationships in democracies are central to current thinking in our society. And the concept of cultural imperialism and neo-liberalism are also very interesting. Cultural imperialism is the practice of promoting the culture of one nation in another. Cultural influence can be seen by the receiving culture as either a threat or enrichment of its cultural identity. Meanwhile Neo-liberalism is the practice of promoting the political economy philosophy that rejects government intervention in the economy.

Era of modernism is also shaping the cultural trait for any society. In the process of modernization, Western societies became more individualistic. Modernism is broadly applied term for currents of artistic, literary, and political thought and sensibility attached to modernity; encompasses such political currents as liberalism, human rights, socialist utopianism, Marxism, history as progress, and belief in reason and science (Magill, 1996). Ever since there is having been that this development will create an unlivable society. At the individual level is involved both greater awareness of one's own preferences and greater ability to act independently.

The main problem of urban culture is that people around environment are not ready to take new values. Some people still keep their cultural values based on their cultural families. In facing this new situation, most parents found the difficulties to implant their cultural values toward their children who grew up in modern era. There is any cultural shock for some people living among modern society.

## Conclusion

Some factors can give great influences in shaping cultural trait in any society, mainly urban society. They are the historical background, unforgettable

experiences, and the spirit of era and the development of technology. America is to be a super power country because of the great history of the South and the North. Indonesia tends to the historical background of kingdom that refers to trigger conflicts potentially. America can learn from British to make a new governmental system of presidency with two big parties. American policies stresses on both realism and idealism in which individualism is to be a center policy. It is as reflected in American economical system of capitalism and American political system of liberal democracy.

Indonesia is closer to idealism influenced by Hegelian after it got its independence from Dutch. It also gives great influences toward cultural behaviors for many Indonesians. The changes of era absolutely bring different spirit in which it born. After reform era, Indonesia is getting closer to the meaning of individual freedom with its consequences.

The emerging of connecting technologies is also the main of the globalization trends. This trend changed the macro dimension of the society such as economic, political and legal, social and culture, and technology. This changing led the society into the global world where the global culture becomes more popular within the society. And urban society is very easily to accept the existence of popular culture, mainly for the young generations.

I am sure Indonesia still should (must) keep learning. After comparing and contrasting with Individualism ala America in a deep meaning, we can learn such as individual freedom, competition, self-reliance, equality of opportunity, and hard work. If we only still hate extremely other cultures because of the differences, we can lack motivation to competitive with them. By studying American culture, It means we are not the same with American. But we are only like to them. We don't drink beer and eat pigs. We just wear jeans and drink coffee.

In getting the meaning of individualism for urban society, mainly in big cities, Most of Indonesian still assumes that individualism is eager to looking for freedom of individual. It contrasts with individualism ala America which focuses on responsibility by you. In relation to the existence of American individualism in our home, absolutely those values contribute for positive and negative impacts toward Indonesian culture.

Shortly, we must be selective. But if we claim that our culture itself is the absolute truth, it will potentially trigger conflicts. American individualism can motivate us to be more competitive than before. See competitiveness with opportunity oriented not risk oriented. We must be proud of our culture but we do not want to be any alien in our home. We are like fish in aquarium, the foreigners can see our activities from outside but we cannot see them well. Being selective of other culture is one way to keep our culture alive.

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# APPENDIX

# PANITIA

THE 3<sup>rd</sup> INTERNATIONAL GRADUATE STUDENT CONFERENCE  
ON INDONESIA  
“INDONESIAN URBAN CULTURES AND SOCIETIES”

Day/Date : Selasa – Rabu , 8 – 9 November 2011  
Time : 07.30 – 17.00 WIB  
Venue : Seminar Room, 5<sup>th</sup> Floor, Sekolah Pascasarjana UGM  
Dress Code : Batik Bebas  
Subject : Daftar panitia sekaligus sebagai surat tugas No. 2843/H1.SPs/KP/  
2011

## Steering Committee:

- Prof. Dr. Hartono, DEA., DESS
- Prof. Ir. Suryo Purwono, MA.Sc., Ph.D
- Dr. Wening Udasmoro
- Dr. Budiawan

## Operating Committee:

Coordinator : Lisdiyani, SH., M.Pd  
Secretary/Corespondence : Siti Nurhidayah, M.A  
Presenter & Participant : Ana Anggraini, M.Hum  
Hotel Booking : Nina Mariani Noor, MA  
Treasurer : Siti Rochani, SE  
Sudilah  
Coordinator of Moderator and moderator : Endy Saputro, MA  
Feri Wibowo, ST  
Latif Nuryawan  
Moderator : Prof. Ir. Suryo Purwono, MA.Sc., Ph.D  
Prof Mark Woodward  
Dr. Wening Udasmoro, DEA  
Dr. Budiawan  
Dr. Siti Syamsiatun  
Dr. Dewi Haryani Susilastuti  
Dr. Ratna Noviani  
Dr. Zainal Abidin  
Dr. Sri Margana  
Dr. Dicky Sofyan  
Dr. Iqbal Ahnaf  
Dr. Danang Sri Hadmoko  
Mustaghfiroah Rahayu  
Samsul Maarif, MA  
Marten Tahun, MA  
Nina Mariani Noor, MA  
Maufur, MA  
Notetaker of Keynote : Endy Saputro, MA  
Nina Mariani Noor, MA

### **Facilitas, Equipment and Decoration**

Coordinator	: Sapto Suwono, BA.
Member	Pardiana dan tim Sri Suhardjo (perlengkapan dan seminar kit)
Exhibition of Photo dan Excursion	: Destha Titi Rahardjana, M.Si Paramitha Dyah Fitriasari, M.Hum
Catering	: Asri Supeni Riwayanti R., SIP Sri Partiani Ambar Ismoyowati Paidi
Documentation of Video, TI, Benner, Poster, Co-card	: Pudji Widodo, M.Kom Feri Wibowo, ST Latif Nuryawan
PR dan Photo Documentation	: Arni Wistriatun Pri Juwandi (informasi)
Printing of Sertificate and Absent	: Winahyuning Cahyani Feri Wibowo, ST Latif Nuryawan
Transportation	: Sugiarso, SE (koordinator) Samsuri (driver) Ali Chaedori (driver) Suparmono (driver)
Master of Ceremony	: Emil Karmila, MA
Security	: Agus Ratno S. (koordinator) SKK SPs-UGM
Soundssystem, Electricity, Genset	: Ngadiman Suberono Margono Sigit Bronto Sucipto
Reception	: Lisdiyani, SH., M.Pd ( Hall lantai V) Siti Wiratmi, SE., MPA (Hall lantai V) Sugiyarso, SE (Ruang Seminar Depan) Bagus Sri Widodo (Ruang Seminar Belakang) Indri Sugiarti, S.Kom (Ruang Seminar Belakang)
Precentation	: M. Eko Erwanto (Pendaftaran sertifikat dan SPPD) Indah Yuli R. (pembayaran seminar) Sudilah (pembayaran seminar) Joko Waluyo (daftar hadir presenter) FX Triyanto (daftar hadir presenter) Sugiharno (daftar hadir peserta) Sutarno (daftar hadir tamu undangan)

Precentation of Panel : Winahyuning Cahyani (Ruang Sidang C panel 4 dan 9)  
Sutarno (Ruang 406 panel 1 dan 7)  
Alex Sukiman ( Ruang 407 panel 15 dan 18)  
Bagus Sri Widodo ( Ruang 408 panel 19)  
M. Eko Erwanto (Ruang 406 panel 12 dan 17)  
FX Triyanto (Ruang 407 panel 2 dan 8 )  
Indah Yuli R., A.Md (Ruang Sidang C panel 14 dan 16)  
Sugiharno (Ruang 409 panel 6 dan 21 )  
Indri Sugiarti, S.Kom (Ruang Sidang A panel 13 dan 20)  
Ambar Ismoyowati (Ruang Sidang A panel 3 dan 10)  
Joko Waluyo (Ruang 408 panel 5 dan 11)

Mails : Aris Suhardi  
Book Stand : Pradiastuti Purwitorosari, SS.  
Ferry Muhammadsyah Siregar, MA

Catatan:

Bagi yang tidak bertugas di IGSC, dimohon untuk bertugas menjaga ruangan masing-masing

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# ATTENDANCE LIST

## THE 3<sup>rd</sup> INTERNATIONAL GRADUATE STUDENT CONFERENCE ON INDONESIA

*Indonesian Urban Cultures and Societies*

Date : 8 – 9 November 2011  
Place : Seminar Room, 5<sup>th</sup> floor,  
Graduate School Gadjah Mada University

No.	Name	Institution
1	Adam J. Fenton	Charles Darwin University, Australia
2	Agus Sjafari	Universitas Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa
3	Ahda Mulyati	UGM
4	Ahmad Zuber	UGM
5	Akhmad Ramdhon	Sosilogi UNS
6	Amalinda Savirani	Amsterdam Institute for School Science Research, Universiteit van Amsterdam
7	Amar	Teknik Sipil, Universitas Hasanuddin
8	Andri Sulistyani	MKP UGM
9	Andrien Liem	Psikologi UGM
10	Angelika Riyandari	University of Western Australia
11	Anggit Priadmodjo	UGM
12	Ardiani Ika Sulistyawati	Universitas Negeri Semarang
13	Arie Wahyu P	Universitas Trunojoyo
14	Ario Wicaksono	FISIPOL UGM
15	Aris Eko Priyanto	University of Michigan
16	Arum Candra	UGM
17	Asih Minanti Rahayu	SPS-UGM
18	Atik Triratnawati	Antropologi UGM
19	Aunurrahman Wibisono	-
20	Bambang Cipto	UMY
21	Bambang Suharto	MKP UGM
22	Bowo Sugiarto	UNSOED
23	Bramantjo	UGM
24	Budi Kristanto	UNLAM, Banjarmasin
25	Charlotte B.	ICRS
26	Daru Winarti	FIB UGM
27	Deane Joice Wowor	UNIMA Manado

<b>No.</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Institution</b>
28	Desy Mardhiah	UGM
29	Dewi Quraisyin	Universitas Trunojoyo
30	Dewi Susilastuti	SPs-UGM
31	Dian Tias Aorta	Kajian Pariwisata SPs-UGM
32	Didik Murwantono	Universitas Islam Sultan Agung, Semarang
33	Dien Vidia Rosa	King's College London
34	Dina Ruslanjari	SPs-UGM
35	Dinara Maya Julijanti	Universitas Trunojoyo
36	Dorce Juliance M	Kajian Pariwisata SPs
37	Dyah Nirmala Arum Jenie	Universitas Negeri Semarang
38	Edi Purwanto	UNS
39	Eka Prasetya	-
40	Eko Nugroho	SPs-UGM
41	Elina Daru K.	Kajian Pariwisata SPs
42	Elisa Dwi R	Kajian Pariwisata SPs
43	Elly Kent	ANU, Australia
44	Emil Karmila	SPs-UGM
45	Endang Mira Sari	KBM SPs-UGM
46	Endes Runi Anisah	Linguistik UGM
47	Erda Rindrasah	Puspar UGM
48	Eri Setyawati	PA UGM
49	Faidah Azuz	UGM
50	Fazlul Rahman	Universitas Islam Negeri Jakarta
51	Febri Yulika	ISI Padangpanjang
52	Ferawati	SPs-UGM
53	Ferry Muhammadsyah Siregar	IRS UGM
54	Firly Annisa	KBM UGM
55	Fransiscus Adi Prasetyo	Universitas Jember
56	Gde Dwitya Arief Metera	UGM
57	George Martin Sirait	University of Sydney
58	Gilang Saputro	Universitas Indonesia
59	Harmona Daulay	Sosiologi Universitas Sumatera Utara
60	Hediati	KBM SPs-UGM
61	Heri Budianto	UGM
62	Heru Pramudia	KBM SPs-UGM
63	Hery Prasetyo	Sosiologi Goldsmith College, United Kingdom
64	Hiroi Iwahara	University of Tokyo
65	Irsyad Ridio	Universitas Indonesia
66	Iskandar Dzulkarnaen	Universitas Trunojoyo

<b>No.</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Institution</b>
67	Isnawati Lydia Wantasen	Universitas Sam Ratulangi
68	Ita Kusuma Mahendrawati	PKP UGM
69	Jenny Ratna Suminar	Universitas Padjajaran
70	Jiangzhenpeng	Nankai University, China
71	Judita Kalota	ICRS
72	Kartika F. Niemah	Kajian Pariwisata UGM
73	Kasiyan, M.Hum	UGM
74	Katherine Bruhn	Ohio University
75	Khairu Roojiqien Sobandi	UNSOED
76	Korlena	Arsitektur UGM
77	Krisetiawati Puspitasari	KBM UGM
78	Kristanto Budi P	ICRS
79	Kusima Dewi	UIN Yogyakarta
80	Liestianingsih Dwi Dayanti	FISIPOL, Universitas Airlangga
81	Liliek Budiastuti Wiratmo	UGM
82	Liliek Soelistyo	KBM UGM
83	Lily Kadoe	ICRS UGM
84	Listia Natadjaja	-
85	Lucinda	Kajian Pariwisata UGM
86	M. Adhisupo	KR Yogyakarta
87	M. Hidayat	UGM
88	M. Najib Husain	PKP UGM
89	M. Uhaib As'ad	MAP UGM
90	Medhy Aginta Hidayat	Sosiologi Universitas Trunojoyo
91	Mega Hidayati	IRS UGM
92	Meinarni Susilowati	Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Malang
93	Melainie V. Nertz	Albert-Ludwig University, Germany
94	Mucha Sim	ICRS
95	Muh. Hisjam	UGM
96	Mundi Rahayu	UGM
97	Muria Endah Sokowati	KBM UGM
98	Mustika Anggraini	Universitas Brawijaya
99	Natalia Theodoribnu	-
100	Niken H.	PSW UGM
101	Nisa Kurnia Illahiati	Universitas Airlangga
102	Nizamuddin Sadiq	UII
103	Nurlaela Widyarini	Psikologi, Universitas Muhammadiyah Jember
104	Nurul Ratna sari	UNAIR

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105	Nurwahyu Alamsyah	University of Michigan
106	Paramitha Dyah Fitriasari	SPs-UGM
107	Paula Mariana Kustiawan	Farmasi UGM
108	Paulus Rudolf Yuniarto	LIPI
109	Popi Puspitasari	UGM
110	Prof. Dr. dr. Anies, M.Kes	UNDIP
111	Punto Wijayanto	UGM
112	Purnawan Basundoro	Universitas Airlangga
113	Ratna Noviani	SPs-UGM
114	Raudlatul Jannah	Sosiologi, Universitas Indonesia
115	Rayendi Nur Salam	Kajian Pariwisata UGM
116	Renta Vulkanita Hasan	Universitas Jember
117	Retno Peni	Biologi UGM
118	Saiful Hakam	UGM
119	Samsul Maarif	SPs-UGM
120	Sandria Komalasari	USD Yogyakarta
121	Shinyoung Jeon	GIIDS, Geneva
122	Siobhan Campbell	University of Sydney
123	Siti Isnaniah	KBM SPs-UGM
124	Siti Pudji Rahayu	UNAIR
125	Siti Sudartini	Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta
126	Sitti Nur Aliah	SPS-UGM
127	Sony Wibisono	Suara Merdeka
128	Sugiarto	Teknik Elektro UGM
129	Sulistyaningsih	CISFORM UIN Sunan Kalijaga
130	Susi Fitri	Universitas Negeri Malang
131	Syamsul Hadi	KTT SPs-UGM
132	T. S Tamot Saputro	ISI Surakarta
133	Tatig Handaka	Universitas Trunojoyo
134	Tracy Wright Weber	UCRS
135	Ulya Niami Efrina Jamson	UGM
136	Veni Hadju	UNHAS
137	Widya Fransiska	University Teknologi Malaysia
138	Wilton AW Djaya	Alumni KBM SPs-UGM
139	Yerika Ayu Salindri	Kajian Pariwisata UGM
140	Yitno Purwoko	Kajian Pariwisata UGM
141	Yohanna Ivonne Meray	CRCS UGM
142	Zaki Irawan	Kajian Pariwisata UGM





Associate professor Goh Beng Lan delivers her speech



Associate Professor Freek Colombijn delivering a keynote speech



Prof. Peter Carey presenting his keynote address



Participants in one of panel sessions



Associate Professor Goh Beng Lan accompanied by Dr. Wening Udasmoro and Dr. Budiawan listening to the lecture



A participant presenting his paper in the panel session



One of the participants asking questions in a keynote speech session



Participants listening to the keynote speech



A participant delivering question to the speaker



Registration Session for 3rd IGSCI



One of cultural night shows



Participants enjoying excursion in a Mbah Maridjan site (victim of Merapi eruption)



Participants enjoying the shows in a cultural night event



Participants in bookfair session